

CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN
COMMUNICATIONS.

Cambridge:

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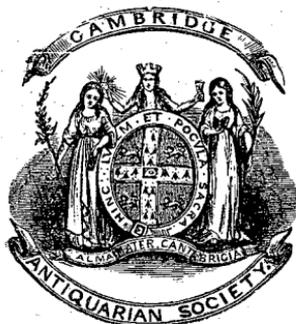
CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN
COMMUNICATIONS:

BEING

PAPERS PRESENTED AT THE MEETINGS

OF THE

Cambridge Antiquarian Society.



VOL. IV.

1876—1880.

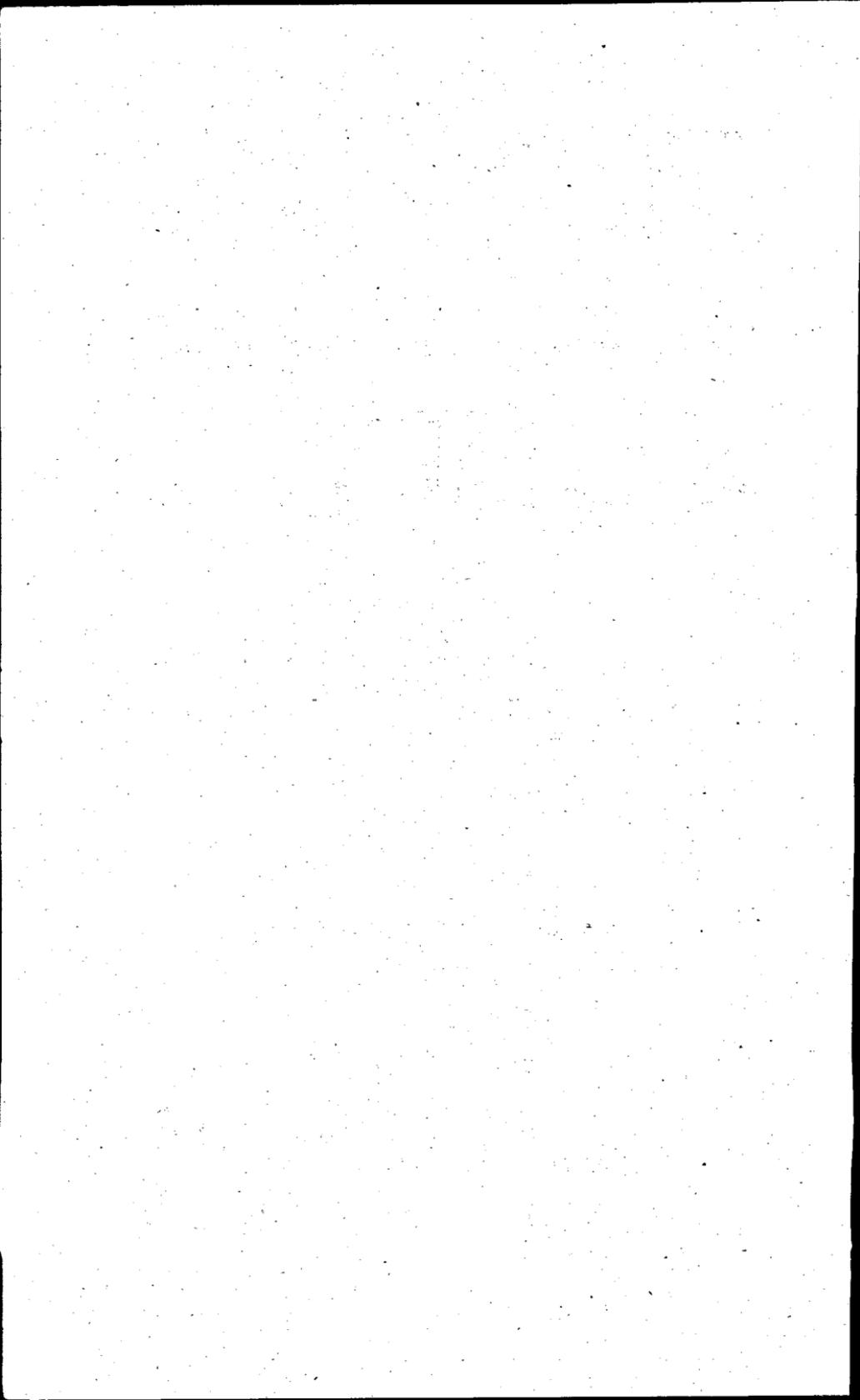
CAMBRIDGE:

PRINTED FOR THE CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

SOLD BY DEIGHTON, BELL & CO.; AND MACMILLAN & CO.

GEORGE BELL AND SONS, LONDON.

1881.



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REPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS.

REPORT

PRESENTED TO THE

Cambridge Antiquarian Society,

AT ITS THIRTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,

MAY 28, 1877,

WITH AN ABSTRACT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY

1876—1877.

ALSO

Communications

MADE TO THE SOCIETY.

No. XIX.

BEING No. 1 OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

CAMBRIDGE :

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GEORGE BELL AND SONS, LONDON.

1878.

Price Three Shillings.

CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. COUNCIL.

May 27, 1878.

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PUBLICATIONS OF THE CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

REPORTS.

Reports I—X (1841—1850). Ten numbers. 1841—1850. 8vo.

PUBLICATIONS. QUARTO SERIES.

- I. A Catalogue of the original library of St Catharine's Hall, 1475. Ed. by Professor CORRIE, B.D. 1840. 1s. 6d.
- II. *Abbreviata Cronica*, 1377—1469. Ed. by J. J. SMITH, M.A. 1840. *With a facsimile.* 2s. 6d.
- III. An account of the Consecration of Abp. Parker. Ed. by J. GOODWIN, B.D. 1841. *With a facsimile.* 3s. 6d.

REPORT

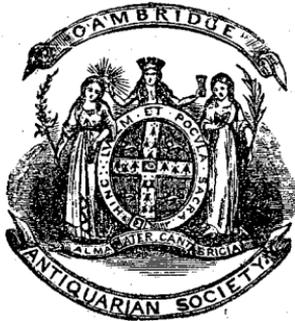
PRESENTED TO THE

Cambridge Antiquarian Society,

AT ITS THIRTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,

MAY 28, 1877.

WITH AN ABSTRACT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY, 1876—1877.



Cambridge:

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1878

THE

UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge

Cambridge:

PRINTED BY G. J. CLAY, M.A.
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

REPORT,

PRESENTED TO THE CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY AT ITS
THIRTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,
MAY 28, 1877.

THE Council begs leave to congratulate the members upon the continued usefulness of the Society in providing for the description and publication of antiquities that have been from time to time discovered in the neighbourhood, and also for the discussion of archæological topics of more general interest. During the past year eight names have been added to our list, which now numbers 72 members.

Mr SANDARS' *Annotated List of Books, printed on vellum, in the University and College Libraries at Cambridge* is nearly ready for the press: as is likewise Mr SEARLE'S *List of Books, Pamphlets and single Sheets concerning the University of Cambridge*.

The Societies in correspondence have sent copies of their issues for the past year; these, together with the antiquities mentioned below, and others accumulated during the last four years, are temporarily stored in the rooms of the Secretary. It is much to be hoped that ere long the Society may have some proper and permanent quarters for its very valuable and increasing collections.

BALANCE-SHEET OF ACCOUNTS FOR YEAR ENDING MAY 1877.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Arrears before 1876	4 4 0	University Press	2 13 0
Subscriptions 1876	10 10 0	Carriage of Parcel	0 0 6
" 1877	13 13 0	Hills and Saunders for Photographs	15 0 0
Life Member's Composition	10 10 0	Balance at Mortlock's Bank	147 15 9
Deighton, Bell and Co., by Sale of Publications	1 18 6	" in Treasurer's hands	0 5 6
Balance in Treasurer's hands May, 1876	124 19 3		
	<u>£165 14 9</u>		<u>£165 14 9</u>

Examined and found correct,

CHARLES C. BABINGTON, Auditor.

CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.
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May 28, 1877.

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SOCIETIES IN UNION

FOR THE INTERCHANGE OF PUBLICATIONS, &c.

1. The Society of Antiquaries of London. C. K. WATSON, M.A., *Secretary*, Burlington House.
2. The Suffolk Institute of Archæology. S. J. HARRISON, *Hon. Secretary*, Bury St Edmund's.
3. The Sussex Archæological Society. J. COOPER, F.S.A., *Librarian*, Lewes.
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8. The Powys-Land Club. M. C. JONES, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, Gungrog, Welshpool.
9. The Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland. Rev. J. GRAVES, *Hon. Secretary*, Inisnag, Stonyford, Co. Kilkenny.
10. The Norwegian Archæological Society. ANTIKVAR N. NICOLAÏSEN, *Sekretær*, Kristiania.
11. The Royal University of Christiania. The Baron HOLST, *Director of the Foreign Literary Exchange of Norway*.
12. The Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A. F. W. PUTNAM, *Curator*.
13. The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U.S.A. SPENCER F. BAIRD, *Secretary*.

LIST OF PRESENTS

DURING THE YEAR ENDING

MAY 28, 1877.

ANTIQUITIES.

From Mr A. J. Duffield:

Seventeen small Peruvian stone implements.

From Mr A. P. Humphry:

An iron sword (probably of Saxon work) found at Haslingfield.

From Mr Roads (of Foxton):

Twenty-eight Saxon beads and two round bronze ornaments.

BOOKS.

From the Society of Antiquaries of London:

Proceedings of the Society. 2nd Series, Vol. VI. Nos. 5 and 6; Vol. VII. No. 1, 8vo. London (1876—77).

From the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society:

Transactions of the Society. 2nd Series, Vol. III. Part 2, 4to. Exeter (1877).

From the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire:

Transactions of the Society. Vols. XXVII. and XXVIII. 8vo. Liverpool (1875—76).

From the Powys-Land Club :

Montgomeryshire Collections. Vols. VII. VIII. IX. and X.
Part 1, 8vo. London (1874—77).

*From the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of
Ireland :*

Journal of the Society. 4th Series, Vol. III. No. 24; Vol.
IV. Nos. 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, royal 8vo. Dublin, (1875—77).

From the Norwegian Archæological Society :

Transactions of the Society. 2 Parts, with Index, 8vo.
Kristiania, 1876.

Brandanus Saga. Pp. 4, royal 8vo. Kristiania, (1876).

From the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, U.S.A. :

Ninth Annual Report of the Trustees. 8vo. Cambridge,
(1876).

From the Smithsonian Institution :

Annual Report of the Board of Regents for 1875. 8vo.
Washington, (1876).

From Mr F. W. Hayden, U.S. Geologist.

Annual Report of the United States Geological and Geo-
graphical Survey of the Territories for 1874. 8vo. Washing-
ton, (1876).

AN ABSTRACT OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE
MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

Nov. 13, 1876. Professor C. C. Babington, President, in the
chair.

The following new Member was elected :

Robert Bowes, Esq.

Mr J. W. Clark made some remarks on the system adopted for storing and delivering books in mediæval Collegiate Libraries, particularly with reference to the forthcoming work by Professor Willis. He exhibited a model of the *stalls* and *subsellia* in Merton College Library (Oxford), which showed the system of *chaining* there employed; and deduced from the model the subsequent changes in collegiate book-cases, illustrated by those now to be seen in Trinity Hall, Queens', King's, and Trinity Colleges in Cambridge.

Mr T. H. Naylor exhibited and described a fresco painting on a block of Caen stone, found about five years ago in Chesterton Church in this County. (See Communications, Vol. IV., No. I.)

Professor Babington read and criticised the draft of a letter by John Gerard to the first Lord Burghley, proposing the formation of a Physic Garden at Cambridge, shortly before 1598. (See Communications, Vol. IV., No. II.)

Mr Rutter exhibited an *aureus* of Nero (obv. Nero's head laureated, *leg.* NERO CAESAR; rev. Nero's statue at full length, with radiated head holding a victory and a laurel branch, *leg.* AVGVSTVS GERMANICVS), found by a fisherman of Pakefield, Suffolk, on Kessingland Cliff, in February, 1875.

Mr Lewis exhibited (on the part of the Rev. Dr Swainson) a copy of letters of *Indulgence*, printed, somewhere in Germany, on vellum, and issued in 1489 by Raymundus Peraudi, Archdeacon of Saintes, and the Dean and Chapter of the same Cathedral, the proceeds of the sale of which were apparently to go, part to the fund collecting against the Turks, and part to the restoration of Saintes Cathedral. This particular copy was sold on the 8th of July, 1489, to *Heydeke Hogenbock*, *Mette* his wife, and *Jacob* and *Mette* his children, all of which details are filled up by the 'Pardoner' in ink. In answer to some queries on the subject Mr Bradshaw stated that the earliest extant example of printing is an *Indulgence*, dated the 15th of November, 1454, which is preserved at The Hague.

Mr Lewis exhibited also a shekel, considered to be unique in bearing the date-mark ΞW . (See Communications, Vol. IV., No. III.)

Nov. 27, 1876. The President in the chair.

The following new Members were elected :

John Houghton Swainson, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.

Alfred Paget Humphry, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.

Richard Bryan, Esq.

The Secretary read (in the absence of the Author) a memoir by Mr A. J. Duffield upon seventeen small pre-historic Peruvian stone implements, which he had kindly presented to the Society. They may be classed as spear- and arrow-heads of opaque and translucent varieties of flint, quartz, and allied silicious rocks, such as carnelian, with a red porphyry and a red altered rock like jasper. They were found partly by himself, and partly by Captain Jeffry, in the sandy valley of the Pisagua river—a district, whose ancient populousness and fertility he very vividly described, and attributed the ruin of the water-courses and the present desolation of the country to the exterminating zeal and avarice of the Spanish invaders in the sixteenth century. (See Communications, Vol. IV., No. IV.)

Prof. Babington remarked that the sudden 'hoisting' by an earthquake, which had more than once occurred in recent times, would perhaps be sufficient to account for the present difficulty of irrigation, and consequently of agriculture in Peru, even without the pressure put upon the inhabitants to work the silver mines in the neighbourhood.

Professor Colvin exhibited two pencil drawings of John Flaxman, R.A., which had been among those remaining in the artist's family after his death, and sold at the sale of his grand-nephew, Mr T. J. Denman, in April of this year. They represented two compartments of the famous sculptures in relief, executed in the early part of the fourteenth century, on the façade of the Cathedral of Orvieto. Professor Colvin gave a brief account of the general character of these sculptures, insisting on their peculiar excellence, and their in many respects unique character, among the works of Italian sculpture, and on the improbability of the tradition assigning their execution to Giovanni Pisano. The subject was illustrated by several photographs of the façade, and of its details. The two compartments which Flaxman had copied represent scenes of the Last Judgment—the Resurrection of the Dead, and the Condemnation of Sinners. Professor Colvin dwelt on the drawings as being of especial interest, (1) as illustrating Flaxman's travels in Italy, and the enthusiasm with which he studied Gothic and Early Renaissance monuments which were not generally esteemed in his time; (2) as shewing his facility, accuracy, and exquisite style as a draughtsman; (3) as proving how, in spite of his enthusiasm and his skill, his genius was nevertheless incapable of expressing the power, grimness, and fierce intensity which were the special characteristics of these surprising inventions.

March 5, 1877. The President in the chair.

The following new Member was elected :

Alfred Newton, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., Fellow of Magdalene College, Professor of Zoology and Comparative Anatomy.

Mr Pearson gave a short account of the relics of the Arctic explorer, Barentz, which are now to be seen at The Hague. The story of Barentz, though already tolerably well known, had, he said, been lately republished in an exhaustive manner by the Hakluyt Society; a good sketch might also be found in Motley's *United Netherlands*, III. 521—545. Although it had been well known in what part of the island of Nova Zembla Barentz and his companions spent the winter of 1596—7, still there is no reason to suppose that any civilized European had ever reached the spot till it was visited in 1871 by the captain of a Norwegian sealing sloop, named Carlsen. Extracts were given from Carlsen's diary, from which it appeared that after rounding the north-eastern extremity of the island, he reached the so-called Ice-harbour of Barentz, "where he saw a house on shore which had fallen in, built of fir planks." He spent from the 9th to the 14th of September in the neighbourhood, and describes the ruins of the house, from which he recovered a number of articles, mostly iron or copper, and also three or four books in fairly good preservation. On Carlsen's return to Hammerfest these relics were purchased from him for £600 by an English gentleman, Mr Lister Kay, who subsequently transferred them to the Dutch government, by whom they have been deposited in a room of the museum attached to their Naval School, in a house made exactly to imitate the original. Mr Pearson said that these relics were visited by himself in 1875; they were of the simplest kind, being mostly common household utensils of iron or copper; and the most interesting were a kind of astrolabe; some books in fair preservation; some of the wheels of a clock; some ornamented candlesticks, probably for sale; a large matchlock, with fragments of others; and some powder in horns. Mr Pearson also mentioned that in 1876, another English gentleman, Mr Gardiner, had visited the spot in his yacht, and brought home a number of curiosities, including several wax-candles, possibly the oldest existing in the world, and also the manuscript account of the way in which Barentz and his party spent the winter, known to have been left there, and signed by Barentz and Heemskerck, the latter of whom afterwards highly distinguished himself in the service of his country. This last collection Mr Pearson said he had of course not seen. Mr Pearson also referred to Petermann's *Mittheilungen* for 1872 as containing a good account of Carlsen's discovery, with maps of the locality; and he also made some remarks on the hitherto unexplained phenomenon, by which the sun was seen by Barentz on the 24th and 27th of January, 1597, whereas it ought not to have been visible before Feb. 10. The question, he said, had been recently examined in a long paper printed in one of the last volumes of the *Comptes Rendus* of the French Academy of Sciences,

where references would be found to earlier discussions of the question; also in the recently published volume of the Hakluyt Society, pp. cxliv—clv.

Mr J. W. Clark gave a description of Josselin's *Historiola Collegii Corporis Christi*. (The complete *Historiola* will be printed among the Publications of the Society in 8vo.)

Mr Lewis exhibited (by favour of Mr C. W. King) an *ampulla* and a *patella* of Romano-British pottery, which have been lately found at Haslingfield in this county: they are now preserved in the Library of Trinity College.

March 19, 1877. The President in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:

Rev. Francis George Howard, M.A., Trinity College.

Oscar Browning, Esq., M.A., Fellow of King's College.

Mr Marr (of St John's College) exhibited an early British vase and human bones found within it, which had been recently discovered at Fen Ditton in this county. The vase is about one foot in height and eight inches in diameter at the top, but somewhat larger in the middle: it was manifestly hand-made, and had probably been burnt by firing fern, which had been piled up within and around it.

Professor Hughes remarked that similar pottery is still made for domestic purposes at Ordesan in the Pyrenees.

Mr Magnússon described a Runic Calendar, exhibited by the Rev. J. Beck, Rector of Parham, Sussex. (The Calendar is printed with Mr Magnússon's remarks in the Communications, No. V.)

May 14, 1877. The President in the chair.

Mr A. P. Humphry exhibited a very rare book of Bible plates, printed at Oxford in 1677, on which he made the following remarks:—

"The author of this book, Robert Whitehall, was a student of Christ Church, Oxford, was ejected thence in 1648 by the Parliamentary Visitors for declining to submit to their authority, but was appointed in 1650, on due submission made to the Committee for the regulation of Oxford University, to a Fellowship at Merton College. He appears thenceforth to have been a frequent writer of moderate poems for time-serving purposes.

"Above each one of the 258 plates is printed its title in English together with a classical quotation, and beneath each plate is an explanatory *Hewastich* in English, whence the title of the book 'ΕΒΑΣΤΙΧΟΝ · ΊΕΡΟΝ.

"The copper-plates were brought by the author from Holland. They are copies from a series executed in 1627 by Matthew Merian of Basel, a most prolific engraver. There is in the Fitzwilliam Museum an imperfect collection of original prints of the Old Testament portion of the series. They are of no great artistic value.

"Only twelve copies of the book were printed; of these the author gave

one to the king, and the remainder to young men of noble family. Unfortunately it seems to be impossible to ascertain who were the previous owners of the copy exhibited. Scarcely any of the bibliographical works mention this book. It is not in the British Museum, the Bodleian Library at Oxford, or the Cambridge University Library, and I have in vain made considerable efforts to ascertain the existence of another copy."

Since the date of the above communication Mr Humphry has ascertained the existence of another copy in the possession of Mr J. E. Gibson Craig, of Edinburgh, who obtained it at the sale of the Hyndford library in 1832. The earldom of Hyndford, now dormant, was bestowed in 1701 upon John, second Baron Carmichael, whose grandfather, Sir James Carmichael, Bart., of Hyndford, was created first Baron Carmichael in 1647. Possibly a Carmichael was one of the twelve original recipients of copies of the book.

Mr Humphry also exhibited an iron sword— $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. long in the blade, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. long in the handle—which had been recently found near Haslingfield in this county. He noticed that it is probably of Anglo-Saxon workmanship, and is remarkably short in the handle: from the blade an additional length of two inches has probably been lost.

Mr Carter exhibited a silver ring with a triangular shank, bearing the legend in *Lombardic* characters of the 14th century, on the one bevel IESVS · NAZARENVS · REX · IVDEOR * and on the other IASPAR : MELCHIOR : BALTAZAR—the traditional names of the three *Magi*.

Mr Lewis exhibited and described some Roman bronze coins recently found at the depth of 18 inches near Knapwell in this county, consisting of 23 *large brass* pieces and one *second brass*. They range from the reign of *Domitian* to that of *Septimius Severus* (*i.e.* from 81 to 211 A.D.), and include some interesting types—in particular one bearing on the reverse a funeral pyre and the legend CONSECRACTIO in reference to the *apotheosis* of Antoninus Pius; but unfortunately not one single piece is in a high state of preservation.

May 28, 1877. The President in the chair.

The following new Members were elected :

Edward Bickersteth Birks, Esq., M.A., Fellow of Trinity College.

Arthur John Clark-Kennedy, Esq., Magdalene College.

The Treasurer's accounts for the past year were audited and passed.

The following new Members of Council were elected :

Rev. T. Brocklebank.

Rev. W. W. Skeat.

T. H. Naylor, Esq.

Professor C. C. Babington was re-elected President, Mr Fawcett Treasurer, and Rev. S. S. Lewis Secretary, for the next year.

Professor Hughes exhibited a vase found a little to the south of Chester-

ford. It was a plain lathe-turned vessel of the darker material common at that station associated with Roman or Romano-British remains. The dimensions, which approximately give the form, were as follows: height $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches, rim, which is broken, about $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches in circumference; neck at one inch below rim, 15 inches in circumference; greatest circumference at 4 inches from top, $31\frac{1}{2}$ inches. From this it tapers at an increasing rate to the base, where the circumference is 13 inches. He had no evidence as to the circumstances under which the vase was found, but thought it was an ordinary vessel for household purposes, which had been perhaps employed as a sepulchral urn, of which second use there were other examples found in the neighbourhood, as for example the *amphora*, of which a notice had been lately read before the Society.

