

## II.

### NOTES ON A MISSAL FORMERLY USED IN S. NICHOLAS, ABERDEEN. By F. C. EELES.

In the library of the Roman Catholic College at Blairs,<sup>1</sup> near Aberdeen, is preserved a missal which was in use in the north of Scotland before the Reformation, and belonged to the parish church of S. Nicholas, Aberdeen. I have hitherto been unable to find any account of this book, hence my bringing it to the notice of the Society.

It came to Blairs from the Old Scots College at Paris, and on the title page are written *Ex dono D. Patritii Leith presbyteri Missionarii in Scotia* and *Pat. A. Leith 1711*. How Mr Leith came by the book is not known, but that it belonged originally to S. Nicholas, Aberdeen, is shown by the MS. entry in the kalendar on 24th September :—

Dedicatio ecclesie beati nicholaij per Willelmum episcopum anno [millesimo] quadringentesimo nonagesimo octavo.

<sup>1</sup> The Society is indebted to the kindness of the Rt. Rev. Monsignor Chisholm, Rector of Blairs College, for allowing this account of the missal to be published.

S. Nicholas, Aberdeen, is the church to which this refers, for in the Chartulary of S. Nicholas, Aberdeen, occurs the following :—

Honorabilis vir alexander menzes tunc prepositus burgi de abirden vigesimo quarto die mensis septembris Annj domince incarnationis millesimi quadringentesimj nonagesimj octauj post actum dedicationis ecclesie parochialis beati nicholaj eiusdem burgj solempniter celebratum per reuerendum in christo patrem ac dominum dominum vilelmum miseracione diuina episcopum abirdonensem eandem ecclesiam dotauit fundans vnam lampadem . . . . pendentem ante summum altare coram venerabili sacramento. . . .<sup>1</sup>

The book in question is an early 16th century printed missal according to the Use of Sarum, but made suitable for Scotland by MS. additions, which naturally form its chief interest.

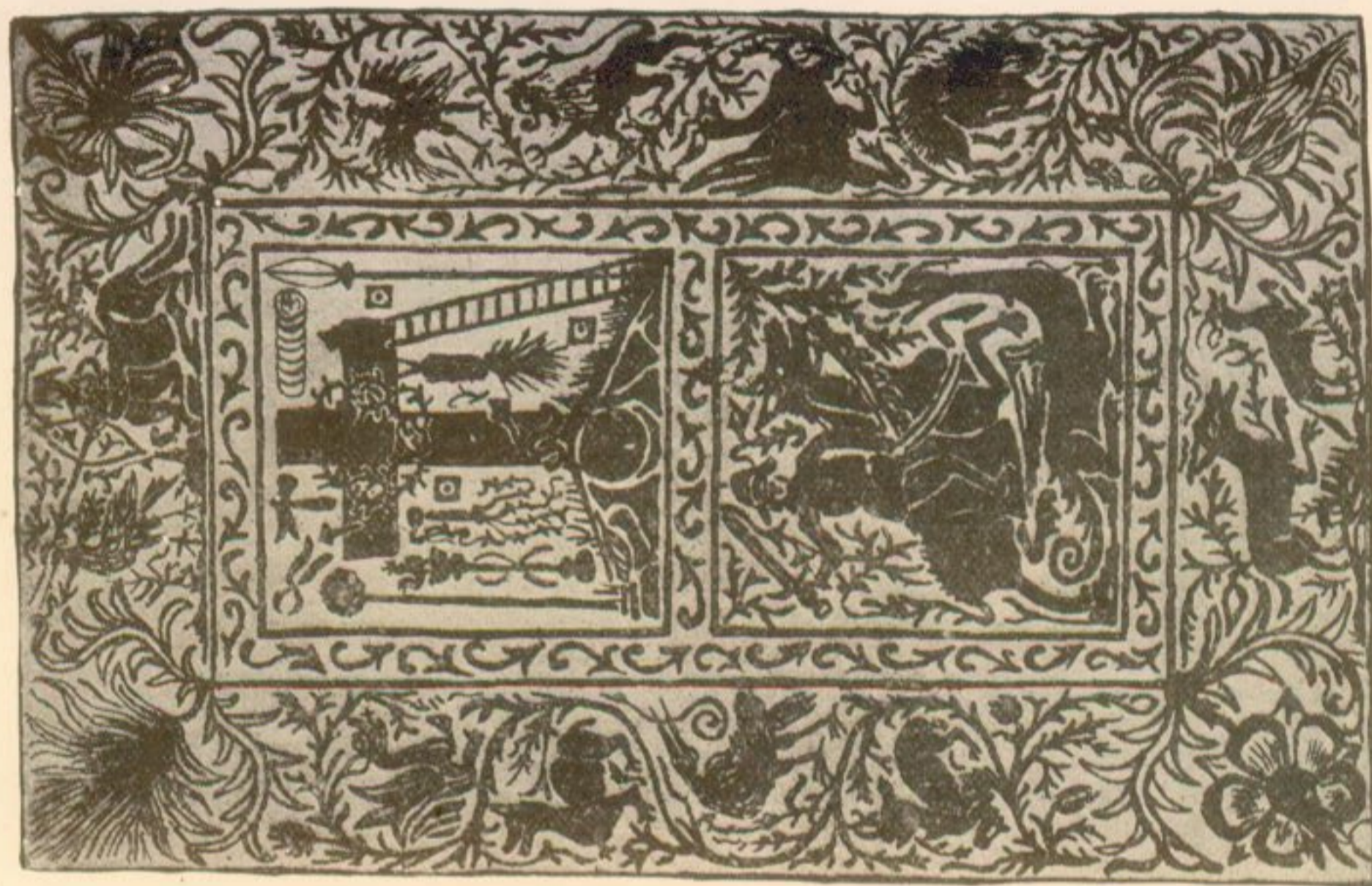
It is a small 4to volume<sup>2</sup> of 277 leaves, printed in black letter by Martin Morin at Rouen in 1506. This particular edition is already known, and is described in the preface to the reprint of the Sarum Missal printed at Burntisland, 1861–1883. Only two copies have hitherto been believed to exist; one belonging to Queen's College, Oxford, and the other to the library of the Archbishops of Canterbury at Lambeth Palace. This Blairs copy has unfortunately been rebound sometime in the last century, and the edges have been severely cut, to the injury of much of the MS. matter. The stamped leather centre-pieces of the original binding (figs. 1 and 2) have fortunately been preserved—one represents the Tree of Jesse, with the inscription VIRGO / SACRATA / DA MICH I : VIRTVTEM / DIGNARE ME / LAVDARE TE, and the other the instruments of the Passion, with S. George and the Dragon.

