I.

NOTICE OF ECCLESIASTICAL MUSIC FOUND IN THE BURGH CHARTER-ROOM OF DUNDEE. BY A. H. MILLAR, F.S.A. Scot.

On 12th March 1888 I submitted to the Society several sheets of ancient ecclesiastical music which I had found within the covers of a Protocol Book in the Dundee Burgh Charter-Room (see *Proceedings*, vol. x., New Series, p. 164). When engaged making researches for my volume entitled Roll of Eminent Burgesses of Dundee, written for the Town Council and published in 1887, I had occasion to examine many of the Protocol Books, dating from about 1480. The pre-Reformation books which have been preserved are more of the nature of first drafts of charters and records of sasines kept by successive Town-Clerks,—Robert Seres, second of the name to hold that office, and Herbert Gledstanes of Arthurshiells, father of Archbishop Gledstanes, and ancestor of the late Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone. It was not until after the appointment of Alexander Wedderburne as Town-Clerk in 1557 that due care was taken to keep the Protocol Books of himself and other notariespublic in proper form. Alexander Wedderburne retained his office till 1582, and was the first of a series of Wedderburnes, Town-Clerks of Dundee until 1744. While the first Alexander Wedderburne was in office, his younger brother, Robert Wedderburne, was a notary-public. and there are in the Dundee Charter-Room six large Protocol Books and twelve small Minute Books written by him, and still in excellent preservation. It was in one of Robert Wedderburne's Protocol Books, dated 1580-85, that the sheets shown to the Society in 1888 were discovered. The sheets of music now to be described were found by me in another of Robert Wedderburne's Protocol Books, dated 1575-76. while I was making researches in the Charter-Room in January 1903. It will now be proved that the sheets formerly described formed part of the same volume of a Roman Missal as that from which the sheets now shown have been taken. As the fragments lately found are more continuous than those of 1888, it is now possible to give the exact size of the page, to place together five continuous leaves, and to locate the position of the other fragments in the Missal. This makes it necessary to rectify the conjectural dimensions suggested formerly.

When Robert Wedderburne wished to make a new blank Protocol Book, he took a series of sheets, folded in sixes, and stitched them through a strip of vellum. Then he took a large sheet of vellum or of undressed leather to form the outside cover, and pasted the stitched leaves within it. To make "stiffening" for his cover—what would now be made by cardboard—he took a Missal, cut it down to the requisite size, placed the leaves within the outer cover, and pasted a plain sheet of paper over all. He had thus a stiff cover for his Protocol Book. As Protestantism was the settled form of religion in Scotland when Robert Wedderburne flourished, he treated the Roman music-sheets as waste paper, and put them to what he considered a practical use. It is a strange circumstance that the sheets first utilised in this way are in the Protocol Book which he made up in 1575 (now to be described), while those formerly found were applied to a similar purpose five years after-Wedderburne must have kept this old volume beside him for all that time, taking odd sheets as occasion demanded. Another curious fact is that he must have begun to use the sheets in the front of the Missal, for the fragments found in the 1580 volume belong to a later part of the book than those in the 1575 volume. He had thus retained this sacred book of "the auld religioun" as a store of waste paper, to be used for ignoble purposes. This attitude towards Romanism is not strange when it is remembered that Robert Wedderburne was near akin to the authors of the "Gude and Godlie Ballatis" which helped to overthrow the old religion and to obtain for Dundee the name of "the Geneva of Scotland."

Only three fragments could be removed in 1888 from Wedderburne's Protocol Book, as other portions had been firmly pasted to the vellum cover. The later discovery has been more fruitful. I have been able to secure, without tampering in any way with the Protocol Book, no

