

## VII.

### THE SOUTHESK AND OTHER RUNE PRIME-STAVES OR SCANDINAVIAN WOODEN CALENDARS. BY H. F. MORLAND SIMPSON, M.A., F.S.A. Scot.

Two summers ago the Earl of Southesk showed me a walking-stick finely carved with runes and symbols, and permitted me to take a rubbing of an object strange but interesting. It was said to have belonged to a Russian Count, but nothing more was known of its previous history. The staff (fig. 1) is some 43 inches long, round, and tapering, with a brass ferrule and iron spike. The head is made of a fine pale blue-grey agate mounted in a crown-shaped setting of silver niello, of modern workmanship and Russian style, according to Lord Southesk, who is expert in gems. Below this the staff is pierced for a tassel, and the hole ornamented with a star in the same style. The wood is smooth, and fine in grain, stained or darkened by age. The inscription is 37 inches long, in two columns, each consisting of a double row of runes, with symbols between. The runes are spaced at irregular intervals by a sun and moon enclosed in circles (*v.* fig. 1, No. 1, &c.). The lower part,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, contains several systems of dashed runes, then quite unknown to me, and specially difficult to solve.

The upper row of runes in each column is made up of the first seven



Fig. 1. The Southesk Prime Staff from Sweden. The property of the Earl of Southesk, Kinnaird Castle. Date ca. 1756. (Scale 1/2).

letters of the alphabet, F, U, TH, O, R, K, H, repeated continuously. Below every 30 and 29 of these alternately are the 19 runes of the (late) alphabet, but at first sight in no apparent order, though always in the same sequence. On examination I failed to decipher a single intelligible word on any part of the staff. Considering the feats of runologists, perhaps it is not immodest to feel proud of this. The symbols gave the first clue to the meaning and use of the staff; and notably the sheaf and sledge (fig. 1, 49*a*, 83) pointed to seasons, and indicated possibly a calendar. Counting the upper rows of runes, I found  $7 \times 52 + 1 = 365$ , and conjecture became certainty. The circles mark the months. Finding in one row 31 runes, followed by 28, it was evident that the year began with January.

Most of the symbols appeared to belong to runes or days marked by crosses; and on reference to an almanac it became clear that the full cross denoted the great festivals of our Lord and the Virgin chiefly; the half left-armed cross is attached to Apostles' days; and the half right-armed cross to minor saints and festivals. Most of the symbols were now clear reading. Some were not accounted for, till I obtained Scandinavian almanacs, and found the local saints indicated. Others were obviously secular, marking agricultural and seafaring occupations appropriate to the seasons.

But as yet the internal evidence and information to hand had not revealed the origin suspected. This, as well as the date, will appear clearly hereafter. At present it will suffice to indicate in order the conclusions to which I was led. Next to the use of runes, in itself too vague an indication, the circles (fig. 1, &c.) give the first clue to the "habitat," so to speak. Counting the strokes in these above the horizon, there is an increase to June, and decrease to December. Below, the process is reversed. The details, kindly supplied by Lord Southesk, are as follows:—

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{Jan. } \frac{6 \times}{17 \times}, \text{ Feb. } \frac{9}{15}, \text{ Mar. } \frac{12}{12}, \text{ Apr. } \frac{14 \times}{9 \times}, \text{ May } \frac{16 \times}{7 \times}, \text{ June } \frac{18}{6}, \\ \text{Jul. } \frac{16 \times}{7 \times}, \text{ Aug. } \frac{14 \times}{9 \times}, \text{ Sept. } \frac{12}{12}, \text{ Oct. } \frac{9}{15}, \text{ Nov. } \frac{6 \times}{17 \times}, \text{ Dec. } \frac{6}{18}. \end{array}$$

At the same time, I was also indebted to his Lordship for the ingenious observation that in each case the sum of strokes, top and bottom, comes to 24, counting the cross as a half. Clearly the circles, which I shall henceforth call the *Diurnal Circles*, give the length of day and night in each month. But in March and September day and night are marked equal; and as the equinoxes occur about the middle of these months, it seemed likely that in the other months also the reference was to the date when the sun changes signs, or else that the mean length of day for the month was intended. The former arrangement is certainly found on staves later than the Southesk (*e.g.*, the Edinburgh, fig. 4, p. 289). But I assumed at first that the circles referred to the beginning of the months they precede. The solution of the Zodiac system (fig. 1, Ia, Ib), presently to be described, rendered this conjecture in the main correct.

For a mathematician it is an easy problem to decide in what latitude to look for a day of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  hours on January 1st. A colleague kindly solved it for me. The result was about lat.  $60^\circ$  N., or, roughly, the horizon of Christiania, Stockholm, and Petersburg. But to most men a readier solution is offered by the current almanacs of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, which I afterwards obtained. Subsequently, on a brief visit to the museums of Stockholm and Upsala, I found that in this detail the diurnal circles on many staves varied, having for January a day of 6,  $6\frac{1}{2}$ , 7,  $7\frac{1}{2}$ , and even 8 hours. The last, for instance, occurs in the fine specimen in our own Museum, discovered since I communicated the results of this inquiry (*v.* fig. 4, p. 289, No. 1). The following table gives results drawn from the almanacs for 1889:—

	Latitude N.	Length of Day on		
		Jan. 1.	Jan. 15.	Jan. 19 (Sun in Aquarius).
		hrs. mins.	hrs. mins.	hrs. mins.
Copenhagen, . . .	$55^\circ 40'$	7 05	7 38	... ..
Lund, . . . . .	$55^\circ 42'$	7 04	7 36	7 48
Stockholm, . . . .	$59^\circ 20\frac{1}{2}'$	6 08	6 48	7 03
Christiansund, . . .	$58^\circ 10'$	6 28	c. 7 04	c. 7 20
Christiania, . . . .	$59^\circ 54'$	5 58	c. 6 40	c. 6 48
Röros, . . . . .	$62^\circ 32'$	5 00	c. 5 54	c. 6 10

From this it is evident that staves with a day of 6 hours on January 1st must have been calculated for about the latitude of Upsala ( $59^{\circ} 51'$ ), or Dalecarlia, "the Dales" (*ca.*  $61^{\circ}$ ); those with 8 hours' day indicate perhaps the extreme south of Sweden, Lund in Scania. But in the last case I find none in which the rings do not more probably refer to the date when the sun passes into a new sign of the Zodiac, about the 20th of each month (N.S.); the southernmost point of Sweden is too far north to have 8 hours' daylight on January 1.<sup>1</sup>

*The Golden Number or Prime.*

As the sun in the circles corresponds with the runes for the days of the solar year, the inference was that the moon below it bore similar reference to the lower lines of 19 runes repeated. The number was suggestive. Substituting the numerical values they bear in the alphabetical series (fig. 1, II, *a*), I found that these runes represented the Golden Numbers in their usual sequence, each *rune* being followed by the 11th letter preceding it, reckoning the 19 as a continuous cycle, according to the well-known principles which determine the recurrence of the Golden Number every 19 years.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Scotch Abbey Calendars (ed. Bp. Forbes) give to Jan. eight hours day, but it is not clear whether for Jan. 1st or as a *mean* for the month. This is longer by about one quarter hour than the present mean in Jan. for Edinburgh ( $55^{\circ} 57' N.$ ). Besides, these calendars range from A.D. 1300 to *ca.* 1509 (Cal. Aberd. Brev.). At the latter date, just before Gregory's reform, the calendar had gained some ten days on the sun. Jan. 1 then corresponded with our Dec. 21, solar time; and the mean for Edinb. would be nearer seven than eight hours. But the earlier the calendar, the nearer should be its approximation to the observations of our own day. The astronomical entries in our old Scotch calendars are invaluable evidence for date. But I reserve this subject for another occasion. The dial at Kenmure Castle (*Proceedings*, 1889-90, p. 223), dated 1623, shows the sun changing signs at the end of the first decade of each month. The darkened circle round a small sun, with "11 Dec." above, indicates, I think, the winter solstice at that date.

<sup>2</sup> Said to have been discovered by Meton of Athens in 432 B.C., but probably known much earlier to Chaldean, Egyptian and Chinese observers. The Golden Number was inscribed in letters of gold by Julius Cæsar, and hence the name. The term *Prime* was used because it indicated the first day of the *new* moon in each month. It agreed but roughly with the actual phenomena, and is therefore now used only to find Easter, &c., and given in our Prayer Book for Mar. 21 to Apr. 25, the extreme "terms" of Easter Day.

In the sixth century B.C. Solon brought home from Egypt the observation that the lunar months last on the average  $29\frac{1}{2}$  days. He arranged them therefore in alternate months of 30 and 29 days ( $29\frac{1}{2} \times 12 = 30 \times 6 + 29 \times 6 = 354$ ). This arrangement is still preserved in the Golden Number, and may be observed on the prime-staves of Scandinavia. On the Southesk staff, and others like it, I call attention to the ingenious method by which the fraction of a day is avoided. In the lunar months of 30 days—January, March, &c.,—the rune “Sol” (=11) is turned to the right, and the next, “Belgthor” (=19) follows, with one day between. The alternate months—February, April, &c.,—have Sol turned to the left, and Belgthor follows under the next day, without interval. This shortens the period of the 19 runes to 29 days. The Bodleian prime-staff shows the same arrangement. As reasons will appear for dating it *ca.* 1690, and I have not observed it on older staves, it is probable that the device was part of the elaborate improvements introduced by scholars about that period.

It was disappointing to find that the prime, so interpreted, failed to give Easter, either old or new style, according to the rules of the Prayer Book. In many experiments the Easter moon fell *about 14 days too early*, giving Easter wrongly by anything under 14 days. This seemed to indicate that the Golden Number was intended to mark the date of the *new* moon, and not, as in our Prayer Book, the *full* moon. On this assumption correct results were obtained, but *evidently New Style*, and it became obvious that the staff had been made *after the reform of the Calendar introduced in Sweden in 1753*.<sup>1</sup> Afterwards I ascertained that the use of the Golden Number to indicate the *new* moon is the older method, still found in an Oxford Prayer Book of 1700. When the change to the present usage in Britain was first made I cannot say. 1753 is then the earliest date we can assign to this staff. That it was probably made not much later appears from the fact that it still bears the Solar Cycle, that it agrees with changes known to have been made about that

<sup>1</sup> Introduced into Italy, Holland, Spain, France, by Gregory XIII. in 1582; Denmark and Norway (then under one government) in 1700; Germany—Catholics 1584, Protestants 1700; Great Britain, 1752; but usage varied in many towns and parts of these countries.

time, and that it does not bear further changes made in 1776 and 1784.

In August 1889 I visited *Stockholm* and *Upsala*, the museums of which contain large numbers of these staves. They seem to be scarcely understood and appreciated. In most cases no record has been kept of date or place of origin. As a rule, even the date of acquisition has been lost, and no sort of order or arrangement is observed. The *Royal Museum* contains some 70 or 80 pieces, huddled indiscriminately into a sort of umbrella-stand in the Library. I could examine only very few in detail, as my time was limited, and the museums of Sweden close at a very early hour. I selected for examination chiefly those which most resembled the Southesk staff.

The *Nordiska Museum*, Stockholm, has alone preserved a strictly geographical arrangement according to "habitat," the ground principle of this most picturesque of all museums. By the kindness of Dr Haselius, its patriotic owner and curator, I was allowed to have photographs taken of 108, and valuable details of origin, &c., were furnished me in manuscript through the photographer. One of these agrees in every detail with the Southesk staff. Another bears an equally striking resemblance to the staff in our own Museum (*v. p. 291, N.M.S.s.*).

At *Upsala* there are probably about 300 staves. Many of these formerly belonged to the Observatory, from which they were transferred in 1874. From this collection I have photographs of 71, and details of 13 others, later staves, which I examined, kindly assisted by the curator, Herr Arpi. I was also indebted to him for having my attention called to two papers on the subject by Dr E. Magnússon, one of which I have since been able to consult (*Proceedings Camb. Antiq. Soc.*, 1878, No. 20). It gives some valuable details of ecclesiastical law (*v. pp. 271-2*). Most of the illustrations from old Norse folk-lore there given were already familiar to me in a paper of the late learned Professor Munch (based on Finn Magnúsen and Worm?) on an old Norse calendar of the ring or horse-collar shape (in *Norsk Folke-Kalender*, 1848). I acknowledge my indebtedness to this the more readily as Dr Magnússon has omitted to give his authority.

In Stockholm I was referred by a friendly schoolmaster of congenial

tastes to the works of T. G. Liljegren, a distinguished runologist, and managed to procure a copy of his *Run-lära* (Sthlm. 1832), which contains in brief much valuable information on the history of these objects. At the Royal Library chance brought me in contact with a librarian who owned a rare facsimile copy of the famous *Runakänsstones Läraspån*, made by John Bure "hin Gamble," in 1599. Diversity of taste proved a bond of sympathy, and he agreed to an exchange, which put me in possession of Bure's chart. Our present main interest in this compendium of Rune-lore is the elaborate staff calendar it illustrates, with some brief explanations of the Solar and Lunar Cycles. It is written in very cramped runes, made the more obscure by the number of "Bind-runes" and abbreviations. Among other points of special interest are the names of the 19 lunar runes, with their prognostic bearing on the years to which they are attached (*v. p.* 270). That "the father of runes" himself was not free from such superstitions appears from the history of his own life. He was tutor to Gustavus Adolphus,—who must have been about five years old when his name appeared in the dedication of the chart—and enjoyed the favour of Queen Christina. After amassing a considerable fortune, he is said to have predicted that the world would shortly come to an end. To commend his foresight he gave away all he had, and died in poverty.

Bure's calendar on the chart is, with the exception of Worm's Runic Codex, the earliest instance known to me of a runic almanac which gives the signs of the Zodiac. On it the sun is marked as entering about the 10th of each month. It agrees, therefore, with the observations which led to Pope Gregory's reform seventeen years before.<sup>1</sup>

The Codex Runicus mentioned above was reproduced by Olaus

<sup>1</sup> It may seem strange that so necessary a reform should have been delayed in Sweden and England for more than a century and a half. But religious feeling was embittered by continual wars and massacres. Men remembered that Pope's unholy glee on the news of S. Bartholomew's Eve, and were slow to accept a reform which bore his name. There were also other prejudices to battle with. When the Act 24 Geo. II. c. 23 cut 11 days out of Sept. 1752, many thought they were being cheated out of 11 days' wages. Failure in the crops was ascribed to this impiety of the Government, a sort of "poetical justice" not extinct in our own days. Hogarth, in his picture of "The Election Dinner," has introduced a placard inscribed "Give us back our eleven days!"

Wormius in his *Fasti Danici*, written about 1626, a book indispensable to the study of this subject, if we make allowance for the absurd claims to antiquity fashionable among the patriotic scholars of that day. Book iii. contains the whole of the "Codex Membranaceus," fortunately, for this invaluable manuscript has perished (in the great fire of Copenhagen, 1728?). According to Worm, it belonged to "Dr Christianus Frisius de Kragerup, Chancellor to the king," &c., and was said to have come from some old library in Jutland. On the evidence of the dialect Liljegren claimed it for Gøthaland, but a German writer, Dr Schnippel,<sup>1</sup> ascribes it confidently to the diocese of Lund, which at one time included Denmark. Except that it is written in runes, the calendar is in form and contents similar to other old church almanacs. On its philological evidence I cannot venture to express an opinion. It gives to the day in January a length of eight hours, which would dispose me to accept Worm's judgment, were it not evident from staves beyond question Swedish

<sup>1</sup> "Ueber einen . . . Runenkalender . . . d. Mus. zu Oldenburg," &c., by Dr E. Schnippel, Oberlehrer, Oldenb. 1883. (Let not the reader suspect the interest of schoolmasters in sticks! I believe my German colleagues "spoil the child" in this respect.) The paper is a quarry of information. It gives the fullest bibliography on the subject known to me, and from it I have drawn references and explanations which would otherwise have failed me. The author mentions, but has not seen, Prof. Munch's and Dr E. Magnússon's paper, and Liljegren's *Run-lära*, the only writings, besides Worm's and Dr Schnippel's, which have given me material aid. For a short bibliography see also Stephen's monumental work. To this I owe a list of the Engl. so-called "Staffordshire Clog Almanacs." These are too hastily regarded as a survival of the Danish invasions. With more show of reason Dr Magnússon contends that the Scand. Cals. came from England. As he well points out, *heathen* invaders were not likely to introduce a manifestly Christian form of Calendar into Britain; whereas Christianity came to the Scand. North very largely from these Isles. Both theories are purely conjectural. The English Clogs I must reserve for fuller discussion separately. To Dr Schnippel's paper I most thankfully acknowledge my debt. As it came to hand quite recently, I regret that I have not been able to compare and use it more fully. It has a special interest for me, as the Oldenburg staff, down to the minutest details, is almost identically like the Southesk. Dr S. errs in his reading of the diurnal circles, in which he counts the crosses as 10; thus:—Jan.  $\frac{6+10}{17+10} = \frac{16}{27}$ ; Mar.  $\frac{12+0}{12+0} = \frac{12}{12}$  (which hardly needed demonstration).

This oversight, in a writer of so much industry, learning, and penetration, is the more strange, as he recognises the value of the similar cross in the rune triplets of the Zodiac. The middle runes of the triplets he leaves unexplained.

(*e.g.* the Edinburgh staff) that eight hours were actually reckoned in Jan. for some parts of Sweden—doubtless the most southerly. On the other hand, examination of similar details in our own old Scotch Abbey calendars leads me to suspect that the monks who wrote them were given to transcribe these details blindly from other calendars, written perhaps for parent houses in more southerly latitudes (*v.* notes to pp. 260 and 278).

Of the antiquity of this manuscript there is no room to doubt. Its style, its astronomical entries (Zodiac), and its *omissions* are all in its favour. It would be almost impossible to have forged a document so original, and so successfully. It was also dated, and in a style scarcely such as a forger would have hit on two or three centuries after the date alleged. As a specimen of this style and the dialect (old Jutish?), I quote in full:—

“Att thusant ar, og thryhundrath ara, og tiuhu ar, og att ar uuru lithin af Gus byrth, tha an thitta rim uar skrivat. Tha uar þ og ᚱ sunnu daghr, og ᚷ i siaundi radu i tavlunni prim.” “One thousand three hundred and twenty-eight years were past from God’s birth when this Rim (calendar) was written. Then were TH (=C) and U (=B) Sunday (Letters,—a leap-year, of course), and MM (“Tvemathr” = xviii.), in the 7th row in the Table, Prime (or G.N.)”

1328 is therefore the date of the oldest known runic almanac. None of the dated staves, to my knowledge, come within a century as old as this. Nor, beyond this MS., is there any evidence forthcoming to carry them back beyond the fifteenth cent. A.D. Dated staves of that century are very rare (*v.* fig. 6, and pp. 286, 332).

This method of fixing a year by its Sunday Letter and Prime is of great importance to the runologist. The dates are so marked on about twelve grave-stones, &c., all apparently from the island of Gottland (Liljegren, *Run-lära*, pp. 157-8), none of them perhaps older than 1419. The latest is dated 1572 (Stephens, *O.N.R.M.*, No. 2827). As some doubt and confusion appear in the interpretations of these dates, I give in illustration one from Stephens (vol. ii. p. 711). It is on a plain slab in the choir of Heide Church, Gottland, as follows:—“+ Kirkjan : bran :

a : Belethes : Byrd : Lauga : daghn. Ta var \* (=G) Sunnu : taghr :  
 ok : 𐌺 (=xi) Prim : i : tretando : ratho." "This Church was burnt on  
 the Image's birthday (=Feast of the Patron Saint) on Laughaday  
 (*Dan.* Lördag = Sat., lit. 'Washing-day'). Then was H Sunday  
 (Letter), and S Prime in the 13th row."<sup>1</sup>

At first sight it might seem that the expression "in the 13th row" refers to the years 13-1400. And so Prof. Stephens has evidently read it, in giving the date as 1397, which year happened in that century to bear that Prime and Sunday Letter. But this is an error. A stone found at Lye, Gottland, is dated in words "fourteen hundred and one less than fifty years (1449); then was K Prime, and R Sunday Letter, in the 12th row."<sup>2</sup> On the same method of interpretation, this should mean 12-13th century; and we should have to ascribe the Runic Codex above to the eighth century!

The Codex itself contained the clue to all this in a Paschal Table of Runes (G.N. and S.L.) for 532 years, the "Grand Paschal Cycle" of Dionysius, Julian Style—and it is a pity the sun will not conform better to the beautiful symmetry of it,—which period must elapse before the same Prime and Sunday Letter recur to the same year and day ( $19 \times 28 = 532$ ). From this it appears that the word "row" denotes the Solar Cycle of 28 years required for the Sunday Letter to recur on the same day of the week and month. This good old cycle has been rendered obsolete by the omission of three leap-years in every four centuries, New Style. But the world would have been saved a vast amount of needless labour had Christianity never troubled itself to follow Jewish custom, and "observe moons." We might just as well and more conveniently have

<sup>1</sup> Such a stone attests (1) the fact recorded—often the least important point; (2) that this style of dating was then in use; (3) the use of runes and their forms at that time; (4) the forms of words and names in dialect at that time (philological); (5) the date of the style of ornamentation on the stone, if ornamented, *e.g.*, with scrolls, crosses, &c.

<sup>2</sup> According to Liljegren, *R-L.*, p. 197, the only instance where the number of the row is marked by a numeral rune, 𐌺—not a word. In Stephens this letter appears damaged in the drawing, made by Säve in 1850 (revised 1856), and is described as a "guess" of Säve's. But perhaps the injury is recent. The rune for T was certainly read by Liljegren before 1832 (*ib.* p. 154).

*fixed* the feasts to their proper anniversaries, and left the moon to its own wayward courses.

Now this Paschal Cycle in the Codex is calculated from the year 1140 A.D. Hence Worm and Liljegren (p. 211) have assumed that it was composed at that date. The latter seems to connect it with the introduction (?) of runes into Iceland by Ari hin Frode (the Pious) about that time. It may be so; and possibly this Paschal Table is as old as it is claimed to be. But it is important to note that any one composing such a Table between 1140 and 1671 would *naturally* commence the cycle with 1140, at whatever intermediate date he lived. For in that year  $\mathfrak{V}$  (= A or I), the first letter of the series, was Prime; and  $\ast \mathfrak{P}$  (= GF) were the Sunday Letters (1140 being leap-year); and the Solar Cycle commences with the last of the seven dominical letters (*v.* Solar Cycle, Fig. 3, p. 284). In this Table, therefore, the "13th row" of the Heide Stone must be the 28 years 1476-1503 ( $1140 + 28 \times 12 = 1476$ ); and we get for that stone the date 1492, which year bore the Prime and Sunday Letter indicated on the stone.

This year, being bissextile, ought to have had *two* dominical runes. Dr Schnippel therefore seems to doubt this interpretation. But, so far as I know, no rune stone so dated ever does give *more than one* Sunday Letter. This is precisely what one might expect. All such stones record a particular event in the given year. And no year on any given day can have more than one Sunday Letter at once. The double rune merely indicates that the Sunday Letter was changed after February 25, when the bissextile day (*a.d. vi. Kal. Mar.*) was intercalated. Calendars, on the other hand, like the Codex R. and a parchment similarly dated 1572 (Liljegr., *R-l.*, p. 213; Stephens, *O.N.R.M.*, No. 2827), being intended for all years, and not one particular day, might well give both Sunday Letters, when, as happened in both these cases, they were written in a leap-year. Certainly they were not written on *a day*.

I suspect that some of the rune staves, not dated in our usual style, if examined closely, might be found to be dated in this peculiarly Scandinavian style. Possibly this may be the true explanation of the monogram on the end of the Harrow staff (fig. 5). But the absence of the

Solar Cycle and the "row" gives too wide a choice of dates to be of much service. Many of the staves are so scored with runes on spare spaces. Most of them, however, were more probably the maker's name, sometimes found carved in full, as on the Newcastle Staff (*v. Postscript*, p. 332).