The MS. matter consists of some hundred additions, corrections, and rubrical notes in the kalendar; an addition in one of the Passion gospels

<sup>1</sup> *Cartularium Ecclesie Sancti Nicholai Aberdonensis*. New Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1888, No. CIX., vol. i. p. 229. In a note in vol. ii. p. xxxi, the editor, Rev. James Cooper, gives reasons for doubting whether 24th Sept. 1498 is the exact date.

<sup>2</sup> In determining the size of the book I have adopted the method, used by the late Mr Henry Bradshaw, of accounting books folio, quarto, or octavo, according as the water marks are transverse or vertical.





Figs. 1, 2.—Centre-pieces of the Binding of a Sarum Missal formerly used in S. Nicholas, Aberdeen.



of a verse taken from another; masses for S. Mary ad Nives and the Common of a Matron, with sequences for Sundays after Trinity and for S. Ninian.

The following are the MS. entries in the kalendar.<sup>1</sup> The contractions have been extended in almost every case. Square brackets [ ] indicate that what is between them is the conjectural restoration of what has been cut off in rebinding the book. Where it has been thought advantageous to quote any of the printed part of the kalendar, parentheses ( ) have been used, italics indicating red in the original. The Arabic numerals have been added for convenience.

<sup>1</sup> The following is a collation of the printed kalendar with that of the Sarum Breviary of 1531, given by Procter and Wordsworth at the beginning of the *Sanctorale* of their reprint. [*N.B.*—*Not* the kalendar at the beginning of fasc. i.]

Additional in kalendar of 1506 missal (Morin, Rouen):—S. Anthony, 17 Jan.; Transl. S. Fredeswide, 11 Feb.; S. Patrick, 17 Mar.; mem. SS. Alexander and Eventius, 3 May; S. Salvator, 24 May; SS. Primus and Felician, 9 June; S. Nazarius specified, 12 June; S. Donatus, 7 Aug.; SS. Cornelius and Cyprian, 14 Sept.; SS. Germanus, Vedast and Bavo specified, 1 Oct.; mem. S. Eustachius at Evensong, 2 Nov.; *Deposition* of S. Edmund specified, 16 Nov.; S. Anian, 17 Nov.

Additional in kalendar of 1531 breviary (Chevallon and Regnault, Paris):—Oct. of Visitation specified, SS. Simplicius and Beatrice specified on 29 July, *sociorumque eius*, 2 Aug., mem. S. Audoenus, 24 Aug.; mem. S. Hermes, 28 Aug.; mem. S. Sabina, 29 Aug.; *non Sarum* Ordination of S. Gregory, 3 Sept.; mem. S. Nichomede, 15 Sept.; *sociorumque eius*, 22 Sept.; *Translation* of S. Etheldreda specified, 17 Oct.; mem. S. Just, 18 Oct.; *Deposition* of S. Osmund specified, 4 Dec.

In the missal under consideration S. Valentine is specified as bishop, S. Praxedis is called a martyr. On 7 Oct. SS. Marcus and Marcellianus, but in the 1531 breviary, SS. Marcus, Marcellus and Apuleius. The *non Sarum* feasts of Transl. S. Nicholas, 9 May; Transl. S. Osmund, 16 July; S. Thomas of Hereford, 2 Oct.; Transl. S. Erkenwald, 14 Nov., are not specified as such, but the feast of S. Erkenwald on 30 April is called the *Deposition*, and is specified as belonging to the diocese of London. The memorial of S. Menna is given on 12 instead of 11 Nov., but this may be a printer's error.

It should be remembered that different editions of a mediæval kalendar are seldom if ever absolutely identical, and the variations here noted are really very slight and are of little importance. They are merely given to satisfy those who would have liked to see the kalendar reproduced in full, as it is in the book itself, and as the transcripts are printed in Bishop Forbes's *Kalendar*s.

## JANUARIUS.

7	g	vii	Id	S kentigerna matrone medie lectiones de epiphania
8	A	vi	Id	S nauchtulani <sup>1</sup> episcopi ix lectiones ix lectiones
9	b	v	Id	Sancti foelani <sup>2</sup> abbatis ix lectiones medie lectiones de epiphania
13	f	<i>Idibus</i>		S <sup>i</sup> knitigerni <sup>3</sup> duplex et anticipetur octau[a]
16	b	xvii	kl'	S <sup>i</sup> furcij <sup>4</sup> abbatis ix l[ectiones]
17	c	xvi	kl'	(Sulpicii episcopi et confessoris. Sancti anthonij confessoris) ix lectiones
26	e	vii	kl'	S <sup>i</sup> vynnino Episcopo ix lectiones
29	A	iiii	kl'	S <sup>i</sup> voloci Episcopi ix lectiones
31	c	Prid	kl'	Sancti modoci Episcopi ix lectiones

<sup>1</sup> Nathalan.<sup>2</sup> Fillan.<sup>3</sup> Kentigern.<sup>4</sup> Fursey.