less than twelve fragments (half-sheets) of the Missal; and as some of the pieces are almost continuous, I have placed $3\frac{1}{2}$ leaves (seven pages) together, and have identified the places of the other fragments in the Missal. The original page has measured 161 inches by 12 inches, the printed music and words occupying $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches, with a margin of 1 inch at the top and 3 inches at the bottom of each page. The outer margin measured $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch, and the binding edge, which is partly cut, has been about 1 inch to the fold. The paper is thick cartridge, and there is no water-mark. The music is printed on the four-line staff with square-headed notes, exactly in the form still used in the Roman Church. There are several passages in which the notation differs from that given in modern Missals. The text is in black-letter, with red uncials; the staff lines and rubrics are in red, thus involving two printings. The carved wood blocks from which the pages were printed measured 2\frac{3}{8} inches, four blocks being used to make a line. One of the notable features in these fragments is the capital letters at the beginning of each section of the service. These must have been printed from separate carved blocks, as they are repeated in different parts of the book. Indeed, repetition of one of these in the sheets formerly discovered and in the present sheets proves that the two sets of fragments belong to the one book. In the twelve fragments now described there are initial blocks, the letters being V. I. E. D. M. and Q. These six blocks are twelve times printed in these fragments by duplication, as follows: V = thrice; D = thrice; E = twice; and M = twice. The letters I and Q only appear once. The design of the letter Q is floral, introducing decorative leaves. All the other letters have grotesque human faces, which do not suggest any special symbolism. The only apparent symbol is the fish, which is used in the letter M, and may be intended to represent the $I_X\theta vs$, the mystic emblem of Christ employed by the early Christians, and frequently found in the catacombs at There seems to have been no distinct rule for the insertion of these blocks at certain parts of the Service. The Tractus, Communio, Offertory, and other portions are introduced by enlarged initial letters

printed in red; but the decorated initials are used without special reference to the context. It is reasonable to suppose that the printer had a limited number of pictorial initials, and utilised these wherever the words of the Service enabled him to do so. And here it may be noticed that the frequent introduction of red letters and music-lines, and black letters, on the same page, thus implying the passing of every sheet twice through the press, shows the patience and care with which printing was practised in the infancy of the art.

After careful examination, with very little to guide one in the search, I was able to place seven out of the twelve fragments in consecutive order, thus making $3\frac{1}{2}$ complete leaves, or $6\frac{1}{2}$ pages. One of the difficulties which hindered identification of the fragments was this. Robert Wedderburne found that if he merely cut through a leaf of the Missal the two portions would be too large for his Protocol Book. He therefore trimmed off parts of the top margins, and cut away about 2 inches in the centre of each page to bring the sheet to the required This removed, generally, two lines of the music-staff and part of the words from the centre of each page; but in spite of these difficulties the exact sequence of these seven fragments has been discovered, and they have been put together to make complete pages, minus the missing central parts. It is worthy of note that in the twelve fragments there are only two "sig." marks. These are "d.iij" and "g.iiij." Unfortunately these marks are so placed that they afford no clue to the size of the printed sheet. As there are three consecutive leaves following the "d.iij" mark, without any other mark, it seems probable that the printed sheet consisted of four leaves, making eight pages.

In transcribing the text as shown in the various fragments, I have given first the pieces which are unquestionably consecutive, forming $3\frac{1}{2}$ pages. The other fragments I have indicated to show their position in the Missal. There are one or two peculiarities in the text which help to fix the date as towards the close of the fifteenth century. For instance, the phrase "voluntatem domini" was changed in 1616 to "voluptatem domini," as now used. The first page is titled "Feria





Fig. 1. Reduced Facsimile of two portions of a page of the Missal.

Sexta et Sabbato," and begins with the concluding portion of the service for "Feria quinta post Cineres." The transcription is given line for line:—

First page.

FERIA SEXTA ET SABBATO.

[A] nimā meam Deus meus in te confido non erubescam neq3. irrideant me inimici mei etenim universi qui te expectant non confundentur. COIO. Acceptabis sacrificium iusticiæ obla

[Two lines of music and words missing here] michi dominus factus est adiutor meus. PS. Exaltabo te domine $q\bar{m}$ suscepisti me : nec delectasti inimicos meos super me. Gloria. Euouae. Rx. Unam

Second page.

FERIA VJ ET SABBATO.

petij a domino hanc requiram ut inhabitem in domo domini. V. Ut videam voluntatem domini ci protegar a tēplo sācto e[ius]

[Two lines of music and words missing here. TRACTUS. in centre of line]

ut sciam testimonia tua. CŌ. Servite domino in timore et exultate ei cum tremore apprēhedite disciplină ne pereatis de via iusta,

DOMI-NICA PRI-MA in XL.

Third page.

