

REVIEWS

A BOOK ON PRIMERS.

Horae B. Marie Virginis, or Sarum and York Primers, with kindred books and Primers of the reformed Roman use. By EDGAR HOSKINS, M.A., 8vo. (Longmans, 1901. Pp. liv + 577. Price 21s. net).

THIS is a monumental work, and Mr. Hoskins, no less than his readers, is to be congratulated on its completion.

Those who remember the chaos which prevailed in the sections headed '*Enchiridion*,' '*Horae*,' '*Orarium*,' and '*Primers*,' which occupied about seven pages in Mr. F. H. Dickinson and Mr. C. J. Stewart's otherwise invaluable *List of Printed Service Books according to the Ancient Uses of the Anglican Church*, issued by Joseph Masters in 1850, can to some extent appreciate the amount of labour which has resulted in the orderly 'concise list' of *Horae*, &c., of Sarum and York Uses, which occupy pages xli-li of the volume now before us. Mr. Dickinson's list enumerated all the *copies* (315) known to him fifty years ago, while these eleven pages of Mr. Hoskins' book mention no less than 287 separate *editions* of Sarum printed Books of Hours, ranging from *circa* 1478 to 1825; also fifty-six editions of Roman *Horae*, provided for use in England, from 1571 to 1867 (counting those mentioned on pp. xxxi sqq.), and eight of York Use, *circa* 1510-56.

Of course several of the Sarum books are known only from unique copies, or in fragments; but wherever it is possible Mr. Hoskins gives a reference in another portion of his book to three distinct copies of each edition; and these are not always exhaustive of all the known copies, but (where it can be done) he refers to one at the British Museum, another at Oxford, and a third in the Cambridge University Library. Besides this, he gives at length the title-page of each edition, and 187 pages of indices (liturgical forms, hymns and rhythms, names and places, and general matter), besides lists of printers booksellers and place-names connected with the printing of the Books of Hours. Though there are fragments of six or seven of earlier date, the earliest complete copy of a full edition of the *Horae*, as used in England,

is Wynkyn de Worde's quarto, *circa* 1494, preserved at Lambeth and also at both our older universities.

The bulk of the volume is occupied with a detailed summary of the contents of the various editions, so far at least as is required to show the original outline of the book, and then, in successive stages, the accretions, noting the first appearance of any new feature, supplementary to the contents of previous editions. Thus, for instance, we see how early (1494) instruction was provided 'to answer the priest at mass'; how devotions at the tolling of the *Ave*-bell were introduced in the primer of 1511; a weather prognostication, according to the signs of the zodiac for each month, in 1521; the devotion before the 'image of Pity,' or representation of Christ showing His wounds and surrounded by the 'instruments of the Passion,' in 1494—for which devotion Sixtus IV (1471–84) is said to have doubled the already fabulous indulgence of 32,755 years of pardon. This picture, like that of 'the glorious Visage or vernacle of our Lord,' found in the printed book of 1510, and privileged by Pope John XXII (1410–15), may be traced in illuminated MSS anterior to the invention of printing, such as the *Horae* of English work *circa* 1440. Gerson's exhortations to the dying appear in the 16° *Horae*, c. 1528, with questions to be put to the penitent in mortal sickness. It might have been well here to refer to Caxton's *Arms moriendi* (c. 1491 in the Bodleian), which is a forerunner to this section of the *Horae*, just as the xv Oes of 1490–91, mentioned by Mr. Hoskins on p. 116, are the source of part of the larger book of 1494.

It may perhaps not be uninteresting to examine the material brought together by Mr. Hoskins in its bearing on the origin and growth of the emphasis 'on the practice of local reservation, as securing a fixed point of Divine Presence in the sanctuary.'

It is true that in Lydgate's *Merita Missae*, c. 1450, the layman is bidden, on entering church for mass, after taking holy water, to

'look to the High Altare
And pray to Him that hangeth there' (ll. 41–2).

But, so far as we have observed, the other fifteenth-century treatises in prose or verse, while giving other directions to young people or lay folk as to their behaviour, pass this over entirely, though they refer to elementary duties of exterior religion. And the like reticence is observable in the Sarum and York *Horae*, and even in the earliest Roman books provided for use in this country.