## FEBRUARIUS.

3	f	iii	N	(Blasi episcopi et martiris inuitatorium duplex .iii. lectiones) ix lectiones
4	g	Pridienonas		Modani abbatis
17	f	xiii	kl'	S <sup>i</sup> finani presbyteri de quocunque confessore in martilegio iii lectiones
18	g	xii	kl'	Colmannij episcopi ix lectiones
26	A	iiii	kl'	Oswaldi Episcopi ix lectiones

## MARTIUS.

			KL	
1	d	<i>Marcii</i>		Monani confessoris Mernani <sup>1</sup> Duo vltimi differantur
4	g	iiii No.		Adriani sociorum eius martirum ix lectiones
6	b	Prid. non.		baldredi episcopi ix lectiones
7	c	<i>Nonis</i>		S <sup>i</sup> thome de ac[quino] confessoris et doctoris [memoria] de sanctis perp[etua et felicitate]
8	d	viii	Id'	Duthaci episcopi et confessoris ix lectiones
10	f	vi	Id'	Kessogij episcopi et confessoris ix lectiones
11	g	v	Id'	Constantini rex et martiris ix lectiones
13	b	iiii	Id'	keuoce virgo non martir
			<i>Aprilis</i>	
16	e	xvii	kl'	Bonifacij episcopi duplex festum
18	g	xv	kl'	S finniani episcopi et confessoris i[x lectiones]
22	d	xi	kl'	Translatio sancte marie magdalene ix lectiones
30	e	iii	kl'	S Olai regis et martiris ix lectiones
31	f	Prid	kl'	S reguli abbatis ix lectiones Olai regl <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Marnan.<sup>2</sup> Possibly only a pen trial; see p. 451.

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APRILIS.

	KL		
1	g	<i>Aprilis</i>	gilberti episcopi et confessoris duplex festum
2	A	iiii N	marie egipciace ix lectiones
17	b	xv kl'	S <sup>i</sup> donani abbatis ix lectiones
28	f	iiii kl'	<i>viii.</i> ( <i>Vitalis martyris. ix. lectiones cum regimine chori</i> )

MAIUS.

	KL		
1	b	<i>Maii</i>	S <sup>i</sup> aseph episcopi ix [lectiones]
3	d	v N	S <sup>i</sup> concadi episcopi [et] confessoris ix lectione
9	c	vii Id	translaci[o] sancti a[n]dree]
10	d	vi Id	S <sup>i</sup> congalli abbatis
16	c	xvii kl'	Sancti brandani abbatis ix lectiones
		<i>Junii</i>	
22	b	xi kl'	Sti romanj <sup>1</sup> episcopi iii lectiones
24	d	ix kl'	( <i>Festum sancti saluatoris</i> ) duplex festum

<sup>1</sup> Ronani.

JUNIUS.

7	d	vii Id'	Colmoci episcopi et confessoris ix lectiones
9	f	v Id'	[S]colombe abbatis duplex festum
12	b	Prid Id'	[T]jernani episcopi ix
19	b	xiii kl'	margarete regine [de communi (?) u]nius matrone ix lectiones
25	A	vii kl'	Moloci episcopi prime vespere de sancto johanne ix lectiones

JULIUS.

	KL		
1	g	<i>Julii</i>	Seruani episcopi c[on]fessoris]
			Rumoldi eod[em] die] et differatur
6		Prid. non.	Palladij episcopi

AUGUSTUS.

5	g	<i>Nonis</i>	(Osvvaldi regis et martyris Inuitatorium duplex .iii. lectiones.) [Mari]e ad niues duplex [di]fferatur osualdi
10	e	iiii Id'	( <i>Laurentii martyris. Inuitatorium triplex. ix. lectiones</i> ) [B]lani duplex festum [di]fferatur in crastinum tantum laurencij memoria
25	f	viii kl'	Sancti earchardi episcopi et confessoris ix lectiones
30	d	iii kl'	facri de quocunq[ue] confessore
31	e	Prid. kl'	aydani episcopi et confessoris ix

## SEPTEMBER.

15	f xvii	kl'	S <sup>i</sup> merinj ix lectiones
16	g xvi	kl'	(Edithe virginis non martyris .ix. lectiones medie lectiones de martyre) de sancto nichom[ede] S <sup>i</sup> ninianj
23	g ix	kl'	Adamnani abbatis ix
24	A viii	kl'	Dedicatio ecclesie beati nicholaj per Willelmum epi- scopum anno quadringentesimo nonagesimo octavo
25	b vii	kl'	ffimberri episcopi ix[ ]nej ix lectiones
28	e iiiii	kl'	S. conuali de quocunque confessore ix lectiones / S machani episcopi ix lectiones et differatur

## OCTOBER.

4	d iiiii	N	Sancti francisci de quocunque confessore ix lectiones
8	A viii	Id'	Triduane virginis non martiris ix lectiones
10	e vi	Id'	(Gereonis sociorumque eius martyrum .iii. lectiones.) ix lectiones
11	d v	Id'	Cannici abbatis ix lectiones
13	f iii	Id'	Congani abbatis ix lectiones
15	A Idibus		fincaue findoce virginis non martires memoria de eisdem
17	c xvi	kl'	Reguli abbatis
18	d xv	kl'	Colmani episcopi eadem die et differetur
21	g xii	kl'	Mundi abbatis et differatur in crastinum
25	d viii	kl'	( <i>Sanctorum crispini et crispiniani. inuitatorium duplex</i> <i>.ix. lectiones</i> ) marnoci episcopi et confessoris [medi]e lectiones de martiribus Cspis
29	A iiiii	kl'	Kynnerie virgo non martir ix lectiones
30	b iii	kl'	talricanj episcopi et confessoris ix lectiones
31	c Prid.	kl'	Beghe virginis non martiris

## NOVEMBER.

	KL		
1	<i>Novembris</i>		S Ebbe virgi[nis et] martiris differatur
3	f iii	N	S <sup>i</sup> bay et maur[e] plurimarum virginum martires ix lectiones S anglasii abbatis ix lectiones S <sup>i</sup> v[ ]nj episcopi et confessoris ix lectiones et differatur
8	d vi	Id'	S <sup>i</sup> morocj episcopi [ix (?)] lectiones medie de martiribus
9	e v	Id'	Festum sancti saluatoris Duplex festum
12	A Prid.	Id'	S <sup>i</sup> macharii
13	b Idibus		( <i>Bricii episcopi et confessoris inuitatorium .ix.</i> <i>.iii. lectiones.</i> memoria de sancto martino) diuinicj confessoris et festum bricc[i ] [mo]dani machuti et fergusii [differantur (?)] in sequentibus
18	g xiiii	kl'	Sancte medane virginis non martyris in die macharij
19	A xiiii	kl'	Presentacio beate marie Duplex festum
21	c xi	kl'	Sanctj macharij duplex festum et festum sancti liuini differatur.

