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" Christ's body is food not for the body, but for the soul ; and therefore it must be received *with the instrument of the soul which is faith*. . . . The food of your soul must be *received by faith*. . . . The mouth of the spirit is *spiritual*, therefore it receiveth Christ's body *spiritually*. . . . Christ's body must be *received and taken with faith*. . . . This is the *spiritual*, the very true, the ONLY eating of Christ's body " (Foxe, vi. 338-9).

Hence it would appear that the English Articles employ the words which were the very *tesserae* of the Reformed at Poissy for the exclusion of the " real " presence, the precise watchwords which Rome's technical experts at once denounced as conveying the doctrine of the Reformed, and that they were put into their exact shape by Grindal, who was recognized by the Romanists themselves as the typical example of those Englishmen who were distinguished by their resolute opposition to any theory of a " real " presence in the sacramental elements (Dorman, *Disproove*, foll. 52, 103 : Antwerp, 1565).

W. PRESCOTT UPTON.

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## WEALTH AND POVERTY.

PERILS OF WEALTH AND POVERTY. By the late Canon Barnett, M.A., D.C.L. With Preface by Mrs. Barnett, C.B.E. *George Allen & Unwin*. 2s. 6d. net.

The Rev. V. A. Boyle, who was closely associated with Canon Barnett at Toynbee Hall, has edited this book which will be welcomed by many who admired the splendid work Canon and Mrs. Barnett did among the poor of London. Of course " cruel cheapness " is now a thing of the past and a " cruel dearness " has taken its place. Anyhow the sweating with which Canon Barnett and other workers were familiar in the old days is now practically a thing of the past. May it remain so ! But this fact of course means that we must take the figures of Sir L. G. Chiozza Money (quoted so freely by the Canon) *cum grano salis*. Even allowing for the fact that these figures cannot apply to present conditions, for wealth has been, and is, still undergoing a process of redistribution, yet there remains much that is sadly too true, and every one who is interested in social reform will find many aspects of the subject considered by one who had unique qualifications for such a discussion and whose work will long remain in grateful recollection.

## THE EVOLUTION OF HYMNODY UP TO THE REFORMATION.

BY THE REV. CANON JOHN VAUGHAN, M.A. (Canon Residentiary of Winchester).

I N seeking for the origin of Christian hymnody we turn naturally to the Bible. The Bible, it has been said, rings with music. At the Creation, we are told, the morning stars sang together, and all the Sons of God shouted for joy; while the Apocalypse closes, in the stately language of Milton, "with a sevenfold chorus of halleluiahs and of harping symphonies." In the Old Testament, we listen to the songs of Miriam and of Moses, to the lamentation of David, to the dirge of Hezekiah. Indeed the Book of Psalms—for the modern distinction between psalms and hymns is, as the first Lord Selborne has reminded us, a purely arbitrary one—is a Hymn-book, the Hymn-book of the second Temple. It contains several collections of a distinct and special character—the Passover psalms, the Pilgrim psalms, the Halleluiahs psalms. When we turn to the New Testament, we recognize in St. Luke the first Christian hymnologist. He alone has preserved for us the *Magnificat* or the Song of Mary, the *Benedictus* or the Song of Zacharias, the *Nunc Dimittis* or the Song of Simeon, and the *Gloria in Excelsis*, sung by the angels on the first Christmas morn. It was, we remember, after "they had sung a hymn," one doubtless of the Passover psalms, that Christ and His disciples left the Upper Room for the garden of Gethsemane. In the midnight dungeon at Philippi, Paul and Silas "were praying and singing hymns unto God." More than once in his Epistles, the great Apostle urges on his converts the use of "psalms and hymns and spiritual songs." Now and again too, in the course of his writings, we seem to hear a fragment of an early hymn. We may take as examples the lines beginning "Eye hath not seen nor ear heard," in the first epistle to the Corinthians; "Awake thou that sleepest," in that to the Ephesians; and "He who was manifested in the flesh," in the first epistle to Timothy. And we should not, I think, be far wrong, if we regarded the thirteenth chapter of the first of the Corinthians as an inspired hymn on Christian charity, and the eighth chapter of the Romans (verses 31-39) as one on the eternal Love of God in Christ Jesus.