#### THE FORMS AND HISTORY OF THE STAVES.

The museums of Scandinavia and Denmark contain probably quite 500 of these Calendars. In Germany, according to Dr Schnippel, there may be as many as 20. There are a few scattered specimens in Holland (*ib.* p. 107). In Great Britain I know of only 15<sup>1</sup> (I do not reckon the "Clogs," which are of purely English origin). They show every variety of form and material; carved on staves straight, curved, or sword shape; oval, "ring," or collar-shape;<sup>2</sup> flat, square, 4-6-8-sided, &c.; also on tablets,<sup>3</sup> sometimes in book or fan form, made of wood, metal, or bone; and occasionally on various utensils, such as snuff-boxes, &c. The parchment rune calendars are very rare.

The simplest, and, I think, the earliest in type have merely notches for the days (*v. fig. 6*). Properly speaking, these are not *rune* staves at

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus. 1 (?); Bodl. Lib. Oxf., 1; Harrow, 1; Camb. Mus., 3 (two dated 17th cent.); the 2 described by Dr Magnússon; "Black Gate" Mus., Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1 (Norwegian, A.D. 1678). And one very like Ss., but probably *prae* 1700, without Diurnal Circles (*v. p. 277*), belonging to Major A. H. Browne of Callaly Castle, which I have described briefly in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne (vol. v. No. 13, p. 98, 1891), from a rubbing kindly sent by Mr R. Blair, F.S.A., their Secretary. Also the Norw. Staff, Bs. (*v. fig. 7*); and another in Newcastle-on-Tyne, now missing. In Scotland 3, Ss., Es., and one Swedish, O.S. 16th-17th cent. (?) belonging to Mr Jas. Curle, jun., F.S.A.Sc.

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.* Munch's in Norsk Folke-Kal. 1848 (not runic), dated 1651; Nord. Mus. Sthlm. No. 30611, a rare specimen, with handsome knot-work, from Malung in Dalecarlia, dated 1623 and 1633. One side, Jul. 29 to Dec. 31, is figured in "Stimmen aus d. Fremde," Sthlm. 1888, kindly sent me by Dr Haselius; also the fragment, No. 26842, from Aelfdalen, Dalecarlia, in the same Museum.

<sup>3</sup> The Bod. Lib. Oxf. contains an Anglican calendar, in tablets, presented by Abp. Laud in 1644. The outer leaves are scored with strokes, an L among them indicating his name (?). Feb. contains 29 days. The symbols are pictorial. Ascension Day is marked by feet disappearing from a hill into a cloud. Counting back, I found Easter Day on Apr. 17, marked by a large banner, bearing a cross on the staff and flag. This calendar was therefore made for a particular year. Reference to tables shows that 1636 was the only year in that century both a leap-year and having Easter on Apr. 17. An interesting relic of the great High Churchman.

all. Mere rudeness of execution is a very insufficient indication of date. Yet the style of staves like Ss. and Es. (figs. 1, 4), even apart from their contents, is too marked to escape observation. Stephens is certainly wrong in speaking of the older as the more perfect kind. His remarks generally on this subject must be accepted with the greatest caution. He is too zealous in detecting "spores" to distinguish what is not runic, and probably not Scandinavian at all, from the true products of the North. I cannot account for his assertion that there are "scores" of these staves in England, except on the supposition that he adds in the "Clogs," and I doubt if there are a score of these.

With the spread of Church influence and increase of saints and ceremonies, it became necessary to mark the feasts and days more exactly. The frequent employment of runes in magic, &c., may be traced in the earliest Norse literature;<sup>1</sup> their use was ingrained in the people. In this therefore, as in so many other respects, we may venture to trace that supple wisdom of the early Church, which gained and lost so much by adopting and adapting heathen customs and superstitions to its own use. And so it appropriated the runes for religious purposes. In the long run it was probably more successful in wiping out heathen superstition than ardent antiquarians seem disposed to allow. It developed more than enough of its own, as the reader will certainly admit. Some heathen notions doubtless survived; and the runes retained much of their mystic character. To their names Bure on his chart has added (in runic type) their powers as prognostics of the year for which they are the Prime. George Stjernhelm (1598-1672) (quoted by Dr Schnippel, p. 124), who attests the high antiquity of the staves in his own day, gives much the same *nomina peculiaria*, "derived from very ancient Calendar books in our archives . . . quibus nominibus de bonitate et sequiori statione singulorum annorum quibus applicantur prognostica comprehenduntur." As he adds to Bure's list, he probably drew more fully from the same sources.<sup>2</sup> A parallel to these superstitions I find in the wide-spread

<sup>1</sup> Vide *Corp. Poet. Bor.*, vol. i. pp. 25, 29, 41, &c. Also the notes of Steph. J. Stephanius to *Saxo Gram.*, lib. i. p. 45, Copenh. 1644.

<sup>2</sup> Bure's list I transliterate with much diffidence, as the runes are obscure. For comparison Stjernhelm's list is added (from Dr Schnippel). In this the words following "id est" are explanatory. The vertical strokes divide what seem to be remains of *alliterative*, sometimes rudely rhyming proverbs. Dr Schnippel's list is

observance of "Black Days," marked with singular uniformity in our own Scotch Abbey Calendars and Swedish Staves. I hope to prove that both sets of Calendars in this detail drew from a common very early source, at least as old as the eighth century. But this subject must be reserved for a more convenient time.

The notched staves still extant are not necessarily more ancient than here rearranged in proper alphabetical order. Note in Bure also the same proverbial character, and often similar alliterative rhymes (Nos. 6 and 7, 8 and 9, 12 and 13, &c.). [For the names and values of the runes *v.* also Liljegren, *Run-lära*, pp. 25, *ff.*] Rhyming alphabets are probably as old as the Skalds. In similar form and contents they were known to our Anglo-Saxon ancestors [*v.* Hickee, *Gram. Anglos.*, p. 175; Grimm, pp. 217-52]. As a probable survival of heathen custom we may note (from Liljegr., p. 46): "Sól () er Landa Liomi, | Lyt ék at helgumdomi." "The sun is the earth's light: I bow (Se. 'lout') to his holiness."

	Bureus.	Stjernhelm.
1. F.	Fegle fränd ro	Fugle frände roo   Frid all roo id est Frucht Ahr.
2. U.	Ur i Vestan Vethr	Vur i Wästanwäder id est Urwäder   Urwinter.
3. TH.	Thors Quinne Qual	Thors Qwinne-Qwaal id est Swar Quinnefödsell.
4. O.	Likr Os i Vithio	Oos ligr i Wedio   Oos-Qwaal   O-roo   osund Luftt   Oos i hwarje Wra.
5. R.	Ritter i Heste-Sprang	Rytter i Hestesprung id est Riddare Lycka godh.
6. K.	Kon i Käte värsta	Kön i kättje värste id est Kattja maste flys.
7. H.	Harval i bo besta	Hagel Regn hardast id est Tijdwinter godt Korn ahr.
8. N.	Noth Enta Kost	Nöd enda kost   nordanwäder kallast id est dyr Tijdh.
9. I.	Isbro brethast	Isbro bredast   id est Isköld   Winter- ahr.
10. A.	Are blath	Arleblad   areblad id est Ahr öfwer alt godt.
11. S.	Sol Knäbogh	Solknabog   Sool högst Himmel id est Blasahr.
12. T.	Tither Vitrum-lithast	Tider Wintrom ledast   Tyri brinner bäst id est dyrast.
13. B.	Biörke-brumr frothast	Biörkbrumar frodast   Biörkeskog grönast id est bäst til Wärke.
14. L.	Legh Lantsäre (-t?)	Lag   Landzrätt   Lagomboo bäst id est Träte ahr.

those with runes, as more recent dates on many of them show. For as the knowledge of runes declined, the country folk would revert to the simpler and, as I think, older, because more natural, method of marking days. The latest (?) dated staff (1830) is also one of the rudest; and, "as every schoolboy knows," benches and desks are often scored in a style not one whit less rude than the clumsiest fifteenth-century runes.

No complete record of the Calendar in heathen times has been transmitted. From occasional hints in old Norse literature we may infer that hebdomadal weeks and calendar months were introduced by Christianity, which did not take firm root in Scandinavian soil till the tenth and eleventh centuries. The organisation of the Church in those countries was largely due to the energy of our own countryman, Cardinal Nicholas Breakspere, afterwards pope as Adrian IV. (1154-59) [*vide* Munch, *Det Norske Folks Historie*, pt. ii. vol. c, pp. 865 ff.]. The Church now entered on the same acute struggle with the civil powers which we find about the same period in Germany and England. Foremost among its champions in Norway was the able turbulent John, Archbishop of Nidaros or Thronhjelm, the Beckett of his country. This Church Law, c. 26, A.D. 1284, is the first statute canon of the Calendar in Norway. As it is of the first importance to a critical study

	Bureus.	Stjernhelm.
15. M.	Maghr Mulagr	Mager Mullägor   try Lius id est gyllen ahr.
16. Or. ("Stupmather" or inverted M).	Ormaghr Tingsägr	Ormager Tingzägor id est dyr Tijd.
17. Al. ("Almaga," Isl. Arlangr i.e. A and L).	Aflageth	Aflagt   olagit id est Alt godt.
18. MM. Isl. "Tvimadr."	Tvemaghr	Two sämer best id est Dubbelt gyllen ahr.
19. TT. "Belgthor," i.e. 'thorn' (TH) with a "belg" or complete circle.	Thors belghbunten	Belgbunden Thor   id est Swart   odrygt ahr   doch godt Kornahr.

of the staves, I make no apology for quoting Dr Magnússon's extract in full:<sup>1</sup>—

Fra þrettanda deghi i iolom ero . xix . netr til Pals messo . þaðan ero . viij . netr till kyndyls messo . þeðan ero tvaer naetr oc . xx . till Mathie messo . þaeðan ero . xvi . netr till Gregorii messo . xvij . ef laupar er . þa ero xiiij netr till Marie messo . þaðan ero . ij . netr oc . xx . till Magnus messo . þa ero . ix . netr till gagdagsens . þa ero . vij . netr till postola messo Philippi et Jacobi . þa ero . ij . netr till krossmesso . þeðan ero xij . netr till Haluardz messo . þa ero xiiij netr oc xx till Botolfs messo . þa ero . vij . netr till Jonsvoku . þa ero . v . netr till Petrs voku . þa ero . iiij . netr till Suipthuns voku . þa . ero . vi . netr till Saeliu manna voku . þaðan ero xii netr till Margrettar messo . þa ero . ij . netr till Marie messo Magdalene . þa ero . iiij . netr till Jacobs messo . þa ero . iiij . netr till Olafs voku fyrri . þa ero fim netr till Olafs voku siðare . þa ero . vij . netr till Lafrans voku . þa ero . v . netr till Marie messo . þa ero . ix . netr till Bartholomei messo . þa ero fimtan netr till Marie messo siðare . þa ero . vi . netr till krossmesso . þa ero . vij . netr till Mathei messo . þa ero . viij . netr till Mikials messo . þa ero . ix . netr oc . xx . till tvaeggja postola messo . Symonis et Jude . þa ero . iiij . netr till alra haeilagra messo . þa ero . x . netr till Martacins messo . þa ero tolf netr till Clemez messo . þa ero . vij . netr till Andres messo . þa ero . vj . netr till Nikulas messo . þa ero . xv . netr till Thomas messo . en þa ero . iiij . netr till iola dags.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Norges Gamle Lov.*, ed. R. Keyser og P.A. Munch, vol. ii. pp. 359-60.

<sup>2</sup> From thirteenth day in Yule (Jan. 6, or "Twelfth Day") are 19 nights to Paul's mass. Thence are 8 nights to Candlemas (lit. Kindle-mass). Thence are 22 nights to Matthias' mass. Thence are 16 nights to Gregory's mass—17, if it be leap-year. Then are 9 nights to the Rogation Day. Then are 7 nights to the mass of the Apostles Philip and James. Then are 2 nights to Cross mass (Inventio Crucis). Thence are 12 nights to Hallward's mass. Then are 13 nights and 20 to Botolf's mass. Then are 7 nights to John's wake. Then are 5 nights to Peter's wake. Thence are 3 nights to Swithun's wake. Then are 6 nights to the Selja men's wake (S. Sunniva). Thence are 12 nights to Margaret's mass. Then are 2 nights to the mass of Mary Magdalene. Then are 3 nights to James's mass. Then are 3 nights to the former Olaf's wake. Then are 5 nights to the later Olaf's wake. Then are 7 nights to Lawrence's wake. Then are 5 nights to Mary's mass. Then are 9 nights to Bartholomew's mass. Then are 15 nights to Mary's mass, the later. Then are 6 nights to Cross mass (Elevatio crucis). Then are 7 nights to Matthew's mass. Then

Reckoning by *nights* is a custom peculiarly Teutonic, and as old as the days of Tacitus, who remarks: "Nec dierum numerum, ut nos, sed noctium computant" (Germ. xi.: also a Gallic custom; cp. Caes. B.G. vi. 18). It survives in our own "Se'nnight" and Fort'night. This points to a time when only the lunar months ("Moon" = "The Measurer") were observed. It is worthy of notice also in the above extract that the Law begins and ends the year with Yule, December 25th, according to old Church custom, which however fluctuated greatly. In some of his bulls Pope Adrian began the year on January 1st, in others on March 25th.<sup>1</sup>

A number of the Scandinavian Almanacs commence with December 25, notably the oldest of all that bears a date (fig. 6). It was not till after various attempts that this remarkable staff yielded up its secret. The old Icelandic Ein-mánoðr, "One-Month" (*i.e.*, one remaining, the last), one of the four only which are mentioned by name in the Sagas,<sup>2</sup> corresponds to our March-April. There are good grounds for believing that the old heathen Norse year was divided into two seasons, summer and winter, further divisions being marked by terms expressive of weather, agriculture, &c.<sup>3</sup>

Just as night was held to precede day, so winter (a state of chaos) came before summer (creation); and the beginning of the world and of the year was dated from spring.<sup>4</sup>

Further north, the seasons being later, S. Tiburtius' day, April 14th, or "first *summer's* day," was long regarded as the commencement of the year. The staff calendars which begin with this day are numerous both in Sweden and Norway (see Bs., fig. 7). I have little hesitation in

are 8 nights to Michaelmas. Then are 9 nights and 20 to the Two Apostles' mass, Simon and Jude. Then are 4 nights to All Saints' mass. Then are 10 nights to Martinmas. Then are 12 nights to Clement's mass. Then are 7 nights to Andrew's mass. Then are 6 nights to Nicholas' mass. Then are 15 nights to Thomas's mass. But there are 4 nights to Yule Day (Christmas).

<sup>1</sup> Traces of this beginning exist in our Scotch Abbey Cals., where we read to Mar. 25th "hic concurrentes mutantur."

<sup>2</sup> Vide *Corp. Poet. Boreale*, vol. i. p. 431, Oxf. 1883.

<sup>3</sup> Similar names are found for the Anglo-Saxon months, and are still given in Scandinavian and German almanacs. Significantly, to our own language Latin has given only "Autumn."

<sup>4</sup> Cp. the Hyrmandstone Calendar, ed. Forbes, to March 18th.—"Inicium mundi."

regarding them as the oldest in type, and in this respect evidence of pre-Christian customs. This division was still observed as late as 1678 (*e.g.*, on the Newcastle Staff), and probably after 1700, if I am correct in finding on the Bs. indications of the reform introduced into Norway at that date. But as the peasants of Norway continued even into the present century to reckon according to the "Old Style," we need not feel surprised that customs still more ancient should long have held their ground among a primitive and patriotic race.

Where the staff bears no date, something may be inferred as to date and origin by carefully noting what saints are marked on it,—especially whether they give or omit the saints latest canonised. Such test saints' days are :<sup>1</sup>—

Date.	Name.	Canonised in	Marked in the Modern Protestant Calendars of
Jan. 19.	Henry, Bp. of Upsala.	c. 1158	Sweden.
Feb. 15.	Sigfrid, Bp. of Wexiö.	1158	Swed. and Norway.
Jan. 28.	Charles the Great.	c. 1165	S. N. Denmark.
Jan. 7.	Knut "Laward," Duke.	1171	N. D.
Dec. 29.	Thomas à Becket—"Thomas of Canterbury."	1173	S.
Apr. 16. } June 16. }	William of Roeskilde.	1224	N.
Oct. 4.	Francis of Assisi.	1228	S. N. D.
Jun. 13.	Anthony of Padua.	1232	N.
Aug. 4 or 5.	Dominicus.	1234	S. D.
Nov. 19.	Elisabeth, Countess of Thüringia.	1235	S. N. D.
Dec. 8.	Assumption, B.V.M.	{ 1263 } { 1476 }	S. N.(?) D.
Nov. 21.	Presentation, B.V.M.	1374	N. D.
Jul. 2.	Visitation, B.V.M.	1389	S. N. D.
Dec. 8.	(Immaculate) Conception, B.V.M.	1389	S. D.
Oct. 7.	Bridget (Birgitta), of Vadstena.	1391	S. N.
Jan. 18.	S. Peter's Chair ( <i>at Rome</i> ).	{ 1480 } { 1558 }	
Nov. 6.	King Gustavus Adolphus (Anniversary of Lützen 1632).		S. Germ.

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Schnippel, pp. 37, *ff.* The years when the festivals of the Virgin were instituted are very significant of the growth of Mariolatry. The Assumption, Dec. 8, was first made a public festival in 1263 by the Franciscans—an innovation said to have been stoutly opposed by Innocent III. The "Immaculate Conception" was introduced and fixed for the same day by Clement VII. in 1389, and repeatedly

Were we therefore to find a staff agreeing with Archbishop John's regulations, and omitting all these later saints, there would be strong presumptive evidence of its high antiquity.

The custom of observing "wakes," eves or vigils rather than days, in the case of some saints, is of a piece with the prominence given to nights. It has occasioned some confusion, as the proper Church vigils precede the saint's day; whereas in Scandinavia, though some of the calendars undoubtedly mark the fast or vigil, it is clear that the wake was, like funeral wakes in Ireland, a feast, and generally held on the saint's usual day.<sup>1</sup>

Even supposing that as early as John's time the laity were in the habit of marking the "fixed" days on staves, &c., we may perhaps infer incidentally that they were as yet unfamiliar with the somewhat intricate mode of determining Easter and other movable feasts. For by the same law every parish priest was required "before every holy day and feast day to cut a cross and send it abroad, so many days beforehand as his people agreed on." This was passed on to the next "Bonde" or farmer, and so on, till it had gone the round. Penalties were also appointed for "mis-cutting" crosses, sending them astray, or neglecting to pass them on. Refusal to pay the "cross fine" brought the offender before the "Thing," and incurred additional penalties. The necessity of sending the cross round before "holy days," *i.e.* Sundays (?) and feasts, whether fixed or otherwise, as we may assume from the general terms used, affords some negative evidence that at this date calendar staves were not generally—if at all—in use. Attempts have frequently been made to connect the staves with the "sortes et vaticinationes" mentioned by Tacitus, gratuitously explained as inscribed slips of wood. But even admitting this, without further evidence there seems little reason for assuming the connection. With almost equal reason we might suppose them derived from the *Skytalai* of the Spartans, or that the notch-stick calendar of Robinson Crusoe was suggested by the staves.

reaffirmed as a Church festival by Sixtus IV. (1476, 1477, 1483). This festival is therefore an excellent test of antiquity in helping to find the approximate date of calendar staves.

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Abp. John's Law (pp. 271-3), and the notes below (pp. 295 *ff.*).

The oldest mention of them in literature is in the work of Olaus Magnus.<sup>1</sup>

A century later Wormius himself testifies that in Denmark there were still peasants who possessed this skill, though it was evidently on the wane. And again, Bureus, somewhat later than Olaus Magnus, bears evidence to the same effect.<sup>2</sup>

But Bureus, Worm, and Loccenius all agree that the people were losing the skill to interpret the staves. They likewise agree in describing them as very ancient. In this we might suspect their patriotic vanity of exaggeration, were it not that their testimony is to some extent supported by the evidence of the staves themselves.

According to Liljegren, *R.-l.* p. 214, the whole subject was passing out of ken when Bureus restored public interest in it, and earned for himself the title of "Father of Runes." It is not improbable that this decay in the use of prime-staves was helped on by the increasing divergence of calculations, based on the old Julian reckoning, from the actual phenomena. On the other hand, we have evidence collected by Schnippel that calendar staves were still extensively used in Upland, the Dales, Smaaland, and Öeland in the beginning of the seventeenth century. A pastor of that date, according to Liljegren (*ib.* p. 199), counted no less than 20 in his own parish of Frestadt, near Stockholm. The introduction of printed almanacs also contributed largely to their disuse, especially

<sup>1</sup> (Lived 1500-1568). *De Gentibus Septentrionalibus*, lib. i. c. 34, published about 1536, and quoted by Wormius, *Fasti Danici*, p. 30, and more fully by Liljegren *R.-l.*, p. 206:—"Ex his (*i. e.* staves) rustici atque villani (*i. e.* peasants and "Bönder") periti adeo evaserunt, ut una die prædicere possint, quotusquisque Aureus sit numerus, literaque Dominicalis, Annus bisextilis, intervalla, festa mobilia et ipsæ Lunares mutationes post decem, vel sexcentos aut mille annos fient vel erunt. Idque studium cum sacerdotibus de festis et similibus commune habent, ut interrogent et responsum præsentent. Ceterum parentes filios suos laicos, imo mater filias, vel domi, feriatis diebus, vel *in accessu Ecclesiarum* (on their way to church) ita instruunt, ut non minus eruditione, quam experientia artis indies efficiantur perfectiores."

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Johannes Loccenius, *Antiquitatum Sveo-Gothicarum Libri Tres.*, lib. 2, c. xv p. 103, ed. 3, Upsala 1670.—"Quod veteres Gothi fuerint artium cultores, non obscuro id est argumento, quod rustici etiamnum in scipionibus suis Calendaria Runis vel Gothis literis exarata gestant, ex quibus anni tempora, novilunia et plenilunia, annos bissextiles, aureum numerum, literas dominicales aliaque ad eam rem spectantia exactissime supputare sciunt."

during the reign of Charles XII. To arrest this decay, a royal letter was written, July 5, 1684, giving effect to a recommendation of the College of Antiquaries, and urging scholars to issue improved rune calendars, adapted to the times. To encourage their patriotic labours, they were exempt from certain taxes. Accordingly in 1690 Professor Samuel Krook printed a "Swedish and Runic Calendar, to show the new moons till the year 1840," and rearranged the Golden Number, thus :—

Jan.	1.	2.	3.	4, &c.,
	XIX.	VIII.	...	XVI. <sup>1</sup>

in place of the Old Style<sup>2</sup>—

Jan.	1.	2.	3.	4.	5, &c.
	III.	...	XI.	...	XIX.

Krook's arrangement is the one found on the *Bodleian staff*. If, as I hope to show, this staff was made between 1690 and 1700, we may also consider this the period at which the Diurnal Circles, the signs of the Zodiac, with the day of entry and hours of sunrise and sunset, and the Paschal Table, were first introduced on the staves (but *v. p.* 268, n. 1, Major Browne's staff). Bure's calendar, above mentioned (*p.* 263), does indeed give the signs of the Zodiac ; but, so far as I know, they are found on no staff earlier than the very end of the seventeenth century. Liljegren distinctly states that these improvements were first suggested by Planberg in 1784, presumably in his *Ständig Ars Räkning eller Almanach*, Sthlm., 1784 (with an illustration), a work which I have not seen. But the Bodleian staff, as the records of that Library show, had been brought to England before that date, having been presented by Mr Guy Dickens (Ch. Ch.) in 1749,<sup>3</sup> an important memorandum for our inquiry, as it proves beyond doubt that the staff was "Old Style."