In a primer, printed in 1530–31, there are instructions 'to live and die well,' where the good man is bidden to 'abide in the church the space of a low mass.' There is in these books abundance of directions as to devotion to the Image of Pity, the Image of Christ's Body (*ante imaginem Corporis Christi*, 1495), before the image of the Crucifix, 'on

passing the Crucifix' (York, 1516), and to the vernacle or Holy Face. Also in a primer of 1506 there is a prayer before the image of the Blessed Virgin, with an indulgence granted by Pope Sixtus IV. In that of 1510 there is a devout prayer to be said before the Image of St. Anne, Mary, and Jesus, to which an indulgence was attached (perhaps about 1383-6) by Raymund, the cardinal legate (presumably Raym. Pilgrim, canon of Lincoln and St. Paul's). Other prayers in the *Horae* are addressed 'to the saints in the church' (1530). In the book of 1528, on entering the church, the first ejaculation provided is to the church itself, '*Ave, sancta civitas*'; the next is '*Ave, Rex noster, ave, Fili David*'; the third is '*Avete, omnes sancti et electi Dei, quorum reliquiae*,' &c. The Latin and English primer of 1536 has the comprehensive phrase which had provoked Clement Maydeston's ridicule, '*quorum reliquie continentur in uniuersali ecclesia*.' (*Crede Michi*, § 157.) The second of the ejaculations just mentioned may have been connected in thought and practice with the Sacrament reserved in the pyx; but there is no direction to the reader so to connect it, in the manner of any rubric such as in other instances accompanies special prayers. And if it be intended to direct devotion to the reserved Sacrament, it is the only such prayer that we have noticed. A prayer with a somewhat similar opening (which Mr. Hoskins' index ought to have distinguished from it)¹ is in Cardinal Pole's prymer of 1555, without, apparently, any such special intention.

In 1528 we find '*Horae de Sacramento*': in 1536 (Bydell's) there is 'A Prayer to the Sacrament,' which comes first in this edition. But then in 1538 (no. 135) it is assigned for a devotion between the sacring and communion. The editions, generally speaking, provide prayers for use in *mass time*, 'at thelevation,' such as '*Anima Christi*' (1494, 1538): '*Ave verum*' (1506, &c., including Marshall's prymer, 1536): '*In presentia sacrosancti corporis et sanguinis tui*' (1506). Even in the 'Hours,' set forth in 1539 by Bishop Hilsey, of Rochester, at the commandment of T. Cromwell, lord privy seal, among 'meditations to be said at the sacring,' the English rendering of '*Ave verum*' appears as 'a prayer to be said at the elevation time.'

Perhaps the earliest approach to later usages is the provision of '*Ave salus*,' in Q. Mary's time (1556). The 'Litany of the Most Antient Sacrament of the Eucharist' occurs first in 1627. We have before us a little Roman book of Hours for use in England, printed in 1633. It contains directions for a layman in 'the Manner how to Serve and Answer the Priest at Masse.' But there is in this book no appearance of the office of 'Benediction.' '*Tantum ergo*' occurs only as one verse

¹ There is yet a third *Ave Rex*, which is an antiphon at the third station in the Palm Sunday procession.