Mr Howard read a paper on some recent discoveries in Grantchester Church. (See Communications, No. VI.)

Professor Babington said that the small window in the south wall of the nave was evidently of *Romanesque* character, but this was no conclusive evidence as to its date, as sometimes in remote districts a style continued long after it had gone out of general use.

Professor Hughes said there were certainly Roman remains worked into the walls of Grantchester Church, as shown by the broken tiles and the portions of a millstone of Niedermendig lava. He had found fragments of this stone in various other places about Cambridge, as *e.g.* a small piece which he had been so fortunate as to dig out himself at the bottom of one of the pits which he believed were pre-Saxon, but which occurred among the Saxon graves of Saffron Walden, the graves having been cut across and over the pits. He had also found pieces on the hill east of Chesterford. Such fragments might have been picked up and built in at any post-Roman period. He did not think there was sufficient evidence that the coffins were Roman. On the contrary, from the character of the coffins themselves, which he thought were very similar to those found at Barnwell Abbey, he would refer them to the 13th or 14th century. From all he saw or heard, he thought there was no evidence on which those parts of the wall in which the fragments of coffins were found could be referred to *Norman* or *Early English*, but that they might be *Perpendicular* or even later, as it was known that much of the masonry belonged to the early part of the 17th century. There were so many broken bits of the later Norman work built in suspiciously near the parts of the wall referred to Norman times, and so much reconstruction of old materials, that he thought we could not feel sure about the age of any part of the wall. He hoped that the old moulded and dressed stones and coffins would not be destroyed or built in again, but that these scraps of evidence as to the history of such an interesting place would be preserved together for future enquirers.

The Secretary communicated a paper on an Etruscan bronze of *Spes Vetus*, received from the Rev. C. W. King, Senior Fellow of Trinity College. (See Communications, No. VII.)

LAWS.

I. THAT the Society be for the encouragement of the study of History, Architecture, and Antiquities; and that such Society be called "THE CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY."

II. That the object of the Society be to collect and to print information relative to the above-mentioned subjects.

III. That the subscription of each Member of the Society be *One Guinea* annually; such subscription be due on the first day of January in each year: on the payment of which he shall become entitled to all the Publications of the Society, during the current year.

IV. That any person who is desirous of becoming a Member of the Society, be proposed by two Members at any of the ordinary Meetings of the Society, and balloted for at the next Meeting: but all Noblemen, Bishops, Heads of Colleges, and Professors of the University, shall be balloted for at the Meeting at which they are proposed.

V. That the management of the affairs of the Society be vested in a Council, consisting of a President, (who shall not be eligible for that office for more than two successive years,) a Treasurer, a Secretary, and not more than twelve nor less than seven other Members, to be elected from amongst the Members of the Society who are graduates of the University. Each Member of the Council shall have due notice of the Meetings of that body, at which not less than five shall constitute a quorum.

VI. That the President, Treasurer, and Secretary, and at least three ordinary Members of the Council shall be elected annually by ballot, at a General Meeting to be held in the month of May; the three senior ordinary Members of the Council to retire annually.

VII. That no Member be entitled to vote at any General Meeting whose subscription is in arrear.

VIII. That, in the absence of the President, the Council at their Meetings shall elect a Chairman, such Chairman having a casting-vote in case of equality of numbers, and retaining also his right to vote upon all questions submitted to the Council.

IX. That the accounts of the receipts and expenditure of the Society be audited annually by two auditors, to be elected at the Annual General Meeting; and that an abstract of such accounts be printed for the use of the Members.

X. That the object of the usual Meetings of the Society be, to read communications, acknowledge presents, and transact miscellaneous business.

XI. That the Meetings of the Society take place once at least during each term: and that the place of meeting and all other arrangements, not specified in the Laws, be left to the discretion of the Council.

XII. That any member be allowed to compound for his future subscriptions by one payment of *Ten Guineas*.

XIII. That Members of the Society be allowed to propose Honorary Members, provided that no person so proposed be either resident within the County of Cambridge, or a member of the University.

XIV. That Honorary Members be proposed by at least two Members of the Society, at any of the usual Meetings of the Society, and balloted for at the next Meeting.

XV. That nothing shall be published by the Society, which has not been previously approved by the Council nor without the author's name being appended to it.

XVI. That no alteration be made in these Laws, except at the Annual General Meeting or at a special General Meeting called for that purpose, of which at least one week's notice shall be given to all the Members; and that one month's notice of any proposed alteration be communicated, in writing, to the Secretary, in order that he may make the same known to all the Members of the Society.

It is requested that all Communications intended for the Society, and the names of Candidates for admission, be forwarded to the Secretary, or to the Treasurer, 1, Silver Street, Cambridge.

Subscriptions received by the Treasurer, or by his Bankers, Messrs Mortlock and Co., Cambridge; or at the Bank of Messrs Smith, Payne, and Smith, London, "To the Cambridge Antiquarian Society's account with Messrs Mortlock and Co., Cambridge."

CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN
COMMUNICATIONS,

BEING

PAPERS PRESENTED AT THE MEETINGS

OF THE

Cambridge Antiquarian Society.

No. XIX.

BEING No. 1 OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

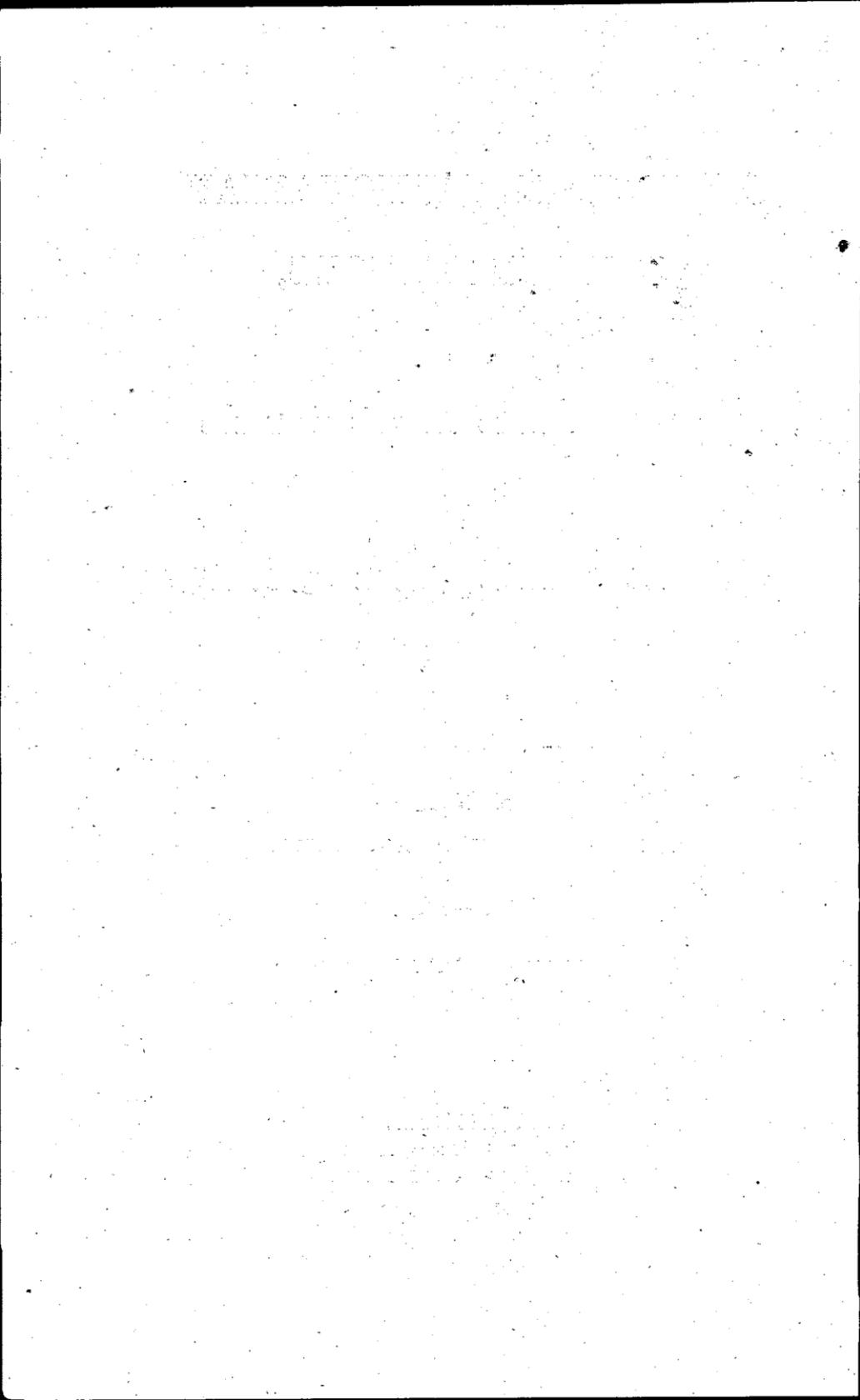
1876—77.

CAMBRIDGE:

PRINTED BY C. J. CLAY, M.A.

AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

1878





FRESCO DISCOVERED IN CHESTERTON CHURCH, CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

now in the Fitzwilliam Museum



I. ON A FRESCO IN CHESTERTON CHURCH. Commu-
nicated by T. H. NAYLOR, Esq., M.A.

[Nov. 13, 1876.]

THE fresco painting, of which a copy is given in the annexed photograph, exists upon a block of Caen stone in my own possession, which was found about five years ago amongst rubbish that had been employed to fill up a window in the parish church of Chesterton in this county.

The dimensions of the stone are as follows:—length, 1 ft. 2½ in.; breadth, 9½ in.; thickness, 1½ in.

By peeling off the whitewash (which had probably been added at some time of trouble in order to save the painting below from destruction) the portrait of a female saint in nearly full length was brought to light again, painted upon a ground diapered with fleurs de lys.

The figure is one foot in length, having been cut off about half-way between the knee and ankle, and seems to represent one who had been martyred in early womanhood: the head is surrounded by a wave-line of glory within a circle, and is bent gracefully forward: the auburn hair is confined by a

ribbon passing round the temples, and falls loose over both shoulders. Her close-fitting sleeved under garment is dark brown, bordered with black, and leaves the throat bare. The upper garment, a mantle of a light blue lined with lilac, is thrown loosely over her shoulders—the end of it is caught up and hangs from her left arm. The waist is defined by a narrow girdle.

To form a just identification of the personality, which some artist unknown has so pleasantly portrayed, we must study her attributes, in this case only *two* in number,—a pointed tool resembling a pick, or it may be an adze and hammer combined, which she holds up in her right hand, while the left hand shows a basket containing ruddy fruit and flowers.

The former doubtless marks only the manner of her martyrdom: but the contents of the basket in her left hand enable us to fix upon her name as probably *St Dorothea*. This virgin martyr was a native of Caesareia in Cappadocia, and suffered in the persecution under Diocletian about 303 A.D.: she is commemorated by the Western Church on the 6th of February. While lying stretched on the *catasta*, an iron bed under which a slow fire was burning, Dorothea was asked by the tormentor "Where is Christ?" She replied "In his omnipotence he is everywhere; in his humanity he is in heaven, the Paradise to which he invites us—where the woods are ever adorned with fruit, and lilies ever bloom white, and roses ever flower." Then said a lawyer named Theophilus, "Thou spouse of Christ, send me from Paradise some of these fruits and flowers." And Dorothea answered him, "I will." And her torments were soon finished, and she earned the crown of martyrdom. Shortly afterwards there appeared to Theophilus, who had been telling some friends of his request and her promise in answer, an angel holding out to him apples and roses, such as no earthly garden had ever produced. And he believed, and confessed, and received the baptism of blood.

St Elizabeth of Hungary is also represented with a basket of flowers as a means of concealing her inobtrusive acts of charity: with this attribute she appears painted on a panel¹ formerly in All Saints'² Church at Fulbourn in this county, but now in Trinity College Library.

As to the date of this interesting fresco, it may probably—both from its general style, and in particular from the cusping of the canopy under which the martyr stands—be attributed to the middle of the fourteenth century.

¹ Described at length in the *Archæological Journal* (1874—75), vol. xxxi. p. 421—22, and vol. xxxii. p. 133.

² See *Cambridge Antiquarian Communications*, vol. iii. p. 215 seqq.

Note.—For the photograph which accompanies this paper the Society has to thank Mr Naylor.

II. ON A DRAFT OF A LETTER PROPOSING THE FORMATION OF A PHYSIC GARDEN AT CAMBRIDGE SHORTLY BEFORE 1598 BY JOHN GERARD. BY BEN. DAYDON JACKSON, Esq., F.L.S., EDITOR OF GERARD'S CATALOGUE OF PLANTS. Communicated by C. C. BABINGTON, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., Professor of Botany.

[Nov. 13, 1876.]

A SHORT time since, whilst engaged in amassing material for a life of JOHN GERARD the Herbalist, I came upon an interesting autograph letter in the British Museum amongst the Lansdowne MSS., and thinking it might be appreciated by your Society, have copied, and send the same herewith.

The document appears to be a draft for approval by Gerard's master, Cecil, Baron Burghley, but from some cause or other it never received his lordship's signature, but was placed aside amongst his papers. What gave rise to its being penned, I cannot even conjecture, for Gerard remained in Lord Burghley's service until the death of the latter in 1589. It must I think prove interesting to all who care to learn anything of the past history of the University of Cambridge, since had the contained proposals been adopted, it is quite possible that Gerard might only have been known as the first gardener appointed by the University, and not as the Author of the *Herball*. It must be noted, that the Oxford Botanic Garden was founded in 1632, twenty years subsequent to the death of Gerard, consequently under the suggested circumstances it would have been a younger institution, instead of an older one.

After my most hartie commendacions, &c. As yt hath beene alwaies myne especiall care (neither doubt I but yt is yours also) to procure by all meanes possible y^e flourishing estate of your universitie in religion & liberal sciences :—so at this p^rsent (to my great comfort) I see yt not inferiour herin to any universitie in Europe or any other pat [sic] of y^e world were yt not y^t many famous nurseries (as *Padua Montpellier* that of *Vienna* &c.) others had prevented or rather provoked us by their good example, in purchasing of publique gardens and seeking out men of good experience to dresse and keepe the same whereby that noble science of physicke is made absolute as having recovered y^e facultie of *Simpling* a principall and materiall part thereof, wherefore not doubting of your readines in imitating or æmulating the best in so laudable actions I thought yt good to moove you herin & to commend this bearer *Ihon Gerard* a servant of mine vnto you : who by reason of his travaile into farre countries, his great practise & long experience is thoroughly acquainted with the generall & speciall differences, names, properties & privie markes of thousands of plants & trees. So y^t if you intend a worke of such emolument to y^rselves and all young students I shall be glad to have nominated and furnished you with so expert an *Herbarist* : & your selves I trust will think well of the motion and the man. Thus desiring god to prosper all your godlie studies and painfull indeours I bidde you hartily farewell.

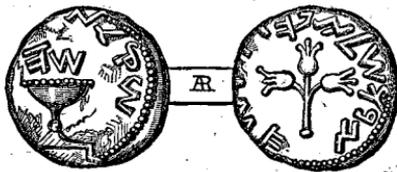
LANSDOWNE MSS., Vol. 107, No. 92, fol. 155.

This letter bears a nearly illegible endorsement, to the effect that it was drawn up by Gerard himself for the Lord Treasurer to sign. Whatever may have led to the draft being prepared, it is at least an interesting document, and as such I trust will be received by you.

B. DAYDON JACKSON.

III. ON A SHEKEL OF THE YEAR FIVE. Communicated
by the Rev. S. S. LEWIS, M.A., Corpus Christi
College.

[Nov. 13, 1876.]



AMONGST a considerable number of shekels belonging to the Jerusalem find of the winter of 1873—74 which had come into the possession of Mr H. Hoffmann, of Paris, one was identified by him a year ago as bearing the date ΞW , *i.e.* year 5. No other piece bearing this date is as yet known to exist; but as its authenticity is quite unquestionable, we have in this unique shekel the proof of an emission hitherto unsuspected by numismatists. The coin, of which an engraving is given above, weighs 219¹ grains, and has passed into my cabinet.

The type—with the exception of the distinguishing date-letter already mentioned—is identical with that of those previously discovered, which are referred to years 1 to 4 inclusive, viz. on the obverse, the Pot of Manna with the legend around

¹ The full weight is 220 grains.

[ישראל] שקל *Shekel of Israel*, and on the reverse a stem with three blossoms (probably in allusion to Aaron's rod that budded) and the legend ה[קרו]ן[שה] ירושלים *Jerusalem the Holy*. Cavedoni however would rather interpret these symbols as being a sacred vessel of the temple (cf. Exod. xvi. 33) and a lily or hyacinth, referring to the words "He shall bloom like a lily" (Hosea xiv. 5). The year is represented by the successive letters of the Hebrew alphabet from א to ה, with ש for שנת (*Shenath* year) prefixed. The year 5 may be taken to correspond with 453 B.C., if (with M. de Sauley) such shekels be assigned to the government of Ezra—an opinion which has recently been adopted by such eminent numismatists in this country as Messrs Vaux and F. W. Madden¹.

MM. Renan, Six, Dr Merzbacher and others, prefer to attribute them to Simon Maccabeus, 143—145 B.C.: but the earlier date is well supported by the consideration of the *artistic style* of these pieces and their close correspondence in *weight* with the Phoenician² standard.

To Mr F. R. Conder³, C.E., we are indebted for the suggestion that the five successive date-letters may indicate as many emissions for sabbatical periods of seven years in sequence. Be this as it may, we cannot but note (as Mr Evans first observed), that on the shekels and half-shekels of the *first* year two pellets are to be seen—one on either side of the sacred vessel—, and that on the reverse we read *Jerusalem*, ירושלם, whilst all subsequent coins of this class have the word *Jerusalaim* (dual), ירושלים.

Hence it may possibly be inferred that there was a con-

¹ See his *Supplement to the History of Jewish Coinage* in the *Numismatic Chronicle* (1874) vol. xiv. N.S. pp. 288—89.

² Compare *Brandis Münz- Mass- und Gewichts-Wesen* p. 158 seqq. III. 2, Berlin 1866.

³ See *Bible Educator*, vol. III. p. 176, and, on the other side, Mr F. W. Madden in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S. vol. xiv. p. 294.

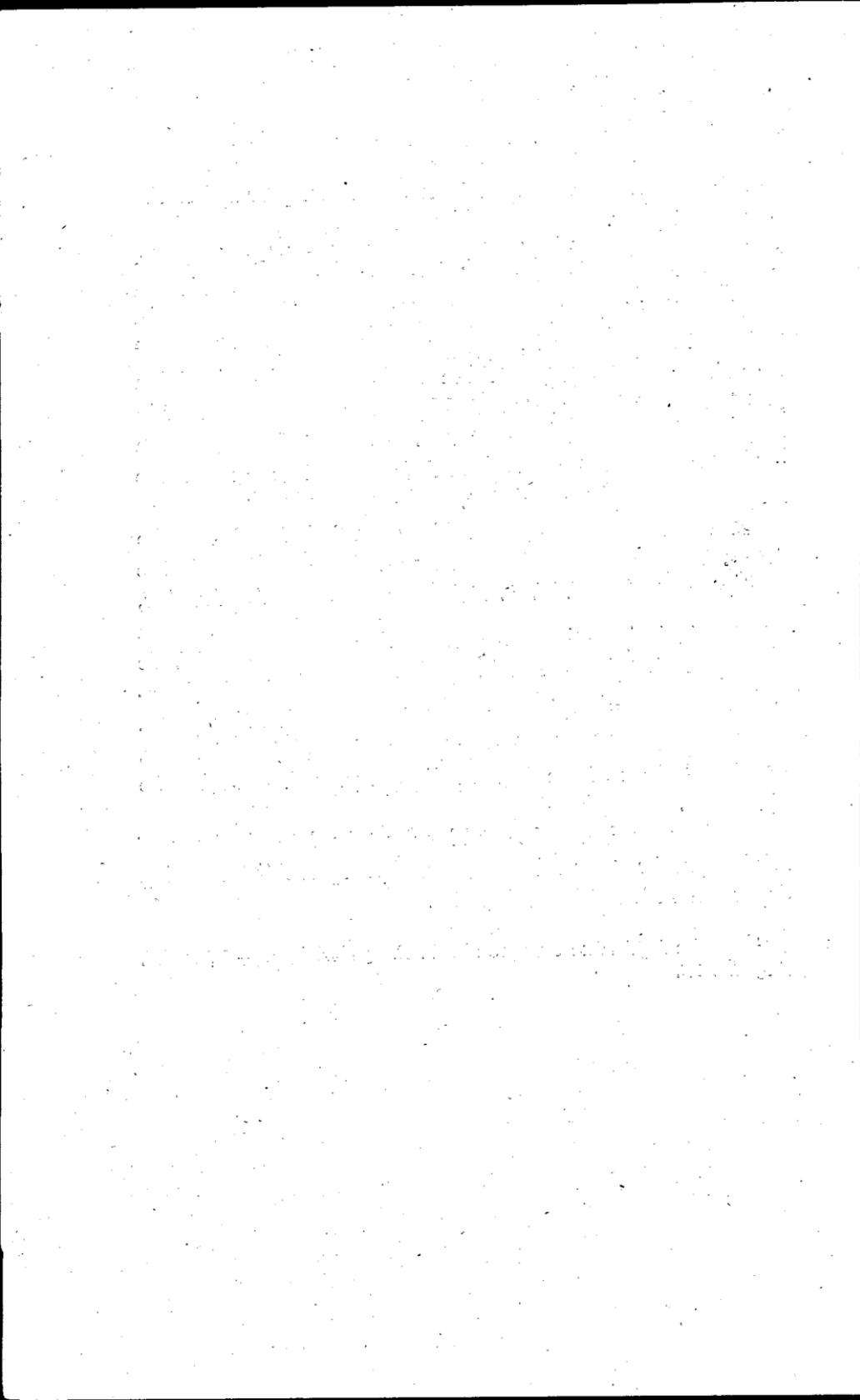
siderable interval between the issue of the first year and of the subsequent years.