Lectures on the method of restoring the Old Style Calendars to

<sup>1</sup> To find the G.N. for a year, add to it 1, and divide by 19 ; the remainder, if any, = the G.N. If there be no remainder, 19 is the G.N. Ex.:—(1690 + 1) ÷ 19 = 89, and 0 over ; ∴ xix. is the G.N. for 1690. Was it then a mere coincidence that Krook began Jan. 1 with the 19th rune ?

<sup>2</sup> A number of the Old Style staves give the G.N. III. inaccurately to Jan. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* Dr Macray's *Annals of Bodley*.

renewed usefulness were given in Upsala in 1712, and the subject again explained to the public in the general almanac for 1728. Revival of interest in these matters may have been part of the general movement for reform, which led to the adoption of the Gregorian system in 1753. In 1740 a combination of the two styles—Old for fixed, and new for the movable festivals—was attempted. The head and front of this movement was a nobleman of a family famous in Swedish history, Count Ehrenpreussen,<sup>1</sup> whose *Undervisningen om Runstafven* appeared in 1742, 1743, and 1748, adopting the improvements recommended in 1729, along with Krook's style for the G.N. He is said by Liljegren to have also added the Diurnal Circles in 1748. But as these are found on a staff in the Berlin Museum (No. 144), apparently dated 1712 (Schnippel, p. 121), it is very doubtful whether he can claim credit for the improvement. Moreover, we find them on the Bodleian staff. This, as we have seen, was presented to the Library in 1749; and it has all the appearance of having been freely used for some time as a walking-stick. It seems improbable that it was made in 1748, brought to England, and presented the very next year. When we consider the Solar Cycle, we shall find proof that it was made in seventeenth-century style. I date the Bodleian staff therefore between 1690 and 1700, just after Krook's reform of the G.N. In any case, the circles, as such, where they occur, are clear proof of Swedish origin.<sup>2</sup>

The adoption of the New Style in 1753 made further change necessary. Two years later S. J. Digelius, a pastor, printed a rune calendar (with copper plate), in which the Golden Number was arranged:—

Jan.	1.	2.	3.	4.	5, &c.,
...		IX.	...	XVII.	VI.

<sup>1</sup> No. 1779 in Upsala Mus. bears his arms on the head.

<sup>2</sup> In Worm, *Fast. Dan.*, pp. 98-102, ed. 1642, is a Norw. cal. carved on two sides of a tablet. The year on this begins with Apr. 14. In each month above the day-letters, which are not runes (medieval Latin type?), are long strokes, with short vertical strokes above and below, evidently indicating the length of day and night. They begin "Apr.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , May  $\frac{1}{8}$ , Jun.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , Jul.  $\frac{3}{4}$ , &c., . . . Jan.  $\frac{1}{4}$ ." Here are several mistakes, doubtless in W.'s copy. Worm's work is full of misprints and omissions. Eight hours day in Jan. for *Norway* looks like another blind copy of a southern arche-type; v. further, pp. 260, n. 1, and 265.

that is to say, the Golden Number, New Style, but denoting the *new* moon. This is the arrangement we find on the Southesk staff (fig. 1), and also on the Oldenburg staff described by Dr Schnippel.<sup>1</sup>

The Edinburgh staff (fig. 4) shows that further changes were made before 1789, perhaps in accordance with Planberg's suggestions in 1784; but I have not seen this book. These latest staves place the signs of the Zodiac and their triplets of runes above the Diurnal Circles, evidently a later innovation. The circles give the *same* number of hours of daylight as the triplets, which are expressed in a notation differing slightly in form from the Ss. The lower end of Es., besides the Golden Number and that stubborn puzzle, Saint Peter's "Lake," bears a novel sort of Paschal Table, explained below. The Nordiska Museum, Sthlm., contains a staff identical with this in almost all its details; but the Paschal Table, in the same style, is for 1802-1811 (*v.* pp. 291-2).

The old-fashioned Solar Cycle no longer appears on these. It was, in fact, made obsolete by the reform of 1753. That the Ss. and others like it still retained this Cycle shows that the principles which regulated the change to New Style were still only imperfectly understood when Digelius reformed the Golden Number. Its survival is additional evidence that *the Southesk Staff was made shortly after 1755*; and the absence of characteristics found on later *dated* staves (*e.g.* Es.) appears conclusive (but *v.* p. 285, n. 2).

They continued to be made and used well into the first half of the present century.

Nothing could be more marked than the contrast presented by the beautiful, ingenious, and highly scientific methods of these later staves, carved with such exquisite regularity and precision in the minutest details, when compared with the ruder homespun products of the "rustici et villani." And as they attract our interest by their beauty and perfection, so the highly pictorial character of their symbolism is frequently an excellent guide to the meaning of older, obscurer marks. Often it was the only clue. It was therefore a fortunate circumstance that led me to begin at the end.

<sup>1</sup> The Nord. Mus. Sthlm. also contains one identical with these in all details, but inferior to the Ss. in finish.

In this brief sketch of the staves, their growth and decline, the progress made in solving the problems of the Southesk Staff has been somewhat anticipated.

#### THE ZODIAC AND ITS TRIPLETS.

*The Southesk Staff.*—At the lower end (fig. 1, 1a, and 1b) are the 12 signs of the Zodiac, separated by vertical strokes, continued to enclose the triplets of runes below each sign. Under Aries and Libra, the third in each row, which the sun enters at the time of the equinoxes, the 1st and 3rd members of each triplet are the same in each and both. As the day is then 12 hours long, the sun must be up betimes—at 6 A.M., and set at 6 P.M. Assuming therefore, conjecturally, the value 6 for  $\text{F}$  and counting the dashes as hours, and the cross, where it occurs, as a fraction, as in the Diurnal Circles, I obtained the results given in the Table below (p. 281), with a similar ascending and descending scale of hours, so exactly proportioned to the sun's natural course as to leave no doubt of the solution.

The middle term of the triplets was more troublesome. This in all cases is one of the seven Dominical runes, excepting under Aquarius. Now the rune below Pisces, which the sun enters in Feb., occurs to the 16th day of that month in the calendar proper; the rune below Aries occurs to Mar. 17, and so on. This led me to conjecture that the stroke below Aquarius was an unfinished rune, an oversight of the carver, for,  $\text{N}$  namely Jan. 16, which would agree with the sun's course so indicated; and this rune I afterwards found given on a staff in the Nord. Mus. identical in detail with Ss. I now find it also on the Oldenburg staff described by Dr Schnippel.

But sunrise, so indicated, at  $8\frac{1}{2}$  A.M., and sunset at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  P.M., in Jan., gives 7 hours of daylight. Whereas the Diurnal Circle to Jan. gives only  $6\frac{1}{2}$  (v. p. 258). The circles therefore must have been calculated for an earlier date in each month, evidently *the 1st day*; and the assumption on which the calculation of the latitude was based proved correct. Both triplets and circles however agree in giving 12 hours in Mar., Sept.,

whereas the circles should indicate 1-2 hours' difference from the triplets.

		The Sun enters											
		1 Aqua- rius.	2 Pisces.	3 Aries.	4 Taurus.	5 Gemini.	6 Cancer.	7 Leo.	8 Virgo.	9 Libra.	10 Scorpio.	11 Sagit- tarius.	12 Capri- cornus
Southesk Staff.	{ Sunrise	Jan. 16	Feb. 16	Mar. 17	April 16	May 17	June 18	July 19	Aug. 19	Sept. 19	Oct. 19	Nov. 18	Dec. 18
	{ Sunset	8½	7	6	4½	3½	2½	3½	4½	6	7½	8½	8
Stockholm Almanac, 1889.	{ Sunrise	19th	18th	20th	19th	20th	21st	22d	23d	22d	23d	22d	21st
	{ Sunset	8-28'	7-18'	5-52'	4-25'	3-7'	2-33'	3-13'	4-25'	5-33'	6-47'	8-1'	8-47'
		3-31'	4-46'	6	7-11'	8-23'	9-5'	8-34'	7-15'	5-47'	4-17'	3-7'	2-46'

These results, compared with modern almanacs, represent the sun entering each sign two or three days earlier than at present, a frightful rate of "precession" in the equinoxes for 150 years, and damaging to this reading of the middle terms. Besides, it "precedes" in the wrong direction. But this difference is so uniform throughout, that we must rather suppose the date was wrongly calculated by a day or two, owing, perhaps, to the uncertain fluctuations of the calendar, when Digelius issued the model of the staff. The Edinburgh staff, made, as I shall show, about 1789, rectifies this error, and the middle term of its triplets, *read in precisely the same way*, gives correct results. It is important to remember that as only hours, with a fraction sometimes, are given, an apparent difference of a day might be one only of minutes or even seconds.

The *Bodleian Staff* (ca. 1690) also gives the Signs, but with a different notation. Instead of dashed runes, the ordinary runes up to I, the ninth, are used. There are four to each Sign. Giving to these their numerical values in the alphabet, and counting the crosses as fractions or halves, we obtain these results:—

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Sunrise, .	8·8	7½·7	6·5½	5·4½	4·3½	3·3	3·3½	4·5	5½·6	6½·7	8·8	8½·9
Sunset, .	3·3½	4·5	5½·6	7·7	8·8½	8½·8½	8½·8	7½·7	6·6	5·4½	4·3½	3·3

The Diurnal Circles of the Bod-s. agree with those of Ss. Hence the above results—giving, *e.g.*, for Jan. a day of 7-7½ hours—must also refer to the date when the sun enters the new Sign. But the Bod-s.,

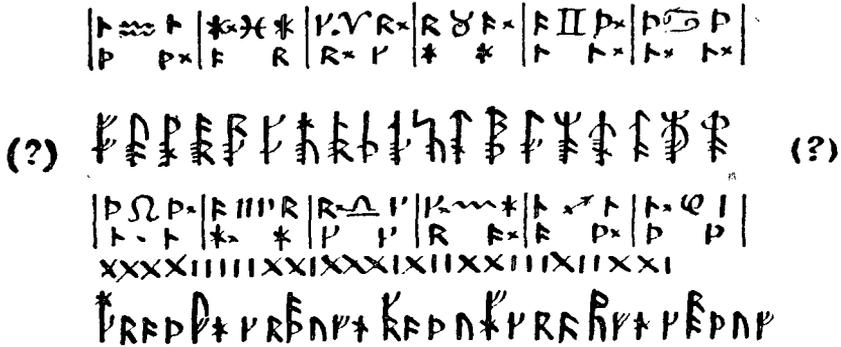


Fig. 2. The Bodleian Prime-Staff, lower end (restored).

being pre-reform, must have dated the change some 10 days earlier than the Ss. That is to say, the sun entered Aquarius about 1690 A.D. (O.S.) on Jan. 9 or thereabouts. We should then expect this staff to show a shorter day below Aquarius than the Ss. Certainly sunrise at 8, with sunset at 3½, is an impossibility. And as it must now be evident that both staves are highly scientific calendars, we must seek further explanation of the crosses. These must refer to the *Equation of Time*—that is, the difference between the true time of the sun and the time of a good chronometer. But as the discussion of this would involve much detail, the reader is referred to the ordinary almanacs and tables for proofs.

On the *Edinburgh Staff*, the signs, with their triplets, are placed

above the Diurnal Circles (*v.* fig. 4, No. 1, &c.). The methods are similar,<sup>1</sup> and give the following results:—

Month.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Diurnal Circles.	hours, day, . .	8	10	12	14	16	18	16	12	10	8	6
	„ night, .	16	14	12	10	8	6	8	10	12	13 (? 14)	18
Rune Triplets of the Zodiac.	Sun changes sign on, .	20th	18th	19th	18th	21st	20th	22d	22d	22d	21st	21st
	Sunrise at .	8	7	6	5	4	3	4	5	6	7	8
	Sunset at .	4	5	6	7	8	9	8	7	6	5	4

<sup>1</sup> On Ss. and Es. in the triplets there is a slight difference of notation worth notice.

In Ss. the rune for 6 is **ƿ**; with dashes added for 7, 8, 9. In Es. we have **ƿ** = 6, and so on. This is not a rune letter at all, though very like the Anglo-Saxon TH initial. The latter notation is found on an old German "Peasant Calendar" on parchment, part of which is given by Schnippel, p. 123. But on this the loop is incomplete, forming a hook downwards. It is there used to mark the G.N., and stands for 5. A stroke across the staff of the letter = 10; and strokes to the right of it mark the units. Thus **ƿ** = 18. This is *the same notation as on our own Staffordshire Clog Almanacs*, except that on them dots at the tip are used for units, and 5 is a hook turned up at a sharp angle. Thus:— **ƿ** = 16. These systems I regard as *all* merely corruptions of the *Roman numerals*, placed vertically to save space. The last is clearly xvi. In *writing*, the hook of v. became curved, upwards or downwards. Hence the above varieties of form. Except in the Zodiac triplets this notation is very rare on Scandian staves. I have observed only 2 out of over 220 specimens which mark the whole G.N. in this way instead of the 19 runes. One of these is the tablet cal. in Worm, *Fasti Dan.*, pp. 100 and 102 (*v.* above, p. 278, n. 2), which gives, *e.g.*, **𐌿** = xviii., clearly another variety of Roman notation. The second is unique, in my observation of the staves; in Upsala Mus. (photos. 254), sabre-shaped, days marked by notches, with the G.N. attached. The notation here is **𐌿** = xviii., and so on. Curves in *writing* are most easily *carved* as straight lines.

There are no symbols on this staff. The 1st of the months Aug.-Dec are marked by initials—A, S, O, N, D. The photograph is very indistinct; but enough appears to show that the staff is O.S. The calendar commences with *Dec.* 25 on the back of the blade, handle-end, and is continued on the outer convex edge of the other side. On the hilt the whole G.N. is given in above style, numerical order. Worm's *F.D.* (p. 69) shows that he was acquainted with several varieties of this notation, including

Here the circles and triplets agree in the length of day, and there are no crosses or Equation of Time. The time given is therefore probably "mean."

THE SOLAR CYCLE.

Values.																												
17th cent. (O.S.)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
18th cent. (N.S.)	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
19th cent.	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	1	2	3	4

Fig. 3 (v. fig. 1, p. 257, IV.).

Dominical Runes.

= A B C D E F G Latin values.

This Cycle contains the 7 dominical runes, read backwards, repeated five times. Every 4th rune has the next above it, and indicates a leap-year. The system is adapted to the observation that it required 28 years for the Sunday Letter to recur on the same day of the week and month.

the imperfect loop for v. found on the Germ. calendar above mentioned. The date of this latter is 1498. It is in the Nürnberg Mus., and came from Steiermark (Styria), S.W. of Vienna. It has two rows of the G.N. The upper is O.S. ; the lower is apparently an attempt at reform, giving exactly the same values as Krook's arrangement, thus :—

		September	1.	2.	3, &c. .
G.N. {	O.S. . . . .		xvi.	v.	...
	2nd Row . . . .		ii.	...	x.

This practical identity of notation may be due to the lively intercourse maintained between religious Houses, especially of the same order. It is difficult to suppose that the Norse and German forms were evolved independently. Of the English Clogs I have examined 9,—nearly all I know of. Only two are dated, both late 15th century. They all agree in the form of G.N. described above. It is quite gratuitous to derive them on this account from Scandinavia. Strictly speaking, the notation is not runic at all. But the whole subject of these Clogs I must reserve for full discussion elsewhere.



(1789), which I supposed were influenced by Planberg's suggestions (?) in 1784.<sup>1</sup>

The earliest *dated* staff in the Nord. Mus. Sthlm. (No. 25920) to give the sun-circle is marked 1586. On this it begins with —that is, with the Sunday Letter for the year 1500. This gives us *the 16th century style*, as a test for the approximate date of a number of undated staves. I have no hesitation in dating as of that century Nos. 6972, 6453, 27172, 13767, 31146, 6971, 25912, 25921, 25914, 25916, 14302 (which is dated 1651, but the figures must, I think, be read *reversed*; S. Peter's Lake on the same staff is also in reverse order), 18937 (in spite of the dates 1661, 1667, 1658, found on it; added subsequently?), 18936, &c. We have thus gained a long step in establishing the antiquity of a number of undated staves; and as we shall see that *dated* staves of that century are rare, the importance of the result will be at once recognised (*v. p.* 332).

SAINT PETER'S LAKE<sup>2</sup> (*v. figs.* 1, III, 4 B, and 5, *p.* 257).

One definite result derived from the above conclusions is to prove that this game is as old as the 16th century. For, unless my reading of the date on No. 14302 above be correct, the "Lake" occurs on no

<sup>1</sup> To find the Sunday Letter for a given year, add 9 to the year, and divide by 28. The remainder, if any, gives the number of the rune. If there be no remainder, 28 is the rune number. Thus:—

Ex. 1 (O.S).— $(1690 + 9) \div 28 = 60$ , and 19, remainder :

 is 19th rune in the Cycle (O.S), *v. p.* 284.

Ex. 2 (N.S).— $(1756 + 9) \div 28 = 63$ , and 1, remainder :

 is 1st rune in the Cycle, 18th cent. style.

<sup>2</sup> The word *lake* occurs in our Northumbrian dialect: play-*lakin*=a plaything, Dan. *Lege-tvi*; and also in Cumberland, as *lake* pure and simple. In Yorkshire children's trinkets are called *lairkins*.—Note from R. O. Heslop, editor of the Northumbrian Glossary now being issued in the *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*. He also connects with this, *lark*. But? *sky-lark* in the same slang sense. *Vide* also Halliwell, Nares, &c.

*dated* staff, known to me, earlier than the 17th century. But it appears frequently on the above 16th-century staves, and may be still older. I find no mention of it in Worm's *Fast. Dan.* According to Stephens (*O.N.R.M.*, pp. 872-3), the first mention of it in literature was made by Krock, in his *Swenskt åg Runskt Calendarium* (Upsala, 1690). As it has been repeatedly described, I refer the reader for the explanation of it, as a game, to Stephens (*l.c.*). It was extensively known throughout Europe. To his instances I may add that a lady from Herefordshire tells me she recognises it as a familiar game of her childhood, played with cards.

It is found in the earliest of the staves noted above, with strokes for the Christians instead of crosses, as on Ss., &c., and dots for the Jews instead of strokes. An example of it in this form is illustrated below (*v. Hs.*, fig. 5, p. 297).

I have been unable to find in this any esoteric meaning connected with the calendar. Old as it is, it seems a trifling sport to be found on calendars so scientific as the Ss. and Es., &c., but perhaps in this they paid deference to established usage. The number 30 (15 Jews and 15 Christians) seems suggestive of the Epact. But the Golden Number is sufficient for this on all staves where it marks the *new moon*.

#### THE PASCHAL TABLE (*v. fig. 1, II., a and b, and fig. 4, C*).

*The Southesk Staff.*—This consists of the 19 lunar runes, and below them—the most difficult problem of all—19 dashed runes (with the dashes to the left), spaced by hyphens or dashes, one or two, irregularly.

Here I was deserted by all the writers I knew of. But having decided that the Golden Number in this Calendar marked the new moon (N.S.), it became evident that some method of marking the Easter full moon was still to be run to earth. As *all* the dashed runes (II, *b*), are Dominical letters, I was led experimentally to treat them as days in the body of the Calendar, the number of dashes to indicate the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, &c., occurrence of that Dominical rune. Still there was wanting some mark to show whether Mar. or Apr. was the month intended.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Easter Day is the first Sunday after the first full moon which follows the vernal equinox (Mar. 21, N.S.). Consequently the limits or "termini" of the Paschal full moon are now Mar. 21-Apr. 18; but of Easter Day itself, Mar. 21-Apr. 25.

This I found in the intermediate dashes, one for March, two for April. For instance, when  $\Psi$  (=I.) is the G.N. for a year, the Easter full moon falls on the second  $\Psi$  in April; when the G.N. is  $\mathfrak{P}$  (=III.), it falls on the fourth  $\mathfrak{N}$  in March; and so on. This table, so read, gave *correct results for the years 1700-1899*. The full translation is given below.

Add to this that the Calendar marks the summer solstice to Jun. 20,—another proof that it is New Style, and by the sceptre symbol (fig. 1, No. 76) for Gustavus Adolphus marks the day of his fall at Lützen (1632), an eminently *Protestant* anniversary, and the evidence for the date of the staff is complete.

The *Bodleian Staff* bears a similar Paschal Table, but the lower end is much worn and damaged. The rubbing is therefore very illegible. So far as I can judge, there are no dashes to mark the month, Mar. or Apr. But enough remains for me to reconstruct this portion of the Calendar, as in fig. 2, p. 282.

In addition, I find in Liljegren (*R.-l.*, App., No. x.) a table of Paschal Full Moons for the Old Style. These are combined below in one table, with my translation of the Ss. and Bod-s. Paschal Cycles.

*Tables of the Paschal Full Moon.*

When the Golden No. is	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
The Ss. gives the } Easter Full Moon }	14 Ap.	2 Ap.	22 M.	10 Ap.	30 M.	17 Ap.	7 Ap.	28 M.	15 Ap.
Old Style (Liljegren) gives } the Easter Full Moon }	5 Ap.	25 M.	13 Ap.	2 Ap.	22 M.	10 Ap.	30 M.	18 Ap.	7 Ap.
The Bod-s. gives the } Easter Full Moon }	2 Ap.	22 M.	8 Ap.	30 M.	21 Ap.	7 Ap.	27 M.	22 Ap.	4 Ap.

When the Golden No. is	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
The Ss. gives the } Easter Full Moon }	4 Ap.	24 M.	12 Ap.	31 M.	20 M.	8 Ap.	29 M.	16 Ap.	6 Ap.	26 M.
Old Style (Liljegren) gives } the Easter Full Moon }	27 M.	15 Ap.	4 Ap.	24 M.	12 Ap.	1 Ap.	21 M.	9 Ap.	29 M.	17 Ap.
The Bod-s. gives the } Easter Full Moon }	24 M.	10 Ap.	1 Ap.	18 Ap.	9 Ap.	29 M.	15 Ap.	5 Ap.	26 M.	12 Ap.

THE EDINBURGH PRIME STAFF.

This round staff is carved with great firmness and attention to detail, and is in excellent preservation. It is made of satinwood, light in

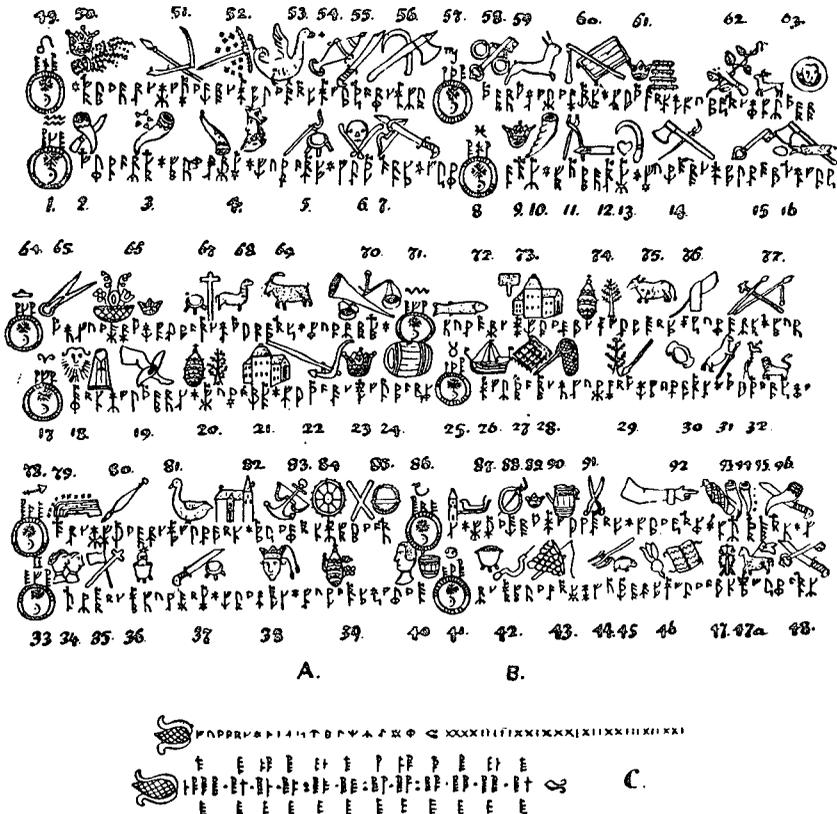


Fig. 4. The Edinburgh Prime Staff from Sweden ; in the Scotch National Museum. Dated 1789-1800. (Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$ .)

hue, and measures 4 ft. 2 in. long. It has been divided into two nearly equal portions, joined by a loose peg and socket. This must have been done since it was carved, as the symbols Nos. 32 and 77 are cut through, and the space between the adjacent runes shortened. The carving is not so deep and rich as on the Ss., but very clear, being inked in. As the Ss. contains more symbols than the Bod-s., so the Es. continues the development both in number and pictorial character. The "mark-days" are almost all the same, and distinguished by the same three varieties of cross. Jan. 24 and June 13 (*q.v.* below) are additions not found in the Ss. It has no mounting at the ends, and shows no trace of use as a walking-stick, for which it is inconveniently long. The symbols are explained below (pp. 295, *f.*).