Outside the sphere of the New Testament, we must look for the earliest relics of Christian hymnody to the Eastern or Greek Church. The oldest examples are in the Syriac or the Greek language; not in Latin. Latin Christianity is derived from the Greek. We have no Christian literature in Latin till towards the close of the second century. But in the Eastern Church we have evidence of the use of hymnody from the earliest times. In Pliny's famous letter to the Emperor Trajan, we read how the Bithynian Christians were wont to meet together early in the morning and "to sing hymns to Christ as God." The blessed saint Ignatius (who suffered martyrdom about the year 107) introduced, we are told, antiphonal singing into the Church of Antioch, because in a vision he had so heard the angels sing. As examples of early Christian hymnody, which have come down to us from the Greek or Eastern Church, we may take two examples, both familiar to modern Christians, and both in general use amongst us. The one example occurs in the English Prayer-book; the other is to be found in most of our modern hymnals. It is perhaps hardly realized that in the *Gloria in Excelsis*, "Glory be to God on High, etc.," of our Communion service, we have the early Greek "morning hymn." Founded on the words of the Angels' song, it was expanded and enlarged, and afterwards translated into Latin; and it is from this Latin form that it found its way into our English Communion Office. It is a thrilling thought that in using the *Gloria in Excelsis* at Holy Communion we are using words which are consecrated to us from the early ages of the Eastern Church. And the other Greek hymn is the one familiar to us as "Hail, gladdening Light." It is the earliest metrical evening hymn, belonging to the second, or even the first century, and is preserved in the writings of St. Basil. Except to scholars, it was unknown until it appeared in the *Lyra Apostolica*, published in 1836, when Keble printed the original Greek hymn, together with his own translation, which has found a place in *Hymns A. & M.*, as No. 18. It was a lamp-lighting hymn, sung when the candles were brought in at dusk. A beautiful use has been made of it by Longfellow in *The Golden Legend*, well known to many through Sullivan's music, in the scene of the forester's cottage, where at twilight Elsie comes in with a lamp, followed by the children, and they all sing together "The Evening Song on the lighting of the lamps," in Longfellow's translation—

“ A gladsome light  
Of the Father Immortal,

Now to the sunset  
Again hast thou brought us ;  
And seeing the evening  
Twilight, we bless thee,  
Praise thee, adore thee.”

Among other hymns of later date, which have come to us from the Greek Church, through the translation of Dr. Neale, may be mentioned, “ The day is past and over,” from Anatolius ; “ Christian, dost thou see them,” from St. Andrew of Crete ; and “ Art thou weary ? ” from St. Stephen the Sabaite.

In the Latin or Western Church, it is curious to notice that the use of hymns did not become general before the fourth century. To St. Ambrose, the magnificent Archbishop of Milan, belongs the honour of being the true founder of hymnody in the West. The facts are related by St. Augustine, in the ninth book of his immortal *Confessions*. It appears that the Empress Justina, who favoured the Arian party, desired to remove Ambrose from his see of Milan. But the “ devout people,” that is, the orthodox Christians, combined to protect him ; and “ kept watch in the church, ready, if need be, to die with their bishop.” “ Then,” says Augustine, “ it was first appointed that, *after the manner of the Eastern churches*, hymns and psalms should be sung, lest the people should grow weary and faint through the tediousness of sorrow ; which custom has been since followed by almost all congregations in other parts of the world.” Ambrose, it seems, not only composed the tunes, but also provided the words. As many as one hundred hymns, known as *Ambrosian*, are ascribed to him. Of these, a certain number are undoubtedly genuine. We are familiar with many of these *Ambrosian* hymns, through translations which have found their way into our English hymnals, among which may be mentioned the Trinitarian hymn, “ Three in one, and one in three ” ; the Advent hymn, “ Hark, a thrilling voice is sounding ” ; and the fine Easter hymn, “ At the Lamb’s high feast we sing.” A contemporary of St. Ambrose was the Spaniard Prudentius, to whom we are indebted for the magnificent Christmas hymn, “ Of the Father’s love begotten,” with its arresting refrain, “ evermore and evermore ” ; and the Epiphany hymn, “ Earth hath many a noble city.”

After this outburst of hymnody, which marked the close of the

fourth century and the beginning of the fifth, and which is mainly associated with the names of St. Ambrose and of Prudentius, a long period of singular bareness followed. Indeed from the sixth to the middle of the ninth century, we meet with few great names among Latin hymn-writers. We must, however, except that of Fortunatus, who produced the famous *Vexilla Regis*, "The Royal banners forward go," for the reception of a "fragment of the true Cross," at Poitiers on November 19th, 569. A new period in the development of hymnody opens, however, in the latter part of the ninth century, with the invention of "sequences," in the monastery of St. Gall, near Constance. It was the custom of the mediaeval Church, in the Office of Holy Communion, to sing between the Epistle and the Gospel, the word *Alleluia*, extending the last syllable into a cadence of musical notes which were called *sequentia*. It came as a happy inspiration to one of the monks, named Notker, that it would be less monotonous, and far more edifying, if suitable words were set to these musical trills or sequences. He therefore wrote a rhythmical composition, which he placed before the brethren of the monastery, and which was highly approved. The innovation soon found general favour; and the practice of singing a hymn, known as a sequence-hymn, between the reading of the Epistle and the Gospel, was widely followed. A number of these Latin sequence-hymns, some of exceptional beauty, have come down to us, and are familiar to English readers, little though, it may be, they know of their origin. Notker himself is said to have composed thirty-five sequence-hymns; and among those attributed to him is the famous "Alleluialic Sequence," known to us in Dr. Neale's translation as "The strain upraise of joy and praise," a hymn of pure and unadulterated praise. Another sequence attributed to him is the more famous *Media in Vita*, "In the midst of life we are in death," which is said to have been suggested to him while watching some workmen engaged in building a bridge over a mountain torrent near the monastery. Not the least pathetic portion of our Burial Service comes from this hymn, viz., the sentence beginning with "In the midst of life we are in death," down to "Suffer us not at the last hour from any pain of death to fall from Thee." The celebrated hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus*, "Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire," which has taken a deeper hold upon the Western Church than any other mediaeval hymn except the *Te Deum*, has also found a place