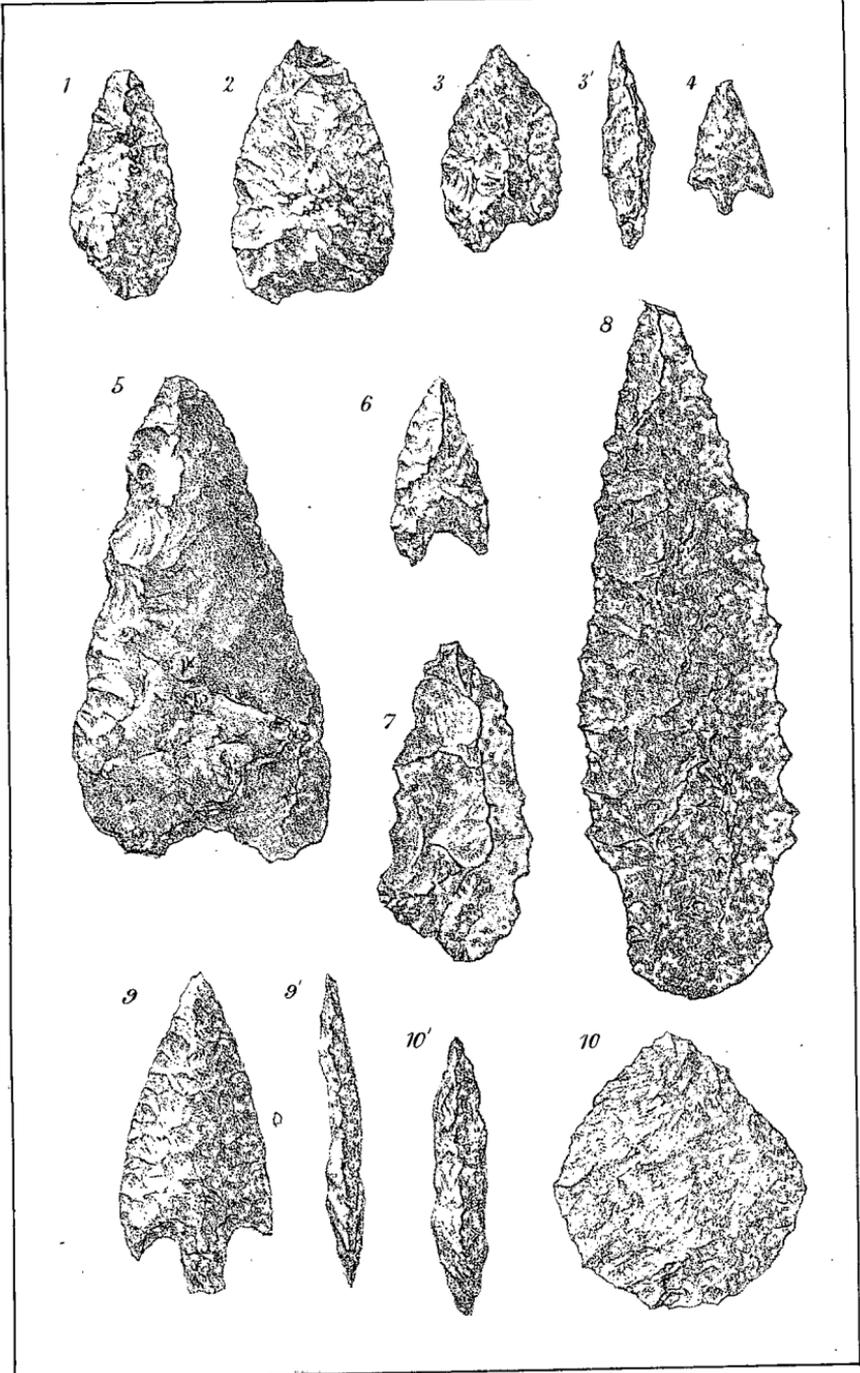
The legend is given in the so-called *Phoenician* character, that with its several calligraphical variations (amongst which the Samaritan is most notable) long lingered on in remote districts, notwithstanding its express proscription in the Talmud¹ for "ritual" codices of the Law: some critics are of opinion that it was not finally supplanted by the square Hebrew now in use until the third century A.D. Several of our modern "Arabic" figures apparently owe their origin to the successive letters of this earlier alphabet.

It may be added that, until this recent find (1873—74), the date 4W (year 4) was only known by a single specimen in the possession of the Rev. H. C. Reichardt (*Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S., vol. ii. p. 269). Half-shekels of the third year, which were previously so rare that they were unknown to M. de Saulcy when he published his "*Recherches sur la Numismatique Judaïque*" in 1854, were also present in this hoard. Of these Mr Reichardt already possessed a specimen in 1862. The half-shekels of the fourth and fifth years have still to be discovered.

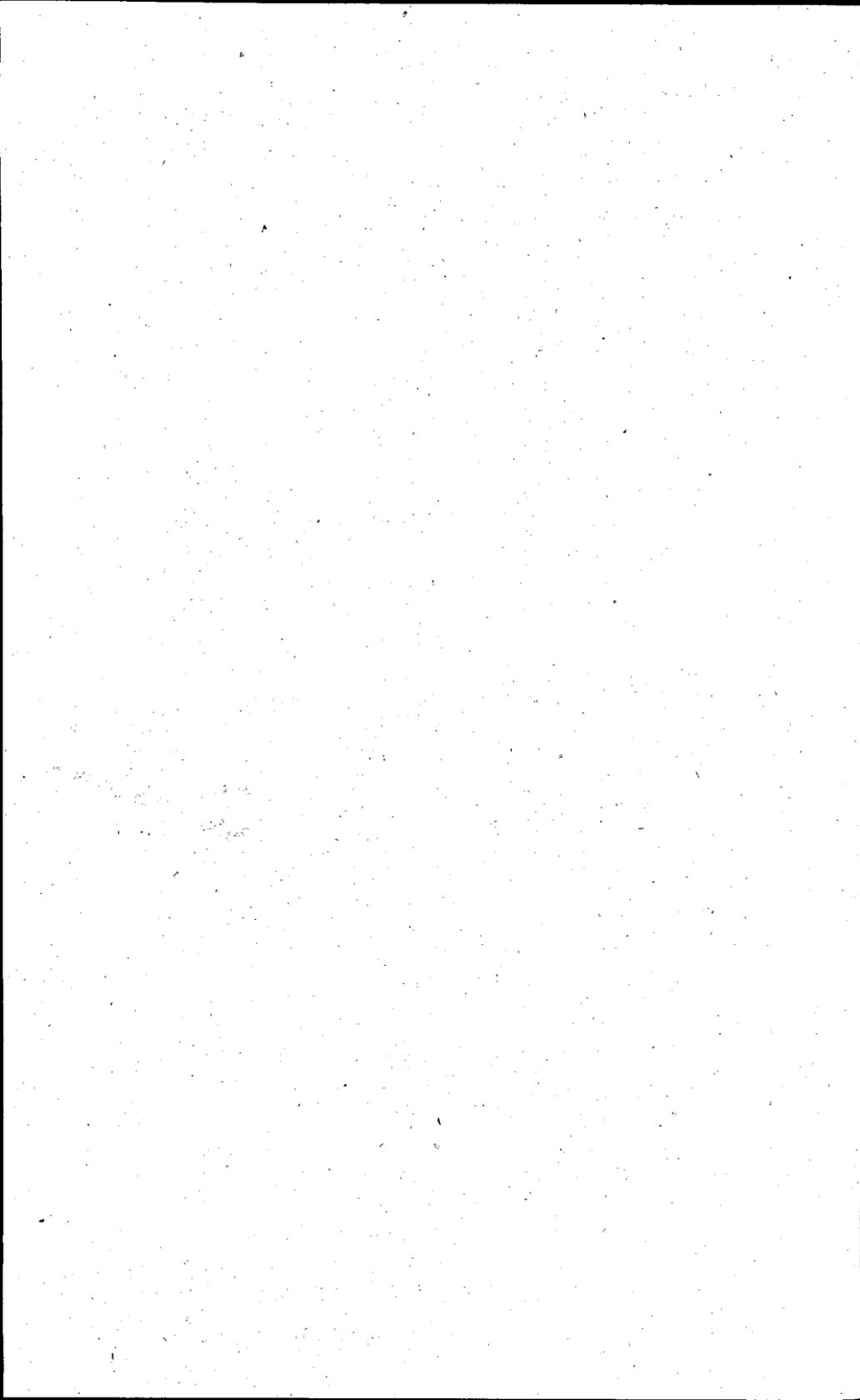
My best thanks are due and hereby offered to Mr Evans, of Nash Mills, for many valuable suggestions upon this interesting department of Jewish numismatics.

¹ Treatise *Sopherim*: compare also T. B. *Synhedrin*, 21^b—22^a and ib. *Megillah* 18^a.





All those figured are varieties of quartz and chert except N°7 which is a kind of jasper, and N°8 which is a red porphyritic felsite. 3 is a Section of 3 & similarly 9 and 10' of 9 and 10 respectively. All are drawn to the exact size of the original.



IV. ON SOME PRE-HISTORIC PERUVIAN STONE IMPLEMENTS. Communicated by A. J. DUFFIELD, Esq.

[Nov. 27, 1876.]

THE collection of flint, porphyritic, granite, and silici-calcareous implements on which I am to address you to-night originally consisted of twenty-one arrow and spear-heads, lancets and gravers; but after being lent to various learned persons for examination, their number has been reduced to sixteen; the missing examples were exquisite things wrought in burning opal. To prevent any further diminution of objects so interesting as these, I beg to offer them to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society for their acceptance.

The collection, although small, is the largest ever made of similar antiquities from that country.

It is also of importance to note that the collection was made by my friend Captain Jeffry, who resided two years in the district where the implements were found, that I procured them direct from him, and that I subsequently visited the ground, and added to the number a couple of the implements of my own finding. The genuineness and authenticity of the objects may therefore be said to be undoubted.

The gully and river of Pisagua, where these ancient remains were found, is on the coast of Peru, in south latitude 19° , and about forty miles north of Iquique. This gully runs for more

than sixty miles east and west through a desert, and a desert of the most repulsive aspect. Not a bird is ever seen in the air, nor an insect on the hot burning sand; no animal or reptile of any kind visits that blasted strip of the earth's surface. Not a drop of rain ever falls upon it, and the only moving thing is the fine sand, which is carried in blinding clouds, when a strong wind blows from the south over the defenceless plain. Another movement occurs once or twice in two or three years, when the earthquake dashes in pieces the rocks and strews their fragments over the ground. The strength of this movement is written plainly enough on the rocks themselves as well as on the face of the earth which is torn asunder, here in yawning fissures, there in curiously formed caverns, and everywhere scored in splits and scratches.

The rocks in situ consist of granite, coarse-grained granite, red sandstone, syenitic granite, porphyry, felspar porphyry, trachite porphyry and slate.

The river, when at its very best, is not more than ten feet wide, while for nine months in the year it is quite dry. It never has force enough to reach the sea, its strength being apparently exhausted in trying to boil the great boulders which lie in its bed.

The tool-bearing sands appear to be confined to the gully and the bed and sides of the Pisagua river. When the implements about which I am now talking were found, they were coated with sand and gravel, and cemented with a sort of breccia.

Whether palæolithic or neolithic will no doubt form an interesting topic of discussion by your society.

Are these examples of human workmanship of the same age as the beds of gravel in which my friend and I found them?

Of that there would seem to be no doubt. If there be any doubt, the discussion it will provoke cannot fail to be of the greatest interest.

If the spear-heads are compared with some examples from Lake Superior, which I found there, they will be seen to correspond in form and finish exactly, although the former be composed of porphyry and the latter of flint.

The arrow-heads, the gravers and lancets are pretty much alike also, except that they are not so broad, are of a much finer material, and more perfect in finish.

While in North America these weapons and tools have been found wrought in *metallic*, by which I mean native copper, no such use appears to have been made of copper by the ancient Peruvians, although metallic copper abounds almost to the same extent in the Andes and the Atacama desert as in the region of Lake Superior.

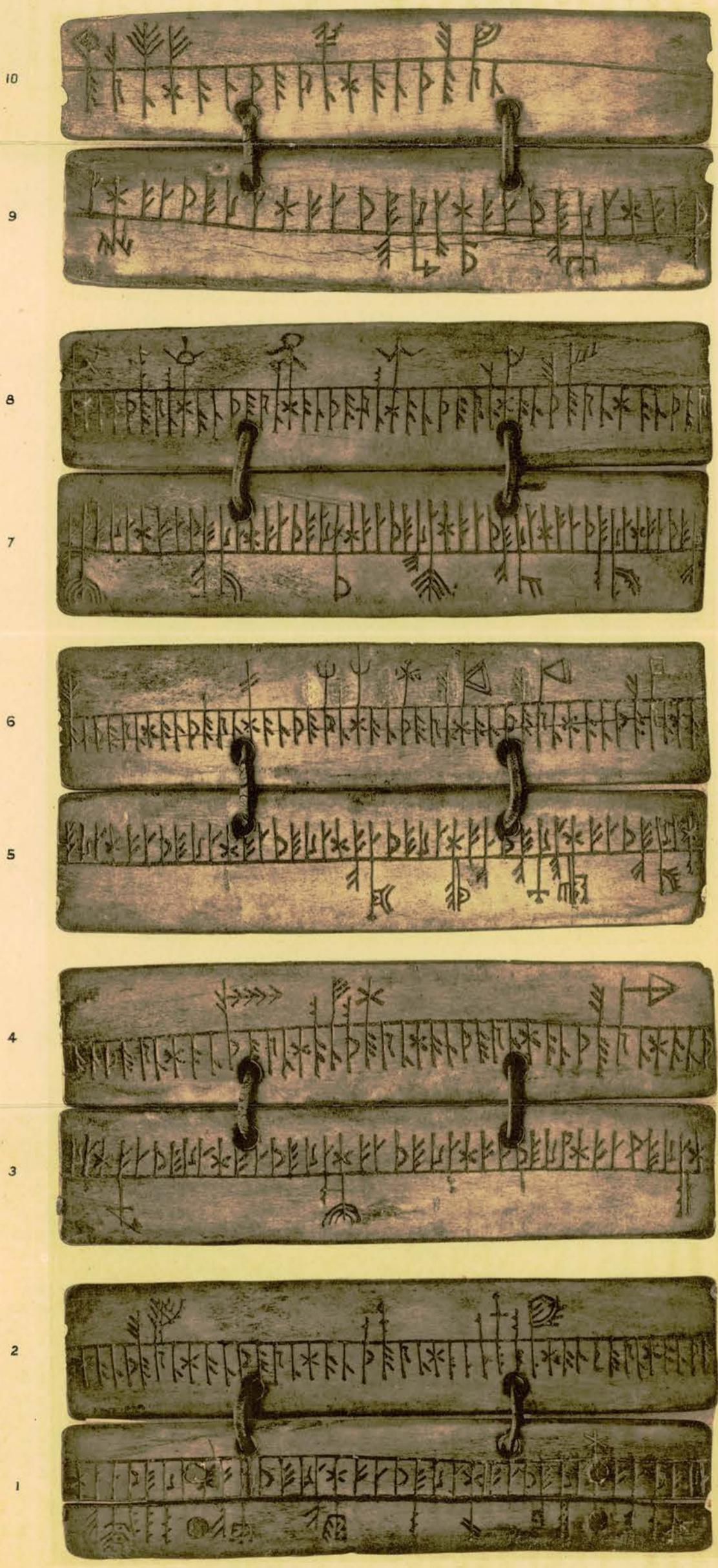
The reason for that, no doubt, is that native copper as found in South America is, when hammered into shape, much less hard than porphyry or opal. In North America the native copper is, in a certain well-known district, where implements of war were found wrought in copper, mixed with rhodium, which gives to copper great hardness. And it may be remarked in passing that the art of hardening copper, supposed to be known to the ancients but now lost, may be nothing but an art of nature's own, if anything produced by nature can be so designated. Copper and rhodium in certain proportions yields an alloy harder than that which is produced by man from copper and tin. The copper daggers, some eighteen inches in length, found more than twenty feet below the sand on the south shore of Lake Superior, were free from a single trace of oxidation, which would be another proof of the presence of rhodium.

But to return to Pisagua. At about a height of 3000 feet, and less than 70 miles from the shore, is a motionless sea of a chemical substance called nitrate of soda. The great abundance of iodine salts contained in the remarkable deposits above Pisagua is proof enough that that high ground was once an inland arm of the sea.

On this level was found the smaller of the porphyritic spear-heads deeply embedded in a natural cement, and how many thousands of years it may have lain there will be always a matter for speculation.

Three hundred years before the Spanish Conquest this part of the coast was thickly populated by a people who knew how to make the earth fruitful, and keep it so; a race of whose rulers it has been said their feet never trod the desert, but there sprang up a garden.

Garcilazo tells us that in the reign of Inca Pachacutec so thick were the people along this coast that an army of more than 60,000 men was needed to conquer them. Even at the time of the Spaniards' advent this valley was compared to an ant-hill, for the number of the people and their industrial pursuits. *Now* the only things to show that any people ever occupied that part of the once flowering earth are these simple tools and weapons of stone which I present to you.



EARLY RUNIC CALENDAR.

FOUND IN LAPLAND, 1866.

THE LINES READ FROM LEFT TO RIGHT IN THE ORDER INDICATED BY THE NUMERALS.
 CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY'S COMMUNICATIONS.
 Vol. IV.

V. ON AN EARLY RUNIC CALENDAR FOUND IN LAPLAND
in 1866. Communicated by EIRÍKR MAGNÚSSON,
M.A., Trinity College.

[*March* 19, 1877.]

WE have here exhibited, by the favour of the owner, the Rev. James Beck, Rector of Parham, Sussex, a runic Calendar of Scandinavian origin, engraved on six plates of reindeer horn. The only thing known of the history of this calendar is that, in 1866, the present owner secured it in Lapland from a native who was in the habit of carrying it on his person.

The six plates, on which the calendar is carved, are treated as six leaves, and are bound together loosely, so as to allow them to turn over easily, by a piece of thong drawn through a couple of holes which go at a corresponding distance near the inner margin, or the back of the carving as it were, through all the plates. Thus the calendar presents the appearance of a small volume with the writing running down the page lengthways, instead of cross-ways. The outside of the outside plates, *i.e.* the *recto* of plate 1 and the *verso* of plate 6, is left blank. Plate 1 has, apparently a good long while ago, split in two halves, and has been mended by a couple of clumsy hafts of copper secured by copper rivets through the plate. The engraving, or writing, begins on the verso of plate 1, and covers $9\frac{2}{3}$ of the sides of the plates, leaving thus blank $\frac{1}{3}$ of the recto of plate 6, as the autotype representation shows. Along the sides of the plates on which the writing is found, and roughly speaking along the middle, is drawn a line, which serves as a rule-line to a series of runic characters, that run from left to right, and represent the Dominical Letters. On the verso of plate 1, and

the recto of all the rest, the line of runic characters runs below this rule-line; on the verso of plates 2—5 inclusive the runes run above it. This arrangement is merely the result of the rune-carver's convenience; and the various emblematic signs attached to certain days, which are always found on the side of the rule-line opposite to that taken up by the runic characters, consequently alternately above and below the rule-line, undergo no change in signification by reversing their position as to the rule-line. In every case they betoken a Saint's or a feast-day, or the fast, or the vigil, to be observed in connection with such days. I mention these details purposely, because, as carved runic calendars, as a rule, exhibit, besides the dominical letters and the feast-days' emblems, also figures and signs for the purpose of calculating the lunar cycle, and generally on that side of the line of the dominical letters, which is opposite to that where the emblems of the saints' days are found: so some might be disposed to think that the signs here, when changing their position from above to below the line of the dominical letters, thereby underwent a change in signification. But such is not the case. This calendar knows no golden numbers nor affords any means to calculate the moon's cycle, and consequently supplies no clue to the moveable feasts.

I must notice that, on the verso of plates 1 and 3, and on the recto of plate 4, there occur some erasures which I think must be taken as evidence of the calendar being the work of a copyist, not that of an original compiler. In support of this surmise may also be adduced an uncorrected slip on the recto of plate 4, where in the first week of that side, the runes **ᚠ** (dom. let. b) and **ᚡ** (dom. let. a) interchange their proper position.

The runic characters employed in this calendar for dominical letters differ from ordinary runes in some details. They are evidently meant to represent, as is generally the case in runic calendars, the first seven letters of the ancient runic alphabet:

𐐱𐐺𐐸𐐺𐐸, *i.e.* FUFORKH, but here the rune for U, being identical in form with that for K, and the rune for O, are both altogether irregular. The upward reversion of the side-stroke of the R and the U and the downward reversion of the side-strokes of F, O and K are also irregularities to be noticed.

In order to make the calendar more easily understood, I have added an engraving of it with the days of the month on one side of the runic line and the dominical letters on the other. By this means the important question, on what day the year commences and what day is left out (see I.), is settled at a glance without giving the reader the trouble of following me through the wearisome process which led to the discovery.

I think all points of interest directly connected with this calendar will find their solution, so far as I am able to solve them, by grouping them under the following three heads of inquiries:

1. What are the probable reasons for the number of days given to the year in this calendar?
2. Why does the year begin as it does here?
3. To what time does this calendar belong?

I.

As to the first inquiry, it is a most remarkable peculiarity, and worthy of especial notice, that this calendar gives not 365, but 364 days to the year. After some search I have failed in discovering any evidence of the existence of another runic calendar giving the same number of days to the year. Worm, in his *Fasti Danici*, and Liljegren, in his *Runlära*, both of whom are exhaustive writers on the subject, are equally ignorant of any such calendar-year on runic staves, or what commonly are called clog-almanacks. Therefore, the rarer the case before us is, the more interesting it becomes and the more worthy of inquiry.

As I mentioned before, this calendar is, I think without

doubt, a copy, not an original compilation. Then the question is, does it in this particular point faithfully represent its original? If it does so, it would represent a calendric tradition which acknowledged only 364 days in the year. But, as I shall show more fully in my answer to the second question, I think it may not unreasonably be doubted, whether it is not a copy of an original, which counted 365 days in the year instead of 364. And supposing that to have been the actual case, one of two things must be accepted: either the number of days in the year in this calendar is the result of an accidental oversight, or the copyist, refusing to accept the computation of his original, *wilfully* computed 364 days to the year. The supposition of an accidental oversight may, in my opinion, be dismissed at once. Seeing that this is not only a copy, but a collated and corrected copy of an earlier original, the omission of one day, supposing that the copyist was cognisant of the fact that 365 days ought to belong to the year, could not have escaped him in the collation, and much less in afterwards putting it to the practical test of perusal. The things moreover, which he corrects, being only some few misplaced strokes indicative of vigils and fasts, are but trifling mistakes in comparison to what to him must have been the grossest blunder possible, that of leaving out a day. I do not therefore see how the inference is to be avoided that, supposing there was an original really representing 365 days in the year, for the evidence on the point only amounts to probability, the copyist for reasons of his own did not choose to give to the year more than 364; and these reasons could scarcely have consisted in anything but an old established tradition, in which the copyist had greater confidence than in the accuracy of his original.

