

III.

ON TWO RUNE PRIME-STAVES FROM SWEDEN AND THREE WOODEN ALMANACS FROM NORWAY. By H. F. MORLAND SIMPSON, M.A., F.S.A. Scot.

By the kindness of Mr Lewis Evans, of Hemel Hempstead, I was enabled to exhibit to the Society his interesting collection of six wooden almanacs, three Swedish and three Norse, four of which have been selected for description in the present paper.¹ To these I add the fine Swedish prime-staff belonging to Mr James Curle, F.S.A. Scot., which he kindly allowed me to exhibit at the same time.

Some apology is due for recurring to a subject apparently so alien and unusual. What I have already said on it permits me to be brief, and the reader will accept a general reference to my former papers.² I may, however, be allowed to remind him that the subject touches on a wide period, over five centuries, in the history, religion, superstitions, customs and pursuits of kindred peoples, with its roots in a still remoter past; that it is closely connected with the universal system of the calendar, based on natural phenomena, adopted from heathen Rome by

¹ The two here omitted for want of space are fragments of Swed. prime-staves: one a round staff, dated 1654, lacks May 23–July 1, and Nov. 12–Dec. 31, or about 10 in. of inscription. The other is flat, four-sided, with sword handle. The runes for F U are “wend,” inverted and “bind.” Four brass-headed nails inserted, give a measure of 44 cm. Undated. It lacks about 12 in. of inscription, May 14–Jul. 1, and Oct. 29–Dec. 31. From its appearance it may be as old as late 16th cent.

² *Proc. Ant. Scot.*, 1891–2; *Archæologia Aeliana*, vol. xv. Since these were written, Dr Schnippel, of Osterode, East Prussia, has kindly sent me a paper, written by him in 1887, on the unique rune-sword in the Dresd. Mus., said to have belonged to “Thomas Müntzer.” In it he had already corrected some slight oversights pointed out in my last communication. He had also solved the middle term of the rune-triplets below the Zodiac, which he reads “9 Jan., 9 Feb., 10 Mar.,” etc., *i.e.* a week earlier than in my reading, the entire system being retained from the *unreformed* cal. I have much pleasure in acknowledging this solution of my difficulty, *Proc.*, '91–2, p. 281. His interpretation of the double and triple branched marks or “*virgulae*” to fasts and vigils on the Dresden sword confirms my own remarks, *id.* p. 313 n. and p. 331, Dec. 21. I take this opportunity to suspend the inferences deduced from *Nord. Mus. Sthlm.*, 25920. *Id.*, p. 286.

the Catholic Church, modified by local influences, by the Reformation, and the progress of Science; that it throws side-lights on our own Abbey calendars and "clog" almanacs, illustrates principles of computation essential to the scientific study of medieval diplomatics, and incidentally has something to tell us of the saints and missionaries who first carried Christianity to Scandinavia from our own shores. Also this bypath of inquiry has seldom been trodden; and there are few complete illustrations to help the student.

The drawings are traced from rubbings, and carefully corrected from the originals. In general only days and symbols are here commented on which have not been noticed in my former papers. The following abbreviations are used for reference, in addition to those in my paper, *Proc.*, 1891-2, pp. 294-5.

Swedish.

Cs. Fig. 1. Mr Curle's staff. A four-sided Swedish prime-staff, purchased in Stockholm, 1891; undated. Length 4 feet $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Golden Number, old style. Some of the runes are *Stup* (inverted). The lower end is rudely shod with iron, clamped and nailed on the narrow edges. This conceals the head of S. Peter's key, Jun. 29, and also the symbol to Dec. 30. Unusually, perhaps for the sake of symmetry, each side begins and ends with *Hagel*. The first side thus begins with New Year's Eve, Dec. 31, and ends with Jul. 1; and Jul. 1, *repeated*, begins the second side, which ends with Dec. 30. Among the "Mark Days" the omission of Jan. 18 (Peter's Chair), Nov. 2 (All Souls'), and Nov. 21 (Virgin's Offering), seems to indicate a Protestant origin. Nov. 6 is also marked, but with a cross only. If this is meant for the Protestant anniversary of Lützen († Gustavus Adolphus), we must assume that the staff was made after 1632. Nov. 6 was also sacred to S. Leonard. But this saint does not seem to have occurred often in northern almanacs.

In character of the runes, symbols, and days marked, Cs. agrees remarkably with several staves in the Upsala Mus., the origin and dates of which are, however, unrecorded. Ups. Mus. Photos. No. 208 is also very similar in type of handle; shod in the same rough way, and each

side, like Cs., begins and ends with *Hagel*. Ups. Mus. No. 1830, also very similar, in my photograph is apparently dated 1571. Amidst so much diversity of detail on many staves this similarity is very striking, and seems to show that all these staves form a class, from the same district, and perhaps made about the same time.