DECEMBER.

	KL	
1	f Decembris	Sancti Eligij episcopi ix lectiones
2	g iii N	Sancti ethernanij episcopi ix lectiones
4	b Prid. non	Barbare virginis ix lectiones
12	c Pridie Id'	[Ma]gni martiris duplex festum
14	e xix kl' Jan.	Drostanj abbatis ix lectiones
18	b xv kl'	S <sup>i</sup> manirj Episcopi ix lectiones
22	f xi kl'	S Ethernasij episcopi ix lectiones
23	g x kl'	S <sup>e</sup> mazote diaconani plurimarumque virginum ix lectiones ffotine episcopi et c[onfesso]ris karanie [(?) Allo]ce episcopi et martiris [ ] super litera g <sup>1</sup>

In dealing with the additions in this kalendar, we are on ground also covered by the Aberdeen Breviary, which was printed under Bishop Elphinstone in 1509-10. In a general sense this kalendar agrees with that of the breviary, but there are differences which show that it is not a copy of it. It will be well to examine these differences, to see whether this kalendar represents the Use of Aberdeen as Bishop Elphinstone found it, or the same use as reformed by him, though subsequently altered and added to.

Now the groundwork of the kalendar in the Aberdeen Breviary is the Sarum kalendar; but to some extent reformed. A number of the Sarum saints are omitted, others reduced to memorials only, while in many cases the dignities of feasts are altered. To the Sarum kalendar thus reformed the local feasts were added.

In the case under consideration, practically no attempt has been made to alter the printed Sarum kalendar already existing, and the local feasts have been added without any effort to make room for them. The only alterations of the printed matter are that SS. Blase (3 Feb.), Gereon (10 Oct.), and Brice (13 Nov.) are raised to feasts of nine lessons, while S. Vitalis (28 April), a Sarum feast of nine lessons, is here reduced to three; S. Thomas Aquinas takes the place of SS. Perpetua and Felicitas, with memorial of the latter; and S. Oswald, king and martyr, is transferred because of S. Mary ad Nives.

<sup>1</sup> Because inserted in the kalendar after A.



As the majority of the additions are identical with the *non Sarum* part of the Aberdeen Breviary kalendar, it will not be necessary to notice them, except to remark that, though practically the same, the entries have no appearance of a copy.

But some of these additions are not in the breviary, and in some cases there are notable variations in the dates of feasts. A few of the local feasts in the breviary kalendar are not found here.

We will first consider the festivals which are in the kalendar of the missal before us, but are not in that of the breviary.

On 26th February, S. Oswald, bishop, nine lessons. He succeeded S. Dunstan in the see of Worcester in 960, and was made Archbishop of York in 972. He died in 992,<sup>1</sup> and must be distinguished from S. Oswald the Northumbrian king and martyr, who appears throughout Britain on 5th August. S. Oswald, bishop,<sup>2</sup> is found in the Hereford Missal on 28th of February—two days later, as a feast of *three* lessons, and also in a few late Sarum books<sup>3</sup> which may have borrowed him from Hereford, among them the *Horae* of 1535-6, which also gives Oswald, archbishop, on 15th April (his translation). It is probably from some late Sarum book that the feast has been copied into the kalendar of this missal as it does not occur in any known book of York Use. Like the *Horae* of 1535-6, the *Preces Privatae* of 1564 and 1573 also give both S. Oswald, bishop and confessor, on 28th February, and S. Oswald, archbishop, on 15th April. The Book of Common Prayer of 1617 has 'Oswald bishop' on 28th February.

S. Concadus, bishop and confessor, nine lessons, appears on 3rd May, and is doubtless the same as S. Conchobhar or Connor, patron of Kilkconquhar in Fife, of whom Bishop Forbes says that he appears as Concadus in the Register of Testaments, Commissariot of St Andrews, 1549-51.<sup>4</sup> He is probably to be identified with the S. Conlaid, Con-

<sup>1</sup> *Acta Sanctorum Bollandistarum*, vol. vi. p. 755.

<sup>2</sup> He is called Archbishop in the Sherborne Missal, where he appears in the *sanctorale* though not in the kalendar.

<sup>3</sup> *Breviarium ad usum . . . Sarum*, ed. Procter and Wordsworth, Fasc. i.

<sup>4</sup> *Kalendar of Scottish Saints*, p. 308.

fessor, who appears, *apud Hiberniam*, on the same day in the kalendar of the Drummond Missal,<sup>1</sup> and who is evidently the same as the S. Conlaid in the Martyrology of Tamhlacht on the same day, who was Bishop of Kildare in the time of S. Bridget. Dempster gives him in a list as *Conleatus Episcopus S. Brigidae coaevus*.<sup>2</sup>

On 25th September is a name ending in . . . *neij*, a feast of nine lessons. The first part of the name has been cut off by the binders. The only saint whose name could end in . . . *neij*, and who is remembered on this day, is S. Jotaneus, mentioned by the Bollandists, and seemingly the same as the Totaneus, Abbot of Iona, and disciple of S. Columba, given in a miscellaneous list by Dempster.<sup>3</sup> Is he to be identified with S. Thevuanus, and thus, possibly, with S. Adamnan?<sup>4</sup>

On 1st November—All Saints—is S. Ebba, virgin and martyr, to be transferred. The martyr S. Ebba appears in the kalendar of Camerarius on the 2nd of April, and there seems to be no other instance of her commemoration on 1st Nov.<sup>5</sup> She must not be confounded with her namesake of an earlier date, the sister of S. Oswald, like herself, an abbess of Coldingham, although not a martyr, whose day is 23rd August in the Aberdeen Breviary.