But in assuming that in this particular point the copyist was carrying out an old established tradition against a new method of computation, it will be asked where the evidence is of the Scandinavians ever having calculated their year at 364

instead of 365 days. There not only is an evidence on record to prove this; but it is an evidence which takes us back to the very times, when the things existed to which it bears witness. According to this evidence, which I shall bring forward immediately, the custom prevailed among the heathen Scandinavians as late as the middle of the 10th century, of counting in the year twelve (lunar) months, each consisting of 30 days, with four additional days, making the cycle of the year 364 days altogether.

Ari the Learned (1068—1148), who, I may mention in passing, wrote Icelandic prose long before vernacular prose-composition was attempted in any other living European language, mentions in his *Islendingabók*, or *Libellus Islandorum*, the probable date of which is circa 1133 A.D., an incident which it is of great importance to notice in connection with this calendar. This book contains a survey of the earliest events of importance in the history of Iceland. In the fourth chapter the author gives an account of a computistic difficulty which had been puzzling the Icelanders for some time, and tells how that difficulty was solved, and how the solution was invested with legal authority. The sense of Ari's words, which it is impossible to translate literally, is as follows:

“It also befell then—the wisest men here in the land having been wont to count in two half years 364 days, which amounts to 52 weeks, or twelve months of thirty days, and four days beside—that they marked from the sun's course, that the summer would draw back towards spring; but no one knew, or could tell them, that in two half years there was one day beyond the full tale of complete weeks, or that this was the cause. But there was a man called Thorstein the Swarthy, who hailed from Broadfirth, a son of Hallstein the son of Thorolf of Mostr, who was a land-settler, and of Osk the daughter of Thorstein the Red. This man had a dream. He thought he stood on the Rock of Law (*Lögberg*) when many folk were

gathered there together, and he thought that all other folk slept at the time. Again he thought that he slept himself, while all other folk awoke. This dream Osyf the son of Helgi and the father of the mother of Gellir Thorkelsson interpreted to mean, that all men would grow silent, while he (Thorstein the Swarthy) spoke on the Rock of Law; but afterwards, when he had done speaking, all folk would give good cheer to that which he had spoken. But these were mightily wise men both of them. Now, after this, when people came to the Thing, he (Thorstein the Swarthy) gave out the counsel at the Rock of Law, that every seventh summer should be increased by a week for a trial as to how that would answer. And even according as Osyf had interpreted the dream all men awoke well at this, and it was forthwith sanctioned by law at the counsel of Thorkel Moon and other wise men."

This correction of the heathen calendar in Iceland took place about the year 960 A.D. We learn from this account, first, that the heathen year had 364 days; that now it was so far corrected that it fell in with the ordinary year according to the Julian Calendar, but that as yet the Icelanders were not cognizant of the *bissextile* day, for Thorstein's advice goes clearly to prove that that day had no place in his calculation¹. This incident

¹ To the passage quoted above from the *Islendingabók* there is added the following note of explanation, which aims at reconciling the old heathen computation with the method of that of the Julian Calendar:

"By right reckoning there are, in every year, 365 days, when the year is not a leap year, in which case it has one day more; but by our reckoning (there are) 364 (days in the year); so when by our reckoning every seventh year is increased by a week, but by nothing according to the other reckoning, then seven years together become equally long by both reckonings. But if two leap years fall between the years which are to be increased, then the sixth must be augmented."

In order to understand what can be understood of this note it must be clearly remembered, that the two modes of computation are set off against each other in order to show how the old (our reckoning) tallies with the new (the right reckoning) *i.e.* the Julian computation. In the first passage

gives us an insight into the *previous* as well as the actual state of things in this particular in Iceland. Some ninety years before this event the Norwegians had begun to emigrate to Iceland. The immigration lasted for 60 years according to Ari's no doubt truthful account. By this time, therefore, the country had been fully settled for thirty years only. As it is certain that in other matters the Norwegians brought with them the traditions of the mother country, so in this matter it must have been especially the case, for of all things they must have guarded most faithfully the mother country's method of computing time and changes of seasons. When Ari therefore says that the Icelanders had been in the habit of calculating the days of the year at 364, it is evident that that could not be a mode of counting the days invented in Iceland, but was, on the contrary, one of the fixed features of the civilization of the

the author squares seven common Julian years of 365 days—striking out the bissextile day (for that seems to be the only meaning of “increased by nothing”)—against the seven years of “our reckoning” of 364 days each + 7 days added to the summer of the seventh year. These two periods, thus calculated, are equally long. But if the author means that, in this calculation, only the seventh year in the Julian cycle is not to be a leap-year but a common year, which some might perhaps contend was the meaning, from the contrast which the opening words of the second clause convey, then his calculation is utterly at fault, as in that case “our reckoning” would be invariably one or two days short against the “right” or Julian. But of the second clause I do not see how anything can be made at all. The author evidently confounds one method of computation with the other. For what happens when “two leap years occur between the (six) years which are to be increased,” is this, that by the Julian computation every five and six years produce the seven days which he thinks that six years by “our reckoning” produce at the end of the sixth summer, which, of course, is impossible. The conclusion seems to me to lie near, that this explanatory note is scarcely genuine, but is rather the interpolation of a later unskilled computist. It is a curious peculiarity with regard to the language of this chapter that *dagr* in the sense of day = day and night, is used here instead of *nátt*, which is much more common in the earliest and best writings of Iceland. Is this word used in obedience to the ancient canon law of Iceland, which ruled that, in computistic calculation, day should take the precedence of night? See *Kristinn rættur Þorláks ok Ketils*, ch. xlv.

mother country. And a further proof of it can be drawn from the relations of the two countries at the time. People were perpetually going backwards and forwards between Norway and Iceland, the intercommunion was of the closest, and was most frequent even among the very classes who must have guarded the computistic lore of the country most faithfully—the hereditary aristocracy, who in Iceland remained what they had lately been in Norway, kings and priests at once, and were thereby the self-constituted guardians of the observances of the heathen rites, festivals and high seasons. In fact, these people were the living editions of the calendars of the time¹. I may still mention a

¹ In support of my statement I may adduce the following passage from the republican code of laws, the Grágás; Uer scolom leiðir eiga oc scolo goðar þeir eiga leið saman er þing eigo saman. oc scal þar leið þeirra vera sem þingstoð þeirra er.....þar scal ny mæli oll up segia aleið oc miseris tal. oc imbrodaga hald. oc langafösto i gang oc sva ef hlavp ár er eða ef við sumar er lagt. We shall have Leets and shall those priests hold a Leet together who belong to the same thing (district), and their Leet shall be holden where their thingstead is.....There shall all new law-provisions be given forth at the Leet and the computation of the year and the Ember-days' observances and the advent of lent, likewise (it shall be stated) if there be a leap-year or if summer is added to. Grág. ed. 1853, p. 111—112. Cpr. also; drottins dag þan scolo ver ganga i fostv. sem upp er sagt a þingvm oc a leiðvm. On that Lord's day shall we enter on lent which is given out at Things and Leets. Grág. ead. ed., p. 32. These were among the duties which the local aristocrats had to perform in returning to their respective jurisdictions (thing) from the Althing, where, according to the provisions of the Lögsögumanns-þáttur, the lögsögumaðr, or spokesman-at-law, had to give out, on the Rock-of-Law, amongst other things, the computation for the current year: Lögsogo maðr a up at segia.....at lögbergi..... misseris tal. Grág. ead. ed. p. 209. These local aristocrats were the descendants of the heathen aristocrats, goðar or priests, who, during the heathen age, combined in their person the pontifical with the autocratic power. It cannot be considered anything but a continuance of their whilom prerogatives and duties that, under the episcopal régime in the Christian age, they should have to promulgate to their *thingmen* or liegemen the current calendar. Had this not been formerly a part and parcel of their prerogatives, we may be certain that the Christian bishops would not, in disregard of their clergy, have committed to lay lords the care of so important a branch of the ecclesiastical polity.

fact pointing in the same direction. Some thirty years before this correction of the calendar took place the Icelanders had procured from Norway a set of unwritten laws, called, after their author, Ulfjót's laws. It is hardly conceivable that these laws should have left the calendar question, one of the most important legislative questions in primitive times, altogether unnoticed. And had they computed the year at 365 days, there would have been no cause for the long-standing puzzle, which Thorstein the Swarthy was called upon to solve at a public assembly of the legislators of the country. As far, therefore, as I can see, no doubt is possible as to the uncorrected year, that Ari describes, having been the common heathen year of Scandinavia; on the other hand, it is equally certain that Thorstein's correction is a computistic achievement of purely Icelandic origin. But that is a point with which we are not further concerned now.

I am not aware that in Scandinavia any efforts were made to correct the year until Christianity, at the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century, brought in the Julian-Calendar, as adapted to the Christian era by Dionysius Exiguus, and further popularized and expanded by the venerable Bede in his admirable work *De ratione temporum*. To this treatise and the other astronomical works, written by the same author, the great majority of the earliest Scandinavian writings on astronomy and computistic lore trace their origin more or less directly. But Bede, after all, was accessible only to the clerks. To the outside world, the laity, he was a sealed book, and although the church from the very beginning followed the correct calculation of the days, &c., the great mass of the people, who were in absolute ignorance of literature of any kind, followed the traditions of their forefathers in the calculation of their days and seasons. And it would be difficult to mention anything connected with the history of human civilization and culture to which man clings with such a stubborn conservatism as ancient calendrical and computistic traditions. Naturally.

The primitive attempts at framing a calendar are based upon untutored observations of various natural, chiefly celestial, phenomena, among which the solstice, as one of the most easily grasped, takes from the first a prominent place.

The observation of these phenomena, being accompanied by imagination unhampered by the abstraction of a scientific age, takes from the very beginning the character of a lore which veers between superstitious science and scientific superstition on the relation of a certain day or a certain set of days at certain seasons to man and man's interests. By its concrete or material and especially in virtue of its subjective nature this lore becomes easily the property of the multitudes, its doctrines, ominous or propitious, pass from father to son, and become the lifelong companions of the tiller of the land and the toiler of the sea. While the nation has no vernacular literature and does not know the use of books, a large portion of its literary treasures is made up of computistic lore, which in these circumstances is faithfully guarded and long preserved in unalloyed primitive purity, as all ancient mythologies bear out incontestably.

That the Scandinavians were at a very early age acquainted with some practical mode of recording their calendric and computistic experiences seems certain. The early records of their history and traditions speak of *aldr-rúnir* and *æfi-rúnir*, *i. e.* runes of age and time, which can only mean writings of calendric nature. What the precise nature of those records may have been, we have no means of determining now. But their general outward characteristic was certainly that they were cut on solid objects of portable nature, logs of wood (*kefli*) generally. These heathen logs became doubtless the prototypes of the Christian runic calendars, which in a similar manner were cut on portable objects of various description, but in the great majority of cases on the so-called runic staves, of which a large quantity is found in Scandinavia in private hands, and public collections; while

in Iceland itself, where writing was practised and books were read, more or less generally, from the 12th century onward, not one, to this day, so far as I am aware, has been found. When the Roman alphabet found its way to Scandinavia with the introduction of Christianity, the vernacular writing at the time was in the runic character, which at that time had passed from the antique (old runes) to a more modern type (later runes). In practice this writing was chiefly used for memorial and magic purposes. The latter, the magic employment of the runes, though practised by few only, was extensive and popular, the more so for the very fact, that skill in rune-craft, being a rare accomplishment, was confined to a select class of society, and was not the property of the multitudes. During the 'sword-age' of the North, which extended over the first four centuries of the authentic historic era of Scandinavia, this accomplishment was, apparently, chiefly confined to the womankind, as indeed the art of medicine generally, of which the magic rune-craft constituted a conspicuous branch. The popularity of the runes was so firm, that when the church brought in the Roman method of recording the festivals of the year, the Roman dominical letters a, b, c, d, e, f, g, had to be abandoned, and as many of the vernacular alphabet were adopted, the first seven generally, **Þ, N, F, R, V, ***, and such was the tenacity with which people clung to this particular form of calendric record in the North, that for upwards of 600 years after the introduction of Christianity, and for nearly, if not fully, two centuries after that of printing, it was the popularly current one in Scandinavia, and is still in use in certain places in Norway and Sweden. Thus all runic staves, without exception, represent the calendar of the Christian church, no stave or log, representing a purely heathen computation of the year, having been discovered as yet. These points it is well to notice here, because this very calendar, though of Christian origin, betrays intermixed with the Chris-

tian computation heathen traditions which assign to it a pre-eminently important place in the still imperfectly explored, but none the less important literature of early runic calendars. And it stands, as yet, as a unique collateral evidence of Ari the Learned's computistic record in *Islendingabók* being a true one as far as the number of days in the year is concerned.

II.

As is shown by the explanatory engraving of the calendar, the year begins on the 23rd of December. That this date is correctly given for the first day of the year is proved by the agreement between the saints' days, the days of the month on which they fall, and the Christian Sunday Letters. On that point no further explanation is required. In thus beginning the year this calendar exhibits a very rare, if not unique peculiarity. I could point to no other runic calendar beginning the year in the same manner; while numbers could be shown which, beginning the year in the Yuletide, invariably commence it on the 25th; and of the two modes of beginning it there is no question that the one here exhibited is the genuine heathen, while the other, of course, is the genuine Christian.

Again I must refer to the words of Ari the Learned which I quoted in the beginning. At the time to which he referred, we saw that the solar year was known, not as we know it under the collective notion of 365 days, but as a sum total of two half-years; a half-year, in fact, forming the unit, as it were, of the so-called year. This half-year Ari knows under the name of "misseri," which, no doubt, is an Anglo-Saxon immigrant in Icelandic, and means half-year, practically speaking, although by its derivation it probably only means changing season. It is further evident from Ari's account that the two half-years are Winter and Summer. The *Islendingabók* bears out abundantly, that these were the names given in Ari's time, to each half-year. And we have them distinctly defined in the *Rym-*

begla, an old computistic work, which says that it is called "misseris"-tale that two "misseri" make one year; that is winter and summer. It is therefore evident, that anciently the year was known, in the technical sense at least, as only a *semestre*, the six months passing from solstice to solstice. Among the Icelanders this notion of the year's length would seem to have been quite in common vogue even as late as the 14th century, and is so, I might say, to this day. The early writers, in making chronological statements, most generally employ the term "á þessum missirum," during these half yearly seasons, meaning this year; or they use the word *vetr*, winter, to signify a year, except when they talk of events of annual duration, such as, *e.g.*, the yearly tenure of an office, which they know to commence within the summer season, in which case summer is the term employed for a year. Now the distinction drawn between the two solstitial semestres, winter and summer, winter being used generally in a chronological sense to signify a year, and summer only in special cases, proves that winter was the semestre which computistically took the precedence, was in fact the semestre which began the year on the day following the winter solstice.

And here, by digression, it is worth noticing, that as winter takes precedence of summer in the sense of a year, so night takes precedence of day generally in the sense of a civil day of 24 hours in old Icelandic writers¹, a manner of speech which to

¹ This statement could be substantiated by thousands of instances from Icelandic writers. Even the *Rymbegla*, where accuracy in terms is more strictly observed than in the sagas, uses, as a rule, winter for year; and night for day of 24 hours: *Sólar öld er kölluð at bókmáli Concurrentis öld; i þeirri öld eru vetr xxviii.*—The solar cycle is called in learned computation the cycle of the concurrents; in that cycle there are twenty-eight years, *Rymb. 54; Páska öld, i þeirri öld eru tveir vetr ens iv tigar ens vi hundraðs tíraðs.*—Paschal cycle, in that cycle there are five hundred and thirty-two years, *Rymb. 64;* and so on.—*Fimm nætr þær er umfram eru xii mánuði xxx náttu skulu fylgja Martius.*—The five days in excess of twelve months of thirty days each shall be added to the month of March, *Rymb. 56.*

this day is far from having gone wholly into desuetude. Both peculiarities stand in direct traditional connection with the cosmogonic ideas of Northern Mythology. Winter¹ and night descend directly from the Titanic chaos which preceded organised creation, and in her turn the latter becomes the mother of the day, and on her steed Hoar-mane (Hrímfaxi) rides *before* Day round the Earth². This cosmogonic idea lived on in the

I tveimr missirum eru vikur tvær ens ví tigar og nótt ein umfram; nótt sú ein heitir concurrens,—In two half years there are fifty-two weeks and one day extra, that one day is called a concurrent, Rymb. 60, &c., &c.—The oldest ecclesiastical law of Iceland, the kristinn rættir þorláks og Ketils from 1123, provides that dagr skal fyrr koma alls misseris tals enn nótt, Day, in all computation of seasons, shall precede the night, ch. XLV. p. 166 (Cpr. Grágás ed. by Finsen, Kaupmannahöfn, 1853, p. 37), which proves that in vulgar computation the reverse was the case. This very law, however, reverses its own rule almost throughout. The vulgar mode of computation was called almannatal, all men's tale, Rymb. 100, Isl. ch. 10 fine, alment tal, id, Rymb. 16, alþýðutal, id, Rymb. ib. and 48, where it says: Enn viknatal eitt þarf til alþýðutals *i.e.* but for vulgar computation calculating by weeks only is sufficient, cpr. Isl. 6, ch. 9 fine.

¹ Enn faðir Vetrar er ýmist kallaðr Vindlóni, eðr Vindsvalr, hann er Vasaðarson, ok voru þeir áttúngar grimmir ok svalbrjóstaðir, ok hefir vetr þeirra skaplyndi,—But the father of Winter is called either Vindlóni or Vindsvalr (Chill-blast), he is the son of Vásaðr (Wetsome?), and these kinsmen were grim and chill-bosomed, and with their temper winter is endowed. Edda i. 82.

² Nörvi eða Narfi hét jötun, er bygði í Jötunheimum; hann átti dóttur, er Nótt hét, hon var svört ok dökk, sem hon átti ætt til; hon var gipt þeim manni, er Naglfari hét; þeirra son hét Uðr; því næst var hon gipt þeim er Annarr hét; Jörð hét þeirra dóttir. Síðarst átti hana Dellingr; var hann Ása ættar; var þeirra son Dagr; var hann ljóss ok fagr, eptir faðerni sínu. Þá tók Alföðr Nótt, ok Dag, son hennar, ok gaf þeim 11 hesta ok 11 kerrur, ok setti þau upp á himin, at þau skulu ríða á hverjum 11 dægum umhverfis jörðina. Ríðr Nótt fyrri, þeim hesti er kallaðr er Hrímfaxi, ok at morgni hverjum döggr hann jörðina af mel-dropum sínum. Sá hestr er Dagr á, heitir Skinfaxi, ok lýsir allt lopt ok jörðina af faxi hans.—Nörvi or Narfi was hight a giant who dwelt in Giants' home; he had a daughter hight Night, who was dark and black, according to her kind; she was wedded to a man called Naglfari, and their son was hight Uðr; then she was given in wedlock to him who was called Annarr, and their daughter was called Earth. Lastly she was owned by Delling of

efforts of the heathens to construe their computistic systems from the starry phenomena of the nightly heavens. There is no reason for the supposition, that the Icelanders borrowed this method of stating seasons and days from the Anglo-Saxons. It is a universal characteristic of early computistic efforts throughout the world.

On this very day then, the 23rd of December, the year begins according to this runic Calendar. This being the term which from the remotest mythical times the heathen Scandinavians assigned to the commencement of the year, a term moreover for the origin of which no ecclesiastical authority can be shown, it affords a very strong evidence, in addition to the number of the days, to show that this calendar belongs to a time when heathen tradition still prevailed in the computistic arrangement of the seasons.

But then the question presents itself: The year consisting only of 364 days, which is the day omitted? To this the agreement between the dominical letters and the saints' days gives a direct answer. When all the saints' days in the calendar fall on their proper dominical letter, or if, as is the case here, some do not, but the reason can be shown why such is the case, then the difficulty about the missing day is easily solved. As will be seen at a glance from the engraving of the calendar, this day is the 31st of December, to which belongs the same dominical letter as to the 1st of January. By the omission of that day no confusion is imported into the relation between the dominical letters and the days of the month or otherwise beyond what I shall now define. The distance in time between Christmas

the kin of the Æsir, and their son was Day, light and fair according to his father's kind. Then Alfater took Night, and Day her son, giving to them two horses and two cars, and set them up into the heaven that they should ride in the course of a day and night round the earth. *Night rideth first* on a steed called Hoar-mane, and every morning he bedeweth the earth with drops from his bit. The horse that Day hath is called Sheen-mane, and of his mane all air and earth are lighted up.

Day and the Feast of Circumcision, Jan. 1, and between Christmas Day and Epiphany, Jan. 6, would, by the omission, become short by one day, if these feasts were placed on their proper days of the month. This could not stand in a Christian calendar of course. So in order to observe these feasts *at a proper distance from Christmas Day*, which is the point, the signs of them are placed against the 2nd and 7th of January; and from the latter date the disturbance caused by the omission of the 31st December ceases, I think, as far as Christian feast-days are concerned, so that all Saints' days after that fall on the proper day of the month and the right Dominical Letter.

The omission of the 31st of December, the only day in the year that could be omitted without disturbing the harmony between the Dominical Letters, the days of the months and the Saints' days, seems to be only proof of heathen tradition accommodating to its wants the ecclesiastico-Julian method of computing the days of the year, but discarding it at the particular point, where it appeared superfluous or puzzling. And to one who began the year on the 23rd of December, who knew it by tradition to consist of 364 days only, the repetition of the same Dominical Letter, that is, of the same day, within one and the same week, could not be anything but a blunder; a week of eight days being a thing never heard of, a year of 365 days being consequently an absurdity. And by turning to the calendar itself we find on the verso of plate 1 the erasure to which I called attention in the beginning, in the very place where the old heathen tradition and the ecclesiastical innovation must clash, that place being where, in the original, was entered the 2nd of January. This erasure proves to me that the calendar is a copy of a Christian, not of a heathen original.

I said before that in beginning the year on the 23rd of Dec. this calendar followed heathen tradition. I may mention, however, that although that term for the commencement of the year represents perhaps the genuine heathen computation in

Scandinavia, various other terms from which to commence the year are known. I need not mention the common terms of Christmas Day and Circumcision Day. But I may notice, that in Norway it was long the prevailing custom to count the year from Tiburtius' Day, the 14th of April, which with the Norwegians was the first day of summer, and was called "Förste Sommerdag." It was a very solemn festival, no work might be done, no servant might be absent from home, no sheep-owner might eat mutton on that day, no drop of the winter's milk might be mixed with that of the summer, lest the wolves should devour the herds during the ensuing year, and provisions, of which milk formed the substance, such as curds, whey and cheese, should go bad. Again, the Danes and generally the coast inhabitants of the Baltic used anciently to commence their year with the 23rd of November, St Clement's day. In heathen times that day was the feast of the winter-sacrifice. The seafaring trader and the Viking brought their ships to harbour, and a feast of boisterous thanksgiving was religiously observed. Hence this day, as is the case in the calendar before us, is marked by an anchor, signifying ships in harbour; sometimes it has a sign to it which interpreters of runic calendar staves suppose to mean a temple, but which may just as well, perhaps more plausibly, mean a boat-shed.