Nord. Mus. Sthlm., Nos. 4620 and 25,371 (dated 1592?) present the same striking resemblance in details. These came from Dalecarlia. We may therefore infer that Cs. and the others like it were also from "the Dales," and perhaps as old as late 16th cent. But until Nov. 6 is found marked on a staff dated prior to 1632, I shall not feel satisfied that they were not all made subsequent to the death of the hero king.

The Evans Collection.

A. Fig. 2. Purchased by Mr L. Evans in Stockholm. Length 4 feet 5 inches. Seven-sided, with a round handle, ending in an obovoid pommel. The haft is marked S.L. and dated 1609. The end tapers, but has no ferrule, and shows no signs of use as a walking-staff. The inscription runs from right to left, and some of the runes are "*wend*" accordingly. Several are also "stuped." In the Lunar Cycle (fig. 2, δ , second series to the left) some of the runes are unusual in form, note especially the 10th, 12th, 14th, 17th, 18th (from the right). The first of these is partly obliterated by a deep notch, corresponding to a similar notch 44 cm. lower down, evidently a measure, *v. p.* 358, n. 1. The Solar Cycle to the right of this is old style, as also the Golden No. Below the Lunar Cycle occur the initials H.B.S., followed by 49 notches or scores. Lower down on the same side there is a similar series of 31 scores, and on side η , near the lower extremity, 5 scores. These correspond with the total of 75 mark days and 5 vigils marked on the staff.

This staff also closely resembles several of which I have photographs, especially the N.M.S. No. 3855, which bears on the round flat boss of the handle the same letters S.L., and figures 98(?) which look like the remains of a date (1598?). The runes and symbols are the same. On one of the narrow edges below the G.N. is a rune inscription, which I read "*Månsken this att mark . . .*" "This row marks the moonshine,"

i.e., the Lunar Cycle. The Solar Cycle begins with the Sunday Rune for the year 1608.

On A. there is a small notch above the Sunday rune for the year 1600, and another below the Sunday rune for 1609. The series begins at the handle end with the rune for 1605. N.M.S. 3855 has several errors not found on A. The two staves are so strikingly alike, that they appear to have come from the same hand, the latter a revised edition, in consequence of the partially obliterated errors on the former, still clearly traceable in the photograph. Dr Haselius informs me that his staff is from Södermanland, a district south of Stockholm, which seems to have yielded very few staves to the Museums.

But a still more remarkable likeness is shown by a seven-sided staff from Södermanland in the same museum. At first sight the two seem identical. But the N.M.S. specimen has a ferrule, and no date. It also lacks the initials H.B.S. and the 80 notches. In the same position on the handle we find the same letters S.L. If "H.B.S."¹ on A. are initials, then S.L. are probably not. I suspect they stand for Söderman Land.

NORSÆ:—B. Fig 3. "Jonas Kelsön," doubtless the maker's name. The winter side bears "Jonas" in a sort of monogram, and the date 1648. The narrow edge below the winter side is much cut at fairly regular intervals, apparently for purposes of measurement, as usual. So far I have seen no *rune* staff from Norway, and these three offer no exception. Prominence is given on all to Saints characteristic of Norway,—Blasius, Nicholas, and Clement, patrons of sailors; Sunniva, patroness of Bergen, the first of Norse Saints; Olaf, the patron of Norway, etc.

C. Fig. 4. A staff of a common sword shape; undated. Bishops are marked by a crosier (*v. sub* Jul. 2). The edges, as in the Bs. (*Proc.*, 1891-2, fig. 7) are scored with notches to every 7th day notch.

D. Fig. 5. Date 1683. Ring or collar-shaped, in section an irregular octagon; a very rare form. No vigils. The large number of mark-days, mostly marked by initials or monograms, make this a very valuable staff. There are few symbols. Some of the saints indicated

¹ These letters occur just below Mar. 12, and might mean *Här Begygnar Sommaren* (here summer commences), but this seems very doubtful. In 1609 the Vernal Equinox fell on Mar. 12.

rarely occur. The Sunday letter is marked throughout in Roman letters. The winter side ends with Ap. 14, Sunday letter F, repeated at the beginning of the summer side (fig. No. 38). Clearly the "Concurrents" were not reckoned here. Nor do they occur to Dec. 31-Jan. 1. But Dec. 26 *has no Sunday letter* (*v. fig., day-notch after No. 21*). This seems to indicate that the maker reckoned according to the oldest Church-year, beginning Dec. 25 (*v. Appendix on Church Laws*), and observed the concurrents on Dec. 25-6. The winter side bears an inscription "3065 (*sic*) days and 6 hours every 4 years one day they give." On the summer side "year 1683 AS and PS," makers (father and son?).