The *lower end* is carved spirally in two bands, beginning with two cone-shaped ornaments set deep in thick recurved leaves (the Lotus?). For convenience of view, I have uncoiled these in the illustration (fig. 4, A,B,C). The upper course contains the 19 Golden Runes and S. Peter's Lake. The lower course contains three rows, in a notation similar to that of the Zodiac triplets on the same staff (see note to p. 283), which gives the clue to its interpretation. This also proved to be a Paschal Table, but of a very inferior description. Instead of giving the Paschal Full Moon, it gives Easter Day itself, but only for the 12 years 1789-1800. These years are indicated by the middle row, but only the first has all four units. † = 1, &c.; P = 5, &c.,

† = 10, &c., strokes to each of these being additional units. A peculiarity in the notation is that 90 reads eighty-ten, and 1800 ninety-ten.<sup>1</sup>

The years are spaced by triangular points, one for ordinary years, two after the leap-years, namely, 1792, 1796.

The top row gives the day of the month in the same style, and below the year we find the month indicated by a stroke with three dashes for March, four for April. The Table then reads as follows:—

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps due to the anomalies of Scandinavian numerals, in which 90 is called "half five (times) twenty," abbreviated into "half-fives"; that is, midway between  $4 \times 20$  and  $5 \times 20$ , and so on; *cp.* the French "quatre-vingt dix."

*Es.*

(Easter) Day.	12	4	27	9	31	13	5	27	16	8	31	13
Year,	1789	8X(=90)	1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799	9X(=1800)
Month,	Ap.	Ap.	M.	Ap.	M.	Ap.	Ap.	M.	Ap.	Ap.	M.	Ap.

Our English reckoning gives Easter 1791 on Ap. 24; in 1792, Ap. 8; in 1794, Ap. 20; in 1799, M. 24.<sup>1</sup> I am not sufficiently well acquainted with the Swedish mode of reckoning to account for this divergence. Perhaps it is due to the use of Weigel's (Germ. Protestant) method, which was adopted for Denmark, Dec. 20, 1699.

The *Golden Number* on this staff reads:—

Jan. 1.            2.            3.            4.            5, &c.  
 ...            XIX.        VIII.        ...            XVI.

which is practically the same as Krook's arrangement in 1690, a displacement of three or four days in the Old Style arrangement.

In the *Nord. Mus. Sthlm.* is a staff so entirely like the *Es.* as to seem at first sight as though made in the same mould (Mus. No. not given; Photographs, p. 46). But the middle term of the Zodiac triplets in some months gives different days for the sun's change of sign.

*N.M.S.-s.*

Months.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Change of Sign } on day the } ; )	20th	18th	18th	20th	19th	20th	22d	23d	23d	22d	22d	22d

The *lower end*, also carved in spirals, beginning with the same (lotus?) device, gives likewise the Golden Runes and S. Peter's Lake, and below this a Paschal Table in identically the same style, but for the years 1802–1811. The first of these years is also carved unequivocally in Arabic numbers. The pencil rubbing kindly sent me

<sup>1</sup> Details from Sir H. Nicolas, *Chronol. of Hist.*, tab. K, p. 74, ed. ii.

from the Museum is very faint. So far as I have been able to unravel the coils, it reads as follows:—

*N.M.S.-s.*

(Easter) Day, . .	27	10	26	21?	6	29	11	2	22	7
Year, . .	1802	1803	1804	1805	1806	1807	1808	1809	1810	1811
Month, .	M.	Ap.	M.	Ap.	Ap.	M.	Ap.	Ap.	Ap.	Ap.

The leap-years 1804 and 1808 are here also marked by two dots, as on the Es. Our English method again gives some results different: in 1802 Easter fell on Ap. 18; in 1804 on Ap. 1; in 1805 on Ap. 14; in 1808 on Ap. 17; in 1811 on Ap. 14. One of these methods is clearly incorrect, even on its own principles. It is impossible, for instance, for *both* Mar. 26 and Ap. 1 in 1804, and Ap. 11 and 17 in 1808 to have been Sundays.<sup>1</sup> Both these years are leap-years. A moment's calculation (or Whitaker's Table, p. 12) will show that Mar. 26 and Ap. 11 in those years both fell on a Monday, and could not therefore be Easter Day. The mistake is obviously due to the omission of Feb. 29 in the Swedish calculation.

The Edinburgh staff makes the same mistake for 1792 (also a leap-year), placing Easter Day on Ap. 9 instead of 8. But for 1796 the calculation is correct.

Perhaps the handsomest of all staves of this latest class is No. 3937—also marked 3063—in the *Royal Mus. Stihm*. It is an axe-headed, round, tapering staff, about 4 feet 1 in. long, such as a nobleman might carry in his park, but without ferrule. The axe is inlaid with finely chased mother-of-pearl, and engraved with a coronet and arrows saltire, the arms of Dalecarlia (or Nerike?). The wood is stained a reddish brown. The incised runes show traces of having been inlaid with gold and white, the white below. The rune triplets agree with those on the staff in the N.M.S., above described. There is the same scrollwork at the end, and the date 1802 in Arabic numerals. It ends with the inscription, “ $\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{F}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{Y}\ \mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{Y}$  1802” (Bosk or Bosch?—the maker's name).

A similar staff dated (or numbered?) 1783 in the *Upsala Mus.*, kept in a leather sheath, has the runes inlaid with solid silver. Some of the later staves

<sup>1</sup> Unless the Swedes insert the intercalary day after the Easter full moon,—but where?

(e.g., Ups. Mus., Nos. 1923 and 1930, date 1772?) are carved in relief. The latter is carved in Latin letters. Another staff in the R.M.S. (not dated or numbered) has the whole inscription in sling-scroll. Round the Diurnal Circles it bears a novel notation of double-dashed "runes," but for lack of details I am unable to discover their meaning. The same Museum contains a curious specimen, 3 ft. 8 in. long, cut in hybrid letters, half runic, half Latin, given in Latin order up to T (= 19) on the lower end, with their Lat. equivalents above. Before this is a half moon-face, to indicate the Lunar Cycle. Below this is a full sun-face before the Solar Cycle. The Dominical letters used are:—

  
*a b c d e f g* in this (Latin) order.

This is the only instance I know of these runes on a cal. staff. The form for *c* is "Danish Gothic," and very unusual (*cp.* Liljegren, *Run-lära*, p. 28). The letter *g*, or "soft *k*," shows that the maker was familiar with "pricked" or (Icel.) "stung" runes. Inserted between the sun-face and the Solar Cycle,

which begins with  (: GF), I found  carved small, indicating that the

series corresponds to the series so commencing in the more usual notation. The staff is therefore "Old Style," which is the more curious, as it bears the inscription, "Skuren af M: Holmborg 1790 i des 77 ålders år." (Carved by M. H., 1790, in the 77th year of his age.) This vigorous old man had evidently not approved of the changes made when he was a youth of 40. The symbols are carved in bold relief. The Diurnal Circles agree with the Ss. Above them are the Zodiac signs, so the maker was not entirely "laudator temporis acti." The triplet for Jan. translated reads: "The sun enters Aquarius Jan. 19; sunrise 8½, sunset 3½."

Before we turn to the symbols it may be well to remind the reader that their elaborate pictorial and *conscious* character on later staves, like Ss. and Es., is not representative of the staves in general. But as they are therefore more intelligible, they often furnish the clue to the meaning of ruder, simple, and sometimes very obscure symbols on earlier staves. Their interpretation of these is to be accepted with some caution. For symbols, at first purely religious, have often been rationalised to indicate secular objects, such as the seasons and their employments. This tendency is strongly developed on the later staves, the conscious product of ingenious antiquarians and scholars. Also it can scarcely be doubted that the same tendency is apt to affect our reading of them.

The drawings of Ss., Bod-s., Es., Hs., and Bs., I have made from rubbings carefully compared with the originals. To these I add the oldest dated Swedish staff, 1434-s. (fig. 6), traced from a photograph.

As none of these give the "Black Days," which I find on some of the older staves, I reserve this interesting branch of the subject, which has enabled me to restore and explain some difficult passages in our own Scotch Abbey Calendars (ed. Forbes).

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ABBREVIATIONS OF REFERENCE USED IN DESCRIBING THE SYMBOLS, &c.

- Abp. J.—Archbishop John's Law, 1280 A.D.; *v.* pp. 271-3.
- Bs.—Norse staff from Odde, Hardanger (fig. 7); date, *post* 1700 (?), but in oldest style. Kindly lent me by the owner. The edges are scored to mark the weeks. On the winter side [30-53], a week too many has been cut. The four black dots on the edge mark nails driven in at regular intervals, and measure exactly the old Norse *ell.*—The Black Gate Mus., Newcastle-on-Tyne, has one somewhat similar, dated 1678; *v.* p. 268, n. 1, and p. 332.
- Bod-s.—The Bodleian Prime-staff. Swedish. *Ca.* 1690-1700.
- Bure-s.—The staff figured on Bure's *Runakinslones Låtro-spån*, dated 1599; facsimile printed in 1881.—Edd. Bugge, Hildebrand, Stephens, and Thorsen.
- Cm.—The Codex Membranaceus—a Runic Church Almanac, dated 1328; reproduced in Worm, *Fasti Danici* (ed. 1642). Original now lost; *v.* pp. 263-4.
- Es.—The Edinburgh staff, the property of the Society. Swedish. Dated 1789-1800.
- E.M.—Dr Erik Magnússon, in Report, *Proceedings Camb. Ant. Soc.*, No. xx., 1878. His notes on the mark-days are mainly as given in Munch; and
- E.Ms.—The staff there described. In Old Style, like Bs., but simpler.
- Hs.—The Harrow staff, kindly lent by B. P. Lascelles, Esq., M.A., Librarian, who informs me that it has been there many years. Bruce was said to have brought it from Central Africa! While in the "Boys' Library" it was used as a poker—also as a foil, the opponent being armed with "Byron's sword,"<sup>2</sup>—which evidently did great execution! The narrow sides bear the G.N. and S. Peter's Lake, in the oldest form noted above. It is manifestly Swedish. The details of the handle are identically the same as on one in the N.M.S. (No. 20315, or 20316?) which came from Upland, Sweden. Date *ca.* 16th to 17th cent. (?) (fig. 5).
- 1434-s.—The oldest (?) dated staff. In the Nordiska Mus. Sthlm. (fig. 6).

- N.M.S.-s.—A staff closely resembling Es., dated 1802-1811. In the Nordiska Mus. Sthlm. (Photos. p. 46); *v.* p. 291.
- P.A.M.—Prof. Munch, the historian, on a Norw. staff in *Norsk Folke-Kal.*, 1848, a most valuable collection of calendar folk-lore; and
- P.A.M.-s.—The ring staff there described. Dated 1651 (but *v.* p. 313, n.).
- Schn.—Dr. E. Schnappel, as quoted above. Os.—The Oldenburg staff he describes. Date *ca.* 1756.
- Ss.—Swedish Prime-staff, belonging to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Southesk, Kinnaird Castle, N.B. Date *ca.* 1756.
- W.—Olaus Wormius, *Fasti Danici*, Copenh., ed. ii., 1642.—W., *fr.*—his *Fasti Restituti* in the same, a highly rationalised scheme of restoring the staves.

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THE "MARK DAYS" AND SYMBOLS.

*Note.*—The Ss. is taken as the text, the figures in brackets after the day refer to the numbered symbols on that staff, in fig. 1. The numbered symbols of the other staves illustrated are specified thus:—"Bs. [2]," &c. Where not otherwise stated, the symbols on **Bod-s.** and **Es.** are the same as on **Ss.** The reader is referred to my paper in the *Archæologia Aeliana* for further details of folk-lore, &c., chiefly from Finn Magnusen's *Calendarium Gentile* (Copenh. 1828), written since this paper went to press.

JANUARY.

1. [2] Symbols, Yule-tide **Ale-Horn** and curved **knife** of the **Circumcision**. Sometimes the *membrum virile* or ? *præputium*.—Schn.: so on Eng. Clogs. Also a sun; hour-glass = the "turn" of the year.—1434-s., a semicircle, the same for Christmas [1 and 2].—Bs. [43] a **Church**? Note the omission of the day in Abp. J.—Originally only the "octave" of **Christmas** and still so in Cm. (red) *Atundi Daghr*. The name (Julian Style) of **New Year's Day** was revived later.—Sw. *Nyaars-dag*: Norw. *Nytaar*.—The visitor to "Odin's barrow" in Gamla Upsala still drinks mead out of such horns, and *pays* for it!
6. [3] **Star** and **Ale-Horn**.—**Epiphany**; later, "Holy Three Kings" (the Magi or Shepherds).—Norw. *Helligtrekonger*. Very popular since the "translation" of their relics to Cologne in 1164; but still in Cm. (red) merely *Threttandi Daghr* (Thirteenth Day); *cp.* Abp. J.—Obs. this expression retains the old Lat. and Church method of counting both days inclusive, Dec. 25 to Jan. 6; = Eng. "Twelfth Night."—Symbols often **three crowns** or heads, &c.—1434-s. [3]=?—Hs. [2], **Ale-Horn** and ?—Bs. [44] **Triple cross**, &c., with **Sun**? = turn of the year? If so, Bs. is a late O.S. staff; for *ca.* 1700

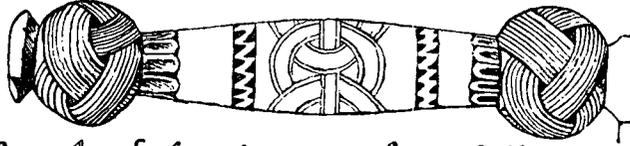
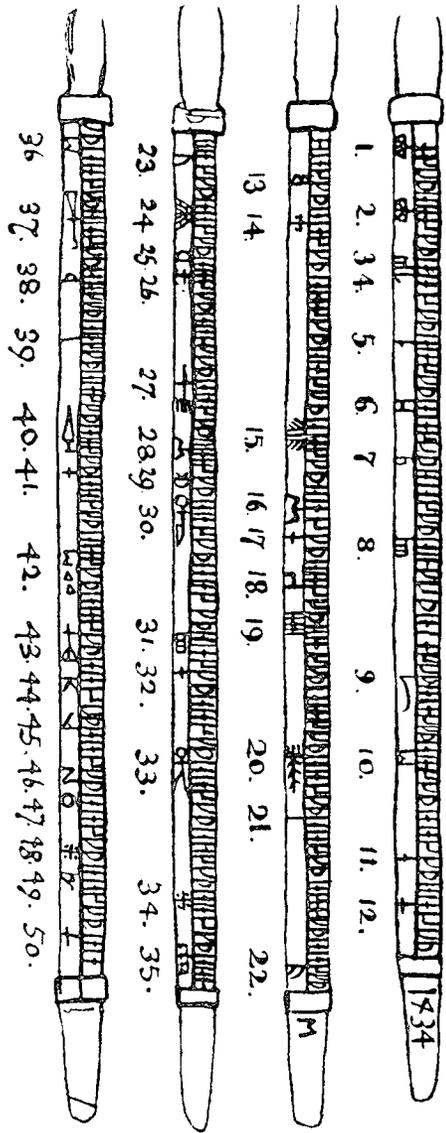
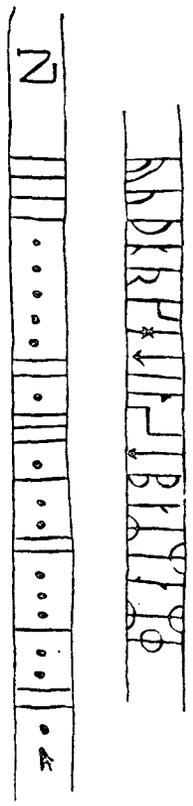


Fig. 5. The Harrow Prime-Staff, from Sweden. In the Library of Harrow School.  
Date 16th-17th century (?). (Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$ .)



1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12.
13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22.
23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35.
36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50.



Part of Fig. 5. Harrow Prime-Staff—narrow edges. (Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$ .)

Fig. 6. Swedish Calendar Staff in the Nordiska Museum, Stockholm. From a Photograph. Dated 1434.



the calendric Jan. 6 was really the solar Dec. 26, or very nearly back to the *winter solstice*.—Roeskilde Cathedral has a fine chapel dedicated to the “Three Kings” (date?).—In modern times the Norw. Law Vacation ends on this day.

7. Not usually a mark-day in Sweden. Not on Hs., Bod-s., Ss., Es., &c., or Bs. But Ss. has an indication of **Knut Hertug**, “Laward” (obs. the L (?) on 1434-s. [4]) in the curved staff and bell suspended [3a].—*Knut | gjenner Juel ut*. Worm.—*Sankt Knut | ringer Julen ud*. (St. K. rings Yule out). P.A.M.—More observed in Norw. and Denm.—St. K. was Duke of Slesvig; murdered 1133; canonised 1171.—The day on which Yule guests departed. Worm. Norw. *Affarer daghr*. E.M. v. sub 13th.—Not in Abp. J. Found in Cm.—evidence in favour of its Danish origin. The bell has sometimes been attributed to Jan. 13, and wrongly supposed to be a whip. Its Swed. connection with this day appears from what follows.
13. [4] **Inverted Ale-Horn**.—So Hs. [3], &c.—Es. [4] has also a **Crowned Head**.—Bs. [45] an **Axe**.—1434-s. [5]=the rune of 8, *i.e.*, octave of Epiphany? so in Cm., *Atundi Daghr*.—Not in Abp. J. but “octaves” were naturally omitted, being sufficiently indicated by the feast itself.—Also the day of a **St. Knut**, still in mod. Swed. Almanacs; =King Knut: Worm; v. Jan. 19. Swed. *Sankt Knud | körer Julen ud*.—But more commonly known as **Twentieth Day** (of Yule). Sw. *tiugunde dag Jul är Knud | da skal man dricka Julen ud*. (Twentieth day of Yule is Canute, then shall Yule be drunk out.)—Hence the Ale-Horn inverted.—Also *cp.* Germ.: *S. Knut | tanzt Jul aus*. (ut in Platt dialect). Schn.—In Thelemark, Norway, the day was called **Eldbjörg-dag**, and a drink called *Eldbjörg-minde* (reminder) was brewed to commemorate the return of the sun’s warmth. The “Mother of the Feast” (*Madmoderen*) brought in the Ale-bowl, set herself before the hearth, and drank the fire’s health with the words: *saa hög min Eld, | men enkje högare og heitare held*. The mode of drinking was for each person to sit on the floor with his hands behind him, and the bowl between his legs. He then took the bowl in his teeth, drained it, and threw it back over his head. If it lay still, bottom up, it was an omen that he should die that year. P.A.M. There is a strong savour of fire-worship in this.
19. [5] **Crosier and Stool**.—**S. Henry**. Specially Swedish.—Not in Abp. J., Cm., and Bs.; not noted in P.A.M. (note the initial **H** on 1434-s. [6]).—Hs. [4] has a **sun**, damaged.—Bure-s. a **crosier**.—St. H. was an Englishman, Bp. and patron of Upsala, missionary of Finland, where he was martyred *ca.* 1150; canonised by Adrian

IV. (Breakspere) in 1158.—But here again we sometimes find a **S. Knut**, still observed in the R.C. calendar. Schn.—This saint was king and patron of Denm. : m. Jul. 10, 1086, with his brother and 17 followers in S. Alban's Church, Odense, for which crime the land suffered famine 8 years and 3 months (Butler, *Lives of the Saints*).—He was canonised in the reign of Erik III., successor to Knut's brother Olaf, and his relics translated (*v. sub* Jan. 24). The English monk Aelnoth was present at the ceremony (1105), and wrote his life ; ed. Copenh. 1642. Also *v. Langebek*, iii. 5. 355-73; Munch, *Hist.*, pt. ii. p. 403. *Saxo Gram., Hist.*, lib. xi. c. lxvi. pp. 214, ff.—ed. Copenh. 1642.—The omission of Denmark's patron both to Jan. 19 and Jul. 10 in Cm. seems to me strong evidence against the Dan. origin of that MS. We should also expect to find him in cal. of Lund, Scania, seat of the primate of Denm. till the separation in 1658.—The **Crosier** however must refer to a Bishop, *i.e.* Henry.—The **Stool** is referred to the "Mid-winter Thing," held about this time. The other "Things," or Court Sessions, were held about the middle of May and Sep. : *v.* May 12 [37] and Sep. 14 [65]. These "Things" date from heathen times, and are connected by Munch with the three great sacrificial feasts (*Blót*) held (1) *Ca.* Jan. 14. Mid-*vetrar*, mid-winter—or *Jule-blót*, or *Thorre blót*, from the month *Thorre* (Jan.—Feb.)—In mod. Norway the first Session of the "Highest Court" begins on the 15th. (2) *Ca.* Apr. 14 (*q.v.*) *Somar-blót* (summer sacrifice) or *Sigr-blót* (Icel. *Sigr*=victory, the triumph over winter?—the season was too early to celebrate victory in forays, *v. Lex.*, Cleasby and Vigfusson, *sub blót* and *þing*). (3) *Ca.* Oct. 14 (*q.v.*). *Vetr-nátt-blót* (winter-night sacrifice).

In the case of Jan. 19 the stool might refer to a metropolitan's *cathedra*, *i.e.* S. Henry's ; but this explanation will not suit May 12 and Sep. 14.

Bod-s. has here an **Axe** and **Stool**. On Norse staves the axe is found on Jan. 20, **Fabian** and **Sebastian**; not in Abp. J. : found in Cm.—Norw. *Brödremessa*, Brothers' Mass—though they were not brothers.—The symbol (rationalised later?) denotes that on this day firewood must be cut, as now the sap begins to rise in trees—P.A.M. This is as old as Worm, who gives it as a "rustic" prov. *Da Kommer der Sav i Traet.*

24. Only on Hs. [5]=? and Es. [6], **Skull** and **Cross Bones**.—Translation of **S. Erik**, *v. sub* May 18.
25. [6] **Bow** and **Sword**. Bod-s. sword only, S. Paul's usual symbol.—Abp. J. ; Cm. (red), *Paulus messa*; 1434-s. [7] P, initial? Hs. [5]=? Bs. [46]

**Cross-bow**; note the trigger for the string.—**S. Paul's Conversion**; but more commonly "**Paul with the Bow**," Norw. *Paal med Bogen, Paal Skytter* (Shooter), not popularly identified with the Apostle, whose feast it is.—He was a zealous warrior, who fought in the forenoon, but kept the afternoon holy.—Clear weather on this day, if only so long as is needed to mount a horse or dismount, betokens a good year; stormy weather, a year of war. Thaw brings sickness; snow and rain drought.—P.A.M. (evidently from Worm).