Sometimes even runic staves show the 2nd of January as the initial term of the year; but that is a mere computistic mistake arising originally out of causes similar to or identical with those which, as I have shown in this very calendar, move the feast of the Circumcision down to the 2nd of January.

According to the old pre-ecclesiastic calendar of Iceland, the domestic year began, singularly enough, on one of the days between the 22nd and the 28th of July, according as Thorstein the Swarthy's seven additional days to the summer fell in with the leap-year of the present style. Roughly speaking, the year began in the middle of the summer, and from that term was

divided into 12 lunar months of 30 days each, with four days extra. And as this is the division of the year which in domestic and economic life in Iceland is still in common vogue, while all similar traditions have died out almost entirely elsewhere, it will not be altogether out of place to add the tale of these ancient months here.

1. Heyannir, Haymaking labours (Old Dan. Hö = Hay, and Höst = Harvest Maaned, Swed. Skortant, Skördemånad, reaping Month, Anglo-Saxon Arnmonað, Barnmonað and Weodmonað, Pasture month, *i. e.* the Month when mown fields become pastures for live stock.

2. Tvímánuður, Twin-month, or kornskurðarmánuður, reaping-month (Dan. Fiskemaaned Fishm., Swed. Höstmånad, or Autumn-month, Anglo-Saxon Harfæstmonað, and Halegmonað = the holy month.

3. Haustmánuður, Autumn-month, also Garðslagsmánuður, a name which I think refers to the building and repairing of the walls called göngu-garðar, or walking walls, which were built along mountain sides for the purpose of facilitating the travelling of foot passengers in deep snow, and securing safe arrival to human habitations in heavy snow-storms. At present a common name for it is slátrunarmánuður or slaughtering-month, as in this month the beasts, which are intended to make up the meat-supply to the household during the winter, are slaughtered. Dan. Ridemaaned, *i. e.* mensis pecorum salientium, and Sademaaned, mod. Sædemaaned, sowing month; Swed. Blot- or Blod-månad, sacrificial or bloody Month; Anglo-Sax. Seteoda, Sowing or Seed-tide, and Winter-fyllet, winter-full-moon.

4. Gormánuður, the month Gorr, see page 87. Others translate it gore-month, as referring to the slaughter of beasts for winter consumption, thus deriving it from Icelandic gor, the viscous slime which coats the mucous membrane of the intestines of animals. Dan. Slagtemaaned, Slaughter-month,

Pölsemaaned, Sausage-month, or Vintermaaned; Anglo-Sax. Blótmonað, Sacrificial Month.

5. Ýlir, yule-month, or frermánuðr, Freezing-month. Dan. Vintermaaned; Swed. Vintermånad; Anglo-Sax. Blótmonað and Aerra geola, the first Yule-month, and also Midvintermonað.

6. Mörsugur, fat- or suet-sucker, starvation-month (for beasts), also hrútmanuðr, Ram-month (with hrútr compare rut, and rutting season). Old Dan. Glugmaaned, Blastmonth, from glygg (orig. glugg), blast, storm? and Ismaaned, Ice-month; Swed. Thore, Thorre (cfr. the following þorri) and Thorsmånad (by corruption?) the month of Thor; Anglo-Sax. Wolfmonað and Geola æftera, the later Yule-month.

7. Þorri, which I am inclined to connect with þurr, dry, cfr. þerra, þerrir, &c., and think it means the Rainless Month, a month in which snow falls generally, but not rain. And in the old myth Þorri was, as a deity, worshipped by the Kvens for making plenteous snow, see page 87. Others derive the name from þverra to wane, as if it indicated the waning winter, or from þorri, main, main portion, main part, majority (not recorded in Cleasby-Vigfússon), as being the month in which the winter weather displays its might and main. Old Norv. Thorre; Dan. Blidemaaned or Blidelmaaned, scarcely connected with blid, blithe, sweet, genial; later Gjö; Swed. Goja; Anglo-Sax. anciently Sprout-kele (Kele = cole, kale), later Solmonað.

8. Góí, now góa; of uncertain derivation. Norv. Gjö; Dan. Thormaaned; Swed. Thurrmånad, Blida, Blidemånad; Anglo-Sax. Rhedmonað, cpr. Icel. hryðja, sleet, squall, blasty shower, and Hlyða, Hlyðmonad, cpr. Icel. hlær, thawing, the thawing-month.

9. Einmánuðr (one month?). This month had the same name among the old Scandinavians as it now has among the Icelanders. Later it was called by the Danes Faremaaned, the

Month of movements, expeditions, &c. In olden times it had also the name of Asturmánad among the Swedes, who adopted the name, no doubt, from English missionaries, the vernacular Anglo-Saxon name for it being Eostre or Eástermonað, the Eastermonth or month of the Paschal Cycle.

10. Harpa *i. e.* Harp, Gaukmánuðr, the Cuckoo-month, or Sáðtíð, Seedtide. Scandinavian generally Mai in various corruptions, which are supposed by some to have reference to Meyja, Scand. Mö, a May or Maiden, to which conjecture the Old German name of it, Uuinne-, Wunne- or Wonniemanoth, month of love and delight, seems to give support. Anglo-Saxon Trimilchi, Thricemilking month; the month when cows were milked three times a day.

11. Skerpla, perhaps connected with skórpinn, the droughty month, also called egg tíð, Eggtide, and stekktíð, Lambfolding Month, from stekkr, a lamb-fold. Dan. Skjærsommer, the sheer, bright summer month, Norw. Gro, the Growing-month, the month of fertility. Swed. Starbråk, from starr, bent-grass (*carex*), and bräcka to break, the breaker of bent-grass, the charring month of drought. Anglo-Saxon, anciently Weydmonað, later Sear-monað, the dry month, also Lida (*aerra-Lida*) the month of shipping and sailing, or as others hold, but I do not, the mild month.

12. Sólmánuðr, the Sunny month, or Selmánuðr, the month when the milking stock is kept away from home at mountain dairies, Sel, Norw. Sæters; a more recent popular name is maðka mánuðr, the month of grubs, which at this season especially infest fish hung up to be dried. Dan. Madkemaaned, Swed. Höant, cpr. Icel. heyannir, and Hömánad, the haymaking month. Anglo-Saxon Heg-monað and Mædmonað, which is explained to mean the month when cattle were allowed to feed in the fields mown. But may not the name be more plausibly connected with *madu*, the Anglo-Saxon for a maggot?

At the end of this month came in the four extra days, the

so-called *aukancætr*, eke nights—night, as we have seen before, taking in chronological style precedence of day with the old writers, as winter takes precedence of summer.

I do not mean to infer by this list of the Icelandic months that this order was the same among the Scandinavians and the Anglo-Saxons. No doubt the order varied in various countries. But I have added the old names of the months to the Icelandic to shew the general similarity of principle on which the names are formed; and without entering into any comparative discourse on the subject, which would be out of place here, it must be allowed that this similarity, one might really say identity, is very striking.

Some of the names of the Icelandic months go back to mythic antiquity. In the account given in *Flateyjarbók* i. 22, of how Norway was found, the historian sets about relating the story of it in the following manner: "Now must be told the story how Norway was first found, and how the races of kings sprang up there, as well as in other lands; and also why they are hight Skjöldungs, Budlungs, Bragnings, Ödlings, Völsungs or Nífungs, from whom the kingly races have sprung. There was a man, named Fornjot, who had three sons, one called Hler, another Logi, the third Kári; he ruled the winds, while Logi ruled fire and Hler the sea. Kári was the father of Jökul, who was the father of king Snow; but the children of king Snow were these: Þorri, Fönn (Snowdrift), Drífa (Snowfall) and Mjöll (Snow). Þorri was an excellent king, and ruled over Gothland, Kvenland and Finland. The Kvens worshipped him for making plenteous snow, in order that they might have a good snow-skid travelling, which is their good year; the sacrifice should be at mid-winter, and afterwards that season was called the month of Þorri. King Þorri had three children. His sons were called Norr and Górr (cpr. Gormánuðr), but his daughter was hight Goe. Goe ran away from home, and Þorri had his sacrifice a month later than he was wont to

sacrifice. They afterwards called the month, which then began, Goe."

Perhaps this account really preserves an ancient tradition of the barbarous Scandinavian immigrants having borrowed from the far more civilized aborigines, the Fins and other allied races, a certain number of the technical terms by which the more prominent features of the winter season were computistically designated.

It may not perhaps be altogether void of interest, in connection with a calendar which in the present day turns up to bear witness to the old heathen year of Scandinavia, to notice some of the more prominent of the heathen festivals.

In the beginning of the domestic year fell the universally observed sacrifice to Frøy, the god of fertility, which lasted for many days. Some of the more prominent points in the cultus of this god were the following. The festivity was always numerously invited to by the priest, or the temple-owner, and numerously attended. The animal, which plays the most prominent part at the sacrifice, is the boar, *sónar göltr*, the propitiating, atoning boar, which was sacrificed on the occasion. The hilarity of the high tide is kept alive by the ale, a never-failing element in heathen worship. To other points connected with the cultus of this god we have some clue in later popular observances in Norway and Sweden, where his worship was especially observed. In Norway even to a late date it was the custom to bake bread at this time representing various figures of animals, among which the horse was the most prominent. It was called the *Helhest*; the Hell-steed on which Frey had ridden to the hell, *i. e.* the depths of the winter solstice, and now appeared in victorious glory again. In Norway and Sweden it was long a universal custom to set up an evergreen tree, a pine or a fir, at this time in the villages or towns; later the custom would have one set up by the entrance to the house; later still, the tree entered the house

itself where, at Christmas, it figures now in all Teutonic countries under the name of *jólatrè*, *Juletræ*, *Christbaum* and *Christmas tree*.

About the middle of winter, that is, at an equidistance between the winter solstice and the vernal equinox, was held the *Þorrablót*, which has been mentioned before. That must have been a sacrifice derived from people to whom a good year was plenty of snow to make sliding on snow-skids good, and thereby the prospects of hunting favourable. It is evidently a festival which owes its origin to a Northern hunting race.

On the 1st of Feb. the Swedes used to observe a great festival at Upsala, called *disting* = *dísa þing*, or *dísablót*. It was the great sacrificial festivity of the year hallowed to the goddesses in heathen times.

On the 2nd of February were anciently observed all over the pagan North certain rites, connected with the worship of fire. In some places the toast or bumper of the fire was drunk by the whole family kneeling on their knees round the fire, who at the same time offered grain and beer to the flames on the hearth. This was the so-called *Eldborgs skål*, the toast of fire-salvage; a toast which was meant to avert for the coming year disasters from fire. Fire- and sun-worship mingled together, no doubt, in the observance of this feast; for where it was most religiously observed, among the Swedes, it was called *Freysblót*, and was a very great affair. In early Christian times, only wax candles which had received the blessing of the priest were burnt in the houses of the people in the evening. Hence *Candlemas*.

On the beginning day of the month *Goe* there was a great sacrifice observed in Sweden called *Góeblót* or *höfutblót*, accompanied by much pageantry and festive observances.

By the beginning of the spring month, *Harpa* (corresponding to the later part of April and prior part of May) a sacrifice was anciently held called *sumarblót*, summer sacrifice, or more

frequently blót móti sumri, sacrifice against, *i. e.* to meet summer.

On the day of this month which corresponds to May 1, great festivities were held formerly in Scandinavia, especially in Denmark, for the purpose of welcoming summer, the most significant of which was a procession of peasants on horseback decked with twigs and branches and flowers, which was called "riding Summer into town."

On the 21st of June, or the day of the summer solstice, a great sacrifice was observed all over the heathen North, called Miðsumarsblót, and mostly in the open air. In Christian times the celebrations were transferred to St John's day, and in the more remote parts of the North some shreds of the old observances are still traceable. In Iceland people club together for picnicking excursions during the night between the 23rd and 24th, which formerly was called Jóns vaka, the vigil of St John. In some parts, bathing during the night takes the place of other amusements. Throughout Scandinavia, in the olden time, bonfires were lit during this night, and people gathered together from neighbouring countrysides for merrymaking round these fires; and that custom is still observed in parts of Norway and Sweden, but most religiously in Finland. The origin of these bonfire festivities at mid-summer lies deep down in the mythic age. It is the myth of Balder's bale-fire which thus lives on still at the present day.

About the autumnal equinox a great and general festivity was observed throughout the pagan North, dedicated to elves and goddesses. This sacrifice had no doubt chiefly reference to the guardian spirits of the land (*landvættir*, *landwights*), who stood in close relation to the harvest, and were at the same time intimately connected with the families to whom the lands yielding their harvest belonged. When Christianity came in, these festivities migrated from the equinoctial day to St Michael's day, a week later. Observances are still met with

all over the North about this time in the shape of Christian harvest-home festivities.

On the 14th of October was observed with great and varying solemnities the first day of winter. And to this day the old traditions survive in various shapes throughout the North.

On the 23rd was another sacrifice, the so-called Winter-night sacrifice, observed certainly in Iceland, and probably throughout Scandinavia as well. This sacrifice seems to have been for Freyr especially, as the god of fertility and fruitfulness. The Sagas mention this sacrifice very frequently.

III.

In connection with the question, what the probable date of this calendar may be, it is well, first, to call attention to the feasts and Saints' days which are contained in it, and to the emblems attached to them, so far as I have been able to make anything of them.

1. The emblem of Christmas Day, Dec. 25, closely resembling that given to this day in Northern clog almanacks generally, is taken to mean trays or dishes provided with Christmas fare.

2. The emblems for St Stephen's (A.D. 33), St John's, and Holy Innocents' days, Dec. 26th, 27th, and 28th, are all identical or nearly so, and I fail to see what they may be meant to indicate. Generally St Stephen's day has for emblem on northern runic staves a fleam or a lancet, to note the day as the most auspicious in the year for bleeding horses, which in the old times was supposed to preserve them from disease during the ensuing year. St John's has generally an eagle for emblem, while Holy Innocents' day is marked by a sword indicative of Herod's murder of the Innocents at Bethlehem.

3. In consequence of the 31st of December being omitted, the Octave of the Lord's Nativity falls on the 2nd of January. The emblem for this day represents a bell, significant of the

holy season of Christmas coming to an end, when Yule was "rung out." I have put against the day its common ecclesiastical title; to which, however, the emblem has no reference.

For the same reason that the octave of Christmas falls here on the 2nd of January, Epiphany or Twelfth Night falls on the 7th instead of the 6th. The emblem, again a bell, signifies that on this day the festive season of Christmas terminated, and was "rung out." It was, in all probability, owing to the very omission of the 31st of Dec. that on this day, anciently, the so-called Eldbjargarmessa, or feast of fire-salvage, was observed in the North; the name is still given to the 7th of Jan. in Icelandic almanacks. The name signifies, that on this day the Yule-fires, which had been kept alive from Christmas Day, were put out. On that day the festivities came to an end, and the Christmas guests took their departure. From Tellemarken in Norway a tradition is preserved illustrative of the customs which were observed on this particular day, in the olden time, in commemoration of the victory which the bright and warming Sun had won over the dark and cold winter. The mistress of the house entered the room where round the fire burning on the hearth the household were seated, and took her stand before the fire, and from a bowl of beer which she carried in her hand she drank the fire's toast with this formula:

So high my fire,

But neither higher nor yet hotter.

Then the company, seated on the floor, drank the fire's toast in the following manner: the beer-bowl was placed between their legs on the floor, and each one had to take it up with his teeth and empty it and then throw it over his head so that it came down behind him. If the bowl came down bottom upmost the thrower's was a forfeited life, and he must die within the ensuing year.

4. Whether the sign against the 11th of Jan. is, in consequence of Dec. 31 being omitted, meant really for the 10th

and thus for Paul the first Hermit (circa A.D. 287), or for St Hyginus, to whom 11th Jan. belongs, I would not venture to decide, as the emblem itself gives no clue even to its own meaning.

5. Again, whether the 14th of Jan. here is really meant for the 14th, or, in consequence of the oft-mentioned omission of Dec. 31, for the 13th, or St Hilary's day, might seem doubtful. I am inclined to think, however, that the rune-carver meant by the emblem to signify the 20th day after Christmas Day, irrespective of the day of the month, because the emblem seems to agree with that which is generally found against this day on Northern rune-staves, indicating logs of firewood. This day was a great festivity very early among the Northern nations, and it seems that beacon-fires were lit on it in commemoration of the Yule season. Indeed it seems that in Sweden the Yule season lasted for 20 days from Christmas. The name of this day was, as early as the 12th century, known in the North as Geisladagr, or Beamday, a name of uncertain origin. It might be supposed that it drew its origin from beacon fires lit on that day; or that the name was really gisladagr, day of hostages, gisl = hostage, from heathens and Christians, spending Yuletide together, having given mutual hostages for the ensurance of mutual peace, to be exchanged on the last day of the festivities. Some have connected the name with gisl or gils, the name of one of the horses of the Æsir, enumerated in Edda (Sn. E. i. 70), or with Gler, a name of another of the Æsir's horses, and found in the latter a parallelism to the German *Glaristag*. But with neither of these horses is a myth connected to warrant the inference, and *Glaristag* is clearly nothing but a gutturalized corruption of *Hilariustag*, or *Hilaristag*.

6. The emblem for St Henry's day, Jan. 19th, should, and probably does, mean a ship with rowers seated alternately along either gunwale. St Henry, the Apostle and patron of Finland, suffered martyrdom 1150, and was canonized 1158.

7. The Conversion of St Paul, Jan. 25th, has an emblem to it, which seems to be significant of two persons. It appears to represent a sword, the common emblem of the apostle, as the persecutor of the Christians, or as having been beheaded by a sword, and combined with it a bow, the emblem of Paul the archer, Páll Skyttari, a mighty warrior, of whom Northern legends tell, that he would fight dauntlessly through the first half of the day, but spent the latter half of it in devotions.

8. The Feast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary, or Candlemas, Feb. 2nd, has a branch-candelabrum for emblem, indicative not only of the old custom of illuminating churches on that day, but also of consecrating on that day the wax-candles which were to be used in the church, and of consecrating also for lay folk wax-candles which they used to keep in their own houses for the purpose of driving away the baneful influences of evil spirits.

9. St Sigfrid's day, Feb. 15th, shows his usual emblem, a sword. St Sigfrid was one of the early missionary bishops of Sweden. Died about 1030, and was buried at Vexiö; he was canonized in 1158.

10. St Peter's chair, 22nd Feb., is marked by an emblem, which seems to signify the cross on which tradition says the apostle suffered his martyrdom. But it might almost equally plausibly represent a key, which in runic staves and clog-almanacks is the common emblem of the day. Worm quotes, in his own Latin, this, as a common weather prognostic of the day:

*In Petri cathedrâ glacie si stringitur unda,
Non perit ante dies haec quater atque decem.*

11. The emblem of St Matthias' day, Feb. 24th, is probably meant for a hatchet or some similar instrument or weapon. Otherwise his emblems are a stone, an egg or three eggs, an axe, a fish, &c. The interpretation of the present sign seems to agree very well with the Saint's chief function

in relation to domestic and economic life which is expressed in the following weather prognostic of his day, as given by Worm in his *Fasti Danici* :

Matthias glaciem frangit, si invenerit illam,
Ni frangat, magis ut firma sit illa facit.

12. The emblem for St Gregory's day, March 12th (A.D. 604), is usually, either the figure of a schoolmaster with a rod beside him, or even the rod alone, and on Norwegian staves especially the figure of a crow. The sign in our calendar can hardly be meant for either, unless, indeed, it is a crow! The former sign is given to the Saint as the protector of schools and scholars. In a most instructive, but as yet only half finished, treatise by Mr Jón Sigurðsson in "Almanak hins íslenzka Þjóðvinafélags" for 1878, on feast-days and Saints' days, he mentions as a common Norwegian custom of old that, from the 1—12th of March, poor children, especially girls, used to dress in fantastic costumes and go begging from house to house, calling themselves Gregory's brides and Gregory's swains. A custom which, no doubt, sprang out of that fine legend of Bede's about Gregory and the blond British youths in the slave market in Rome.

13. The sign against the Annunciation of the Virgin, March 25th, as against every day assigned to her, signifies a triple crown, she being the thrice adored Regina Cœli.

14. The emblem for Tiburtius' day, April 14th (circa A.D. 174?), common in Norwegian and Swedish rune-staves, is meant for a budding tree. This day was formerly, and is still probably among the rural population, in Norway called the first day of summer, hence the emblem. How this day was observed is already mentioned, p. 83.

15. In runic staves the sign for St Mark's day, April 25th, is generally a cuckoo, indicative of the season having commenced for that harbinger of spring to make his appearance. It seems most probable that the emblem in our calendar is indicative of

a flight of these birds. But it is also possible that it may have reference to the rogation processions which took place on this day, called in the North the great Rogation-day, and that it may really signify a procession.

16. The emblem for St Philip and St James' day, May 1st, betokens here, no doubt, as generally, a sprouting beech-tree.

17. The sign for May 3rd, the Invention of the Holy Cross, is self-evident.

18. The sign against the 18th of May agrees with that which in Northern runic staves is given to St Eric, King of Sweden and Martyr, and signifies a crown, closed at the top, to distinguish it from the crown of the Virgin (*coronâ superius clausa, ad distinctionem dierum D. Virgini deputatorum*. Worm). St Eric was killed in 1160.

19. The emblem for St Eskill's day, June 12, is probably meant for an executioner's or a battle axe. St Eskill was one of the early missionary bishops of Sweden, and had chosen for his see Fors in Södermanland, when, on hearing that Blot-Sven or Sacrificing Sven, the Christian king Inge's own brother-in-law, had been chosen king for the purpose of supporting paganism against the innovating tendencies of king Inge, he hastened to a heathen sacrificial gathering at Upsala, where, at Blot-Sven's command, in reply to his remonstrances to the pagans, he was stoned about 1063.

20. If the emblem for St Botolph's day, June 17th (fior. A.D. 654), really is that which on Swedish runic staves is current for that day, it should mean an open book. But the one exhibited in our calendar seems scarcely to be capable of such an interpretation. Yet I know not what to suggest instead of it.

21. The emblem attached to June 22 is, without a doubt, I think, meant for the sword of St Alban, the protomartyr of England, A.D. 303. I have consequently put that Saint's name against the day in the unravelled calendar. In assigning this

day to the Saint this calendar agrees with the old English calendars, none of which agree with the Prayerbook in assigning June 17 to St Alban.