SWEDISH STAVES. (Figs. 1 and 2.)

- Jan. 1st.** New Year. Cs. 1 Ale-Horn; A 1 Cross. **6th.** Epiphany or Three Kings. Cs. 2 Ale-Horn; A 2=? **13th.** Twentieth Day, or Knut. Inverted Ale-Horn on both. **19th.** Henry. Cs. 4; A 4; mitre (?) on both. **24th.** Translation of Erik. Cs. 5. **25th.** Conversion of S. Paul. Cs. 6, symbol combined with the cross to the 24th, *cf.* Nos. 11, 12, 22-3, 68-9. A 5 Sword or knife.
- Feb. 2nd.** Candlemas. Cs. 7 Candlestick with three lights; A 6 Virgin's Crown. **3rd.** Blasius. Cs. 8; A 7. **5th.** Agatha. Cs. 9. **9th.** Apollonia. A 8 Forceps and Tooth?? **15th.** Sigfrid. Cs. 10 Axe. A 9 Hat? **22nd.** Peter at Antioch, Peter's Chair. Cs. 11, *v. sub* Jan. 25; A 10 Key, partly obliterated by a deep notch. **24th.** Matthias Ap. Cs. 12, A 11 Fish.
- Mar. 7th.** Perpetua and Felicitas. A 12. **12th.** Gregory. Cs. 13; A 13, Branch or tree. The symbol Cs. 14, House or Church, which appears attached to this day, belongs properly to the **17th.** Gertrude. Cs. 15; A 14. **21st.** Benedict. Cs. 16 Plough; A 15 Snake. **25th.** Annunciation, B.V.M. Cs. 17 and A 16 Crown.
- Apr. 4th.** Ambrose. Cs. 18, A 17. **14th.** Tiburtius. Cs. 19, A 18 Tree. **23rd.** George. Cs. 20, A 19. **25th.** Mark. Cs. 21, A 20, Cuckoo.
- May 1st.** Philip and James App., or Valborg. Cs. 22, *v. sub* Jan. 25; A 21=? **3rd.** Inventio Crucis. Cs. 23 and A 22, Cross. **11th.** Mamertus, rarely marked. Cs. 24. **18th.** King Erik. Cs. 25 Sword. A 23=? *cf.* 36. **25th.** Urban. Cs. 26 and A 24 Corn-seed? so Bure-s., Hs. 22; = *Zea mais*, according to W.f.r.
- June 3rd.** Erasmus. Cs. 27 and A 25 Brace-and-Bit. **12th.** Eskil. Cs. 28 Mitre, *cf.* Jan. 19th. **13th.** Antonius of Padua. A 26.

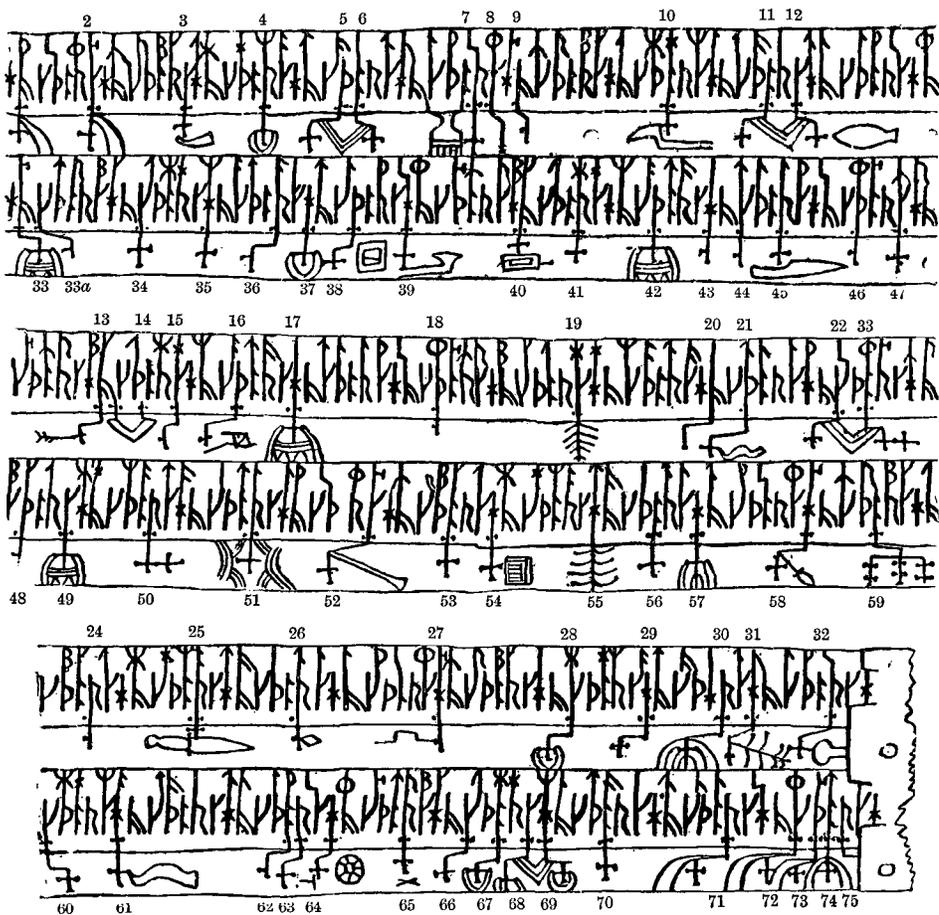
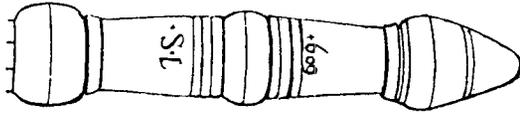