## FEBRUARY.

2. [8] **Three-branched Candlestick and Crown**.—**Purification** of the B.V.M., **Candlemas**, or the Presentation of Jesus.—Abp. J.; Cm. (red) *Kuindilmess*; this MS., according to Worm, had only six symbols; one here, a **hand holding a torch**.—1434-s. [8] Candles; Bure-s., seven-branched, as often on the staves; Hs. [7] Bod-s. and Es. [9] crown only; Bs. [47] crosses in threes. The Crown occurs to all the Virgin's feasts, her commonest emblem, found in many forms. Originally a feast of the Saviour, with the growth of Mariolatry it was appropriated to the cult of the Virgin.—Schn. *Cp.* Lord Beaconsfield's epigram: "One half of Europe worships a Jew, the other half a Jewess."—Swed. *Marie Kyrkogang* (Church-going). The great day for the "churching" of mothers. The Norw. *Kyndelmisse*, from *Kynda*, to kindle, E.M. (?)—"If at 12 noon but three drops drip from the church roof, on the north side, the year will be mild and good." P.A.M.—On this day a holy cake, baked on Christmas Eve, and called *Folobonden* or *Helhesten*. *Helhesten* is the three-legged horse of Hel which fetches the wicked at their death.
3. [9] **A Horn with mouthpiece and hooped**.—**S. Blasius**, m. 304. Not in Abp. J.; Cm. (red) *Blasius mess*; not in 1434-s.; Bure-s. marked, but no symbol; not in Bod-s.—Hs. [6]=? Es. [10]; Bs. [48]=?—Norw. *Blaasmessa*.—Symbols sometimes a **ship**; a **face** with cheeks puffed out.—These and the horn are due to a false derivation from *blaese*, to blow, and mark a windy season.<sup>1</sup> Wind on this day forebodes a windy year. On this day the "rustici" avoid eating pease, Worm. Much observed by seamen; hence his importance in the Scandian calcs.—"On this day no utensil that goes round

<sup>1</sup> For similar popular etymologies, v. Feb. 10, 15 (?), Jun. 12 (?), 17, Jul. 2, Oct. 14, 28 (?).

- must be used (quern, spinning-wheel, &c.), else will the cattle catch the sickness called *Sviva* ('stagers'?), which makes them run round till they drop. Nor must anything living pass out of doors till hallowed by a candle of Yule, New Year, or Holy Three Kings' day." P.A.M.
5. Only on Bs. [49]=a mouse?—**S. Agatha.** Norw. *Aagotsmesse*. The legend said that mice ate her nose and ears off. Hence called *Musedag*. P.A.M. Cm., Agatha.
6. [10] Pear-shaped **Fruit** and leaves, so on Bod-s.—**S. Dorothy.** Not in Abp. J., Cm., 1435-s., Bure-s., Hs., Es.,—Bs. [49]? St. D. was martyred under Diocletian. The symbol is in allusion to the legend that she "converted one Theophilus by sending him certain fruits and flowers miraculously obtained of her heavenly spouse." Butler, *Lives*.
9. [12] **Pincers** (forceps) and **Netting-Needle.**—**S. Apollonia.** Not in Abp. J., Cm., 1434-s., Bure-s., Hs., Bs.—Clearly Bod-s., Ss., and Es. [12], which give it, form a *class* of staves. St. A. m. under Decius at Alexandria. At her martyrdom her teeth were dashed out: patroness of dentists; hence the forceps. In Esthonia, or the "East Provinces," settled of old by Swedes, and especially in the Isles, the people long retained the knowledge and use of calendar staves like the Swedish. (Their dialect seems a corrupt form of Swedish and Slavonic.) Among these St. A.'s day is *Luvvallo* or *Luvvallo-pääw* (*pääw*=day)—a corruption of the saint's name—"on which every one lets his *bones* and limbs rest" (Schn.), to whose quotations I owe the little I have learned about these Eastern staves. I have seen a few from Finland and Lapland; due to Swedish influences. The **netting-needle** seems purely secular, denoting the time to prepare fishing-nets against the break-up of the ice.
10. [13] **Heart** and incurved (cobblers'?) **knife**: so Es. [13].—**S. Scholastica.**—Not in Abp. J., 1434-s., Bod-s., Bure-s., Hs., Bs.; but in Cm. (Schn. is wrong in saying it is there omitted).—St. Sch. † *ca.* 543. Her relics, with her brother's, S. Benedict's, were translated to Mans in France in the seventh cent., on Jul. 11.—The Heart is unexplained.—Symbol sometimes a shoe or shoe sole, a rude pun on her name in Dan., *Sko-last-ica*, Eng., *quasi* Shoe-last-ica: Dan. *Sko-laest*, a last.
15. [14] **Crosier** and **Axe.** **Bp. Sigfrid.**—Not in Abp. J.—1434-s. [9] a sword blade? or scythe? Norw. *Sigd* = a scythe, another pun, *quasi* Sigd-frid? Bure-s. a sword; Hs. [8] an urn? Bod-s. an axe only; Es. [14]. St. S., the Apostle of Sweden, was a priest of York, sent out by King Edred at request of Olaf Skobkong. He landed at Vexjö, Gothland, Jun. 21, 950, and built a wooden church:

died *ca.* 1030, and was buried in the Cathedral of Vexjö : can. 1158 by Adrian IV.—The Axe perh. refers to the martyrdom of Unamon and his two brothers ; but perh. secular ; *cp.* Jan. 19, Bod-s., note.

22. [15] **Key** and egg-shaped **Stone**. So in Bod-s. and Es. [15].—**Chair of S. Peter at Antioch**.—Not in Abp. J., 1434-s.—In Bure-s. marked, but no symbol ; Hs. [9] and Bs. [50] a key.—Cm. has *Petrus*, and thereafter *Lathigh* (red), an obscure word explained by Worm to mean a seat : “solium seu cathedram.”—The R. Church diverted the feast to the Apostle’s elevation to the see of Rome, an official fiction of the year 1558, though recognised since about 1480 : note the omission in Abp. J. and 1434-s.—Norw. *Paer Varmestein*, “because he throws hot stones on the land to thaw it.” P.A.M.—E.M. witnesses to a similar belief in Iceland.—Schn. compares the Germ. prov.—S. *Severin* (Oct. 23) *wirft den kalten Stein | in den Rhein* ; | *S. Gertrud* (May 17) | *holt ihn wieder heraus* (Platt, *herut*, for the rhyme). Also, *Sünste Cathrin* (Nov. 25) | *smitt den ersten Sten—innen Rhin* ; | *Sünste Gerderut* | *tuht ’ne wie’r herut*.—In Norw. “the ship folk now begin to get their craft ready to sail.” (Obs. this occurs later in Sweden, where the frost lasts longer). “As the weather is on this day, so will it remain for 40 days.” P.A.M. *Cp.* our own superstition about S. Swithun’s, Jul. 15. Note that on the Protestant Bod-s., Ss., Es., the day is only an ordinary mark-day.—Schn. supposes the stone received its egg shape to indicate that hens now begin to lay. This seems early for Sweden : *v.* Ss. [33] and notes to May 1.
24. [16] **Axe** and **Fish**. So in Bod-s., Es. [16], &c. **S. Matthias, Ap.**, was beheaded. Found in Abp. J. ; Cm. (red) *Matthias Missu*, and mark of a Fast (*v.* note to Jun. 17) ; 1434-s. [10], M, initial ; Hs. [10] animal ? or boot ? The thin strokes like legs are very faint ; and the feet (?) may be the head of a cross to Feb. 26 (**Alexander**). In either case I find no explanation for the symbol. Bs. [51] = ?—Norw. *Laupaarsmesse*, because the intercalary day was in Julian and Church style inserted after Feb. 24, and St. M.’s day kept on the 25th in leap-years. “Cold weather on this day betokens a mild spring,” and *vice versa*. Hence *Matthis bryder Iis* ; *er der ingen Iis, Gjør han Iis*. (M. breaks the ice ; if there be none, he makes ice.) P.A.M., from Worm evidently.—“On this day the she-fox ventures not forth on the ice, for fear it break in.—The goat whose horns then bud will come to good,” *id.*—Swed. *Fiskie-lekar* = spawn-time. The fish meant is undoubtedly the pike or luce (?), *Esox lucius*, which about this time begins to come up in shoals to

spawn in shallow water and flooded fields, and is easily caught in baskets. Eström, a naturalist, ap. Schn., p. 126. Symb. sometimes a harpoon; three goose eggs, as now geese begin to lay. Worm, who adds the Norse prov. : *Vocte dig for Skudaar oc Skudaars Broder*. Beware of Leap-year—lit. “shoot-year”—and Leap-year’s brother. Leap-year was held to be unlucky for agriculture.

## MARCH.

1. [18] A bishop’s **cope**, a cloak fastened at the neck with a clasp. **S. Albinus**. An alb or aube, in allusion to the name? (Fr. Aubin); but this is a white surplice worn under the vestment. Explained by Schn. as St. A.’s *pluviale*, alluding to the legend that when rain fell as he preached he and his hearers were not wet. † 549 or 550, reckoning the year to begin with Jan. 1 and not Mar. 25.—Not in Abp J., 1434-s., Bure-s., Hs., but found in Cm. The mod. Swed. Protest. Almanac notes the saint.—W., *fr.*, gives **S. Lucius** (Pope Lucius II., m. 253); much observed in Denm., specially at Roeskilde; symbol a plough (obs. in Swed. this comes later, *v. Es.* [22] &c.). *Hovgaards Plog skal ud.*, *i.e.* holiday for the royal demesne farms; and in Germany the time for ox market, W.

On Ss. and Es. [18] the cloak is preceded by a **sun-head**, in the latter bearded and horned, like Jupiter Ammon; does this refer to the symbol for Aries the Ram, which the sun enters this month at the vernal equinox? Liljegren explains it as Mars, *i.e.* Thor; but such attempts to read heathen mythology into these calendars are very suspicious. It is sufficient to suppose that it refers to the returning warmth already indicated by “Paer Varmstein,” Feb. 22.

The cope is not found on Bod-s., which has the **sun over Mar. 1**. The shape seemed doubtful on Ss., till I found a cloak most unequivocally on other staves, especially N.M.S., Nos. 2898 and  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1453 \\ 476 \end{array} \right\}$  &c. Others, *e.g.* Ups. Mus., No. 1924, a late staff, have a mitre; S. Lucius?

7. [19] **Leg** crossed by—? So Es. [19].—**SS. Perpetua** and **Felicitas**—Not in Abp. J., Bure-s., Hs., Bod-s., Bs., but in Cm. and 1434-s. [11]=? I find nothing in their lives to account for the symbol.
12. [20] **Leafless Tree** and **Mitre**.—So on Es. [20]; Bod-s. no mitre.—**S. Gregory the Great**.—In Abp. J., Cm., 1434-s. [12], Bure-s., axe? (*v. Jan. 8*), Hs. [11]=Key (papal)? Bs. [52] a **crow**; Bod-s. also has a bird on the tree;—for on this day the crow sang, *Gregusmess maa du vente mig*, | *Marimess* (Mar. 25) *Komme jeg vist*; | *Komme jeg ikke for Sommerdag* (Ap. 14), | *skal jeg kommer om det saa var paa et Stav*. Gregory’s mass must thou expect me, Mary-mass

I come for certain; if I come not before Summer-day, I shall come, even though it be on a bare stake, *i.e.*, even if the trees be still leafless, and the season late. P.A.M. Worm, as his manner was, has rationalised the tree into a rod or birch, Gregory being patron of schools ("Magister"), and this the date of the old Roman *Quinquatria*, when boys were entered and paid their fees.—O.S. staves mark the equinox here.—"If the south wind blow in the night and the houses drip, it will be a good year for wool. Now is the time to cart dung, (Môget, 'muck') to the fields." Hence sometimes furrows or clods as symbols. P. A.M.

16. Only in Bure-s., with a stroke above the rune.—Mod. Swed. Alm. gives **Heribert**; Norw. and Dan. **Gudmund** to this day.
17. [21] **House**, also in Es. [21] *cp.* [73].—**S. Gertrude**, Abbess of Nivelles, † *ca.* 660 (*v. sub* Feb. 22).—Not in Abp. J., 1434-s., Bure-s., Bod-s., Bs.;—Cm. *Gerthrudis*. Hs. [12] a Crown.—Still found in mod. Scand. Almanacs.—Also **S. Patrick's** day; but the house is clearly in favour of St. G.
19. Only in Bure-s. **S. Joseph** the carpenter. Cm. *Josep*.
21. [22] **Crosier and Plough**.—Bod-s. and Es. [22] Plough only.—**S. Benedict** † 543.—Not in Abp. J., Cm., Bs.—1434-s. ( **B** ), initial; Bure-s. a yoke? (*v. below*); Hs. [13] serpent (*v. below*).—The day of the Equinox (N.S.), Norw. *Jamvaar* (*Jaevn*, equal; *vaar*, spring); also *Aat-tid* (= bait-time?), "because one casts *Aat* upon the snow," P.A.M.—The "Paschal Term;" hence the symbol is sometimes a flag; also found to Ap. 25, the other "term." W., who adds, "Some mark with a serpent, because now they begin to come out in the sun" (*v. Hs.*); and also a Hog, hence Dan. *Bente stotte sov*—Bennet, prop-hog—"for if any one has so fed them through winter, that he can prop them with stakes on St. B.'s day, and they fall not down on receiving three blows with a stalk of 'Artemisia' (mugwort), they can then find food for themselves afterwards." W. That is, hogs may now be turned out. Note the season for this is later in Swed., *v. Es.* [45] Jun. 13.—Swed. *Tjällosningen*, ploughing-time, and this month is *Såd-tid*, sowing-time. The plough is found variously from Feb. 27 to Mar. 27, according to latitude and age of the calendar (O. or N.S.). Scania has it to Mar. 8, while in the very N., about Torneå, ploughing begins about the end of May. Schn.—This symbol is therefore secular; note the one-stilt type, still used.
25. [23] **Crown**, as usual, for the B.V.M. The **Annunciation**.—Abp. J.; Cm. (red) *Mariu messe i Fastu* (in Lent); 1434-s. [14] dotted cross; Bure-s., crown; Hs. [14]; Es. [23]; Bs. [53]=?—Norw. *Vor Fru Messe i Fasten om Vaaren*, Our Lady's mass in the spring fast.—

"The becks will stand frozen as long after *Mariness* as they run before it." P.A.M.—This day began the old Church year, when the "Concurrents" were changed (*v.* in Forbes' Scotch Abbey Cals.). By old tradition, the anniversary of the Resurrection. Note this agrees with Easter 29 A.D., in which year mod. scholars have fixed the event, our era being dated by Dionysius Exiguus (Denys le Petit) in 527 A.D., about 4 years too early; *i.e.* Christ was born in the year we call B.C. 3 or 4.

27. [24] A **tun** or cask. Es. [24].—**Resurrection**.—Not in Abp. J., 1434-s., Hs., Bod-s., Bs.—Cm. (red) *Uprivist Gus* (Jesus upraised).—The cask is secular, and denotes the brewing of March ale; for another possible meaning *v. sub* Nov. 1.

#### APRIL.

[25] The ship above the circle in Ss., but to Ap. 1 in Bod-s. and Es. [26], marks the opening of the sailing season, later for Swed. than Germany and Denm.—*v. notes* to Nov. 11.

1. [26] **Mitre**. **Quinctianus**.—Not in Abp. J., but Cm. *Quinctianus*.—But more probably Bp. **Hugh** of Grenoble, can. 1134. So in mod. Dan. Almanac; the Swedish gives **Harald**; mod. Germ. and Norse, **Theodora**.—Not in 1434-s., Hs., Bs.; but Bod-s. and Es. mark with a ship, another proof of their common origin.
4. [27] **Harrow**. A secular symbol, Es. [27].—**S. Ambrose** † 397. Not in Abp. J., 1434-s., Bure-s., Bod-s., Bs.—Cm. gives it, and Hs. [5] a sword (?).—Called by the East Islanders *Ij-ambers*, *i.e.* Id-Ambrosius, Schn. For meaning of "Id" *v. sub* Ap. 6.
6. [28] A **Landing** or **Hand-net**. So Bod-s., Es. [28].—**Celestine**, pope † 432, or **Sixtus I.**, m. under Hadrian.—Not in Abp. J., Cm., Bure, &c. Schn., on Eström's authority, refers the net to the season for **Id** (*Leuciscus idus*, Linn.) which spawns in streams near Stockholm about the end of April, and is caught in small nets and weels. Salted down, as *Spick-fisk*, it is important in the peasant economy of that neighbourhood.

Here begins the "Summer-Side" on Old-Type Staves, *e.g.* Bs., &c.

14. [29] A **Tree** in leaf, with a **Flower** (not in Bod-s., Es.), and a **Lance** reversed (not in Bod-s.).—**S. Tiburtius** (and **Valerian**).—Marked on almost all Cals.—Not in Abp. J.—Cm. had here a flower; 1434-s. [15], Bure-s. (tree), Hs. [16], Es. [29], Bs. [1].—Norw. First Summer's Day. Mod. Norw. *Sommermaal*, one of the "Flitting Days," *v. sub* Oct. 14.—The lance belonged properly to Ap. 16.—**Magnus**, Earl of Orkney, m. ca. 1115, hence specially observed in Norw.

But in later staves the lance has lost its religious meaning, and may mean some sort of hunting spear or harpoon. W., a standard, to mark the Paschal "Term" (O.S.), *v.* Mar. 21.

16. Bs. [2] **Cross**.—**S. Magnus**. Specially Norwegian, *v. sub* Ap. 14. Not in Abp. J., Cm., &c.—Mod. Swed. Almanac gives the day to **S. Patrick** of Ireland.—"Flitting Day" in towns, mod. Norw. Alm.
20. only on Es. [30]=? **S. Victor**, Bp.—Cm. gives him, and mod. Romish Cal.; mod. Norw. and Dan. Alms. **Sulpicius**. In Butler, **S. Agnes** of Monte Pulciano, † 1317, inserted in Rom. Martyrology by Clem. VIII., can. by Benedict XIII. in 1726.
23. [30] **Horse galloping**.—Es. [31] rearing,—and **spear**, both symbols of **S. George**, a patron of Sweden, *Göran den helige*, and hence perhaps the Russians took him as patron, and the English—from the Normans?—A very favourite hero of Church legends.—Not in Abp. J., Bod-s., Bs.—In Cm. with one of the few symbols in that MS., an arm bearing a flag. 1434-s. [16] M="Megalo-martyr"? Hs. [17] a flag.
25. [32] **A Tree with a Bird perched on a branch**.—**S. Mark, Ev.**, on almost all Cals. Abp. J. *Gangdagsens*, Cm., **Marcus** and (red) *Litli Gangdar*; 1434-s., cross; Bure-s., bird; also on Hs. [18],—Bod-s., Es. [32], and a lion? Bs. [3]=?—Norw. *Store* (Great) *Gangdag*;—is the *Litli* of Cm. a mistake?—The Gang-days were the *litania*, or *letania*, *maior* and *minor*, of the Scotch Calendars, days appointed by Gregory I. for processions and intercession; hence *Dies Rogationum*.—In Norw. the other Gang-days were Mond., Tues., and Wedn. before Ascension, and May 1. The priests "beat" the bounds, and celebrated mass, to scare away evil spirits and invoke Heaven's blessing. According to an old Norse legend, many hundred years ago there was such drought that the very earth cracked. A day of general supplication was appointed (*Gang-Bede-dag*), and observed as so strict a fast that cattle were muzzled and infants kept from the breast. As people went to church it was still drought; but as they left it, it was drizzling steadily. Another form of the tale was that the snow was over a rod deep (16½ feet), so a strict fast was ordained—with the like happy result. Hence often the symbol of a rod surrounded by points to denote **snow-flakes** or rain. P.A.M.—In Swed. the day was called *Gjökdagen* (Cuckoo Day); *cp.* Sc. "Gowk":—also *Markus med Göken*. In Norw. the cuckoo is found (on Bs.) to May 1, *q.v.*

## MAY.

1. [33 and 34] **A Sitting Hen**, so Bod-s.; not on Es.—the brooding season

(secular), and a **Cross and Flag** (but *v.* May 3), emblems of **SS. Philip and James, App.** Abp. J. "Apostles mass;" Cm. (red) *Valpurghu messa*; 1434-s. [18]=? Bure-s. two crosses; Hs. [19] two crosses; Es. [34] two heads; Norw. *Tveggja-postola-messa om Várit* (in Spring) to distinguish it from SS. Simon and Jude, Oct. 28, *q.v.* Also *Lilli Gangdag, v. sub Ap. 25*: mod. *lille Gangdag*; and sometimes, as in Cm., *Valborg dagen*, the Germ. *Valpurgis Nacht*, on which witch ceremonies were performed, perh. survivals of old fire-worship, as the Sc. *Beltane* is said to be. *Valdburg* virgin, † 779 or 780, was Abbess of Heidenheim, and probably English, being sister of Wilibald. She is mentioned in the Drum. Kal. as being honoured in Germany: *v.* also *Menologium Scot.* (Forbes). The Beltane feast is noted in Adam King's Scotch Cal., printed at Paris, 1588 (ed. Forbes, p. 151)—Swed. *Walborg-mässa*. East Islanders *Koige-noidade päiv, i.e.*, All Witches Day, Schn. In Engl. **May Day**, a feast of flowers. This month in mod. Dan., Swed., Norw., and Germ. Alms. is still called "Flower Month." But the common name for the day in Norw. seems to have been *Gaukmessa, v. sub Ap. 25*, and the sign often a Cuckoo in a tree; so Bs. [4]. "For on this day *Nord Naagaruk, Sud Saagaruk, Vest Viljagaruk, Aust Giljagaruk*=North, Corpse-cuckoo (*nár*=corpse); South, Sow-cuckoo (*i.e.*, good luck in sowing); West, Will-cuckoo (fulfilment of wishes); East, Woo-cuckoo (Old Icel. *gólja*, to beguile); the last foretold luck in love. The cuckoo's note heard after St Hans, Jun. 24, or after first hay-harvest, foretold drought and famine." P.A.M.—In Iceland Apr.-May is still "Cuckoo-month." In Engl., where this bird arrives earlier, "Hunting the Gowk" (= fool) was a game on Ap. 1, "April Fool's Day":—when you first hear the cuckoo's note, turn your money in your pocket or spit on it, for luck.—Perhaps the brooding hen is rationalised from this symbol. Possibly it refers to the "close-time" for game mentioned in old Swed. Laws: "*fran ledning til bergning*" or "*fran Midfasto (mid-Lent) til Olafsmesso (Jul. 29) ma eg dinr skiuta*" (no game must be shot), Rudbeck ap. Schn., p. 99. Where the Cals. began with a "Summer-Side" (Ap. 14), the Sunday Letters often ran on without changing the concurrents; and this also happens, but not always, where the year begins on other days, *e.g.*, Dec. 25, Mar. 25. Thus the S.L. for Dec. 31 is F, and the next was marked U, instead of F repeated. This explains the term "Concurrents," and entries of "*hic mutantur concurrentes*" in old Cals., like the Sc. often mentioned, bear valuable testimony to old date. The confusion of dates in history caused by these various reckonings is

almost incredible; v. Sir H. Nicolas' *Chronol. of Hist.*, pp. 6, 7, &c.—Dr E. M. has misunderstood Abp. J.'s Law here, which gives correctly "from Gangday to Apostles' mass are vii nights." Were these "Apostles Twain" substituted for some old feast in honour of the *Gemini*, Leda's Twins? Note the sun enters Gemini this month, and obs. the Zodiac Sign in Es. [33], just behind the Heads. Cp. note to Mar. 1.