₱ D'NICA PRIMA IN XL.

am cognovit nomen meum. V. Invocabit me et ego exaudium eum cum ipso sum in tribulatione. V. Eripiam meum et glorificabo eum longitudine dierum adimplebo eum et osten[dam]

[Two lines of music and words missing here]

OFFR. Scapulis suis obumbrabit tibi dominus et sub pennis eius sperabis scuto circumdabit te veritas eius. CŌIO. Scapulis su-

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Fourth page.

FERIA SECUNDA.

is obrumbabit tibi et sub pennis eius sperabis scuto circumdabit te veritas eius. FERIA.
Sicut oculi seruorum in manibus SECUNDA.
dominō cum suorum ita oculi nostri ad
dominum deum nostrum donec misereatur nostri.

[Two lines of music and words missing here]

[No]bis. PS Ad te levavi oculos meos : qui habitas in cœlos. GLORIA. EUOUAE. Rx. Protector noster aspice deus et respi-

Fifth page.

FERIA SECUNDA.

ce super servos tuos. V. Domine deus virtutum exaudi preces seruorum tuorum.
TRACTUS. Domine non secūdum. OFFR. Levabo oculos meus et considerabo mirabilia tua
[Two lines of music and words missing here] as da michi intellectum ut discam mandata tua. CÕ. Doce mea ad dominum clamavi et exaudivit me de

Sixth page.

FERIA TERTIA.

monte sancto suo non timebo milia populi circumdantis me. FERIA TERTIA.

Domine refugium factus es nobis a generatione et progenie a seculo et in seculum tu es. PS. Priusquam montes fierent aut formaretur terra et orbis. GLORIA. EUOUAE. Rx. Dirigatur oratio mea sicut incensum in conspectu tuo domine. V. Elevatio manuum mearum sa-

Seventh page. [Top margin and line of music-staff missing here]

crificium vespertinum. OFFR. In te speravi domine dixi tu es deus meus in manibus tuis tempora mea. CŌ. Cum invocarem te exaudisti me deus iusticiae meæ in tribulatione dilatasti me miserere

[The remainder of this page is missing. It must have had the first part of Feria Quarta in XL., as the other side of the leaf runs thus:]

Eighth page.

Libera nos deus israel ex omnibus angustijs nostris. PS. Ad te domine levavi animā meam : deus meus in te confido non erubescam. GLORIA. EUOUAE. Rx. Tribulationes cordis mei dilatatæ sunt de necessitab. meis eripe me do[mine] [The remainder of this page is missing.]

These seven half-page fragments are the only pieces out of the twelve that follow consecutively. From the context I have located the different positions of the other five fragments. These are as follows:—

Eighth fragment. (Obverse. End of Feria Secunda post Dom. III. in XL., and beginning of Feria Tertia.)

tione quia dominus ipse est deus. CŌ. Ab occultis meis mūda me domine et ab ali-FERIA enis parce servo tuo. TERTIA. Exaudi deus orationem meam et ne despexeris depcationem meam intende in me et exau-

(Reverse. Part of Feria Tertia post Dom. III. in XL.) [No]bis et libera nos propter nomen tuum. V. Deus auribus nostris audivimus paties nostri annunciauerunt nobis opus qd operatus es in diebus eorum in diebus anti-

[As this fragment has been taken out of the centre of a page, the upper and lower parts are missing.]

(Obverse. End of Feria Sexta post Dom. III. in XL., Ninth fragment. and beginning of Sabbato.)

> ci orationis mec rex meus et deus meus quoniam ad te orabo domine. COIO. Qui biberit aqua qua ego SABBATO. dabo ei dicit dominus fiet in eo fons aquæ salientis in vitam eternam.

(Reverse. Part of Sabbato.)

[Am]bulem in medio umbræ mortis non timebo mala quoniā tu mecum es domine. V. Virga tua et baculus tuus īpsa me consolata sunt. OFFR. Gressus meos

As this fragment has been taken out of the centre of a page, the upper and lower parts are missing.]

Tenth fragment, (Obverse. Part of Dom. IV. in XL.)

et satiemini ab uberibus consolationis vestræ. PS. Letatus sum in his que dicta sūt michi in domū domini ibimus. GLORIA. EUOUAE. Rx. Letatus sum in his que dicta sūt michi in domū domini ibimus. V.

g iiij

(Reverse, Continuation of Dom. IV. in XL.)