22. What the emblem for St John the Baptist's day, June 24th, may be meant to signify here I cannot pretend to settle. No doubt it refers to some of the multifarious out-of-door observances which in the North, as elsewhere, were connected with this the sunniest day in the year. Had the calendar been heathen I should have been inclined to connect the emblem with a Balder's temple. The usual emblem is a lamb on Swedish and Danish rune-staves, on Norwegian ones sometimes the image of the radiant sun on the top of a pole.

23. The sign for the day of St Peter and St Paul, June 29th, is generally a key, or a key and a sword combined. I much doubt whether the sign given to the day in this calendar is intended as a representation of either. Yet I have no suggestion to offer. One might almost be inclined to imagine that the emblems for June 24 and June 29 had interchanged by some chance, because that of the former, part of it at least, is rather suggestive of a key, while the latter might very well suggest a budding or flowering herb.

24. It is to be noticed, that the crown-emblem for the Virgin Mary given here to the 2nd of July betrays some peculiarities, by which it differs distinctly from the rest of the emblems of the Holy Virgin in this calendar. Chiefly in this, that the side-strokes to the main stem, which in the other emblems are very distinctly three on either side, are here only two on one side, and on the other three, but made as if the rune-carver was not certain whether there should be two or three; or that he had first made two, and afterwards added a third. This is all the more noticeable, as this is a very late feast-day in the Church. It was indeed originally instituted in 1263, by Pope Urban VI., in commemoration of the visit of the Holy Virgin to Elizabeth up in the moun-

tainous regions of Judea (Luke i. 39, 40). But it is quite certain that this festival did not come into common observance in the Catholic Church, least of all in the North, till after the council of Basel in 1431 had ordered, on the very ground of its sporadic and irregular observance, that it should be observed throughout the Western Church. And as a matter of fact it was not generally observed till some considerable time afterwards; in Iceland as late as 1472.

25. To July 15th being assigned in Church calendars the translation of St Swithun, I have entered his name against the day. But what the emblem may signify in connection with that saint I cannot suggest. It will be noticed that it is identical with that to which attention is called under No. 5 against the 14th of January.

26. The emblems given here to St Margaret's and St Mary Magdalene's days, July 20th and 22nd, are identical in form, and suggest a crown, lower in dignity than that of the Virgin Mary by two degrees. Generally the runic emblems are a rake in the one case, suggestive of hay-making work, a scale, or ladder, or a chair in the other, which probably refer to the legend of Mary Magdalene's assumption and reception by the Queen of the heavens.

27. The common emblem on Northern runic staves for St James' day, July 25, is a hat, or a pilgrim's staff: I do not see how the emblem in our present calendar can bear any interpretation in that direction at all. I cannot identify it either with any other of the known emblems of this Saint, such as a book, a wallet, a shell, or any combination of these.

28. The two feasts of St Olaf, the patron saint of Norway, July 29 and Aug. 3, are marked in the usual way, each with a battle axe. Olaf Haraldson became king of Norway 1015, and fell in the battle of Stiklastad, 1030. It is not uninteresting to notice, that in the date of the death of this Saint we have one more instance of current chronology being cor-

rected by astronomical science. From an eclipse of the sun which took place in the middle of the battle it has been verified to have taken place two days later than the calendar records it, or July 31st, 1030.

29. The emblem for St Lawrence's day, Aug. 10th (A.D. 258), represents, no doubt, the gridiron on which the legend says the Saint was roasted to death.

30. The common emblem for St Bartholomew's day, Aug. 24th; is a flaying-knife, with which, according to tradition, he was flayed alive. Possibly the sign here is meant for that instrument.

31. On Northern rune-staves the sign for St Giles' day, Sept. 1 (A.D. 725), is universally a pair of sheep-shears, and the sign here seems to represent a part of the instrument, the handle or the hole through which the shearer's finger is passed while working it.

32. The sign for the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, Sept. 14th, is no doubt meant for an elevated cross, but is, like so many emblems in the calendar, rude and unsuggestive in the extreme.

33. The general emblem on Danish rune-staves for St Matthew's day, Sept. 21st, is an angel, but on Norwegian and Swedish ones, a wood-axe, and in our calendar that may be what the emblem means, unless indeed it is meant for the leafy bough, for the cutting of which the axe was employed.

34. What may be meant by the sign for St Michael's day, Sept. 29th, I am unable to suggest. The common signs on Northern rune-staves are a trumpet, or a pair of scales; I do not discover either in the sign before us.

35. The common sign for St Francis' day, Oct. 4th (A.D. 1226; canon. 1228), on Swedish rune-staves is a fish and an open book, on Danish staves a cross. I see nothing of these in the sign in this calendar, and have no suggestion to offer as to its meaning.

36. Oct. 7th is the feast of the Swedish St Bridget, who was canonized in 1391. The emblem of the day is generally on Danish and Swedish staves a fuller's heckle or card, on Norwegian ones a bush, the former indicative of the commencement of the season when the domestic industry in woollen fabrics began, the latter of the bear preparing his lair for winter-dormitation. The emblem before us seems suggestive of none of these things. On the contrary, it seems to be a regular 15th century representation of a crown, and as such the most artistic, indeed strikingly so, of all the emblems in this calendar. And a crown is one of the attributes of St Bridget, with which she is frequently met in ecclesiastical art.

37. St Calixtus' Day, Oct. 14th, has from of old marked a turning-point in the season in the North; by the Norwegians it was called the first night of winter. It is with reference to this fact, no doubt, that the emblem given in the North to this day is peculiar to the North, being a mitten (with the thumb sticking out), suggestive of cold approaching, and this protection of the hand being required.

38. The common emblem for St Ursula, Oct. 21st (A.D. 383), in the North as elsewhere, is an arrow, or a couple of arrows. I think the emblem in our calendar is fairly suggestive of the latter.

39. The emblem of St Simon and St Jude, Oct. 28th, is appropriately suggestive of the ship, for which it is meant to stand, a ship with its mast rising from the middle.

40. Likewise, the emblem for All Saints' Day, Nov. 1st, which should represent a temple, seems only to suggest such.

41. The emblem for St Martin's day, Nov. 11 (A.D. 397), should be a goose (or a pig), but I cannot see the connection between the sign and the thing.

42. St Clement's day, Nov. 23rd (A.D. 100), has here, as usually, an anchor for an emblem, which Northern interpreters

of runic staves explain as indicative of ships being in harbour for winter quarters, cf. p. 33. And indeed the day corresponds well with the season, when shipping ceases in Scandinavia. This meaning of the anchor is still further borne out by the name given to this particular feast-day in early Northern (Swedish) Breviaries, where it is called *Festum Terræ*. This day is only one more instance, and an interesting one, of the singular manner in which legendary signs and types become accidentally associated with circumstances with which, in their origin, they had not the remotest connection. For the anchor of St Clement is, in Scandinavia as in Greece, in reality, the anchor with which attached to his neck the saint was cast into the sea, in evidence of which legend I content myself with adducing the following punning epigram out of the metrical Greek martyrology (Siberus, *Martyrol. metricum*):

Ὦς κλῆμα Χριστοῦ τῆς νοητῆς ἀμπέλου
Γέγονας, Κλήμη; οἶνον θεῖον προχέων.
Βληθεὶς ὁ Κλήμης εἰς βυθὸν σὺν ἀγκύρα,
Πρὸς Χριστὸν ἤκει, ἀγκυραν τὴν ἐσχάτην.

43. The emblem for St Katherine's day, Nov. 25th (A.D. 307), is, no doubt, intended for her wheel, as

44. That for St Andrew's, Nov. 30th (A.D. 70), is meant for the cross which is the common attribute of that saint: only it assumes here the shape of the gallows.

45. On Northern runic calendars the emblem for St Nicolas' day, Dec. 6th (A.D. 326), is a bishop's staff. The one before us seems not altogether incapable of such interpretation, only there seems to be implied in it a good deal beside the staff; but what that may be, I am unable to divine.

46. The emblem against the 9th of Dec. is probably intended to signify the day of St Anne, the mother of the Virgin; and I think its real meaning may be a demi-crown, to signify the difference in dignity between mother and daughter. Otherwise the day's emblem is generally a pot or tankard,

indicative of beer being brewed on this day for consumption during the ensuing Christmas time. As early as A.D. 1425 we find this feast officially sanctioned for Denmark at a provincial Synod at Copenhagen: Item statuimus quod festum Sanctæ Annæ matris genetricis Dei beatæ Mariæ quolibet anno in crastino conceptionis ejusdem beatæ Mariæ virginis per totam nostram provinciam in posterum celebrè habeatur. Hardouin, *Concilia*, Tom. VIII.; inofficially it had been current in the Northern Churches, no doubt, for a long time before this date, as it had been from very early times both in the Eastern and the Western Church.

47. Against the 15th of Dec. is a sign of which I can make nothing, nor can I even mention a Saint to whom a Northern calendar would assign such a conspicuous attribute on Dec. 15th. But St Lucy, Dec. 13th (cca A.D. 304), who is a well-known saint in Northern calendars, having no place in this one, possibly the emblem intended for her might have been misplaced by two days by the rune-carver; and yet it is difficult to see how the emblem here can mean either the cloven foot of an ox, or a flaming fire, or a blazing torch, all of which are met with as St Lucy's emblems in the North. Anyhow, whatever the emblem before us may mean, it is, if it is a saint's emblem, misplaced; if it is an emblem of domestic or economic import, I confess I know not what it may be meant for.

48. The last saint's day in our calendar is that of the Apostle Thomas, Dec. 21st; the emblem represents, I think without doubt, a wheel, indicative of the orb of the sun turning the solstice point, which is the emblem for this day met with most frequently on the earliest rune-staves of Sweden. Otherwise the emblem of the day, especially among Norwegians, is a large jar, and in domestic parlance the saint figures as Thomas the Brewer, Thom o' the pot, which refers of course to the beer-consumption of Yule-tide.

From this list of Saints' and feast-days it will be seen,

that the local saints all belong to the Swedish Church, with the exception of St Olaf, who, though a Norwegian saint properly, is a common Scandinavian saint, and as such really as much Swedish as Norwegian. The nationality of the local saints settles the nationality of the calendar. And the present is, without doubt, of Swedish origin. In order to get an idea of the age of the calendar it is necessary to ascertain the latest dates of the saints contained in it, local and general. Of the local saints the dates are: St Olaf 1031, St Eskill 1063, St Henry 1158, St Sigfrid 1158, St Eric 1160, and—St Bridget 1391. Of the general saints the latest is St Francis, 1228. It is a point which must not be overlooked, that from 1160—1390, or for a period of 230 years, not one local saint has found a place in this calendar, although that period is rich in saints, some of which enjoy the adoration of the whole Western Church. As I said before, the sign for St Bridget's day is a distinct 15th century sign both as to the type of the crown and the execution of it. But no other sign in this calendar could be placed so far down in time. And I cannot help thinking that the crown of St Bridget was added to the calendar a long time after it was first carved. For how could a calendar of the 15th century leave out such saints, *e.g.*, as St Thomas of Canterbury, 1170, who enjoyed at that very time perhaps higher adoration in the North than any other saint? It also would be something very incongruous to see a 15th century calendar without giving St Benedict a day in it, houses of whose rule abounded throughout Sweden. It is to no purpose to swell the enumeration of omitted famous saints; the list would be too long, but no more convincing through its greater length. But it is worth while to notice that a runic calendar, printed in Worm's *Fasti Danici* from a vellum dating from 1328, contains no less than 171 saints' days, while this has only 50; for it will, as a rule, hold good, that the fewer the saints' days, the older is the calendar.

Just as the crown of St Bridget, so also the crown of the Virgin, attached to July 2nd, or the Visitation day, is, in my opinion, of a later date than the rest of the emblems in the calendar. I have called attention to the deformed shape of the crown-emblem, and it seems to me evident that the same hand could not have wrought it at the same time with the rest of the Virgin's crowns. It is, surely, of a much later workmanship, for earlier it cannot under any circumstances be. I cannot help associating the emblems of July 2nd and Oct. 7th with a period much later than that of the rude primitive rest of the signs in this calendar, and indeed a far later period. From St Anne's day, no other inference could be drawn than that the calendar is a fourteenth century production.

Considering the heathen tradition preserved in this calendar in the number of days given to the year, and in the date given to the commencement of the year, in which it stands unique; and bearing in mind that from the interval between 1230 and 1390, *i.e.* out of 160 years rich in famous local and famous general saints, not one should be recorded here; that saints of universal adoration in the Catholic Church, such as St Thomas of Canterbury, St Benedict, &c., should not have a place here; we cannot escape referring it to an age when it may be fairly supposed, that these heathen traditions were still believed in by at least some considerable number of the community. There is nothing improbable in their having been in common vogue in the 13th century, but there is every improbability against their being commonly alive at the end of the fourteenth century. And as I am convinced that St Bridget's crown is of different date and artistic treatment to every other sign in this calendar, I feel inclined to assign to the calendar an earlier date than 1391. But anterior to 1230 it cannot be; long posterior to that date, however, I scarcely think it can be, all things considered.

This must be a layman's calendar, since it exhibits no golden numbers, and gives, consequently, no clue to the paschal

cycle or the moveable feasts. It is a very valuable piece of antiquity, and ought to be well taken care of.

P.S. It is, perhaps, not a mere chance that it should have fallen to the lot of Thorstein the Swarthy to correct the Icelandic Calendar. He descended from a family which had been once settled in Ireland, and had extensive connections in that country as well as in the Hebrides and Scotland. His great grand-parents were Oleif the White, king of Dublin, and Aud the Deepminded, the latter of whom, after various vicissitudes, came to Iceland "a good Christian," about A.D. 892. She "performed her prayers at Cross-Knolls," says Landnáma; that means, that she had her Breviary, and must have had in it some clue to the moveable feast-days of the year. The family continued to be Christian after its settlement in Iceland, so there is every probability of Aud's Christian Library having remained, at least in statu quo, in the family, even if it did not multiply in copies, considering the unlettered state of the country at the time. When a computistic puzzle arose of such a nature as was the Icelandic which Thorstein the Swarthy had to deal with, it was only too natural that those who had some acquaintance with the Christian computation of the year and its seasons should come forward, or be called upon, to settle the difficulty. Thorstein having undoubtedly been a Christian, it is no stretch of imagination to assume that, in consequence, he was able to give a partial solution of a question on which his Christian calendar would throw some light, at all events.

On the passage quoted above, p. 22, note ¹, Mr Jón Thor-kelsson, the Rector of the "Latin School" of Reykjavík, sends me the following valuable contribution: "As to the passage in *Islendingabók*, ch. 4, I agree with you, that in the old computation, according to which 364 days are counted in the year, no leap-years have a place. I venture not an opinion as to whether the words, *At réttu tale* ... to the end of the chapter

are by Ari himself or not. Certain it is, that they may go out without the thread of the narrative being disturbed in the least in consequence of their removal. The words, 'Enn þá es ayksk at oro tale et siaunda hvert at viku, en öngo at hino, þá verþa siau ór saman iamnlöng at hvórotveggia,' are inexact, in so far that the author has not included in his calculation the bissextile day or days which fall in every seven years; but taking four times seven, = 28, years with five 'sumaraukar,' and four times seven, = 28, years with 365 days each, and seven bissextile days, we find that both periods of 28 years are equally long; for 5 sumaraukar make 35 days, and 28 days + 7 bissextile days make 35 days; and both periods have thus 35 days beyond 28 years, each counting 364 days. Yet it is not certain that the author went to this depth into the matter; and the most probable thing is that he forgot to count the bissextile day or days.

"Then there remain the words, 'En es hlaupór verþa tvaú á miplé þeira es auka skal, þá þarf auka et sétta.' Sense may also be made of these words, if it is assumed that Ari, or whoever the author may be, counted the time as the Greeks and the Romans did. The Olympian plays were held every fourth year, but the Greeks say they were held every fifth year (*διὰ πέμπτου ἔτους*). Between the years on which the Olympian plays fell there always lapsed three playless years; these three years the Greeks counted, and, beside, the year preceding and the year succeeding them, and in this way they got five instead of four years. Between *nonæ* and *idus* with the Romans there were in reality eight days, but the Romans counted them as nine, whence *nonæ*. The same method of calculation Ari has, in all probability, followed. He has included in his calculation the 'Sumarauka'-years on both sides of the years which had no 'Sumarauki,' the consequence is that he mentions the *sixth* instead of the *fifth*. The period, then, is five years. Five times 365 days + 2 days = 1827 days; and five times 364 days + 7 days = 1827 days."

M	A	4	D	c	Annunciation of the Virgin.	M	8	Y	b	Invention of the Holy Cross.
		3	Y	b			7	Y	a	
		2	Y	a			6	*	g	
		1	*	g			5	Y	f	
		31	Y	f			4	Y	e	
		30	Y	e			3	Y	d	
		29	Y	d			2	D	c	
		28	D	c			1	Y	b	
		27	Y	b			30	Y	a	
		26	Y	a			29	*	g	
		25	*	g			28	Y	f	
		24	Y	f			27	Y	e	
C	H	23	Y	e	St Gregory.	L	26	Y	d	St Philip and St James, App.
		22	Y	d			25	D	c	
		21	D	c			24	Y	b	
		20	Y	b			23	Y	a	
		19	Y	a			22	*	g	
		18	*	g			21	Y	f	
		17	Y	f			20	Y	e	
		16	Y	e			19	Y	d	
		15	Y	d			18	D	c	
		14	D	c			17	Y	b	
		13	Y	b			16	Y	a	
		12	Y	a			15	*	g	
R	A	11	*	g	St Mark.	I	14	Y	f	Tiburtius.
		10	Y	f			13	Y	e	
		9	Y	e			12	Y	d	
		8	Y	d			11	D	c	
		7	D	c			10	Y	b	
		6	Y	b			9	Y	a	
		5	Y	a			8	*	g	
		4	*	g			7	Y	f	
		3	Y	f			6	Y	e	
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G	18		f	Assumption of the Virgin.	M -	21		e	St Matthew, Ap. and Ev.	
	17		e			20		d		
	16		d			19		c		
	15		c			18		b		
	14		b			17		a		
	13		a			16		g		
	12		g			15		f		
	11		f			14		e		Exaltation of the Holy Cross.
	10		e			13		d		
	9		d			12		c		
8		c	11		b					
7		b	10		a					
6		a	9		g					
5		g	8		f	Nativity of the Virgin.				
4		f	7		e					
3		e	6		d					
2		d	5		c					
1		c	4		b					
U	31		b	3			a			
	30		a	2			g			
	29		g	1			f	St Giles.		
	28		f	31			e			
	27		e	30			d			
	26		d	29		c				
	25		c	28		b				
	24		b	27		a				
	23		a	26		g				
	22		g	25		f				
21		f	24		e	St Bartholomew, Ap.				
20		e	23		d					
19		d	22		c					
18		c	21		b					
17		b	20		a					
16		a	19		g					
A	31		b	St Olaf.	E		21		e	St Matthew, Ap. and Ev.
	30		a				20		d	
	29		g				19		c	
	28		f				18		b	
	27		e			17		a		
	26		d			16		g		
	25		c			15		f		
	24		b			14		e	Exaltation of the Holy Cross.	
	23		a			13		d		
	22		g			12		c		
21		f	11		b					
20		e	10		a					
19		d	9		g					
18		c	8		f	Nativity of the Virgin.				
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	29		g	3			a			
	28		f	2			g			
	27		e	1			f	St Giles.		
	26		d	31			e			
	25		c	30			d			
	24		b	29		c				
	23		a	28		b				
	22		g	27		a				
21		f	26		g					
20		e	25		f					
19		d	24		e	St Bartholomew, Ap.				
18		c	23		d					
17		b	22		c					
16		a	21		b					
L	31		b	20			a			
	30		a	19			g			
	29		g	St Olaf.	E		21		e	St Matthew, Ap. and Ev.
	28		f				20		d	
	27		e				19		c	
	26		d				18		b	
	25		c			17		a		
	24		b			16		g		
	23		a			15		f		
	22		g			14		e	Exaltation of the Holy Cross.	
21		f	13				d			
20		e	12				c			
19		d	11		b					
18		c	10		a					
17		b	9		g					
16		a	8		f	Nativity of the Virgin.				
S	31		b	7			e			
	30		a	6			d			
	29		g	5			c			
	28		f	4			b			
	27		e	3			a			
	26		d	2			g			
	25		c	1			f	St Giles.		
	24		b	31			e			
	23		a	30			d			
	22		g	29		c				
21		f	28		b					
20		e	27		a					
19		d	26		g					
18		c	25		f					
17		b	24		e	St Bartholomew, Ap.				
16		a	23		d					
P	31		b	22			c			
	30		a	21			b			
	29		g	20			a			
	28		f	19			g			
	27		e	St Olaf.	E		21		e	St Matthew, Ap. and Ev.
	26		d				20		d	
	25		c				19		c	
	24		b				18		b	
	23		a			17		a		
	22		g			16		g		
21		f	15				f			
20		e	14				e	Exaltation of the Holy Cross.		
19		d	13				d			
18		c	12				c			
17		b	11		b					
16		a	10		a					
T	31		b	9		g				
	30		a	8		f	Nativity of the Virgin.			
	29		g	7		e				
	28		f	6		d				
	27		e	5		c				
	26		d	4		b				
	25		c	3		a				
	24		b	2		g				
	23		a	1		f		St Giles.		
	22		g	31		e				
21		f	30		d					
20		e	29		c					
19		d	28		b					
18		c	27		a					
17		b	26		g					
16		a	25		f					
M	31		b	24		e	St Bartholomew, Ap.			
	30		a	23		d				
	29		g	22		c				
	28		f	21		b				
	27		e	20		a				
	26		d	19		g				
	25		c	St Olaf.	E	21			e	St Matthew, Ap. and Ev.
	24		b			20			d	
	23		a			19			c	
	22		g			18			b	
21		f	17				a			
20		e	16				g			
19		d	15				f			
18		c	14				e	Exaltation of the Holy Cross.		
17		b	13				d			
16		a	12				c			
E	31		b	11		b				
	30		a	10		a				
	29		g	9		g				
	28		f	8		f	Nativity of the Virgin.			
	27		e	7		e				
	26		d	6		d				
	25		c	5		c				
	24		b	4		b				
	23		a	3		a				
	22		g	2		g				
21		f	1		f	St Giles.				
20		e	31		e					
19		d	30		d					
18		c	29		c					
17		b	28		b					
16		a	27		a					
U	31		b	26			g			
	30		a	25			f			
	29		g	24			e	St Bartholomew, Ap.		
	28		f	23			d			
	27		e	22		c				
	26		d	21		b				
	25		c	20		a				
	24		b	19		g				
	23		a	St Olaf.	E	21			e	St Matthew, Ap. and Ev.
	22		g			20			d	
21		f	19				c			
20		e	18				b			
19		d	17				a			
18		c	16				g			
17		b	15				f			
16		a	14				e	Exaltation of the Holy Cross.		
A	31		b			13			d	
	30		a			12			c	
	29		g	11		b				
	28		f	10		a				
	27		e	9		g				
	26		d	8		f	Nativity of the Virgin.			