3. [35] The **Cross**, which must be referred to this day as in Bod-s., &c.—**Inventio S. Crucis** or **Finding of the Holy Rood**. Abp. J.; Cm. (red) *Krusis messa*; 1434-s. [19]?—Bure-s., cross *recumbent*; Hs. [20]; Es. [35], cross and flag, Bs. [5].—Note the position of the cross—*cruce ad angulum inferiorem depressa*, W, *f.r.*—Now must all fences and hedges be in order, and wool-shearing begin—P.A.M.; but see Sep. 1.—Norw. *Korsmesse om Vaaren*; cp. Sep. 14.
- [36] A bird, evidently the **Swallow**, perched on a gable (?); cp. Sep. 14 [65], where the same marks its departure; not in the beginning of Oct., as Dr Schn. says (p. 49), for there, as always, the Os. agrees with Ss.—Not on Bod-s. to either day.—In Cm. there was a bird to May 23.
6. Es. [36] **Saint in a tripod Cauldron**.—Doubtless **S. John Ap., Ev.**, whose feast *Ante Portam Latinam* was held on this day.—The legend was that he was plunged in boiling oil, but miraculously saved.—In Dan. *Lille St Hans*, and symb. a **gate**, W., *f.r.*; does this explain 1434-s. [19]?—Not in Abp. J., Bure-s., Hs., Bod-s., Ss., and mod. Swed. Alm.; but given in Cm. *Johannes*, and mod. Dan. and Norw. Almanacs.
12. [37] **Sword and Stool**.—In Ss. the former seems to belong to the 18th; so in Hs. [21], but on Bod-s. and Es. [37] clearly to the 12th.—Not in Abp. J., 1434-s., Bure-s.—Mod. Dan. Alm. **S. Pancratius**, beheaded in 304 with a sword.—Swed., second *Böndagen* (prayer or fast).—Cm. gives *Nereu Achilleus*, i.e. Nereus and Achilleus, mm. 1st cent., eunuchs of Donitilla, Diocletian's niece, whom they converted.—For the Stool="Thing" moot, v. *sub* Jan. 19. Here there can be no question of any bishop.
15. Bs. [6] E.M.-s. **Quern Stones**. **S. Hallvard**. Abp. J., *Hallwards messa*. Not in Cm. or Swedish staves. A specially Norw. saint. *Hallwardsok*. Sign sometimes dots to denote corn.—Three days before and after were esteemed the best seed-time. He who has not sowed within the next 12 days may then as well not sow at all; for then comes the "Reindeer-cold" (Reinskölden), when the Reindeer go fetlock deep in snow, and cast their calves on the snow.—P.A.M.
18. [38] **Crowned Head** above six Barley **Ears**.—**Erik IX.**, m. (king, 1150—

60); fell fighting against Magnus of Denmark.—A specially Swedish saint.—Not in Abp. J. and Cm., strong evidence of the Danish origin of that MS.—In 1434-s., [20] initial E and ? Bure-s., a thistle ; Hs. [21], sword and crown ; Es. [38], crowned head and 2 corn ears hanging from the crown ; Bod-s. similar ; Not in Bs.—Note the omission in the Norw. authorities.—St. E. was never formally canonised. Patron of Upsala, where his silver shrine is still preserved, behind the altar in the cathedral. Near it is a well, known as Erik's Källe (spring, *cp.* Germ. *Quelle*). Connected by legend with corn-sowing. East Islanders, *Ax-Erg*, that is "Ear-Erik" (Old Icel., and mod. Dan. *Ax*=corn-ear). Is this too a popular etymology ? (*quasi* Engl. Ear ik ?)—Munch (*Hist. Norw.*, pt. II. vol. iii. p. 669, Christiania, 1855) tells of a certain Kol, son of Blót-Sven, who ruled over a large part of Östergothland and Smaaland, as Erik Aarsaele, *ca.* 1123. He was a heathen, and supported by the pagan party, who gave him and his offerings credit for the good harvests (*Aaringer*), which perhaps occurred about that time. "And therefore (M. adds), according to our sagas, there were many heathens in Sweden then, and many but half Christianised." Both legends, and the story of S. Erik's beheadal, look like fables invented to account for (1) the name Erik, (2) the prefix *Ax*, *quasi* Axe-Erik ; *cp.* Dan. *Öxe*, O. Icel. *Öx* or *Ex* (?)—The legend of the older heathen king has, then, been transferred to the later Christian martyr.

The Fish and ? between [38] and [39], purely secular ; not a mark-day, and variously placed on the staves. Not found on Bod-s. and Es. ; Os. and Ss. agree here. Obs. that the 3 fishes to Feb. 24, here, and Oct. 1 all differ in form. Here it is said to be the *Abramis brama* of Linnæus ; Germ. *Brachsen* or *Blei*, which I fail to identify. Near Stockholm it spawns about the end of May, and is very common in the lakes of S. Sweden. It has a dark-coloured tail fin, and hence is called *Melanuri* by Rudbeck (*Schu.* p. 126).—Does the symbol above it indicate its favourite spawning-ground, beneath bushy banks ?

22. Bs. [7] A Bear. Not a saint's day. Called in Norw. **Bear's Wake** or waking, *Bjørnevaak*, for then it leaves its winter lair. If the day fall on Mond., one may sow till Wedn. ; if on Sat., no sowing must be done on the next Mond. P.A.M.—Cm. has **Romanus**.
25. [39] Mitre with flower growing from the side : so also Bod-s. and Es. [39]. **Urban**, Pope.—Not in Abp. J. Cm. *Urbanus*, and (red) *Sethir Sumar* (summer sowing) ; *cp.* the Scotch Drum. Kal., "*Estas oritur.*"—1434-s. [21] ; Bure-s., a grain of corn ? similar to Hs. [22].—Not in

Bod-s.—St. U., while hiding in the Catacombs, baptized Valerian. When V. returned to his wife S. Cecilia, they were both crowned with roses by an angel. Tiburtius, V.'s brother, entering soon after, was converted by the heavenly roses. Hence the symbol? W., *f.r.* (p. 114) marks the day with 3 grains of maize, *frumentum saracenicum*, or "Turkish wheat" (*Zea mais*), introduced into Europe from America in the beginning of the 16th cent. (Schn.)—this being the time to sow it.

31. [40] A Milk-tub, *cp.* Es. [40]. S. Petronella.—Not in Abp. J., Bod-s., &c., but in Cm. and all mod. Northern Alms. Es. has also a female head in profile; the necklace and prim coif mark the sex.—St. P. was daughter of S. Peter. The milk-tub is secular. Note the butter-stick on Es.—In mod. Norw. Alm., end of "Braate-braendning" Braate=timber felled and burnt to clear the land for corn. This begins on Aug. 1.

## JUNE.

- [41] Tripod Kettle with handles; so Es. Not on Bod-s.—Wexionus refers this to the *Hova-öl*, marriage ale, and with this connects *Howila*, the old Swed. name for June; in Worm, p. 48, *Hovilt*;—"Nuptiis nominatus, quae tum frequentius celebratae." Liljencron (Schn.).
3. [42] Brace-and-bit.—S. Erasmus, m. under Diocletian. So in Es. [42].—Not in Abp. J., 1434-s., Cm., Bod-s., &c.—This Saint's bowels were wound out on a wheel. Hence his symbol, a windlass, and perh. the brace-and-bit, from the notion of revolving; otherwise it is purely secular, referring to carpentry.—Called S. Elmo in the Mediterranean, patron of sailors, who ascribe to him the electric phenomenon known as "S. Elmo's Light," portending storm; formerly attributed to Castor and Pollux, but then regarded as propitious. *Cp.* Hor., Odes II. iii. 2, and xii. 27, *ff.*—*quorum simul alba navitis stella refulsit, | Destitit saxis agitated humor*, &c. In mod. Swed. Alm. his day is given to Jun. 2.; Norw. and Dan. Jun. 3. Hs. [23] has an Axe to Jun. 2.—St. E.'s "translation" to Gaëta? (Schn.)
8. [43] Fruit, and Fishing-rod with Hook. Es. [43], Grapes.—Not in Abp. J., Cm., Bure-s., Bod-s., &c. S. Medard (and Gildas), 6th cent., found in mod. Dan. and Norw. Alms.—St. M. in Germany was patron of Vines (Schn.). The rod is for salmon fishing, which now begins. In Norw. it was assigned to Jun. 9, S. Kolbjörn, (which Schn. derives wrongly), a corruption of Columba, the Scotch patron saint, called *Ko med Laxen* (K. with the salmon), "because salmon now begin to 'run.'—As the weather is on this day, so will

it be for 4 weeks." P.A.M.—I was disposed to think the fruit in Ss. was the *Rubus Chamæmorus*, the well-known *multebaer* of Norw., called in Scotl. Cloudberry; from S. Clotildis (?) whose day was Jun. 3, and it certainly is not a bunch of grapes, as the shape and leaves show. Besides, Sweden is not a vine-growing country, in spite of Es. The symbol "smells of the lamp." No "rustic villein" in Sweden would ever have devised it.

[To Jun. 11., W., *f.r.*, places a sun, which "*diem Solstitii huius ævi denotat*," 17th cent. O.S., v. Hs. [25].

[The omission of S. Barnabas to Jun. 11 is noteworthy. Found in Cm. and all the mod. Cals., but not in Abp. J., &c.]

12. [44] **Dung fork** (secular) and **Crosier**; Bure-s., crosier; Es. [44].—**S. Eskil**.—The Sun on Hs. [25] denotes the Summer Solstice O.S. early xvi. century (?), an important indication of date of the Harrow Staff.—Not in Abp. J., Cm., Bs., and Worm.—1434-s. [22] has E. (?) initial; but this seems to belong to Jun. 13, **S. Aquilina** or **S. Antonius**? *v. below*.—St. E. is very characteristic of Swedish Cals.—Another English missionary, Abp. of Lund. From him Eskilstuna, on Mälar, near Stockholm, is named. The tradition that he was stoned at Strenghäs and buried at E. is unfounded. He retired to the Bernardine Monastery of Clairvaux, in France, where he died in 1181. A monastery of this order was founded at E. in the 12th cent. (Baedeker). In Denm. still a *Tamperdag*, Ember Day; *v. sub* Dec. 21.—The dung fork marks the season to manure the land. The cross-bits joining the prongs, and spade shape show clearly that it is not a hay-fork. The three days of **SS. Vitus, William, and Botolph**, Jun. 15, 16, 17, were called collectively in Denmark *Bodelmess*, "For," says W., *f.r.*,—as though deriving the word,—a corruption of Botolph (?), "on these days our farmers forbid to manure the fields,—that the springing crops may not be burnt," he adds, with characteristic tendency to rationalise. Did he derive *Bodel* from *Bol*, a farm, very common in place-names? A.S. *Boll*, a house. Old Icel. *Ból* has lost the *t* before *l* (*v. Cleasby, Lex.*, sub *voc.*). If so, we have here another popular etymology.
13. Hs. [26] **A cross**, and Es. [45], a sow.—**S. Antonius** of Padua, confused with A. the Great, to whom this symbol properly belongs (Jan. 17).—The East Islanders call the latter *Swins-Tönnis*, *Gris-Tönnis miss-da*, Swine or Boar-Tony's mass-day.
17. [45] **A Turnip** or **Swede**. So in Bure-s., Bod-s., Es. [46] has also an open book.—**S. Botolph** † 750.—In Abp. J., Cm., (red) *Botulfs M.*—Not in Hs.—Another English saint.—A great day in the North, shown by the colour in Cm. and also the mark on the E.M.-s., a triple-

branched sign,<sup>1</sup> a distinction it shares with the Virgin's feasts, &c. It was the usual day in Norw. for the *Lag-thing*. Does the sign [8] on Bs. denote the mounds on which the "things" met, the *Thingvallr*, like our "Tynwald" Hill in Man, &c.?—Norw. *Botolfsok*, or *Botsok*,—B.'s Wake, and as such correctly marked on E.M.-s. to Jun. 16, the Vigil proper, though the *Vaak* was usually the eve of the day itself.—Rye harvesting will last as long after Olaf's mass (Jul. 29) as it begins before S. Botolf's.—P.A.M. Whether the sign on Ss., &c., denotes hoeing or planting turnips I must leave to Swedish farmers. Note that the symbol is as old as Bure (1599).

18. 1434-s. [23]=? **Marcus** and **Marcellinus**, or perhaps **S. Henry** (v. Jan. 19).  
 21. [46] Not a "mark-day." This sign is common here on later (N.S.) staves, and denotes the **Solstice**,—the sun in equipoise. Es. [47] to Jun.

<sup>1</sup> Dr E. Magnússon has misunderstood this sign throughout. From a comparison of similar marks on many staves it seems clear that it denotes merely a day of special importance, the *dies duplex* and *triplex* in R.C. Calendars, such as the Arbutnot and Drummond, which mark a regular scale of sanctity; also days of 3, 9, or even 12 "lections." We have also *duplex minus* and *maius*. This, I strongly suspect, is the clue to many of the "bushes," "trees," "triple crosses," and what not, on which much imagination has been squandered. The old monastic writers of the North—e.g. in Langebek, *Script. Rer. Danic.*, which I have been unable to consult—would probably clear this matter up. That such Romish marks should survive even on Protestant staves is in accord with their generally conservative character. Some of them were afterwards doubtless rationalised by half-conscious scholars. The older the staves, the simpler and scarcer is the symbolism. Many of them employ merely initials, as on our English Clog Almanacs. On parchment, colour and type as well as words would naturally be used; on wood special marks would have to be devised. The Cm. used red. It had also half a dozen symbols; and two curious signs. The former, in red, occurs to Mar. 25, Jun. 24, Sept. 21, Dec. 25; and looks like M  for "Mark Day." The other, in black, I take to be the "wend" or inverted runes for FA, i.e. Fast, which it always marks. It occurs to Feb. 24, Mar. 25, Jun. 24, 29, Jul. 25, Aug. 24, Sept. 21, Oct. 28, Nov. 30, Dec. 21 and 25; namely Apostles' Days, Annunciation and Christmas. In some cases it slightly precedes the days given above, indicating the Vigil. I find a mark like a curved "branch" with three twigs (v. sub Dec. 21) on several staves regularly before these days, and evidently with the same meaning. Munch also, in *Norsk Folke-Kal.* 1848, shows the same tendency to find bushes, &c. The collar-shaped staff there explained came from Ringsaker, Hedemarken, dated 1551 (1591?) now in Christian. Mus. In type it is undoubtedly Romish. This is shown also by the inscription on the outer edge: *her . kand . vi . vide . aarsens . tid . oc . rom . helle . dage . deres . nafn . oc . ti . om . aaret*. "Here can we know (learn) the year's time and Roman Saints' days, their names and time in the year."

- 23 apparently shows the sun below. Not on Bod-s., indirectly a proof that it is not New Style. Others refer it to Jun. 24, and explain it as a "May-pole," and certainly a tree is marked in Bure-s. to that day. Bs. [29] a sun. On the evidence of this I date that Cal. as *post* 1700, *i.e.* reformed, unless the symbol was added later.
22. Hs. [27] **A Crown** (half obliterated).—**10,000 Knights**, led by **Achatius**.—W. gives a **Duke Knut** to the day, *v.* Jan. 7.—Mod. Swed. Almanac, **Paulinus**.
24. [47] **Lamb and Flag**.—**S. John the Baptist**.—The symbol refers *ad agnum Dei de quo vaticinatus est*, W. Found in Abp. J., and all staves and Cals. Cm. (red), *Joans missa*. 1434-s. [24]=? Hs. [28] cross; Bure-s., tree; Bod-s., Lamb and Flag. Bs. [10] a Church?—Norw. *S. Hansdag*, or *Jonsok*. Grass must be brought to the cattle stall, and tar boiled to hallow the plenshing (stock) and scare away evil beasts and "Mountain Folk" (dwarves, &c.). P.A.M. *Cp.* the Scotch custom of driving cattle through the fire, on Beltane?—Eng. Dan. and Swed. **Midsummer's Day**.
29. [48] **Key and Sword**.—So Es. [48]—**SS. Peter and Paul, App.**—But S. Paul seems to have been observed more on Jan. 25, *q.v.*, and the Sword is generally wanting here.—In Abp. J.; Cm. (red), *Petars missa*; 1434-s. [25] P, initial? in Bure-s., Hs. [29]; Bod-s. and Bs. key only;—often two keys, as on the Engl. Clogs.—Norw. *Petersok*. Symb. sometimes a flower, "because on this day healing worts must be gathered." P.A.M. Also Per med *Gyll-nylkklen*, Peter with the Golden Key.—For his other feasts, *v.* Feb. 22 and Aug. 1.—The swords on Ss., of the scimitar shape, are as old as Bure-s. (*q.v.* Jan. 25).—On Es. they are more like the old naval "hanger."

[Note that this side of Hs. ends with Jul. 1, a peculiarity I have observed on other staves also.—On Hs. July is continued on the other side from the tip upwards to the handle.]

#### JULY.

2. [49a] **A Virgin's Crown and Sheaf**. So Es. [50].—The sheaf is secular and not in Bod-s., which agrees with Es. in marking the day with an Apostle's cross. The Oldenb.-s. has apparently the right-armed cross of ordinary mark-days. **Visitation of the B.V.M.**—Significantly not in Abp. J., which gives to this day *Sviþthun*, *i.e.* **S. Swithun**.—Cm. *Processi Marciniani*, the day of Processus and Martinianus (1st cent.),—indirectly strong evidence of the antiquity of that MS., *v.* Table, p. 274. In 1434-s. [26] the dotted cross

is the same as for Mar. 25 ; we may therefore assume that it is here also for the Virgin, *cp. id.* Aug. 15 [32] and Sept. 8 [34].—Bure-s. and Hs. [30] full cross and Virgin's Crown. Bs. [12] Figure of S. Swithun? The Virgin's feast on this day was first introduced by the Franciscans since 1263, confirmed by Urban VI. in 1389. Found in all mod. Northern Alms.—*Mariae Besögelse*, &c. Dan. *Vor Frue Bjerpegang*. W. (*ἑπορεύθη εἰς τὴν ὄρεινὴν*, Luke i. 39). Germ. *M. Heimsuchung*. In Norw. *Sviftuns* or *Syftes-olt*, S. Swithuns Wake ; also *Syftuns-messa*, popularly derived from *syfte*, to brush, cleanse. On this day the land was cleansed by setting up on it twigs of alder and juniper, cross-wise, with the words : *Nu vil jeg syfte Sorken af Ageren, og sætte igjen Aalder og Brisk, | den skal voxe baade stor og frisk*. "Now will I cleanse the weeds from the land, and set instead thereof alder and juniper, that shall grow both strong and fresh."—P.A.M., who however was imaginative in finding such a cross on the Ring-staff. He adds : "As the weather is on this day, so it remains till Olaf's mass," a close parallel to our own legend of S. Swithun. This Saxon saint, Bp. of Winchester, † 862, requested to be buried with his beloved poor, out of doors, under the clear heaven. His wish was neglected, as his clergy desired a more splendid tomb for him. Whereupon it rained for 40 days, until his wish was fulfilled. W. also expresses the similar belief more vaguely in a Latin couplet ("*aliquot dies*"). Perhaps the sheaf is rationalised from the cross above described. On Es. it hardly resembles corn. Jul. 1 is much too early for harvest in the Scand. North. In Dan. this month was *Skersommer*, mowing summer ; in Isl. *Madka Man*, mowing month ; in Swedish *Höant*, hay time, W., p. 48 ; all expressed by the scythe and (hay) rake ; *v.* below. Juniper in Norw. is much used for smoking fish. The young alder twigs do duty for rope in a variety of forms, oar-loops, &c. I have a bridle and bit, extemporised by a guide in Nordfjord from a withy torn up by the roadside.

3. Hs. [31] A cross. In modern Almanacs, Swed. **Anatolius** ; Dan. **Cornelius** ; Norw. **Processus** and **Martinianus**, *v. sub* Jul. 2.
8. Bs. [13] **Scythe**.—**S. Sunniva**. Very characteristic of Norway, and more especially of Bergens-amt, of which she was patroness. Called *Selja-messe*, from Selja Ö or Sellö, in Söndfjord, the island where she and her companions met their fate. Her remains were revealed by a miraculous light, and transported to Bergen. She was an Irish princess, who fled to Norw. to escape the persecutions of a heathen lover. She was sister to a S. Alban, afterwards confused with his Engl. namesake. Can. 996 A.D. ; *v.* Munch, *Hist.*, pt. I. vol. ii.

- pp. 297-9. The day was also *Seljumanna-messa*, mass of the men of Selja—"Sancti in Selio," *i.e.* the companions of her flight. Note on Bs. that the scythe indicated is the small kind, without peg handles, such as may be seen in Norw., wielded in one hand; *cp.* Ss. and Es. [51].—*Kjøl Fvut | og St Knut | Kjörer Bonden med Ljaaen ud.* That is, on S. Ketil's day (7th) and S. Knut's (10th) the peasant goes out with the scythe—P.A.M.; *v.* below Jul. 10.
10. [50] **Spear and Scythe**, so Es. [51]; Bod-s. scythe only. **S. Knut**, king, and m. 1086, *v. sub* Jan. 19: not to be confused with Knut Hertug; *v. sub* Jan. 7.—Not in Abp. J.—Cm., *Siu Bryra daghr*, Seven Brothers' Day, brothers to S. Felicitas, mm. 2nd cent. Not in 1434-s., Bure-s., Hs.—Bs. [14] a hay-rake; *cp.* Norw. *Knut slog en dag for Kari kom efter med Riva.* K. mowed one day before Kari (Catharine, not known) came after with a rake—P.A.M. *v.* Jul. 15.—In Dan. *Lee Knud*=K. the Mower; also *Bonde-Knud*, Peasant's K., W.—Found in mod. Swed., Dan., Norw. Alms.—W. calls the lance a hunting-spear, *venabulum*.
11. Dan. **Chilian**, marked with an ear of corn, called *Kjeld Suibyg*, *i.e.* Barley blight, because *hoc tempore uredo segetibus infesta admodum esse solet.* W., *f.r.*
- 13 or 14? 1434-s. [27] A hay-fork? **S. Margaret?** or **Divisio Apostolorum?**
14. Bs. [15] **Tall Cross**. Mod. Norw. Alm. *Midsommer*. Signs sometimes a sun or rake. But is this a mistake for Jul. 15?
15. [51] **Hay-rake and Twelve Stars**; latter not in Bod-s.—**Divisio Apostolorum**, al. **Missio Apm.**—(Matt. xxviii. 26.)—Not in Abp. J., 1434-s., Bure-s., Hs., Bs.?—Cm. has *Skildethr Apostla*, the separation of the App.
18. Bs. [16]=? Mod. Dan. and Norw. Alms. give **Arnulf**, bp. and m.; not in Swed. Alm.
20. [52] **Flower**.—**S. Margaret**.—In Abp. J., Cm., Bure-s., Hay-rake, Bs. [17] cross, and M, initial? Hs. [32] **water-scoop**. Es. [53], a bird with dragon's tail and a star before its beak. In Norw. *Margit Vats-ause*, Margaret Water-scoop, because her day was considered rainy, P.A.M., and hence the sign in Hs., such a scoop as is used to bail boats with, *v. also* W., *f.r.*, who says the day was sometimes marked with a nut, *si enim serenitas affulserit, largum nucum sperant pro-vectum, sin pluvia ingruat, et nucum defectus et messis madida metu-enda.* We might then expect to find it in staves of Norway, where the nut-crop is important, especially in Romsdalen, *v.* Jul. 25.—"Dog Days begin now"—*Margaris os canis est, caudam Laurentius adfert.* "M. is the mouth of the Dog" (star), *i.e.* beginning, "Laurence (Aug. 10) brings its Tail," the end of the Dog Days, W. In the Scot. Cal. Hymn., ed. Forbes, the Dog Days begin Jul. 14.