On 3rd November is *Sancti V . . . ni*, a bishop and confessor (nine lessons, and ordered to be transferred). Here again the cutting of the edges is responsible for the absence of the middle of the name, which certainly looks like Victorinus, who is given by Adam King at the end of his list for the 2nd.<sup>6</sup> He was Bishop of Pettau, in Pannonia, although he was long claimed by Poitou, in consequence of an absurd mistake. It seems that there was an early Bishop of Poitou, whose name was Nectarius, which in the form Nictorius was mistaken by an early copyist for a Greek word *νικητήριος*, and latinised by him into Victorinus, hence the conclusion that S. Victorinus was Bishop of

<sup>1</sup> *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, p. 12.    <sup>2</sup> *Id.*, p. 224.    <sup>3</sup> *Id.*, p. 226.

<sup>4</sup> See Reeves, *Life of S. Columba . . . by Adamnan*, Dublin, 1857, pp. xl, lxi, lxii, lxxv, lxxvi, 256-258.

<sup>5</sup> *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, p. 236.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.*, p. 166.

Poitou.<sup>1</sup> This seems to be the only instance yet discovered of the name of this saint appearing in a British kalendár, and how it got to Aberdeen must remain a mystery for the present. The 2nd is the day in other kalendars, but the feast is evidently given here as transferred. It may be mentioned that there is no S. Victorinus on or about the second in any of the German, Swiss, and Scandinavian kalendars given by Grotefend, except those of Münster, suffragan to Cologne (1489 and 1520), where he is found with S. Florianus on the 2nd.<sup>2</sup> He was a martyr (c. 304 A.D.), and his being termed confessor here is a mistake if the same saint is intended, as is probably the case, seeing that he is called a martyr by Adam King.

On the day before Christmas Eve is the end . . . *ce* of the name of a bishop and martyr—most likely S. Allocus, given by the martyrology of Aberdeen on this day, on which we also find (in addition to SS. Mayoca,<sup>3</sup> Caran and Fotinus) S. Diaconanus, the patron of Keig in West Aberdeenshire, whose name is not in the breviary kalendar, although his collect is in the *sanctorale*.

Similarly we have here on 9th November *Festum sancti saluatoris. Duplex festum*, for which there is an office in the breviary, though the name of the feast has been omitted from the kalendar. The printed or Sarum part of this kalendar has *Festum sancti saluatoris*, on the 24th of May, but like all the other Sarum missals in which this occurs, no mass is provided. Here there has been added in MS. *Duplex festum*, but there is no reference to the complete entry in MS. of the same feast in November. This was one of those very popular feasts which came in during the later middle ages,<sup>4</sup> so perhaps the intention may have been to keep it twice, first on the Sarum day, and again on the local day,

<sup>1</sup> *Acta Sanctorum Bollandistarum*, vol. lxii. pp. 432-443, *q. v.*

<sup>2</sup> Grotefend, ii. 1, p. 135.

<sup>3</sup> The form *Mazota* seems to be corrupt, and to be due to copyists mistaking *y* for *z* and *c* for *t*. Her church is Drumoak (on the Dee, in Aberdeenshire), which was called Dalmaik until recently.

<sup>4</sup> At Utrecht it was kept on the 19th, and called *Festum yconic saluatoris nostri Iesu Christi*. The mass for it has nothing in common with that in the Arbuthnot Missal, and is printed among the votive masses at the end.

on which it was also kept in the diocese of St Andrews, as witness the Arbuthnott Missal, which provides a mass with a long sequence for it. This feast commemorates the miraculous bleeding of a crucifix pierced by the Jews at Beyrut, and is not the same as the *Dedicatio Basilicæ Salvatoris*, which is on the same day—9th Nov.—in the Roman books.

Dr J. Wickham Legg has called attention to the common practice of commemorating two saints of the same name on the same day. An instance of this is apparent on 17th February in this kalendar, where a S. Finan, apparently the same who is called bishop elsewhere, and who is of almost universal occurrence in Scotland, is called *presbyter*. This is in reality not a mistake but the remembrance of a totally different person—a S. Fintan mentioned by Adam King<sup>1</sup> on this day, and called “pryor in Scotland.” He seems to be the same as an Irish S. Fintan given on this day in the Drummond Missal.

The following are cases of difference between this kalendar and that in the Aberdeen Breviary regarding saints’ days which occur in both :—

On 13th January, S. Kentigern, is a curious direction that the octave day of the Epiphany be anticipated.<sup>2</sup> This means that it was to be kept on the 12th so as not to interfere with S. Kentigern, the 7th day of the octave being omitted. In the breviary, S. Kentigern takes precedence of the octave day, which has only a solemn memorial.

S. Regulus appears on the 31st of March, instead of on the 30th as in the breviary. Now in the Glamis copy of the breviary<sup>3</sup> a S. Regulus is *added* on the 31st. There seems to be some confusion here, and an examination of the other Scottish kalendars does not throw much light on the subject. What is at the bottom of it is probably the fact that a S. Regulus, Bishop of Senlis, is commemorated on the 30th in some places, but it is possible that further research may do something to explain.

<sup>1</sup> *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, p. 144.

<sup>2</sup> Anticipation of feasts was by no means unusual on the continent, *e.g.*, in the Cologne Missal of 1520 (Grottefend, ii. 1, p. 82), and the Hamburg Breviaries of 1491 and 1507 (Grottefend, ii. 1, p. 68).

<sup>3</sup> *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, p. 114.



In the cases of SS. Fiacre, Conval, and Francis, the lessons are to be taken from the Common. These have proper lessons in the breviary.

On 22nd May, Romani is clearly intended for Rozani; on 29th Oct. (S. Kennera), *non* martyris is a mistake for *et* martyris, and S. Fotinus is called confessor instead of martyr. These really seem to be mistakes.