incidentally among others in the hymn for the annual Corpus Christi festival. In 1669 the Little Office of the Blessed Sacrament for Thursdays appears, for the first time, among the primers of the reformed Roman Use issued for this country. It is not until 1687 that 'the Hymn and Prayers that are sung at the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament' are noticed in such books. As to Benediction, the remark of Grancolas that it is, not so old an institution as one might suppose, should have some weight. See Abbé Pascal's *Origines et Raison de la Liturgie Catholique*, published for Migne, Paris, 1844, p. 556. There is a decree of the Congregation of Rites, dated 21 March, 1676, respecting the manner of blessing the people with the reserved Sacrament. Ten years earlier Nic. Pavillon issued in a Ritual for the diocese of Alet a section *De la bénédiction du S. Sacrament, qui se fait au soir, ou au salut* (ii 150-3). See also the commentary of Gavantus and Merati on the rubrics of the Roman Missal, iv, tit. xii 22 § 7. In the *Sacrarum Ceremoniarum Institutio* of Marcellus, Venice, 1582, there is but one representation of a monstrance, viz. for Corpus Christi, fo. 180: in two other places (ff. 157, 160) the Sacrament seems to be in a chalice completely hidden in a veiled *capsula* upon a *feretrum*. It is therefore not surprising that our mediaeval office books in England contain nothing at all corresponding to Benediction: but the monstrance (or 'ooster') 'was used when the Sacrament was carried solemnly in procession, which was done on Palm Sunday, Easter Day, and Corpus Christi Day, and occasionally at other times. It was made in various forms. Great St. Mary's Church, Cambridge, had "a sonne of silver and gilt for the Sacrament."' (J. T. Micklethwaite, *Ornaments of the Rubric*, 1897, p. 37, Alcuin Soc.) The stem of the chalice at St. Martin's, Ludgate, has a curious history, as Mr. St. John Hope has shown. It left the silversmith's hands in 1507-8, and in 1535 was bequeathed by a parishioner as 'a pixe or monstre,' and in 1559-60 was converted into a large communion cup. Another form of monstrance was an 'image of our Saviour, silver and gilt, with a cross in hand, and open or void in the breast for the Sacrament for Easter,' such as appears in Lincoln Minster Inventories in the latter part of the fifteenth century and in 1536. There was in the same cathedral also a great silver pyx, and another, for carrying the Host at the Rogation processions, of crystal.

The Order for Procession on Corpus Christi Day appears in the *Roman* books, e.g. *Ordo Baptizandi et alia Sacramenta Administrandi ex Romanae Ecclesiae Ritu*, 8°, Venice, 1603, pp. 224-35, and *Rituale Romanum Pauli V. Pont. Max. iussu editum*, 32°, Cologne, 1620, pp. 275-8. But the civil authority at that period would not have tolerated it in England. And I believe that the books printed at Douai

in 1604 and 1610 for the use of 'Popish Recusants' in this country do not contain the services in question. The earlier Processionals of Sarum (1502 &c.) and York (1530) had had Corpus Christi festival processions independent of one another, and of the Roman order, as to the arrangement of their parts, &c.

But to return to the primers. In the (Antwerp) *Horae*, 12^o, 1599, are devotions 'In sprinkling of holy water,' and 'Unto the holy Sacrament of the Eucharist. All hail, true Body,' and then 'A Prayer before Mass.' So that the second of these may not improbably have been provided for general use (*extra celebrationem missae*); but such a practice is not specially inculcated in the rubrics.

Hymns from the Roman Breviary appear in the Roman books of 1571, 1573, and 1633 (16^o, Rouen). The hymns, about thirty-five in number, are not named individually in Mr. Hoskins' book, nor does he give any details of the 'new and approved version of the church hymns throughout the year,' which appears in various editions of the Roman *horae* from about 1701. (See pp. xxxiv, 101-3, 376.) Some remarks by Prebendary H. Leigh Bennett on the hymns of the Roman Primers will be found in Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology* (pp. 910 b-912); where also are the observations of Mr. J. C. Earle (*ibid.* 973-6).

Besides the more regular Primers of Sarum, York, and Reformed Roman Uses, Mr. Hoskins enumerates and describes those kindred books of devotion which are connected with the names of W. Marshall, Bishop Hilsey, J. Austin, Theophilus Dorrington, G. Wheler (the 'Protestant Monastery'), N. Spinckes, and T. Deacon, the Nonjuror.

CHR. WORDSWORTH.

THE MONTE CASSINO TEXT OF ST. BENEDICT'S RULE.

Regulae S. Benedicti Traditio Codicum MSS Casinensium a prae-stantissimo Teste usque repetita Codice Sangallensi 914. Cura et studio Monachorum in Archicoenobio Casinensi degentium. (Monte Cassino, 1900¹.)

From the middle of the eighth century to the close of the ninth, a copy of the Rule believed to be St. Benedict's autograph was preserved

¹ Previous contributions to the textual criticism of St. Benedict's Rule will often be referred to in what follows. The chief are:—

(1) *Regula S. P. Benedicti iuxta antiquissimos codices recognita* (Ratisbon, Pustet, 1880). The first attempt to deal seriously with the MSS. The beginning was made by Abbot Haneberg of St. Bonifaz, Munich, afterwards Bishop of Speyer; but he was unable to carry out the design, and handed over the materials to Dom