VI. ON SOME RECENT DISCOVERIES IN GRANTCHESTER CHURCH. Communicated by the Rev. F. G. HOWARD, M.A., Trinity College.

[May 28, 1877.]

THE recent demolition of the south wall of the nave of Grantchester Church has revealed to us something of its early history. Before proceeding however to describe the various things that have been found in the south wall, I will just mention two points of interest, that the recent alterations have revealed in the north wall; one is the rood staircase, which is unusually large and singularly well preserved, though the lower doorway and the lower part of the splay of the upper doorway have unhappily been cut away: the other is a portion of a painting of St Christopher, which was probably executed about the end of the 15th century.

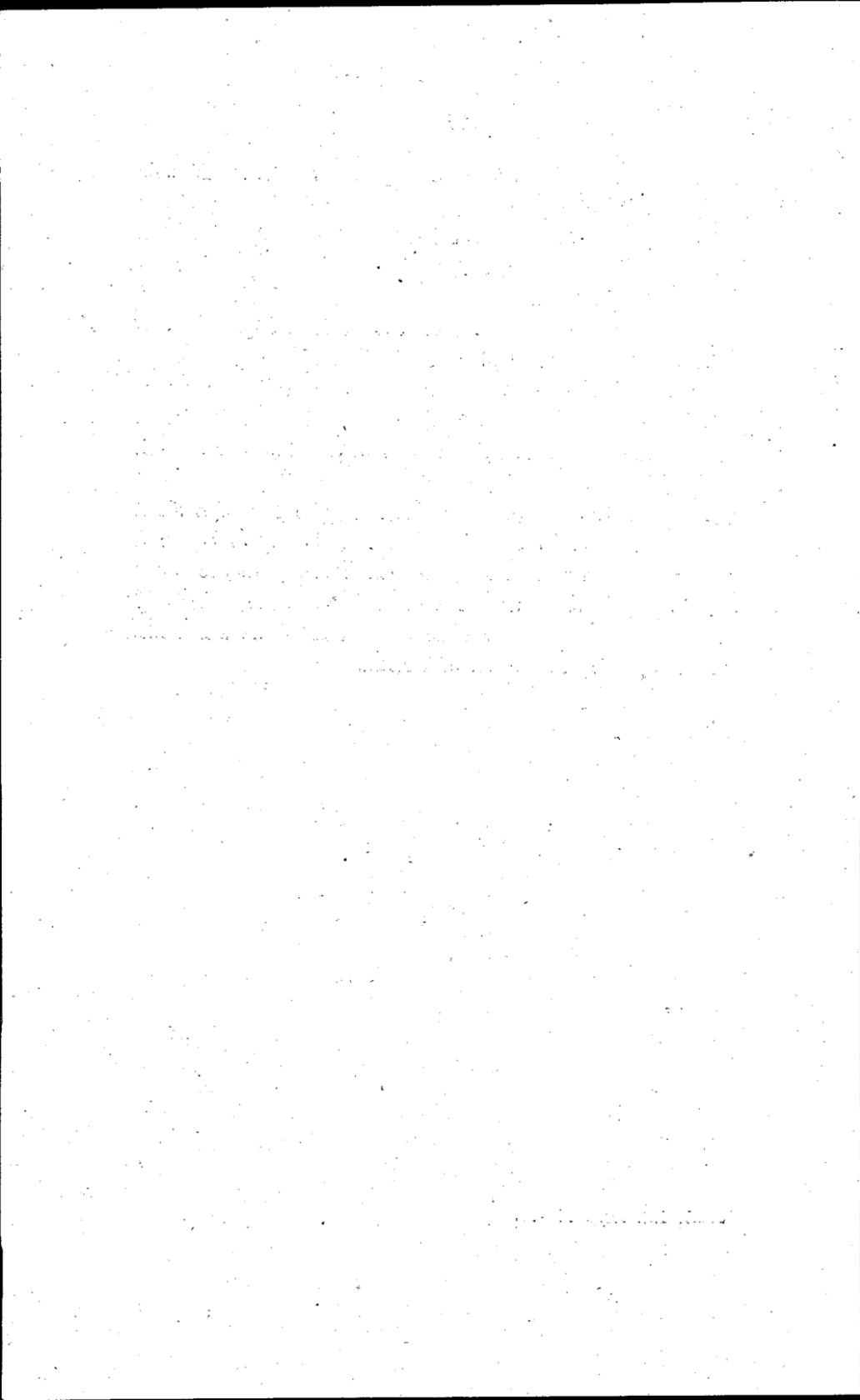
In recent times Grantchester Church has consisted only of chancel, nave and tower, without either aisles or transepts. The nave walls were coated with plaster and contained scarcely any architectural features except the windows, which were of the Perpendicular period. But though all the windows were of the same style, it had always been conjectured that the walls were of two different dates, as the westernmost portion of each wall was thinner than the rest. On removing the plaster this conjecture was confirmed by the fact that the materials of the two parts of the wall differed: the westernmost part being built

of clunch, and the other part being built of flint, pebbles &c. for two-thirds of its height, with a top of clunch. It would thus seem that at some time or other the nave was heightened and lengthened. The approximate date of this change was decided by the discovery of an Early English lancet window on each side of the church in the thinner portion of the wall; and the next point of interest was to determine the date of the older portion. This was done by the very interesting discovery of a small round-headed window near the top of the rubble wall. The window had never been glazed, and is evidently of very early date: it is supposed by Mr Blomfield to be of the early part of the 11th century, or else very early Norman. Moreover the sides of a Norman doorway were discovered, extending from which was a long cavity used probably for sliding back the door-bar. This is, as far as I know, an unusual feature in churches, though common enough in castles. By the side of this doorway were fragmentary remains of a stoup, apparently a later insertion.

The materials of which the two portions of the wall were built also afford an indication as to their date, for amongst the clunch were several voussoirs of a Norman arch with zigzag roll moulding, some pieces of Norman chain moulding and also some corbels with rudely cut grotesque heads; whereas in the rubble wall all the things that were found were apparently of much earlier date. First amongst these I may mention two pieces of a Roman millstone made of Niedermendig lava, and also portions of tiles ornamented in the customary Roman manner, and which were apparently fragments of square flue-pipes. But what were of most frequent occurrence in the rubble wall were fragments of stone coffins. These were used for the coins of the walls, for the sides of the Saxon or Norman window, and for the doorstep. They are made of Barnack stone such as was used by the Romans, and if they were placed where they now are in Norman times, they must be Roman,

as stone coffins were not used by the Saxons. If this should be so, it would be interesting as reminding us of the story told by Beda that when Etheldreda of Ely died, the monks sought in vain for a stone in which to place her remains, till at length one of exactly the right size was miraculously discovered under the walls of the ruined city of Grantchester. Probably the coffins stood then above ground on pedestals as they do in the present day at the Roman cemetery at Arles, and so they would be handy for the monks in search of a coffin, and for the builders of Grantchester Church in search of stones.

P.S. Since the above paper was read the cap of a shaft has been discovered in the churchyard wall, and it is found exactly to fit the shaft of the Norman doorway in the south wall. The cap is cut out of the same stone as the main body of the work to which it was attached, and the stone which has been used is plainly the corner of a coffin.

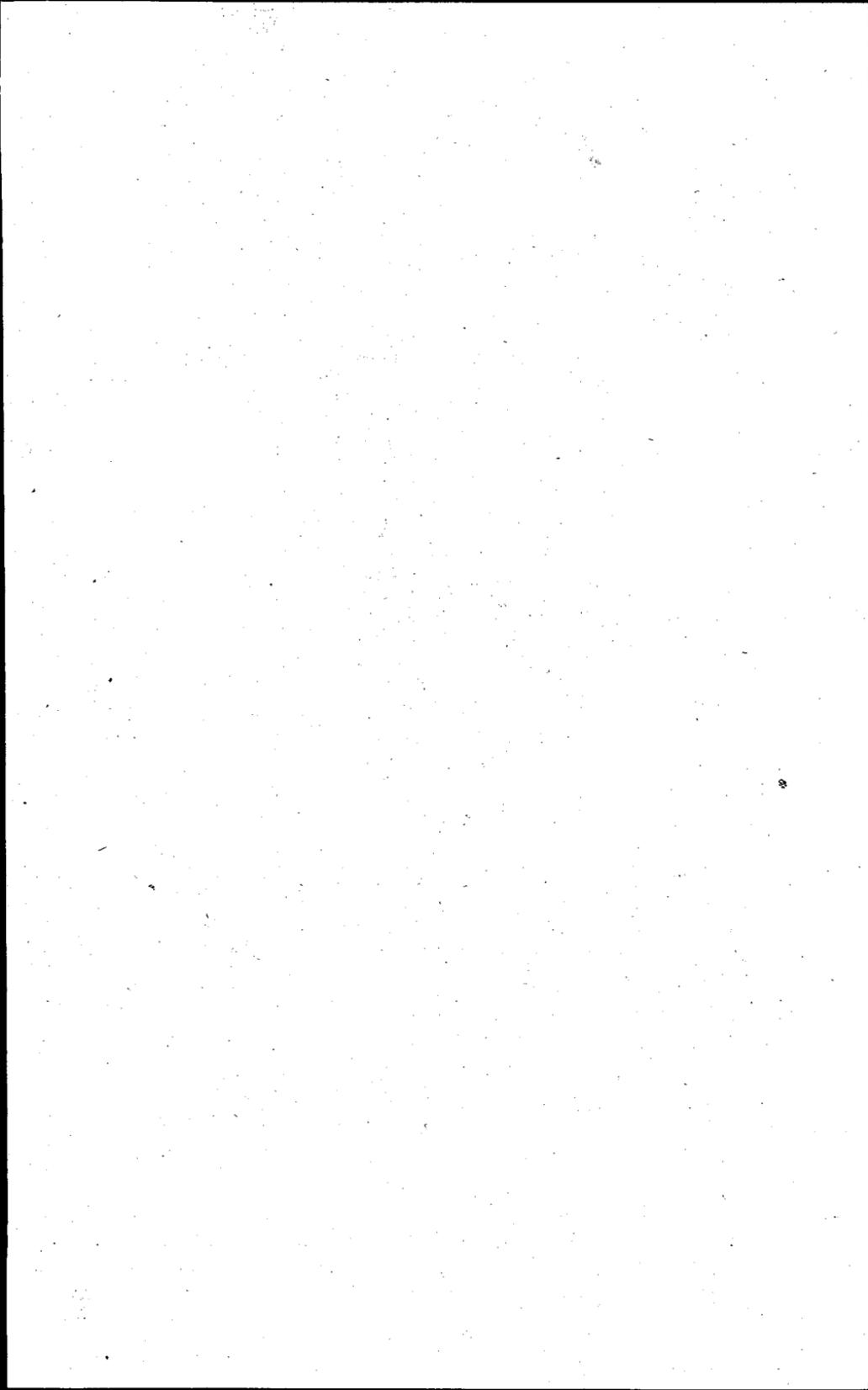




ETRUSCAN BRONZE,

Spes Vetus.

$\frac{2}{3}$ rd of the original size.



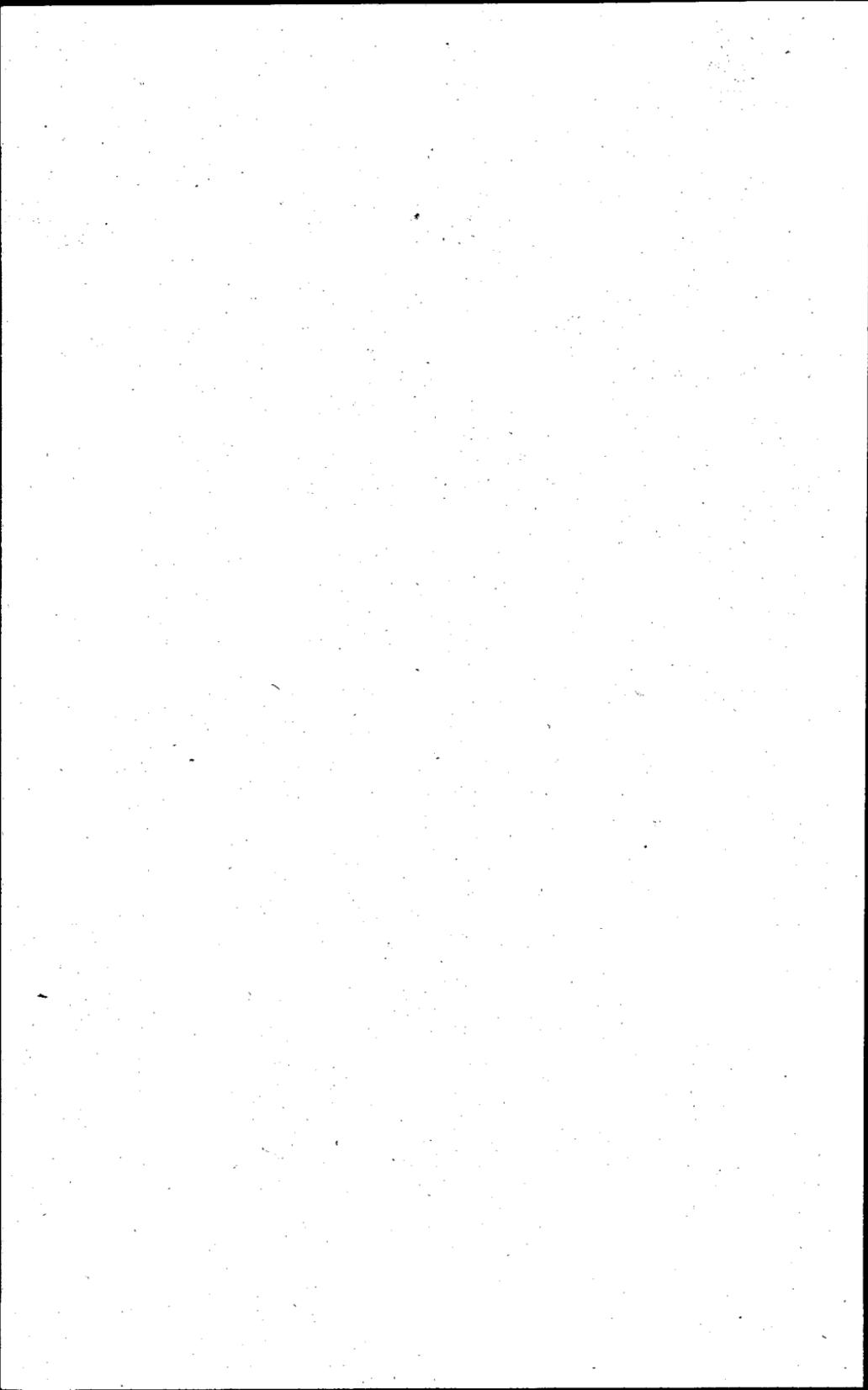


ETRUSCAN BRONZE,

Spes Vetus.

3/8^{ths} of the original size.

Camb. Ant. Soc. Comm. Vol. IV.



VII. ON AN ANTIQUE STATUETTE REPRESENTING
"SPES VETUS." Communicated by the Rev. C. W.
KING, M.A., Trinity College.

[May 28, 1877.]

AN Etruscan Bronze has lately been brought from Rome by that indefatigable pioneer of archæology, Mr Lewis, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, which deserves particular attention, from the rarity of the subject, as well as the curiosity of its style. It was found at Grosseto in Tuscany in the summer of 1875, and represents a female figure, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches high from the soles of her shoes to the summit of her head-dress, clothed in a close-fitting tunic descending to the ankles, over which she wears a shorter one, reaching somewhat below the hips, closely pleated in front, but plain at the back. A heavy mantle completes the costume, thrown over the right shoulder, from which alone it hangs; though the usual adjustment is seen to be by means of a broad band, now passing across the chest and under the left arm: but the large circular fibula in the middle of this band, intended to lie *flat* upon the shoulder (as numerous examples of fully-dressed statues shew), indicates the mode in which this covering sat when in actual use. A curious thing is noticeable in the vertical fold marking the middle of this mantle: it clearly shews cross-stitching from top to bottom, a proof that it was formed out of two widths of cloth sewn together by the selvage. Particulars to be re-

marked in the costume are, the borders of each tunic decorated with a row of little circles made with the punch, standing for the embossed disks of gold so employed in the sumptuous garments of the time¹; and again, the sleeves, open for their whole length, but looped together at short intervals by buttons, in the way that the garments of the Phrygian Atys are usually represented—a proof, were any wanted, of the *Asiatic* origin of the costume imitated by our artist from everyday life: the feet are covered with long and pointed shoes, the very counterparts of the “poleynes” worn by mediæval fashionables; and differing in every respect from the regular *chaussure* of Greek and Roman ladies². Lastly, the luxuriant hair drawn back tightly from the face, and wreathed in massive tresses at the back of the head, is confined by an unusually lofty “sphen-done,” or crescent-shaped disk, ornamentally engraved, and which at once recalls those lunated gold plaques, commonly discovered in Ireland, and supposed to have decorated in a similar manner the heads of Celtic hierophants. The face has been finished with great care, but is devoid of all expression; whilst the oblique almond-shaped “Turanian” eye might afford grounds for deep ethnological speculations, were it not the constant feature in all archaic art.

The proportions of the figure, so painfully exhibited by her tightly-fitting dress, are attenuated in the extreme, and as it were flattened towards the waist. Something of this deformity may perhaps be due to the Etruscan ideal of female beauty, for Terence laughs at the Roman ladies of his day (with whom Etruria still continued the fountain-head of religion and of taste), for making their daughters, though naturally plump, “as slender as bulrushes by their training³.” But as this

¹ Hence appropriately named “chrysopasta.”

² They may, however, be seen upon the feet of the seated figure, on the reverse of a very rare tetradrachm of Rhegium, inscribed *RECIPOS*.

³ *Tam etsi bonast natura, reddunt curatura juncæam.* Ter. *Eun.* II. iii. 24.

want of depth in the trunk is generally observable in the bronzes of this school, even when most out of place, as in their Hercules and their warriors, and as obesity seems to have been a national characteristic—

“Inflavit cum *pinguis* ebur Tyrrhenus ad aras,”

as Virgil¹ hath it—this so conspicuous deficiency of substance may be attributed in some measure to the mode of manufacture. All these small bronzes were made by the process for which there is no other technical name than the French,—expressive as are all their terms of art,—“*jeter à cire perdue* :” in which the wax model, perfectly finished off, is encased in the soft material of the mould, from which by the application of heat it is drawn away, leaving impressed upon the matrix the finest touches of the modeller’s finger, to be exactly reproduced by the metal poured in to take its place. Now a wax model would have a tendency to be too much compressed in the middle, by which one would naturally hold it when finishing off the details, unless particular care were taken to avoid this danger : or perhaps, after all, economy of metal was the real motive for thus marring the work, as the deformity would not strike the eye in figures viewed only from the front. That the above-named method of casting was the only one used for all small bronze works of artistic merit, from those of classic date to the Cinque-cento and the Japanese of to-day, is clearly evident upon the inspection of their surface. Cellini, in his *Orificeria*², gives full directions for this way of casting, as applied when the minutest possible reproduction of the wax model was required ; namely in the making of the great Episcopal seals of silver, at that time in fashion, in preference to the mediæval plan of cutting them entirely with the graver. From the soles of the shoes of our statuette project two stout “tangs,” each 1½ inch long, designed for fixing it upon a wooden pedestal : they had, probably, served in the first instance, as the “gates,”

¹ *Georg.* II. 193.

² *Cap.* VI. towards the end.

or channels, for pouring the molten metal into the matrix. And it may here be observed, that the brown patina, which forms so uniform a coating over the whole work, is the sure indication of a large mixture of lead¹ in the alloy, introduced to render the metal more fusible and liquescent, and thereby better adapted for taking the faintest lines from the surface of the mould.

So much for form, costume, and workmanship—the idea embodied with so much care remains to be discussed, and here no difficulty is left by the expressive gesture and attributes of the image. In her right hand she holds forth the *bud* of a lily—more fitting symbol of *Hope* than the full-blown flower usually seen in her grasp—and with her left she slightly lifts the gown from her feet; the natural action of any one walking quickly in long garments, and hastening forwards to the accomplishment of a wish: there is no need to find in this simple gesture the highly transcendental sense that an acute German critic has lately discovered for himself.

Winckelmann has some remarks upon this type, full of valuable information, conveyed with his usual pregnant brevity, and well worth transcribing at length. Describing No. 1832 of Stosch's *Gems*, he writes: "*Plasma*:- Hope, standing in front face, holding in her right hand a flower, her customary symbol. On other monuments we find given her wheat-ears and poppy-heads. This figure, as well as the three following subjects, is draped after the manner of those of the Etruscans, although none of them are in the style of that nation. It is possible that the kind of draping that we see upon them, and which is characterized by parallel folds, had been appropriated to the figures of Hope. In fact it is in the same taste as the clothing

¹ *Hist. Nat.* xxxiv. 20. Pliny's rule for the "formalis temperatura" of bronze, gives one-tenth lead and one-twentieth tin to be added to the copper: this alloy was the best suited for taking the "color Græcanicus," meaning probably the patina so much admired in the old works of Greek art.

we see upon the same goddess in a medal of Claudius, and of



Three antique gems¹, single figures of Hope (each twice the size of the original).

Philip the Arabian; as well as upon a statue of the Villa Ludovisi at Rome, which was not known to be a figure of Hope, because the inscription, which exists upon its base, had been covered with a coating of hardened earth and moss. It is as follows:

Q. A Q V I L I V S D I O N Y S I V S E T
 N O N I A F A V S T I N A S P E M R E S
 T I T V E R V N T .

At Rome they distinguished the *ancient* Hope from the *modern*: doubtless they represented each after a different manner: that now before us may very well be the ancient one²."

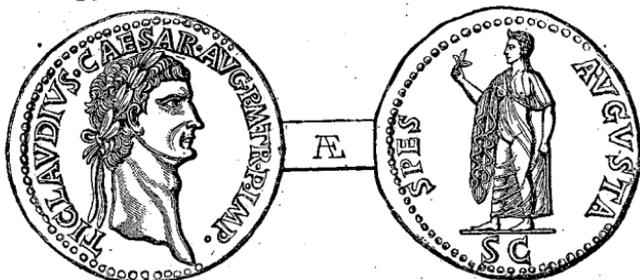
The veneration that the Romans felt for this time-honoured statue may be estimated from the fact of the emperor Claudius placing an exact copy of it upon his coins; whilst all other deities, so employed, were represented after the prevailing fashion of the day. Even as late as Probus, this primitive figure of Hope still holds her ground upon the medals. And the long-continued belief in her power is shewn by a very remarkable fact. When Heliogabalus, alarmed by the growing popularity of his cousin, Alexander, had ordered his assassina-

¹ The first of these is from a *plasma* in the British Museum; the second from a *red sard* in the collection of the Rev. F. W. Short; the third from a *plasma* belonging to the Rev. R. H. Cave.