S. Wynnin is given here on 26th instead of, as in the breviary, on 21st January. This kalendar corresponds with that of Fearn in the diocese of Ross in assigning S. Conval to the 10th<sup>1</sup> instead of the 12th of May. S. Colmoc is on the 7th instead of 6th June, agreeing in this with the Aberdeen Martyrology. The Glamis copy of the Aberdeen Breviary gives a S. Colmoc on the 7th as well as on the 6th, so here we have possibly another case of two saints of the same name on or about the same day, and thus the S. Colmoc here may not be the same as the S. Colmoc in the breviary. S. Erchard is on the 25th instead of 23rd August. SS. Fincan and Findoca have here a memorial only, which is on 15th October instead of 13th, and S. Colman is on 17th instead of 16th, and is ordered to be transferred to the following day, on which is also S. Luke—there seems to be a blunder here somewhere. Considerable confusion is manifest in the middle of November through a very obscure rubric, but there does not seem to be any real difference from the breviary. The translation of S. Magnus is on 12th instead of 13th December; it is moreover a double feast, instead of a memorial only as in the breviary. This looks like northern influence. It is worth noting that the Arbutnott Missal has this feast on the 14th.<sup>2</sup>

The following are the *non Sarum* feasts in the breviary but not here, besides the doubtful cases above mentioned:—

SS. Genovefa (3 Jan.), Glascian (30 Jan.), Magnus on 16th April, Nine Virgins (15 July), Thenew (18 July), Olave on 29th<sup>3</sup> July, Ebba 1st Abbess of Coldingham (23 Aug.), Maelrubha (27 Aug.), Lolan (22 Sept.), Regulus on 17th Oct., Bean (26 Oct.), Gervadius (8 Nov.), Transit of S. Margaret the Queen (16 Nov.).

<sup>1</sup> *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> At Trondhjem it was kept on 13th (Grotefend, ii. 1, p. 243), the other feast of S. Magnus being 16th April, as in Aberdeen Breviary.

<sup>3</sup> So also throughout Scandinavia.

It will be noticed that, with a few exceptions, comparison has only been made with the Aberdeen Breviary. This is because the other kalendars throw practically no light on the peculiarities of that under consideration, for wherever it differs from that in the breviary it nearly always stands alone.

The foregoing examination shows that this is a kalendar in a very degraded state. It is overladen with feasts, and, as already pointed out, no attempt has been made to clear the ground for the additions. The directions as to lessons show that it must be considered in relation to the breviary offices as well as to the missal; and if all the feasts were observed that are here set forth, the ferial office must very seldom have been said; perhaps only during about half the year. The excessive number of feasts on the same and on consecutive days, with the inordinate number of translations ordered and assumed, are well-known marks of corruption, from which, indeed, Bishop Elphinstone's breviary is by no means wholly free. We have not only overloading, but we even have obscure saints commemorated in mistake for important ones. Many saints of very general observance in Scotland are missed out altogether, and in the middle of November the directions are such that it is hard to know what is intended. All this, together with the numerous differences in dates of feasts between this kalendar and the breviary kalendar, is clear evidence that not only are these additions not copied from the breviary, but that they were unaffected by it; and, taken in conjunction with the great general similarity of the kalendars, points to their representing the earlier and unreformed use of the same place. If further evidence were needed, we have only to compare a few special cases of variation to see that the breviary kalendar is always a reform of that under consideration. For example, the breviary gives the Epiphany the full octave, the more important saints who bore the names of Fintan, Colmoc, and Ebba are remembered, the omitted local feasts are added, the confusion in November simplified, proper lessons almost universally given, and the Sarum groundwork so curtailed and reformed, that much of the overcrowding and transferring is obviated.

Thus we see there is little doubt about this kalendar being that of the old and traditional Aberdeen Use. As this so clearly appears to be the case, it is hardly necessary to point out that it does not represent any use of a later date than that of Bishop Elphinstone. For if it did, we should certainly see the effects of Elphinstone's reforms, even if a little of the local matter had given way to foreign introductions. It would scarcely be possible that an obscure Celtic saint like S. Concadus would be added to the kalendar at a time when foreign novelties were greedily sought for, such as *Festum compassionis Beate Marie*, which we find in one very late Scotch kalendar.

It may be as well to remark that the presence here of the following feasts, as well as those already dealt with, which are non-local as well as strictly *non Sarum*, shows that they are not of Bishop Elphinstone's introduction at Aberdeen:—Translation of S. Mary Magdalene (22 March), S. Mary of Egypt (2 April), S. Mary ad Nives (5 Aug.), S. Livinus (12 Nov.), Presentation B.V.M. (21 Nov.), S. Barbara (4 Dec.).

All these *do* occur in very late Sarum books; some very rarely, however, but they are all common on the continent. It is hard to say at present when they reached Scotland, or whether they came from the few late Sarum books that had them, or direct from the continent.

We now turn to the additions in the rest of the book which belong to the missal as such.

On Tuesday in Holy Week, in the Gospel—the Passion according to S. Mark—after the words *Et respondens Iesus: ait illis*, is a caret mark, and in the margin ✠ *Mitte gladium tuum in vaginam. In illa hora dixit Ihesus turbis*, a verse from the corresponding part of the Passion according to S. John, mentioning an incident not recorded by S. Mark. This may have been done to make the text agree with that of the Venice editions of 1494, which have the addition in question. It forms no part of the usual text of S. Mark's gospel in the Vulgate, however.

On the margin at the foot of the page in the *sanctorale* which contains the proper for the feast of S. Oswald, king and martyr, is written the following rubric for the mass of S. Mary ad Nives:—

In festo sancte marie ad Nives. Officium gaudeamus oracio concede nos. Epistola Abinicio graduale, Benedicta et venerabilis Sequencia Hac clara die, require in quinta die infra octavas assumptionis. Ewangelium Loquente Jhesu Credo Offertorium, Felix namque. Secreta Tua domine, sicut in commune Communio Beata Viscera Post communio Sumptis Domine, tercia sicut in commune eiusdem.

This mass is wholly composed of material already in the Sarum missal. With the exception of the Office, which is that appointed there for all feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the sequence, which is that for the fifth day within the octave of the Assumption, the mass is the same as the *Missa quotidiana Beate Marie Virginis*. The reason for the insertion of a special mass for this feast here, is that S. Mary ad Nives was the title of the parish church of Old Aberdeen, then newly founded. It is a common thing for this feast to appear in the kalendar of a missal and yet to be unnoticed in the *sanctorale*. In the Pian Roman missal the feast is called *Dedicatio S. Mariae ad Nives* and the mass is the votive mass of the B.V.M. from Pentecost to Advent.

On the blank page following the first colophon and preceding the accentuary, are written the ensuing sequence and mass.