[comove]bitur in eternum qui habitat in iherusalem V. Montes in circuitu eius et dominus in circuitu populi sui ex hoc nunc et usq. in seculum. OFFR. Lau[date]

[This fragment forms the lower half of a page. The "sig." already mentioned, "g iiij," is on this page.]

Eleventh fragment. (Obverse. Part of Ferra Quarta post Dom. IV. in XL.)

Domine non secundum peccata nostra facias nobis neq. secundum iniquitates nostras retribuas nobis. V. Domine ne memineris iniquitatū nostrarum antiquarum cito anticipent nos misericordiæ

(Reverse. Continuation of above.)

tu es dominus deus noster. PS Miserere mei deus miserere mei : quoniā in te confidit anima mea. GLORIA. EUOUAE. Rx. Miserere mei deus miserere mei quoniam in te confidat anima.

[This fragment has been taken from centre of a page; upper and lower portions missing.]

Twelfth fragment. (Obverse. End of Feria Sexta post Dom. Passionis.)

[tra]das calūniātibus me superbis et respondebo exprobrantibus michi verbum COIO.

Ne tradideris me domine in animas persequētium me qūiā insurrexerunt in me testes iniqui et mentita est iniquitas sibi.

Dīnica in Palmis.

Quæ fecimus nos in more modern Missals.

(Reverse. Portion of Dominica in Palmis.)
Rx. Tenuisti manum dexteram
meam in voluntate tua deduxisti me et cum gloria assumpsisti me. V. Quam bonis israel
deus rectis

[As this fragment has been taken out of the centre of the page, the upper and lower parts are missing.]

Having thus described these interesting fragments, a word may be said about Robert Wedderburne, the notary, by whom this fine missal was mutilated nearly 330 years ago. In my notice of the former ecclesiastical music (12th March 1888) he was wrongly described as "a younger son of the tirst Alexander Wedderburne, Town-Clerk of Dundee." He was a younger brother of the Town-Clerk. In 1896 I began the transcribing and editing of "The Compt-Buik of David Wedderburne, of Dundee, 1587–1630," which was published in 1898 by the Scottish History Society; and the extended research which I had to make into the family history of the Wedderburnes disclosed this error. Then Mr Alexander Wedderburn, K.C., published in 1898 his exhaustive work about the family, entitled "The Wedderburn Book," and he threw much light upon the intricacies of the genealogy. The true account of Robert Wedderburne, founded upon documentary evidence, is as follows:—

He was the third and youngest son of Robert Wedderburne, and was born in 1546. His eldest brother, Alexander, the Town-Clerk, was his senior by about sixteen years, and Robert's name first appears in 1561 as servitor to his brother. He was admitted a notary at Edinburgh on 3rd March 1574-75, having served three years under Alexander Guthrie, Town-Clerk of Edinburgh, and seven years under his brother, Alexander Wedderburne. He returned to Dundee and began practice as a notary-public, his first protocol-book being the one dated 1575-76, from which these twelve fragments of music have at length been rescued. In September 1583 he was married to Margaret, daughter of Robert Myln, of Dundee, by whom he had four sons and two daughters, all of

whom predeceased him. On 15th March 1588 he was admitted burgess of Dundee, and was chosen Procurator-Fiscal in the following year. He died in October 1611, as is shown by his will, proved at Brechin on 7th June 1612. As he was then a childless widower, he made his nephew Peter (son of his elder brother Peter) his heir. It is a striking fact that though Robert Wedderburne was born several years before the Scottish Reformation was accomplished, ere he attained the age of thirty he could treat this once-sacred missal as a collection of waste paper, unworthy of respect or preservation. I have to acknowledge valuable assistance rendered to me by the Very Rev. Canon Phelan, Dundee, by the use of various missals; and by Mr F. C. Eeles, Stonehaven, the well-known liturgist. Thanks are also due to Mr Charles Barrie, Lord Provost of Dundee, who (with the consent of the late Sir Thomas Thornton, Town-Clerk) permitted me to remove the sheets for identification. These fragments are mounted between glasses for preservation, and placed in the Dundee Public Museum, beside the portions formerly discovered.