W. relates that the "modern Calendariographers" transferred St. M.'s day to Jul. 13, "to the great disturbance of country labours and markets, and the peasants everywhere complained." The 13th is still found in mod. Dan. Alm.; Norw. and Swed. retain the 20th.

The curious bird in Es. looks like a reference to some legend of Sirius, but I find no explanation of the beast. Shakesp. (*Cymb.*, ii. 2) calls meteors "dragons of the night," and one of the constellations is called Draco.

22. [53] A **Pyx.**—**Mary Magdalene.** Luke vii. 37, *ff.*—In Abp. J.; Cm. (red); *Mariu M.* (mass) *Magdalene*; 1434-s., M, initial; Bure-s., a pyx? Hs. [33], Es. [54], Bs. [18], **Pyx** or stool? In Norw. *Mari Magalin*; sign sometimes a stool, "because the Virgin in Heaven rose from her seat" (to receive her with honour) P.A.M. Was this legend invented to account for some "Thing" held at this time? *v. sub* Jan. 17.—W. gives a ladder, without explanation.
25. [53a] **Nuts.**—**S. James Ap.**, in Abp. J., Cm. (red) *Jacobs missa*, 1434-s. [29] a hat? Bure-s., Bod-s. and Es. [55] the sword with which St. J. was beheaded. Hs. [34];—Bs. [19] a nut leaf, *cp.* E.M.-s. *Hac nocte glandes creari asserunt*, W. Note the word *nocte*; *v.* p. 273, and Jul. 20 for *glandes*. In Dan. *It* is short for *Jacobus*, and the day is marked with the staff used by pilgrims to his shrine at Compostella. W.—Norw. *Jacob Vaathat*, Wet-hat, because rain is then expected. P.A.M., *cp.* Jul. 20. Sometimes *hops* (but *v.* Ss. [60] *sub* Aug. 15). *Jacob pisser i Humblen* (hops) = *mingit* (*i.e.* rains) *in lupulum*. Finn Magnusen *cp.* Schn.
27. Hs. [34a] Half cross. The **Seven Sleepers.** Cm. *Siau Slaperer*. In mod. Alms. Swed. *7 Sofvare*, Norw. *De 7 Sovere*. The 7 Sleepers of Ephesus, who fell asleep in a cave A.D. 250, and slept for 196 years till the days of Theodosius.—In mod. Dan. Alm. **Martha**.
28. Hs. [35] Half cross. **S. Botvid.**—Specially Swedish. 11th cent. A native missionary of Södermannland.—In Cm. **Pantaleon** of Nicomedia, m. under Diocletian. Patron of physicians.
29. [54] **Axe and Pruning Hook.** **S. Olaf**, patron of Norway. Abp. J.; Cm. (red), *Olafs missa*; 1434-s. [30], a knife or axe with ring handle=O, initial? Bure-s., axe; Hs. [36], Es. [56], Bs. [20], and all Scandian Cals. ancient and mod., though never canonised by Rome. He was treacherously killed at Stiklestad with both axe and sword. Various dates were assigned to this event, that commonly received being Jul. 29, 1030. (In Brev. Nidros. 1028, &c.); but the mention of an eclipse of the sun on the day has enabled astronomers to fix it to Aug. 31, 1030; *v.* Munch, *Norske Folks Hist.*, pt. i., vol. ii.,

p. 786, note 2, and pages following. On Sep. 1. (Aug. 1) his body was temporarily buried. Next year rumours of his sanctity began to spread. His body was translated in July, and on Aug. 3 he was declared a Saint by Bishop Grimkell of Thronhjelm.—His name occurs in many Orkney place-names. Tooley St., London, is S. Olaf's Street, from S. Olave's Church. The story of his life is very fully told in *Olaf den Helliges Saga*. His day is marked in some Scotch Cals., e.g. Arbuthnot, to Mar. 3, with 9 lections, and Aberd. Brev. Jul. 29, the only Saint to that day.—The Norse Varangians of Constantinople used to invoke him in battle, and see him head them against their foes on his white steed *Ganger*. By some of them his sword *Hneite* was miraculously discovered, and preserved in their Church of SS. Mary and Olaf (*Saga*, c. 230, and Munch, *id.*, p. 828).—In Orkney and Shetland the old Law is still called "S. Olaf's."—The axe on most of the staves has faithfully preserved the true Viking form. In the *Saga*, his death was avenged on his murderers with the axe of Magnus Olafson, described as a heavy weapon with round edge, such as we see in the Museums. *Securis Norvagica*, W., who gives the same form: Bure has the same: see especially the Bs.—In Norw. called *Olafsmessa* and *Store* (great) *Olsok*, Aug. 3 being *lille Olsok*, usually marked with the same axe, but smaller.—"If the full moon happen on this day, it portends severe winter." Rain on this day is called *Olsok-flommen* (flood). P.A.M.—The pruning hook is secular.

#### AUGUST.

1. [56] Key and on Es. [58] *handouffs*. *Clavis catenata*, W., *f.r.*—S. Peter ad Vincula. Not in Abp. J., Cm. *Petrus*. Not in 1434-s., Bure-s., Hs., Bs.—"Lawmesse day" in Ad. King's Sc. Cal. looks like a coincidence, but is clearly a corruption of *Lammas* Day; perh. an attempt at etymology?—Norw. *Paevinkel*?—Latin. "Rain on this day is followed by rain for three weeks. On this day the peasant must not mow hay, else lice will come on the cattle." P.A.M.
3. [57] Not a "mark day" on Bod-s., Es., 1434-s., Bure-s., Hs., Os., and Ss.—*Lille Olsok*; *v. sub* Jul. 29; but perhaps on Ss. it is indicated by the meal-tub; for "then must one go up to the *Saeter* (mountain farm) to eat *Olsok-Gröden*," P.A.M., a sort of hasty pudding or stir-about; *cp.* Germ. *Gritze*. Bs. [21] smaller axe, but same style as [20], Cm. *Stefanus*.—In Mod. Norw. Alm. the 2nd session of the highest court begins.

4. Es. [59] **Hare**.—**Dominicus**. † 1221, can. 1234, the founder of the order. Cm. has here **Justinus**, m. 259. The symbol is secular.
5. Hs. [37] **Half-cross**.—**Oswald**, king in England, m. 642. Still found in mod. Dan. and Norw. Alms.; but the mod. Swed. gives **Dominic** to this day.
7. Hs. [38] **Half cross**.—**Donatus**, of Arezzo, beheaded under Julian, 4th century. The mod. Dan. Alm. gives **Villebaldus**; *v.* Valdburg *sub* May 1. Norw. and Swed. **Donatus**.
10. [58] **Gridiron and Flail**. **S. Lawrence**.—In all Cals., old and mod. Abp. J., Cm. (red) *Lavrans missa*, 1434-s. [31], Bure-s., Hs. [39], Es. [60], Bs. [22]; gridiron on all, as also on Engl. Clogs. Roasted to death on a gridiron, 258 A.D. On his day Egmont won the battle of S. Quentin for Philip II. of Spain, who commemorated the victory by building the "Gridiron Palace," the famous "Escorial." St. L. was patron of Lund.—Norw. *Lavrantsok*, *Larsok*, *Larsmessa*.—"On this day the sap descends into the roots again. Clear sky, hard winter; thick weather, moist winter," P.A.M., *v.* W., *f.r.*, to the same effect. The flail is secular (not on Bod-s.), and marks the season for threshing seed-corn; *cp.* Oct. 28. The meteors which appear about this time were anciently called "S. Lawrence's fiery tears."
15. [59] **Virgin's Crown and Harrow**—the latter secular, and not on Bod-s.—**Assumption of the B.V.M.**—Established as universal festival, Council of Mayence, Jun. 9, 813. Note the *minor* cross to the day on Ss., Es., Bod-s., being Protestant. Abp. J.; Cm. (red) *Mariu missa*; 1434-s. [32] cross, *cp. id.* [26] Jul. 2, and note; Bure-s. and Hs. [40], full cross and crown; Es. [61] small crown; Bs. [23] cross and (?) Mod. Norw. *Marias Himmelfart*, Swed. *Vårfrudag*, Our Lady's Day; also Norw. *Mari-messe dyre* or *Dyre vor Fru*, Our Lady Dear, and *Mari-messe fyrste* P.A.M.; but more anciently *M. m. fyrri*—former, explained acutely by Dr E. M. as having originated at a time when there were only two "Lady Days" in the Cal.,—the Conception being of late introduction, and Purification always called Candlemas (note here that Jul. 2 also is not given in Abp. J. to the Virgin). Hence the Annunciation, Mar. 25, was the *Later* Lady Day, "M. m. sithare;" in Cals. which began the year with Apr. 14, Tiburtius, "Summer Side."<sup>1</sup> The use of these terms, so applied, is strong evidence that the staves with summer and winter sides have preserved the *earliest* form of these Cals. Schn., quoting Swab,

<sup>1</sup> With Dr E. M.'s notion that the two sides, summer and winter, were originally *two separate years* I cannot agree. Such a supposition would argue in the originators a complete disregard not only of astronomy but of the natural phenomena of the seasons.

gives the term *Maria-müssa sidare* to Aug. 15 for Swed. In that case the terms may have become transposed on the introduction of the Church year (?), whether commencing Dec. 25, Jan. 1, or Mar. 25. See further Sept. 8 and 21. *Förste Höst-Jaern-Nat* (lit. first autumn iron-night) or *Frost-Nat*, which explains the term (P.A.M.).

- [60] Between this and the next mark-day we have **hop leaves and flowers** twined round a stake. Es. [62] attaches these to Aug. 24.
24. [60] **Knife**.—**S. Bartholomew, Ap.**, was flayed. Hence patron of tanners.—In Abp. J., Cm. (red), *Bartuth miss*, 1434-s. [33], traces of a knife. So in various forms on Bure-s., Hs. [41], Bod-s., Es. [62], Bs. [24], &c.—Dan. *Bertil bryde straa*, B. breaks straw, because the cut corn is often laid by storms at this season. W.—Norw. *Baros-ok* or *Bars-ok*. W., followed by Schn., has wrongly derived this, *quasi* Bar-sok, “from *Soche*=*conventus*,” but it is manifestly from *voku*; v. Abp. J.’s Law; mod. Nor. *vaak, ok*, our Engl. Wake=Vigil: (the -s is a possessive case ending).—The stag was now “in heat,” *da löb Bukken i Brynd* (note it on Es.), so it was time to kill it; wherefore the day is called *Bukke-kniv*, P.A.M.—According to E.M., the knife was erroneously supposed to indicate the time to slay stock for winter use (?)—“A clear day portended a clear autumn,” P.A.M.—Swed. *Slater-öl*=*foeniseeii peracti compotatio*, mowers’ ale. Finn M., *ap. Schn.*
29. [61] **Scimitar-shaped Sword**.—**John the Baptist’s Beheadal, Decollatio**.—Note the “head on a charger,” Es. [63]. So in W., *f.r.*—Found in Cm. *Jhannes*, and mod. Almanacs.—An ancient festival, observed in many Cals. and mod. northern Alms., but singularly not in Abp. J., 1434-s., P.A.M.-s., E.M.-s., W. *f.r.*, and the rest.—Norw. *Vaerges- Vaerge-* or *Varjus-mess* (= Defence-mass ?); also *Hals-hugning*, “Neck-hewing.” Icel. *Höfud-dagr*, Head-day.—Among the East Islanders, *Hummuls-da*, Hops-day, Schn.; v. Jul. 25, and Aug. 15 above.

SEPTEMBER. (Note on Hs. the initial S to Sep. 1.)

1. [63] **Mitre and Sheep-Shears**. The former not on Bod-s., Es.—**S. Giles or Aegidius**, Abbot of Arles, 7th cent.—According to the Bollandists, there were two of this name, both of Arles, one in the 5th, and the great St. G., who died early in the 8th cent. (Butler, *Lives*).—(Not in Abp. J., 1434-s., Bure-s., Hs., Bs.; but given in Cm. (red), *Iljans missa*, P.A.M.-s. (1651), and E.M.-s., and mod. Dan. and Swed. Alms.—His name has undergone every possible change.—Fr. *Gilles* comes nearest the Engl.; Germ. *Gilgen* or *Ilgen*; Dan. *Ilian*; Norw. *Aedis-*, *Ylians-* or *Yrians-messa*.—In Norw. the day was called *Querne-knurren*, Quern-grinding or creaking; hence often marked by

mill stones, because "if the day was dry, there would be scarcity of millwater," P.A.M. (and so they would have to grind by hand). The shears are secular, denoting the season to fleece the sheep—"tum enim oves tondendae," W.; but is not this very late?

8. [64] **Virgin's Crown**, small in Ea. [66], and Fruit.—Nativity of the B.V.M.—Found in Abp. J., *Mariæ mæso Siðare*; Cm. (red), *Mariæ m. yfri* the Later, "over;" 1434-s. [34], a four-dotted cross, *cp. id.* [48] S. Lucia; Bure-s., crown; Ha. [42], crown; Ba. [25], cross and M, initial? *cp. Bs.* [17], Jul. 20 above; and v. P.A.M.-s., E.M.-s.—Dan. *Seiermers vor Fruedag*, our Lady Day the Later, W.—Norw. *Marimesse Sidre, Vor Fru Sidre*, P.A.M., also *Mor-messe*, Mother mass. For the importance of these terms v. above to Aug. 15.—Munch notes shears to this day.—The fruit is secular. On Sa. it seems to be a pear. That it is a fruit is shown clearly by the fine ornamental basket of fruit and flowers on Ea.—Bod-s., as usual, omits the secular sign. After this we have on Sa. what is explained by Liljegren (*ap. Schn.*) as a swarm of bees. Is the oblong object below them a honey drawer? Schn. conjectures, doubtfully, a Flax-bruiser, *Flachbrechholz* (?). The bees he explains as birds departing, but they are too small for this, and the bird, obviously a swallow, is marked quite plainly to Sep. 14 [65]; *cp.* May [36] above.
14. [65] **Upright Cross, Stool and Bird** (*cp.* the Cross to May 3;—for the "Thing" stool, v. *sub* Jan. 19;—for the bird v. *sub* Sep. 8). **Exaltation or Elevation of the Holy Rood**—In Abp. J., Cm. *Crucis*; 1434-s. [35]=? *cp. id.* [19]; Bure-s., Cross; also on Ha. [43], Ea. [67], Ba. [26], &c.—In mod. Norw., Dan., Swed. Alma., *e.g.*, *Korsets Ophoielse, Korsmessa*; also Norw. *Kors- or Kros-messa om Hösten or Övre*, in autumn, to distinguish it from the spring Cross-mass, May 3. For the term Övre, v. Cm., *sub* Sep. 8.—"All gates must now be opened, since the harvest is home," P.A.M.
17. On Ha. this day has L above but no cross; S. Lambert, sometimes found on the staves. An Oldenburg saint, m. 708, found in the Calendars of the diocese of Lund, and mod. Swed. Almanac, Schn.—According to W., *f.r.*, the day was marked by a stag, "*persuasum enim sibi habent rustici cervum hoc die per membrum genitale scvum quoddam emittere, quod in torrentibus colligi assolent,*" but he adds sceptically, "*fides sit penes autores.*"—Note the shorn sheep or lamb on Ea. [68], a pun on the saint's name.—W. quotes an old Latin couplet, v. *sub* Sep. 21, which he calls *καλυπτάκιον*, hackneyed, in support of the popular assertion that this was the day of the second equinox, but the lines are evidently much older than the 17th century. They are in the rhyming monkish style, familiar

in Scotch Abbey Cal. I do not despair of finding the very lines in old Scotch or Engl. Cal. W. quotes many such, notably p. 112, a couplet from the *Aarhus Breviary*, identical with one in the Hyrmandstone Cal. Elsewhere I hope to prove the strong thread of connexion between these and other old Abbey Calendars.

21. [86] Goat.—So on Bod-s., Es. [69].—S. Matthew, Ap., Ev.—Abp. J.; Cm. (red) *Matheus missa*; 1434-s. [36], initial M; Bure-s., without symbol; Hs. [44], a coiled snake? Bs. [27] an Axe, *cp. id.* [21].—Norw. *Matthis-messa om Høsten* (in autumn) (Feb. 24).—"The bear cleans his hide, and therefore it is fine weather." Time to gather winter fodder (*lövet*=leaves, so used, or fern-fronds for litter?), P.A.M., who is wrong in explaining the sign to this day on the collar staff, date 1651, as *scales*, referring to the equinox, as though the Calendar were "new style." In the 17th century the equinox must have occurred about Sep. 12 (so in Kal. Aberd. Brev., and Scotch Prayer-Book Cal., time of Charles-I.). W. quotes Lambert (Sep. 17th, *q.v.*) *Gregori nox est aequata diei | Vitus Lucia sunt duo solsticia*. Note in these lines that the autumn equinox *precedes* the spring; in other words, an indication of a Church-year beginning Mar. 25, similar to the summer and winter sides, Norse style; see further *sub* Aug. 15 and Sep. 8.—I fail to understand the Goat here. Is it a sacred symbol or merely secular—roe-buck (?), *i.e.* hunting season? The day among the East Islanders was called *Buck-Mats da*=Buck-Matthew's Day. Schn.
29. [87] Trumpet and Scales.—So Es. [70].—S. Michael (and All Angels). Michaelmas.—Abp. J.; Cm. (red), *Mikials missa*; 1434-s. [37], an old Norse weighing-rod, of a form still known in Orkney; Bure-s., Hs. [45], and Bod-s., trumpet. Bs. [28] Crossbow, *cp. id.* [46] and *v. sub* Sept. 21.—With the trumpet St. M. shall sound the Day of Doom; in the scales he will weigh souls,—a Christian adaptation of heathen mythology, Greek or Egyptian.—Late interpreters referred the scales variously to the equinox (Sol in Libra), for which it is too late, and to the "Year-market" of autumn.—Norw. *Mikelsdag, Mikilmesssa*.—"Rime and frost before Michaelmas, and it will freeze till May 1." P.A.M.

OCTOBER. (Hs. has initial O to the 1st.)

At the beginning of this month we have another fish, which Schn. conjectures to be the herring (*Clupea harengus*). But the fish on Bod-s. and on Es., between [72] and [73], can hardly be the same as on Ss. The herring once played an important rôle in the politics of the Baltic. The possession of the favourite fishing

grounds off Scania was the subject of wars between Denmark and the Hanse town Lübeck, which claimed the monopoly (*v.* Helen Zimmerer's *Hansa Towns*). See further, note to Nov. 11.

4. [69] **Open Book with Clasps.**—*S. Francis of Assisi*, † 1226, can. 1228; the "Seraphic Doctor," founder of the Minorites or Franciscan Friars.—Not in *Abp. J.*, *Cm.*, 1434-s., *Ba.* Found on *Bure-s.*, a stroke, recumbent (?), *Ha.* [46], trumpet? *Bod-s.* and *Ea.* [72] a fish,—*e.* above. The Monastery (cloister) referred by some to this day belongs the 7th.—This day is important as a test of the antiquity of Calendars. It is marked in our Scotch *Cal.*, *e.g.* *Hym.* (Oct. 5th), *Arb.* (4th), *Quoddam Celticum* (3rd), *Nov. Far.* (4th), *Aberd.* 4th. (In the *Cal. Drummond MS.* there is a hiatus here.) Hence, unless the saint was subsequently inserted, none of those *MSS.* is older than 1228.
7. [70] **House**, that is, a "Cloister" or Monastery,—the cross and bell tower on *Bod-s.* and *Sa.* indicate its religious character. These signs are wanting on the large *House* of *Ea.* This is preceded by a fuller's comb.—Not in *Abp. J.* or *Cm.* (The other earlier *S. Bridget* was given in that *MS.* to Feb. 1, with the note by *W.*, *Virgo non Succa.*) 1434-s. [38]; *Bure-s.*, *House*; *Ha.* [47]=? *Ba.* [29] a bow? *Ea.* [73]. *S. Birgitta*, *Bridget*, d. 1373 at Rome; can. 1391; an eminently Swedish saint, but found in *Norw.* and *Dan. Cal.* She was a royal princess, foundress of the *Birgittine* order. Her remains and those of her daughter *S. Katarina* are preserved in a reliquary kept in the Sacristy of the Abbey Church of the Order at *Vadstena*, founded by *St. K.* in 1395.—Like the preceding mark-day this is important for the date of Calendars, &c.—*W.*, *f.r.*, (p. 116) gives as her emblem a fuller's carding comb—"pectine fullonio," the season to cleanse and card wool.—In *Norw. S. Brita*, *Britemesse*.

Here begins the "Winter Side" on Old Type Staves, *e.g.*, *Ba.*, &c.

14. [71] **Mitre and leafless Tree.**—*Calixtus I.* or *Calistus*, pope, m. 222. Not in *Abp. J.*—*Cm.* *Kalighstus* and (red) *Vintr nat.* 1434-s. (39) a stroke=1? or a bare pole? *Bure-s.*, *Ha.* [48], *Bod-s.*, *Ea.* [74], pine-tree; *Ba.* [30], mitten; so also *W.*, *f.r.* *St. C.'s* remains were placed at *Cisoins* in 854, but soon after removed to *Reims*, where they now are. This was done for fear of the Normans. *Glastonbury* once possessed a portion. The symbol on *Norw.* staves is often a mitten to mark the approach of winter; probably another popular etymology, by confusion of the old *N. Vøtt*, mitten, with *Vetr*, winter. On old *Cal.*, both *Norw.* and *Swedish*, this day commenced the "winter side," noted in *Cm.* *P.A.M.* quotes an old saying written in *Runes*, *Vet-Naett maa man mig vente*; | *Fyrirbø*

*kommer jeg vist ; | kommer jeg ikke for Helgemess, | da boier jeg Bar og Krist.* Winter-night must you expect me (the winter) ; at *Fyriboð* ("Forebode," Oct. 28, thence so called), I come for certain ; if I come not before Halloween (All Saints Day), then bend I pine-needle and twig"—Also ; "Good weather on winter-night makes good winter" (*id.*). The 14th is still *Flytte-dag* (=fitting-day) in Norw. for servants and miners (three months' notice required) in the country and in some towns, especially outside of Christiania-Stift ; the 15th is *Flytte-dag* for house tenants in commercial towns, and notice required before St Hans, June 24. But for the former Sep. 30 is observed in Bergen as "fitting time," with notice twelve weeks before Michaelmas. (Norw. Official Alm. 1889.) The Dan. Alm. also gives 15th Oct. as *Flytte-dag*.