In dominicis diebus per estalem.<sup>1</sup> Sequencia.<sup>2</sup>

Voce Iubilantes magna  
Regi summo deuote per secula  
Personemus maxima laudum vota  
Celum sydera luna sol et omnia ethera<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> (estatem.)

<sup>2</sup> *Istae Sequentiae dicantur alternatim ad Missam, omnibus Dominicis dominicaliter dictis ab Octavis Corporis Christi usque ad Adventum Domini, praeterquam in Dominica quando legitur Evangelium de Publicano et Phariseo, videlicet Dixit Jesus ad quosdam, ubi dicitur Sequentia Stans a longe ut patet inferius. Sequencia. Voce jubilantes. . . . (Missale Ebor., i. p. 217.) Dominicis diebus per aestatem usque ad Adventum Domini dicantur istae Sequentiae.—MS.D.—(Missale Ebor., i. 217, note.)*

*De sancta trinitate. Benedicta semper sancta sit trinitas deitas scilicet . . . . . alia sequentia Voce iubilantes . . . . . (Missale Nidros. G verso).*

¶ *In dominicis diebus. Profitentes unitatem. . . . . ¶ Alia sequentia de dominicis. Voce iubilantes . . . . . (Missale Upsal. CCXV verso.)*

<sup>3</sup> *ætherea, Ebor., etherea, Nidros., Upsal.*



Tellus ayera<sup>1</sup> mare ignis<sup>2</sup> fontes<sup>3</sup> et flumina  
 Omnis creatura concelebrare non desinat<sup>4</sup>  
 Laude continua cuncta, creantis magnalia  
 Maiestas cuius est vnica decenter in patris gloria  
 Quem<sup>5</sup> laudant superna iugiter agmina voce<sup>6</sup> dulcissima<sup>6</sup>  
 Cuj proclāmant sanctus sanctus sanctus deus Osanna<sup>7</sup>  
 Quem decet omnis laus honor<sup>8</sup> virtus salus et gloria  
 Aurem tuam nobis inclina  
 Supplicibus veniam dona<sup>9</sup>  
 Vt te collaudemus in secula Amen.<sup>10</sup>

In natali vnus matrone

Officium

Dilexisti Iusticiam Oratio

Da nobis quesumus Domine intercedente sancta N gratiam qui<sup>11</sup> nos in tua<sup>12</sup> amore et virtutum spiritualium succendat ardore et superne indui faciat immercessibili decore Per Epistola Mulierem Graduale Audi filia V Specie tua Alleluia Tota pulchra es amica mea et macula non est in te fauus distillans labia tua mel et lac sub lingua tua et odor<sup>13</sup> vestimentorum tuorum sicut odor thuris Ewangeliū Secundum lucam In illo tempore venerunt ad ihesum mater et fratres eius et non poterant audire<sup>14</sup> eum pre turba Et nunciatum est illi Mater tua et fratres tui stant foris volentes te videre Qui respondens dixit ad eos Mater mea et fratres mei hij sunt qui verbum dei audiunt et faciunt Offertorium Diffusa.

Vt hec munera domine sint tibi accepta<sup>15</sup> sancte N optineant merita que se ipsam hostiam vnica sanctamque beneplacem tibi exhibuit Per Communio Dilexistj Iusticiam Postcommunio Repleti alimonia celesti omnipotens pater quesumus pietatem tuam intercessione<sup>16</sup> sancte N misericordie tue gratiam consequi mereamur Per.

The sequence is for Sundays in the summer. No sequence is appointed in the Sarum missal for Sundays after Trinity; but this one is practically identical with the first of those given in the York missal<sup>17</sup> for Sundays in the summer (see notes above, p. 455), there called Sundays

<sup>1</sup> aer, Ebor., aer et, Nidros., aera, Upsal.

<sup>2</sup> [ignis], Nidros.

<sup>3</sup> fontesque, Ebor., Nidros., Upsal.

<sup>4</sup> desinat, Nidros., Upsal.

<sup>5</sup> Quam, Ebor.

<sup>6</sup> <sup>6</sup> sanctorum celi, Upsal., voce dulcissima, Ebor., Nidros.

<sup>7</sup> Hosanna, Ebor.

<sup>8</sup> honor et, Upsal.

<sup>9</sup> tu dona, Nidros., praesta, Upsal.

<sup>10</sup> Amen, Ebor., Nidros., Upsal.

<sup>11</sup> (que).

<sup>12</sup> (tuo).

<sup>13</sup> (odor).

<sup>14</sup> adire, Vulgate.

<sup>15</sup> tibi accepta sint, S. Batild., Missale Sar.

<sup>16</sup> ut intercessione, S. Batild., Missale Sar.

<sup>17</sup> 1390, 1509.

after Pentecost.<sup>1</sup> It is also found in the mass-books of Trondhjem, the primatial see of Norway, 1519; Upsala, the primatial church of Sweden, 1483 and 1513; Strengnaes, suffragan to Upsala, 1487; Bayeaux, 1501, 1545, 1584, 1642; Brioux, 1507: MSS. of Whitby (14th cent.); Maclou (15th cent., at Rennes); also in a MS. Troper of Dublin (14th cent.).<sup>2</sup>

So great in Scotland, Galloway excepted, was the bitterness against York, that it is hard to believe that anything would have been adopted from the York books, while the fact of the diocese of Orkney having so long been suffragan to Trondhjem renders the latter at least a possible source. At the same time, it must be admitted that the sequence as given here agrees more closely with York than with Trondhjem. It has certainly not been taken from Upsala; see above, p. 456.

The mass which follows is for the common of a matron, and with the exception of the collect its parts are to be found in various places of the Sarum missal, the secret and post-communion being virtually identical with those of S. Batild, virgin and queen, on 30th January. I have not as yet been able to find the collect anywhere else; coming as it does from some *non Sarum* source, the mass itself has probably been taken in its entirety from the same source, perhaps the same also as the sequence, but what that source was cannot yet be said.<sup>3</sup> Possibly it may have been some variant of the Use of Trondhjem existing in Orkney<sup>4</sup> or the Isles,<sup>5</sup> or some variant of York Use in the diocese of Galloway.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Trondhjem and Upsala have Sundays after Trinity.