² Bernoulli in his exhaustive monograph "Aphrodite" (Leipzig, 1873) refers to the type before us as a transformation of the primitive Aphrodite into the Spes of Italian art.

tion, and as a preliminary sent wretches to throw mud at his statues (the regular mode of proclaiming any prince a tyrant), he himself retired to await in trembling suspense the news of the execution of his order, "to the Gardens of the Ancient Hope, as though to offer up his vows there against the upstart youth," as Lampridius tells us¹. In his terror he fled for assistance to this primæval deity of Rome, having apparently lost faith in his own great god, the "Elagabal" of Emesa, whose miraculous intervention had raised him from an effeminate Syrian priest to be master of the world; and whose worship he had, in return, sought to make the one sole religion of mankind; incorporating therewith not only all the creeds of Paganism, but even the uncompromising "religion of the Jews and devotion of the Christians," as the same historian expresses it².

That "Spes Vetus" herself was an Etruscan work is evident from the copy which Claudius (whose one good point was his



Sesterce³ (described below) of Claudius I.

¹ "Heliogabalus," XIII. 4.

² "Heliogabalus," III. 5. "Id agens ne quis Romæ deus nisi Heliogabalus coleretur. Dicebat præterea Judæorum et Samaritanorum religiones, et Christianam devotionem illuc transferendam, ut omnium culturarum secretum Heliogabali sacerdotium teneret."

³ From the collection of the Rev. S. S. Lewis. On a sesterce (in the same cabinet) struck by Vespasian in 71 A.D.—the year when he rebuilt the Capitoline Temple and closed that of Janus—Hope similarly advances to meet the Emperor and offers him her flower. Engraved on p. 80. Of this same type the Museum at Copenhagen contains a noble statue in marble by Thorwaldsen.

love of archæology) has so kindly bequeathed to us. But *this* Hope, though of venerable antiquity in the days of the early Cæsars, was yet considerably more modern than the little figure before us. She has lost all the Asiatic parts of her costume—the head-ornament, buttoned sleeves, and pointed shoes. Her tunic is become more roomy, and is that regularly worn by the Roman ladies; its stiff parallel folds are not due to its nature, but to the inability of the art to represent the drapery as it really appeared. It is the work of the archaic school upon the decline, blighted by unfortunate accidents in the national history, and standing still for ever. As every thing at Rome, not preserved in the Capitol, had been destroyed by the Gauls, B.C. 390, the statue of “*Spes Vetus*” must necessarily have been a work of later date, and the school to which it belonged will be pointed out in what follows. It may have replaced one in wood of immemorial antiquity, destroyed in the general conflagration; just as the *bronze* Vertumnus, hereafter to be noticed, took the place of another of wood, attributed to the reign of Numa.

But even without such tangible evidence, those acquainted with the history of art know that she could have had no other origin, with Varro’s express testimony before their eyes, that previous to the date when two *Greeks*, Demophilus and Gorgasus, were employed to decorate the temple of Ceres at the Circus Maximus with pictures and fictile bas-reliefs, every thing in temples was of Etruscan work, “*Tuscanica omnia in ædibus:*” meaning, as the context shews, the paintings, terracottas, and bronzes¹. Of the last, the manufacture in Etruria’s prosperous times had flourished to an incredible extent: for Pliny tells of the “*Tuscanica signa* dispersed all over the world²,” as a testimony to this art having been “the ancient

¹ Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxv. 45. Very provokingly he does not, as usual, give the date of this first infringement of the Etruscan art-monopoly.

² *Hist. Nat.* xxxiv. 16. He adds “which there is no doubt were manu-

boast of Italy:" and quotes Metrodorus Scepsius as making the Romans sack Volsinii (B.C. 266) merely out of greediness to possess the *two thousand* statues that decorated that wealthy town¹. This number we may accept without the apparently so requisite "granum salis," if we recollect that these "statues" were, for the most part, what would now be called "statuettes;" for Pliny, in continuance, mentions that at a much later period of the Republic², the half-life size (*tripedanea*, specified in an honorary decree) was considered as constituting a memorial of unusual dignity. Had the same great historian of the arts only thought of this circumstance, he would not have been "surprised that previous to the conquest of Asia [that is, for the first six and a half centuries of the city] the figures in the Roman temples were for the most part of wood, or else of clay." In such materials alone were figures of life-size, or above life-size, then to be procured at *prices* at all compatible with the frugality of the early Republic. Of these Volsinian spoils³, one still attracted admiration even in the critical Augustan age—the Vertumnus, bearing all the attributes of the changing seasons, and of man's various occupations, and preserving (by the inscription, doubtless, on its base) the memory of the artist Mamurius; to the minute description of which Propertius has devoted one of the prettiest of his poems. But, notwithstanding the generally miniature scale of their produced in Etruria," implying that Etruscan work, however far from home it might be found, would be recognised by its national character and style, to which the name "Tuscanica" was given, still preserved by the architecture.

¹ *Hist. Nat.* same chapter.

² *Hist. Nat.* xxxiv. 11. B.C. 231, in the case of the two envoys killed by Teuta, queen of Illyria. As this was 35 years after the sack of Volsinii, the fact affords a pretty strong evidence of the insignificant size of the statues acquired by that success.

³ "Tuscus ego, et Tuscis orior, nec poenitet inter
Prælia Volsinios deseruisse focos."

Propert. iv. (v.) ii. 3.

tions, the Etruscan statuaries were capable of the boldest flights; for Pliny still beheld the "Tuscan Apollo," a colossus of fifty feet in height, which then stood in the Palatine Library, of which "it was hard to say whether the metal or the workmanship were most to be admired." And the bronze platforms (*petasi*) of Porsenna's monument, supporting two tiers of pyramids of 75 and 100 feet respectively, upon an area of 500 feet square, must have demanded metallurgical skill for their construction greater than that involved in the making of the Menai Bridge¹. But Etruria was the Birmingham of antiquity for all the states lying on the coasts of the Mediterranean and Ægean. Critias (the tyrant) and Pherecrates, contemporaries of Plato, allude to the superiority of the goldsmith's work, and of all bronze articles for domestic use, particularly the lamps, exported from that country².

The Etruscans were led to such zealous cultivation of metallurgy partly by the natural instinct of the race, partly by the superabundance of the easily-worked material at their command in the mines of Monte Catino, still as productive as of yore, and those of Campania, at that period equally rich. The extraordinary plentifulness of copper in Italy in those ages may be estimated from the fact, that the tiny Sicilian silver *litra*, of forty to the ounce, passed for twelve copper ounces, which makes the value of silver 480 times that of copper, whilst in modern days it has fallen to only 80, rating copper at the average price of one shilling per pound. And another evidence is the Etruscan coinage, imitated too by early Rome, consisting entirely of huge pieces of cast bronze, intended rather as ingots of certified weight than current money, though their makers were for the whole course of their national existence in close contact with the *Italiote* Greeks, who from the earliest times

¹ *Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. 19, where Pliny transcribes Varro's account of the building.

² Quoted by Athenæus, i. sect. 50, and xv. p. 700.

had struck silver of the highest perfection and to an enormous extent.

In his cargo of bronze utensils the Tyrrhene trader carried out with him a large assortment of aids to devotion, in the shape of little idols of the class we are considering, for the benefit of the wealthy Hellene or Asiatic, who had the means of exchanging his old graven or fictile image for the superior respectability of a molten one. For this is the only way in which Pliny's "*signa Tuscanica per terras*¹ dispersa," is to be understood; and many statuettes in the "archaic Greek" style, though found out of Italy, may safely be attributed to Etruscan manufacture. But by Pliny's time, these images were become, pretty nearly what they are in our own, mere articles of *virtù*: Horace enumerates them amongst the things generally sought after by men of taste:

"Gemmas, marmor, ebur, *Tyrrhena sigilla*, tabellas,
Argentum, vestes Gætulo murice tinctas." (Epp. II. ii. vv. 180—1.)

The chief value, however, of such bronzes, must then have been in their antiquity, or else in the association of ideas—the same motives that make our collectors now prize the brass crucifixes, saints, châsses, and similar *lares* (better to say *lemures*), of mediæval worship. For it must be confessed that all productions of Etruscan hands (the statuette before us is the best proof)—though often displaying much technical skill in the making, and careful finish of details—are more curious than beautiful: in fact, the latter element may be said to be non-existent in this school of art. Winckelmann has in his lucid manner pointed out the cause, and shewn how it could not have been otherwise²: how the Etruscan power collapsed

¹ The plural gives the word the sense of the *whole* world, necessarily implying a large exportation beyond seas.

² In his admirable dissertation upon the Tydeus in the *Pierres Gravées de Stosch. Mythologie Historique*, No. 174.

at the very moment when the Archaic was ripening into the perfect manner elsewhere, through the overwhelming deluge of the Gallic invasion, followed shortly after by the total loss of independence upon the Roman conquest. How complete was the ruin of the ancient opulence that had so long fostered the arts, and in its turn been promoted by their cultivation, may be judged of from the complaint recorded by the younger Gracchus, that his brother Tiberius (on his way to Numantia) had found the whole of Etruria peopled only by barbarian slaves¹. This circumstance proves that the landowners had been exterminated, and their estates passed into the hands of Roman nobles; of whom Pliny remarks, that "latifundia perdidere Italiam." But,—to return to Horace's amateurs, of whom his Damasippus is the type,—their taste was either omnivorous, or, like all true collectors, they looked to nothing but the rarity and costliness of the objects of their pursuit: otherwise it were difficult to conceive how they could have sought out with equal avidity the stiff grotesque "Tyrrhena sigilla," and the "Corinthia," results of fully matured Grecian art.

The class of deities to which our "Spes Vetus" (for she well deserves the name) belongs, may claim a few words of comment; for their origin is intimately connected with a question of ethnology, long discussed, but apparently as far from settlement as ever. The Greeks deified only the Powers of Nature, beginning with the celestial bodies and the elements: they never thought of personifying the abstract qualities of the human soul. Plutarch (in his *Life of Agis*) remarks, as a most singular eccentricity in that very eccentric people, the Lacedemonians, that they had temples dedicated to Death, to Fear, and to Laughter. But the little actually known of the religion of the Tyrrheni shews it to have been based on very different principles. They appear to have brought with them into Italy some

¹ Quoted by Plutarch in his *Life of Tiberius Gracchus*, viii. 4.

very simple form of Nature-worship, like the Sin-to of the Chinese and Japanese, and that still held by some of the tribes, probably of the same descent, in the recesses of the Caucasus. But these notions they never attempted to embody in visible forms. In Italy they found the Grecian gods and their images already in possession, installed by those primitive colonisers, who, like the founders of Agylla and Cumæ, had arrived at least a thousand years before our era. All these ready-made objects of worship they at once adopted, without any change, except of name, and even then only exchanging the Greek appellations for others of their own language, which, so far as they can be made out, were only *epithets* descriptive of the most conspicuous attribute of each deity. Thus they called Poseidon "Nethunos," Hephæstos "Sethlans" and "Volkanos," Dionysos "Pupluns," Hermes "Mercur," Venus "Mutina," Priapus "Mutunus"—many of which titles can be satisfactorily interpreted by analogies in the spoken Tuscan. In thus unreservedly adopting the religion of a partly conquered, partly resisting race, the Etruscans offer a striking resemblance to the Parthians, who either had no definite worship of their own, when they dispossessed the Macedonians of the empire of the East, or else adopted the "elegant mythology" of their new subjects with such exactitude as to leave no trace of that which they had originally held.

But the Tyrrhenes, once imbued with the Hellenic taste for image-worship, carried out the principle to an extent far beyond what their teachers had ever dreamed of doing. Thus, besides the "Genius," or *guardian-angel* of the individual (a notion peculiarly their own), they put into a bodily form the "Lares" similarly protectors of the house, and "Manes" of the tomb; Epona of the stables; and did the same with yet more unsubstantial ideas, representing Laverna, typical of secrecy (afterwards degraded into Patroness of thieves), by a most appropriate emblem of a head without a body; the change of

seasons was figured in Vertumnus, one of their chief gods; Norcia, or Destiny, pictured as a woman nursing two infants¹, afterwards transferred to the later Roman coins as emblem of "Pietas," maternal love. Juvenal laughs at all these airy deified ideas, and wonders why the Romans of his day did not include in the same worship the only thing in which they really believed, namely, money,

"..... nullas nummorum ereximus aras,
Ut colitur Pax, atque Fides, Victoria, Virtus,
Quæque salutato crepitat Concordia nido."

(*Sat. I. vv. 114—116*).

To such nicety had these personifications been carried that there was at Rome a temple to the "Fortuna hujusce diei," the Fortune of *to-day*—doubtless meant to remind the prosperous of the mutability of worldly things. The veneration the goddess enjoyed is apparent from the fact that the second Minerva² of Phidias was dedicated to her by Aemilius Paulus, the conqueror of Macedonia, whose own career had so conspicuously exemplified her power.

That this host of minor deities owed their birth to Etruscan imagination, and came ready made into early Rome from Etruscan workshops, follows necessarily from the nature of the religion that finally prevailed there—Roman youths being sent to college at Clusium and Volsinii, there to study theology

¹ For this description Winckelmann quotes Gori, *Museum Etruscum*, I. pl. iv., but the statue there figured is clearly a mere mortal mother and child, an ex-voto, as the inscription on it shews. But the bronze relief in Caylus' *Recueil d'Antiquités*, III. pl. xli. 5, has much better claims to be taken for Norcia: a female body terminating in feathers, bearing a child on each arm; and probably the type in Juvenal's mind when he wrote,

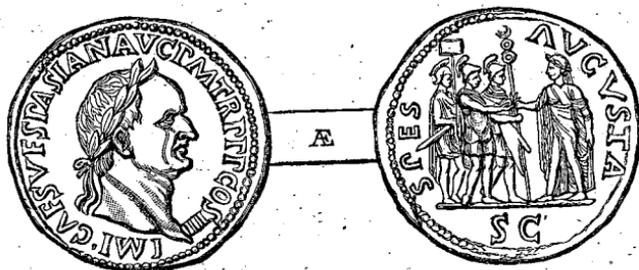
"Stat Fortuna improba noctu

Arridens nudis infantibus, hos fovet omnes" (*Sat. VI. vv. 605—6*).

This relief, 2½ inches high, ends in a tang for fixing it in a base.

² "Altera Minerva." Pliny's expression (*Hist. Nat. xxxiv. xix. 1*) perhaps means the statue was a *replica* of the famous Pallas Promachos of the Parthenon.

and its complicated ritual, up to the times when the change of circumstances transferred their education to the schools of Athens. That the temples obtained their furnishings from the same source as their rites and ceremonies, appears from Varro's statement already adduced. And a remarkable testimony to the same purpose is the curious legend of the ominous fictile quadriga¹ made by Volca of Veii for the first great temple of the rising state. In addition to this comes a tradition mentioned by Plutarch in his *Life of Numa*, that idols were expressly prohibited by that legislator, and were not placed in temples before the 176th year from the foundation of the city. This date coincides with the establishment of Etruscan supremacy at Rome, in whatever manner that supremacy was established, and also with the most flourishing times of that idol-making people. These images brought their names with them inscribed (the usual Etruscan practice), which sufficiently explains the, at first sight, puzzling circumstance, that so many deities, taken without alteration of type or attribute from the Grecian Pantheon, should yet be only known in later times by Etruscan names, as Minerva, Mercurius, Hercules, Volkanus, Luna, Diana, &c.



Sesterce of Vespasian, see p. 72 note ³.

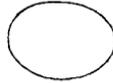
¹ The work had expanded, instead of shrinking in the natural order of things, in the baking; which the augurs took for an omen of the unprecedented growth of the place that had given the commission for it. The story is told by Plutarch in the *Life of Poplicola* (XIII. 1).

Considering the veneration in which the "Ancient Hope" was held at Rome to the latest times of the empire, it is certainly matter of surprise, that her figures in bronze, intended like the present one, for domestic worship¹, should be so extremely rare. Not a single example, of actual Roman make, is to be found in the immense collection of statuettes belonging to the British Museum; and but two are known to exist in Paris—one in the Louvre and one in the Médailler National. Strange this want of worship—Hope being the common property of mankind:

"Spes etiam valida solatur compede vinctum;
Crura sonant ferro, sed canit inter opus:"

Tib. II. 6, vv. 25, 26.

whereas lady Fortune², who dispenses her capricious favours to the few, has been honoured with a vastly greater number of images in all materials (more especially gems), than any other object of ancient adoration. Even on gems *Spes* is but rarely to be seen—she was carried in the heart, not on the finger—the prettiest way she has been so introduced, is on a sard found at Alexandria, and bearing the name of Onesimus, whom the ingenious symbolism of his device declares to have been a physician. *Æsculapius* is seen leaning upon his serpent-



Sard³ described above: the wood-cut is double the size of the original.

¹ Similar figures are not unfrequent, doing duty for mirror-stands, of Etruscan workmanship.

² Hope and Fortune were quaintly combined in *Fortuna Bonae Spei*, to whom there was an altar dedicated in the Vicus Longus on the Quirinal (Plutarch *de Fort. Rom.* x.).

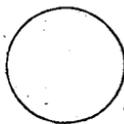
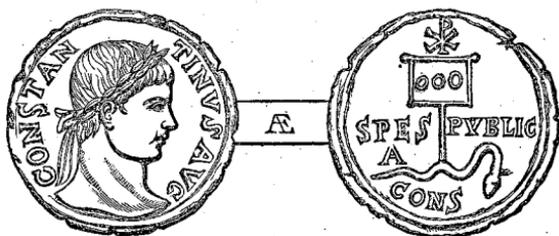
³ In the author's collection.

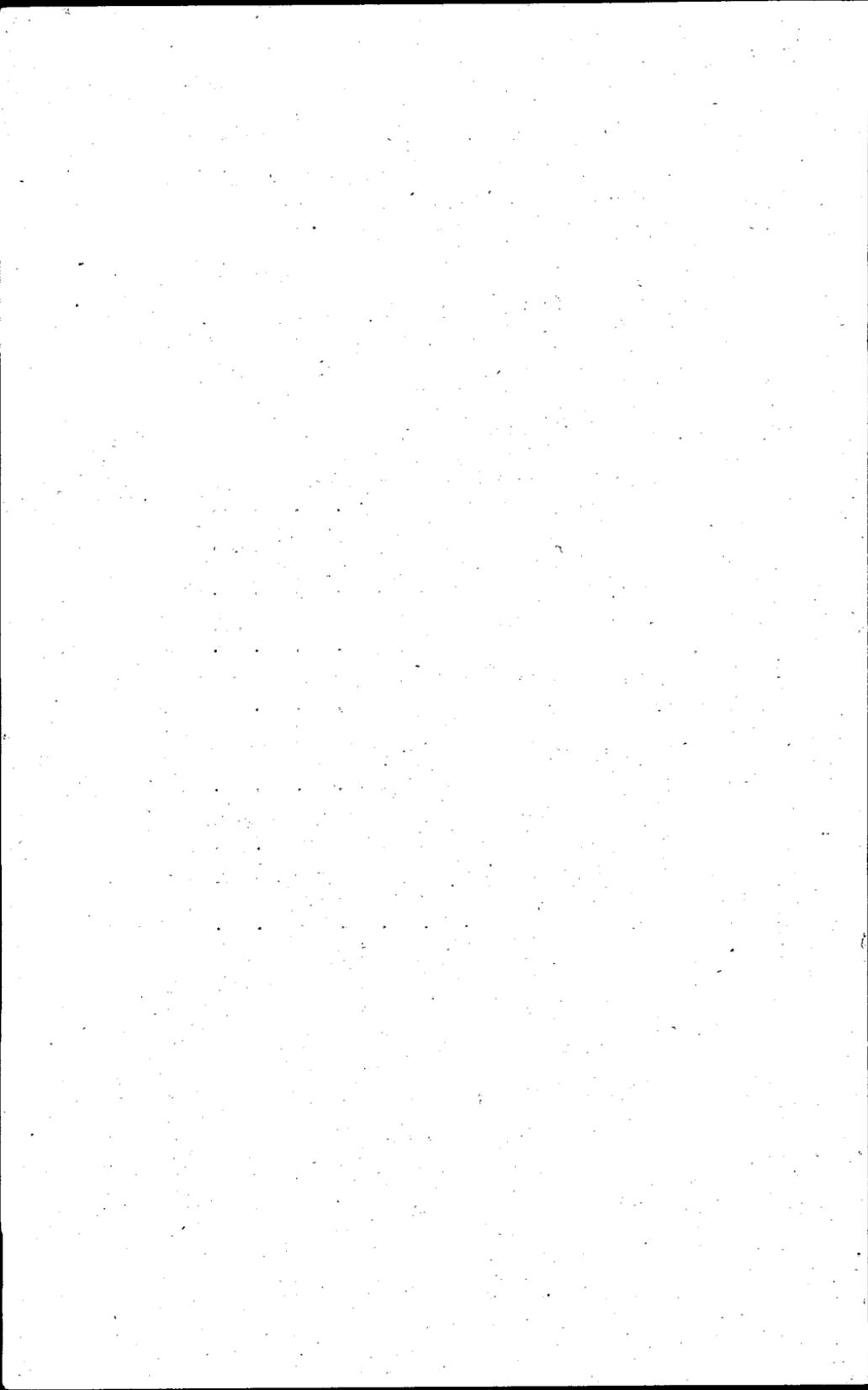
twined staff, to him advances Hope proffering her lily; between the two is a tripod for sacrifice, over which soars the bust of Jove, whose aid every doctor still invokes in writing his prescriptions in the planetary sign at the beginning, now falsely read as "Recipe." It is also curious to observe on coins, how the appellations of the goddess changed with the changing spirit of the times. Claudius, reigning in right of birth, appropriates her influence to himself by the title "Spes Augusta." Probus, a soldier of fortune, who had gained the empire by his own merit, and popular election, salutes her as "Spes Publica," —'the World's Great Hope'—whilst Constantine, who had learnt to place his hope beyond the present world, gives the last-named title to the Banner of the Cross transfixing the spiritual enemy, the Old Serpent.

"Third Brass" coin (described above) of Constantine II.

In the collection of the Rev. S. S. Lewis.

The engraving is double the size of the original.





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