18. [71] (On two rubbings of Ss. I find no trace of a cross to "mark" this day, but the symbol shows that the omission is an oversight. Os. has it. The Ox gives the usual symbol of S. Luke, Ev. Not in Abp. J., 1434-s., Hs., Bod-s. In Bure a small cross ; Es. [75].—Cm. *Lukas*. Apparently little observed in Norw., as his day is not marked on Bs., P.A.M.-s., E.M.-s., or the Newcastle staff. The day is given in the mod. Norw. Almanac, as in the others. Was the sign taken to indicate the time when the cattle come down from the *Sæter* ?
19. Ha. [49] Is the flower (?) here meant for Oct. 18 ? Mod. Swed. Alm. gives Ptolemaeus to this day ; Dan. and Norw. *Balthasar*.
21. [72] Spear and barbed Arrow. Only the latter in Bod-s.—S. Ursula and 11,000 Virgins. Not in Abp. J., 1434-s.—Cm. *Allivu thusund Moia*, 11,000 maids. Not in Bure-s. unless the triple cross to Oct. 20 is meant for this day. Bs. [31] cross and ? Hs. [50]. Ale-horns (?) and ? Es. [76] a flag half furled ? Os. has a string to the spear, i.e. a harpoon. Schn., from Fant, quotes mention of the day for the year 1266, earlier therefore than Abp. J. The 11,000 were widely observed.—Noticed in Scotch Cal., *Aen mila beg banog*, Celtic Cal. ap. Forbes. They were slain at Cologne by the Huns. St. U. was shot with three arrows by their king. Strangely, Butler, in *Lives of the Saints and Martyrs*, makes no mention of the picturesque legend ; though the Romish Cal. of Lingard marks them.—The Norw. mark is sometimes a ring ; "for on that day do not thou the thing that goes round." (Quern-grinding, spinning, &c.) P.A.M. The celebration of the day is not older than 11th century. (Schn.)
28. [73] Cross and Spear, and Flail (secular).—So on Es. [77].—SS. Simon and Jude, App.—In Abp. J. ; Cm. (red), *Simonis M. Juths* ; 1434-s. [40], lance of mediæval form ; Hs. [51], two crosses ; Bod-s., flail ; note on Es. the flail with spear point. Bs. [32] a 4 (?) pointed winter-

wards— for *Fyri-both*, quasi *Fire-both*?—S. Simon was crucified S. Jude killed by a bludgeon, or, as some say, crucified and shot with an arrow.—Norw. *Smomessa*, or *Fyriboð*, “Forbode,” because the weather on this day foretold the kind of winter coming. Icel. *Fyriþaa*.—Hence the sign was sometimes a sledge, also sometimes *Tveggia-postola om Hosten*.—“On this day the ‘Buste-man’ goes out with his Buste-sack. The ‘Buste-man’ and ‘Buste-woman’ were, according to Chr. Jensen, newly wedded couples, who, after their bridal winter or the next winter ensuing, begged from farm to farm for *Buste* or *Boskab*, i.e. plenishing. (Norw. *Bu* or *Bo*=house or farm)—that is, corn and what else they could get from friends and connections.” P.A.M.—W., *f.r.*, a ship, “for they were fishers.”

NOVEMBER. (Ha. has initial N to the 1st f)

1. [75] Eight Stars (Dan. xii. 3, &c.) and Boat, keel uppermost.—All Saints or Hallowmas. Abp. J.; Cm. (red) *Hiluna missa*; 1434-a. [41], cross; Bure-a., church, to Nov. 2, All Souls; Nov. 1 marked by a cross; Ha. [52] and [53] Nov. 1-4, crosses joined by bars, and with initial N=Nov., or a figure 2 † the lower portion above Sep. 30, Hallowe'en? Ba. [33], three raised towers, the “many mansions”? Ea. [79] overturned boat and 9 stars.—Note that Nov. 2, All Souls, being a Romish feast, is omitted on the later Protestant staves.—Norw. *Helge-messa*. “Floods expected now, called *Helgesnes-Flommen*. If floods come not now, they come again in Spring.” P.A.M.—A “locus classicus” for Scotch customs is the poem “Hallowe'en,” by R. Burns, with the author's notes.

The boat careened is secular, and indicates the close of the sailing season. Naturally therefore it occurs at different dates on various Cals. (Oct. 21, 28, &c.), cp. the anchor to Nov. 23, and notes there. According to an old Hanseatic law no merchants might send ships to sea after S. Martin's day (Nov. 11), and they had to try to be in port by Michaelmas. “To sail after Martinmas is to tempt God,” writes an old chronicler. With Nov. 11 winter began for the Baltic traders. The limits were Nov. 11 to Candlemas, (Feb. 2), extended in some countries, according to climate, till Feb. 22, S. Peter in cathedra. Reservation was made in favour of beer and herring, the latter necessary for Lent in Romish times. (Does this explain the cask to Mar. 27?) v. H. Zimmern, *Hansa Towns*, p. 18, who says the Greek coasters of the Mediterranean do not sail from Dec. 6 till New Year, for  $\frac{1}{2}$  *θάλασσα ἁγία*. (The sea is holy.)—Schn. finds in the 8 stars a reference to “the eight Beatitudes.” (Matth. v. 1-12 has nine.) The number

varies on the staves, e.g. in the R.M.S., No. 2898 has 9, <sup>1453</sup>/<sub>476</sub> has 8 ;  
Es. and the N.M.S. staff, so like it generally (v. p. 291), have 9.  
None in Bod-s.—Perhaps they allude to degrees in the hierarchy of  
Heaven,—Apostles, Evangelists, Martyrs, Confessors, Venerables,  
Virgins, Widows, and Matrons.

6. [76] A sceptre.—King Gustavus Adolphus † 1632 at Lützen, the champion of  
Protestantism. Old Staves and Cal's. mark the day as S. Leonard's.  
Hence the mark is very characteristic of later staves. Es. [80].  
The day is also observed in Germany.—Not on Bod-s.
11. [77] Mitre and Goose.—S. Martin, Conf., Bp. of Tours. † 397, found in  
Abp. J.; Cm. (red); 1434-s. [42], M initial, and goose feet? Hs. [54],  
goose; also on Bure-s., Bod-s., Es, [81], Bs. [34], &c. The legend is  
that St. M. died of eating goose. The bird was sacred to Juno, and  
connected by tradition with the safety of Jupiter's Capitol at  
Rome. The feast was possibly substituted in Christian times for the  
heathen "Epulum Jovis," Nov. 13. Fr. *Martiner*, to feast. Hence  
St. M., who was the piuk of sobriety, became patron of drunkards! It  
was the custom in France to sacrifice a goose on his day. On Norw.  
staves sometimes only the bird's head and neck.—*Mortensmessa*.  
"Clear Martinmas makes severe winter. Rain then, and it rains  
for the next 50 days," P.A.M., from W., *f.r.*, who adds, *si nubilus*,  
*aera mitem | prædicat hybernum, dant hæc prognostica natis | pastores*  
*ovium cum seria fantur ad ignem*. The breast-bone is used in Norw.  
(as with us) to "tell fortunes." P.A.M. Sometimes a *Griis* (Eng.  
"Grise," or boar) is found on Norw. staves (*id.*).

The *horse-shoe* which follows (not on Bod-s. and Es.) refers  
perhaps to S. Martin as a Roman cavalry officer (?), but is also re-  
ferred to shoeing and "sharping" for frosty, slippery weather  
(Schn.), v. below,

19. [78.] Religious House; same as [70]. Es. [82] has a Church Bod-s.  
does not mark the day. S. Elisabeth of Hungary; d. 1231; can.  
1235. Not in Abp. J., Cm., 1434-s., Bure-s., Hs., Bod-s., Es.,  
P.A.M.-s., E.M.-s. St. E., daughter of Alexander III., King of  
Hungary, and wife of Lewis, Landgrave of Thuringia, was patroness  
of the Third Order of S. Francis. Schn. refers the *horse-shoe* to  
this day, though on some he finds it earlier, showing clearly that it  
is a secular symbol. Of Forbes' Scotch Monastic Calendars,  
Culenros (MS. date 1305 ?) alone notes "*Elizabeth vidua Co.*" (con-  
fessor). [? In the original hand.—Culenros was a Cistercian House  
with Sarum use.]

- [21. Note here the omission of the Romish *Apparitio* or *Presentatio*,

of the B.V.M.; not in Abp. J., Cm., Bure-s., &c., but noted by W., *f.r.* (p. 117), and the mod. Almanacs, Denm., *Marias Oftring*; Norw. *Marias Oftring* (not in Swedish); Germ. *Marias Offerung*.

22. S. *Cecilia*, omitted on all staves (!).]

23. [79] *Anchor and arrow*; Es. [83] adds a bow; the former very frequent indication of seafaring nations. S. *Clement*, Bp. of Rome, m. 100. Abp. J., *Clemes massa*; Bure-s., anchor; 1434-s. [43], a bow and arrow (!) Ha. [55] Bod-s., anchor; Ba. [35] ship? Cm. *Clemens*, and (red) *Vettr*, Winter, an indication of southern influences on this cal., as the old Scand. "Winter-Night" was Oct. 14, *q.v.* But the mod. Dan. Alm. gives "Winter begins" to Dec. 21, the (modern) winter solstice.—The legend was that St. C. was bound to an anchor and thrown into the sea. On the prayers of his fellows the sea retreated three miles, revealing a ruined temple, wherein the saint's body lay; and this miracle was repeated every anniversary of his death. Greene, "*Saints and Symbols*."—Some of his relics were sent to the Cava Abbey in the Abruzzo by Adrian, "with a history of many miracles" (Butler). Was this one of them? and was Adrian, who had so much to do with the Church in Scandinavia, responsible for the popularity of this saint's cult?—For the secular meaning attached to the symbol, *v. notes to Nov. 1*, and add, W., *f.r.*, *eo die naves in portu, ut a tempestatibus et periculis securæ sint*. So also P.A.M.—According to Brewer, he was patron of tanners; and his symbol was a pot, as on his day the early Danes used to go about begging for ale (!) (*v. sub Dec. 21*).—Norw. symbol sometimes a church or belfry;—called *Klemet Kirkebygger*, the church builder.—"Then shall the children begin to be pinched of their food, that they may the better like their fare at Yule" (!) P.A.M.—East Islanders, *Ankar Klenkjar*, *Ankar Klejntar*—Anchor-Clement. (Schn.).—That the arrow is not a harpoon, as Schn. conjectures, is shown by the bow on Es. and the N.M.S. staff like it. The symbol seems secular. Has it ref. to a close-time—Norw., *Fredningstid*, "Peace time"—for game? The mod. Nov. close-time for hart is Nov. 1 to Sep. 15; for elk Nov. 1 to Aug. 1; for Rein-deer Nov. 1 to Aug. 15; for whales, on the coast of Finmark, Jan. 1 to May 31 (see further, *Almanak for 1889*, pp. 46-8, *Søndensfeldske Udg.*, Christiania).

25. [80] *Spiked Wheel*.—S. *Catharina*, m. at Alexandria under Maximinus, early 4th cent.—Not in Abp. J.—Cm. (red), *Katrinu messa*; 1434-s. K; Bure-s., wheel, curved spikes; Ha. [56]; Ba. [36] carding-comb? Bod-s., wheel; Es. [84].—St. C. was tied to four spiked wheels, but her cords were broken and the wheels fell asunder. Butler.—Early observed in the Greek Church as *Ae-Catherina*.—

Patroness of schools, science, philosophy, eloquence, and diseases of the tongue (a pretty array of synonyms !); but more especially—from her emblem—of spinning.—I have seen the wheel on a mediæval Engl. weaver's token.—To the symbols noted on the staves Schn. adds a sword (she was beheaded); in Rubens' picture she is painted with a palm and sword.—Norw. *Karensmessa, Karinmessa. "St Karin spinder Lysevæger til Juul."* St. K. spins candle-wicks for Yule. "Clear weather on Karimas makes fine Yule light" (?) P.A.M.

30. [81] Cross, decussate.—E. Andrew, Ap.; so on Bure-s.; Hs. [57]; 1434-s. [45], initial A. Es. [85], cross and trap? Scotland's patron saint. Some relics of his were brought from Patrae or Constantinople in the 4th cent. by an Abbot Regulus (S. Rueil), and deposited in a monastery called Kilrimonth, now S. Andrews,—whose monks were called Culdees.—Also as Apostle of Scythia, the patron of Russia, where Peter the Great founded the Order of Knights of S. Andrew, or the Blue Ribbon. (Butler.) Abp. J., *Andres messa*; Cm. (red), *Andrys missa*.—On Norw. staves often a fish-hook, sacred, in allusion to St. A. as a fisher, but also secular; "for then shall one begin to fish the Yule fish." P.A.M.: v. Bs. [37].—In Holstein carp forms a favourite Christmas dish.

The object which follows, with three prongs, has been variously explained as a heekle or carding-comb, or a fox-trap (? Sw. *råfsax*), v. Schn., p. 105.

#### DECEMBER.

4. [83] Sledge. Es. [87], also a tower to the left of the sledge. This in the similar N.M.S.-s. is to the right, and has a cupola roof. Bod-s. a tower only.—Not in Abp. J., 1434-s., Ba.—Cm., *Barbara*. Bure-s. and Hs. [58] half cross; no symbol.—S. Barbara, V., m. 306, under Galerius. The dates and stories of her life are very conflicting. She suffered at Heliopolis in Egypt. Much observed in Lat., Gk., Muscovite, and Syriac Calendars (Butler).—She was accounted among the 14 "Helpers" in the hour of need (S. Catherine was another). Schn.—Her father loved her so much, that, fearing to lose her by marriage, he shut her in a high tower. She betrayed that she was a Christian by desiring to have in her tower three windows (the Trinity).—[Note here how Es. and its brother staves follow the legend.]—She was beheaded by her own father, in the mountain to which angels had carried her. As he descended he was consumed by lightning. Hence patroness of arms, armourers, fortification, and against lightning (Greene).—Hence also patroness of fire-arms, first in Spain (Schn.).—Norw. *Barbromessa, Barbro-doe-*

grin.—Symbols Tower or Chain. "*Barbro-doegrin gaar Solen bort | Luci-Nättin Kommer den att.*" P.A.M. (St. B.'s day, the sun goes away, Lucy night (Dec. 13) it comes again.)—W., *f.r.*, has misunderstood the tower; he gives "Capella, quod Deo devotam ferunt." This is evidence of the antiquity of her symbol.—The sledge is secular.—"A very popular saint in Engl.; patroness of the Tower of London" (Schn.). But she was certainly not popular in Scotl. Of Forbes' Scotch Cals., only the Aberdeen Breviary and Adam King's, Paris, 1588, mention her, the latter as a virgin of Nicomedia.—Were any churches dedicated to her in Engl. or Scotl.? I find none mentioned in E. Peacock's "Dedication of Churches in England and Scotland." *Archæol. Rev.* (now *Folklore Review*), vol. ii. No. 4, pp. 276-7, Dec. 1888; an interesting list, which ought to be completed for the whole country, but with the dates of dedication.

6. [84] Crozier and Serpent-ring (so Es., &c.).—S. Nicholas. Abp. of Myra. Conf., † 342. Much observed in Gk. and Lat. Churches. A church was dedicated to him at Constantinople by the Emperor Justinian in 430 A.D. His relics were "translated" by theft to Bari in Italy, 9th May 1087 ("tantum religio potuit"!), and at once justified the theft by curing 30 persons. The men of Bari feared the sacrilege of the Mahometans. The Venetians had the same design, but were "prevented." Butler.—Patron of merchants and against thieves (!), Greens; but, according to others, patron of thieves, called *Clerks* or *Knights of S. Nicholas*: v. Shakespeare, *Hen. IV.*, ii., 1, &c.; v. Nare's *Gloss.*, sub voc. Colgrave gives "One of Saint Nicolas' clerks, or an arrant theefe."—Patron of Travellers—*Two Gent. of Ver.*, iii. 1, "S. Nicholas be thy speed."—Of children and schoolboys—Chancer, *Prioress Tale*, st. 2, "For he so yong to Crist did reverence," alluding to the story that while still in his cradle he "fasted on Wednesdays and Fridays, sucking but once a day in those days." Strype, *Mem.*, vol. iii. p. 206.—On St. N.'s day a chorister-Bishop was chosen.—Many churches in Essex and Lincolnshire are dedicated to him. Peacock gives only one in Scotl., at Aberdeen, of which town he is patron; also of Newcastle-on-Tyne Cathedral, as patron of sailors. So also of Venice. As patron of Florence, his symbol is sometimes three gold balls, which from Lombard bankers became the emblem of Pawnbrokers. This accounts for Schnippel's Triquetra, a fancy of his; v. also Dec. 26. I suspect it also accounts for the *membrum virile* sign, another scholar's notion! In Germ. the famous Santa Klaus.—Found in Abp. J. and Cm. (red) *Nikulas messa*; W., *f.r.*, quotes a Fr. prov., *Si l'hiver estoit outre la*

mer | si viendra il a Saint Nicolas parler. In Norw. the sign is sometimes a three-branched candle, P.A.M. According to E.M. he was till recently patron of Norway, (ff).—1434-s. [46] has N; So also Bs. [38]. The ring is said to indicate the change of the year (*Tidskiftet*), Schn. His signs on northern staves also a mitre, a ship, a sun, &c. Es. [59] shows traces of a sun ?

8. [85] Small Crown.—Conception of the E.V.M.—note the sign of an ordinary "mark-day" on the Protestant Cals. A good test of dates (*v.* p. 274). Not in Abp. J.—Hs. [80]; Bs. [39]=? Es. [89]. Cm. has *Mariu messa* (in *Black*).—1434-s. [37]=? Bure-s., a full crown, and a mark indicating a day of more than ordinary though not full sanctity.—Norw. *Vor Frua Vepstedör*, "because she then expected to be delivered." P.A.M. In 1573 Gregory XIII. establish'd *Mariæ Expectatio* for Dec. 8.
9. [86] A can or beer-pot.—S. Anna, mother of the Virgin, observed since the 16th and 18th centuries in the North; earlier, the day of S. Joachim, her father (now in mod. Almanacs to Mar. 20), Schn. Not in Abp. J., Cm., 1434-s., and Bure-s.—Worm, *Annae cantharo, tum enim aquam hordeo* (barley), *affundere iubent Rustici, ut coquatur cerevisia, qua se per dies Natalitiorum exhilarent. Creda eos ad nomen Annas hoc ipso alludere* (i.e. *Sankt Anna*, quasi *Kanna*). The can is, then, to indicate the brewing of the Christmas ale, *v.* further *sub* Dec. 21.
13. [87] Scissors and on Ss. and Os. a hooked instrument, probably the sacred symbol here; *v.* below, 1434-s. [48]; Hs. [61], scissors; Es. [90, 91]; Bs. [40] partly obliterated; probably a tankard. S. Lucia, m. 304. To avoid the persecution of a heathen suitor, she tore her own eyes out. Hence often represented in Christian art holding her eyes in a dish, Patroness of the blind and those who suffer from ophthalmia. The scissors are secular, and denote the preparation of clothes for Yule. Not in Abp. J. In Cm. *Lucia*; Bure-s., scissors, evidence for the antiquity of the symbol; 1434-s. [48], a four-dotted cross, *cp. id.* [34]. Norw. sign often a net; "for then is the time to catch the Yule fish" (*v.* above, Nov. 30); also a "bale-fire," because St. L. was burnt, or for light, because it was considered the darkest day of winter, "Then the night was so long that the cow had to bite thrice at its tether (of straw ?) for sheer hunger. 'Lucy-night is long,' said the Cow; 'Tis so,' said the Wether; 'The devil it is!' said the Goat—in the days when beasts could talk." P.A.M.—W., *f.r.*, has a similar legend that the ox on that long night was ready to devour its very hoofs for hunger, and that hence the symbol was an ox-hoof, which he surrounds with rays to indicate the *solstice*. Did the legend arise partly from the fast

usual after S. Lucy's Day? *cp.* Cal. Aberd. Brev., end of Feb.: *post crucem postque Luciam mercurii et veneris sabbato ieiunia fiunt.* Such a scrap of folk-lore bears valuable evidence of its own date.

15. 1434-s. [49] A? or E? perh, for *Eusebius*? Mod. Swed. Alm. *Ireneus*, Dan. *Nicatus*.
21. [88] **Hand** (and arm Ea. [92]) with two fingers outstretched.—S. Thomas, Ap., "the Doubter" (John xx. 25). 1434-s. [50]; Ha. [62]; Bs. [41]. A day much observed in the Scand. North. Abp. J.: Cm. (red), *Tomas messa*, Bure-s. a candle ("Juul-lys") and the sign of a great Vigil (?) to Dec. 20, namely,  which sign occurs also before S. Andrew's and Christmas Days (v. n. p. 313). Other eves have only two branches to this mark. Norw. called *Thomas Brygger* (the Brewer), his day being the time to brew the Yule ale (*cp.* Dec. 9, and symbol of a beer-pot). His sign was often a butt or tun. "Then cometh Thomas with the butt, and watereth the malt for Yule, for then thaw weather sometimes occurs."—The 4th of the Ember days, called in Denn. and Norw. *Tamper-* or *Quatember-dage* ("quatuor tempora") on which ordinations are held, falls on Wednesday after S. Lucy. S. Thomas's day is often therefore in Ember week, *Imbru-Fika*. It was then the custom to go round to the neighbours to taste their ale, and this visit was known as *Imber-Runn*. P.A.M.
25. [89] **Ale-Horns**. Bs. [42]; Ha. [63]. Often also, as on Ea. [93], a **Babe in Swaddling Clothes**.—Yule.—Between the Ale-Horns occur three small circles, the "*Dreipass*," an emblem of the Godhead. Schn. But this is emblematic of the Trinity, and not specially appropriate to Yule. In the illustration of Os. the "leaves" should have been rounded, that is, exactly as on Sa. The symbol, however, undoubtedly belongs to S. Stephen, Dec. 26, and indicates the stones with which he was martyred.—Obs. the number varies: in Ea. we have 5, and 10 on the similar N.M.S.-s. so often alluded to, and clearly not belonging to Dec. 26.—Cm. (red), *Jula-daghr*.—N.B. Abp. John's Law and the 1434-s. both begin the year with this day, an arrangement preserved by Worm in his *Festi Restituti*; "*Primus . . . festus dies . . . Iesu Christo merito dicatus est.*" Called *Zul-dag* in Ad. King's Sc. Cal., 1588.—From now on the feasting lasted till "Twentieth Day," Jan. 13, when the ale was out.—The Yule marks were cut on the "Loft-beam," P.A.M.; for the explanation *v.* my paper in the *Archaeol. Aeliana, sub die*, "A crescent moon foreboded a good year; a waning moon, many ills." W., *f.r.*
26. [90] **Ale-Horn and 3 Stones**. S. Stephen, protomartyr. Found on many staves. Cm. (red), *Stefansdaghr*, Ha. [64], Ea. [94], Bure-s. a full

- cross. Bod-s., 3 stones. The number is probably in reference to St. S.'s recognition of the Trinity, v. Acts vii. 55 (but v. above sub Dec. 25). Patron of horses. On this day it was usual to bleed them, that they might be free from disease for the whole year. W., *f.r.*
17. [91] Also on many staves, with an Ale-horn. S. John, Ap., Ev. Cm. (red), *Johanedagr*. Bure-s., a full cross. Es. [95].
18. [91] Ale-horn and Sword. Holy Innocents (Matth. ii.)—mentioned as a festival in Bede. Not in Abp. J. Cm. (red), *Barnadagr*, Bairns' Day; our old Eng. *Childermas*.—Norw. *De Uskyldige Børn in Bethlehem*.—*Barnedagen*. P.A.M.

#### SUMMARY OF DATED STAVES.

Not including those to which dates may be given approximately from the evidence of the Golden Number, Sun Circle, and Saints omitted, out of over 220 staves, chiefly in the Ups. Mus. and Nord. Mus. Sthlm., I find over 80 scored with dates from 1434 to 1830 :—15th century, 2 (?); 16th, 8; 17th, 54; 18th, 13; 19th, 7.

#### OF THEIR GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION.

Hardly any record has been kept, except in the Nord. Mus., in accordance with its admirable arrangement. That Museum is, however, overcrowded and badly lit, and some of the staves fixed so that only one side can be examined. From the details kindly furnished through the photographer, 50 are from Dalecarlia; 10 from Upland; from Östergothland, Småland, Gotland, Gammel Svensky (in Finland †), 1 each; 2 from Södermannland. The large number from the Dales is due in part to the primitive conservatism of the country folk, partly to the zeal with which Dr Haselius has explored this happy hunting-ground of Antiquarians.—“*O qui me gelidis in vallibus Haemi | Sistat!*”

*Postscript.*—Since the above was written, I have consulted Finn Magnussen's *Gentile Calendarium*, given as an Appendix to his *Prisc. Vet. Borealiæ Mythologiæ Lexicon* (Copenh., 1828), which I have used freely in my description of the Newcastle Black Gate Mus. Norwegian Staff, written for the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne. The reader is referred to that paper in the *Archæologia Aeliana*, vol. xv., for additional details of interest.