<sup>2</sup> *Repertorium Hymnologicum*, Ulysse Chevalier. Louvain, 1892.

<sup>3</sup> The collect is not to be found in the printed mass books of Paris, Rheims, Liege, Cologne, Utrecht, Upsala, or Trondhjem—sources from which it would be very likely for Scotch books to be augmented.

<sup>4</sup> The diocese of Orkney was suffragan to Trondhjem until 1468, and Scottish usages were not fully established even in 1549.—*Statuta Generalia*, Preface, p. cxiii, and pp. 111, 112.

<sup>5</sup> The diocese of the Isles formed a part of the diocese of the Sudreys (Sodor and Man), and was suffragan to Trondhjem until disjoined in 1472, and, as in Orkney, Scottish usages were not fully established even so late as 1552.—*Statuta Generalia*, Preface, p. cxiii, and p. 130.

<sup>6</sup> The diocese of Galloway was suffragan to York till 1404 at least, if not till 1472.—*Statuta*, cxii.

The need for the insertion of this mass was because "in strict Sarum Use there was no office for matrons . . . the following married women were reckoned as Virgins—Batildis, Perpetua, Felicitas the handmaid, Crescentia, Julitta, Anne, and Sabina, besides Etheldreda and Cuthburga."<sup>1</sup> Masses for matrons do, however, occur in some of the later Sarum missals, although they are not the same as this.

On the verso of the fly-leaf at the end of the book is the following sequence, evidently for S. Ninian. Except for a few verbal variations it is the same as that for S. Ninian in the Arbuthnott Missal.

Aue pastor<sup>2</sup> et patrone presul pie<sup>3</sup> pastor<sup>4</sup> bone confessor eximie Roga deum niniane pro salute sero mane presentis familiae Tu per terras et per mare victos<sup>5</sup> tuos<sup>6</sup> liberare non cessas christocolas Esto nobis spiritalis tutor salvans nos a malis locj tuj<sup>6</sup> incolas Ope cuius<sup>7</sup> sanctae precis precis<sup>8</sup> membris surdis claudis cecis crebra datur sanitas Nobis reis et indignis succurre ne cum malignis nos dampnet<sup>9</sup> iniquitas Rex puer fur ortolanus<sup>10</sup> infans pedes cuius manus priuabantur usibus Probant sanctum apud christum te / tu nos post mundum istum iungas celi civibus.

S Fotinj

D

The verbal variations given in the note, of little importance in themselves, are enough to show that this is not a copy of the Arbuthnott sequence, but that both are from a common source.

It seems to have been intended to add something relating to S. Fotinus, who was patron of a chapel at the mouth of Aberdeen harbour in the Kincardineshire parish of Nigg, which was at that time in the diocese of St Andrews.

In the Chartulary of S. Nicholas, Aberdeen,<sup>11</sup> is the following:—

In vigilia Sancti fotinj singulis annis fiat commemoracio pro quibus magister duncanus Scherar orare tenetur pro se et erit solempnis missa in magno altari in festo sancti fotinj videlicet vicesimo tertio die decembris cum aliis privatis

<sup>1</sup> *Breviarum ad usum . . . Sarum . . . labore ac studio F. Procter et Chr. Wordsworth.* Fasc. I. p. mdxxxv.

<sup>2</sup> *pater.* The following notes give the readings in the Arbuthnott Missal, p. 369.

<sup>3</sup> *pastor*                      <sup>4</sup> *pie*                      <sup>5-5</sup> *dire victos*                      <sup>6</sup> *hujus*

<sup>7</sup> *tuae*                      <sup>8</sup> (*sic.*)                      <sup>9</sup> *dammel*                      <sup>10</sup> *hortolanus*

<sup>11</sup> *Cartularium Ecclesiae Sancti Nicolai Aberdonensis*, i. pp. 41, 42.

missis aliorum capellanorum . . . post cuius anniuersarium solempne die suj obitus celebretur.

It may be noticed that this book throws no light on the question whether Bishop Elphinstone issued a reformed Aberdeen Missal. The date 1506 shows that it is in Bishop Elphinstone's time, but in spite of this the MS. additions represent the unreformed use, the corrections being made most probably in accordance with some old missal belonging to S. Nicholas church and by the S. Nicholas clergy, who, as members of an old collegiate body, would not introduce innovations if they could help it. It is possible that a reformed book may have been in preparation at this very time, but even if this was the case, the immediate suppression of every copy of the older books would have been practically impossible, and if no new missal was issued, it was probably long after the issue of the breviary before the printed Sarum missals could be adapted in accordance with it—this, indeed, would only have been done with new copies, and the old books would have been superseded rather than suppressed. So the question of whether there was ever a printed Aberdeen missal still remains where it was.

In conclusion, the value of this missal to us is that it gives the old traditional Use of Aberdeen, untouched by Elphinstone, and that it proves that the great number of local and Celtic saints in Elphinstone's kalendar were not of his own introduction, but the continuous tradition of the place, continuous probably from Celtic times, though in a somewhat degenerate state. We see, too, how these saints, not being ousted by the English kalendar, became super-imposed upon it, and brought the Scotch services into a perfectly unmanageable state. Hence Bishop Elphinstone's preface to the breviary, where he speaks of the legends of the saints—*quae sparsim in incerto antea vagabantur*. We know that in England at the time of the Reformation, without any great number of local saints, "the number and hardness of the Rules called the *Pie*, and the manifold changings of the Service, was the cause, that to turn the Book only was so hard a matter, that many times there was more business to find out what should be read, than to read it when it was



found out," so overladen had the Sarum books then become. Add to this a local kalendar like the one we see here, and we get some idea of the state of the Scottish services before Bishop Elphinstone's reforms, and probably to a great extent afterwards in many places.

We also see further evidence of the general adoption of the Sarum books in the mainland of Scotland; but, at the same time, we find that they were freely supplemented, not only from traditional sources originally Celtic, but also from *non Sarum* books, sometimes purely continental, but sometimes possibly what were in use in Galloway, Orkney, or the Isles.

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