in our English Prayer-book—in the service for the Ordination of Priests. Its authorship is unknown ; but it has been attributed, among others, to the Emperor Charlemagne (which is clearly an error), although possibly it may have been written by his grandson, Charles the Bald ; and it seems in some way to have been associated with Notker and the monastery of St. Gall. The authorship is also uncertain of the very beautiful sequence-hymn, known as the “Golden Sequence,” and familiar to us in its English dress, beginning—

“Come, Thou Holy Spirit, come,  
And from Thy celestial home,”

which, in the opinion of Archbishop Trench, is “the loveliest of all the hymns in the whole circle of Latin poetry.”

Two other hymns, of a like nature, but of later date, both belonging to the thirteenth century, may be here mentioned. “The one by its tenderness,” says Dean Milman, “the other by its rude grandeur, stand unrivalled in mediaeval hymnody.” The *Stabat Mater Dolorosa*, “By the cross sad vigil keeping,” said to be “the most pathetic hymn of the Middle Ages,” is known to us as a Good Friday hymn ; and the *Dies Irae*, “That day of wrath, that dreadful day,” as an Advent hymn. The latter was written by one Thomas de Celano, the companion and biographer of St. Francis of Assisi. It is known as “the great sequence of the Western Church,” and has been translated into many languages. The poet Crashaw rendered it into English verse, in the time of Charles I. But the translation with which we are most familiar comes to us through Sir Walter Scott’s *Lay of the Last Minstrel*. Towards the end of the poem, he introduces, with marked effect, this mediaeval sequence, in his own rendering, which has been adopted in *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (No. 206), beginning—

“That day of wrath, that dreadful day,  
When heaven and earth shall pass away,  
What power shall be the sinner’s stay ?”

The hymn was a special favourite of Sir Walter Scott’s. We learn from his “Life,” written by Lockhart, his son-in-law, that as the great novelist lay dying, his lips were seen to move, as if in prayer. On drawing near, Lockhart heard him repeating to himself the lines of the mediaeval sequence, *Dies Irae*.

In considering the development of hymnody in mediaeval times,

mention must be made of the two Bernards—St. Bernard of Clairvaux, and Bernard of Cluny—both of whom exercised a marked influence on Christian devotion. St. Bernard of Clairvaux was the most conspicuous figure of his age. He was at once, says Dean Milman, “the leading and the governing head of Christendom.” It is, however, simply as a writer of hymns that we are now considering him. In the retirement of the beautiful Cistercian monastery of Clairvaux, which he had founded, these hymns were written. The most famous of them is one of forty-eight stanzas, beginning *Jesu Dulcis Memoria*; and it well illustrates that form of passionate devotion, of which he may be regarded as the founder. This hymn has been described as “the sweetest and most evangelical hymn of the Middle Ages”; while Dr. Neale speaks of it as “the finest and most characteristic specimen of St. Bernard’s *subjective loveliness*.” Many modern hymns have been founded upon it, of which, as a striking illustration, we may take the following—

“ Jesu, the very thought of Thee  
With sweetness fills the breast.”

Similar adaptations will be found in every hymnal, and will occur to every reader. This form of devotion, which applies to the Divine Master the language of human affection, may appear somewhat too familiar to many minds; but it has been popular with a large number of devout persons, alike among Roman Catholics and Protestants. Indeed it marks the beginning of a new school of Christian hymnody, which has maintained its position ever since. Of Bernard of Cluny, unlike his great contemporary, very little is known. He was born of English parents at Morlaix on the coast of Brittany, and hence he is sometimes known as Bernard of Morlaix. But in the magnificent monastery of Cluny he seems to have spent his whole life; and there he wrote his remarkable satire on the vices and corruptions of the age. This long poem, of three thousand lines, *De Contemptu Mundi*, has rendered his name famous. It has supplied—strange that a satire should have done so—some of the best-known and most popular hymns in common use among us. From this poem, through the translations of Dr. Mason Neale, we are indebted for such favourite hymns as “Brief life is here our portion”; “The world is very evil”; “For thee, O dear, dear country”; and “Jerusalem the golden.”

JOHN VAUGHAN.