Fig. 1. Cs. Swedish Prime-Staff, from Dalecarlia (?). The Property of J. Curle, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.
Date xv.-xvi. cent. (?). Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.



Handwritten musical notation on a Swedish Prime-Staff, consisting of three systems of staves. Each system contains two staves with rhythmic notation and various symbols. The notation is organized into measures, with measure numbers written above and below the staves.

System 1 (Measures 1-12):

- Measure numbers: 47, 46, 45, 44, 43, 42, 41, 40, 39, 38, 37, 36, 35, 34, 33, 32
- Staff 1 (top): Rhythmic notation with various symbols above and below.
- Staff 2 (bottom): Rhythmic notation with various symbols above and below.
- Measure numbers below staff 2: 12, 11, 10, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1

System 2 (Measures 13-22):

- Measure numbers: 57, 56, 55, 54, 53, 52, 51, 50, 49, 48
- Staff 1 (top): Rhythmic notation with various symbols above and below.
- Staff 2 (bottom): Rhythmic notation with various symbols above and below.
- Measure numbers below staff 2: 22, 21, 20, 19, 18, 17, 16, 15, 14, 13

System 3 (Measures 23-34):

- Measure numbers: 72, 71, 70, 69, 68, 67, 66, 65, 64, 63, 62, 61, 60, 59, 58
- Staff 1 (top): Rhythmic notation with various symbols above and below.
- Staff 2 (bottom): Rhythmic notation with various symbols above and below.
- Measure numbers below staff 2: 34, 33, 29, 28, 27, 26, 25, 24, 23

Fig. 2. A. Swedish Prime-Staff, from Södermanland (?). The Property of J. Evans, Esq.
Date 1609. Scale $\frac{3}{4}$.

- 17th. Botolph. Cs. 29, A 27=? 21st. A has a stroke, probably a private mark; in 1609 the solstice fell on the 12th.
- 22nd. Achatius and 10,000 Knights. Cs. 30, *cf.* Oct. 31st. A 28 a Crown? 24th. John Bpt. or Midsummer's Day. Cs. 31 Tree (Maypole). A 29 Sun. 29th. Peter. Cs. 32 and A 30 Key, in Cs. partly covered by the ferrule. 30th. Commemoratio Scti Pauli, rarely marked. A 31. Both staves end this half-year with Jul. 1st, repeated on Cs.
- Jul. 2nd.** Visitation, B.V.M. Cs. 33, and A 32, *cf.* Mar. 25th, etc. 3rd. Processus and Martinianus; but in Cod. m. they are assigned to the 2nd. Cs. 33a. 6th. Octave of Peter (and Paul), rarely marked. A 33 Key. 10th. King Knut. Cs. 34; A 34 Sickle. 15th. Missio Apostolorum. Cs. 35; A 35 a 3-armed branch="separation"? 20th. Margaret. Cs. 36. 21st. Seldom marked; probably A 36a is a mistake for the 20th. 22nd. Mary Magd. Cs. 37 resembles the Bishop's mark to Jan. 19th, etc. A 36, *cf.* 23. 25th. James Ap. Cs. 38; A 37 Cup? preceded by a forked branch to mark a vigil. Probably the square symbol (=?) on Cs. belongs to this day. 29th. Olaf. Cs. 39 and A 38 Axe.
- Aug. 1st.** A 39. Peter ad Vincula. 6th. A 40. Transfiguration, rarely marked. In Mod. Swed. Alm., Sixtus. The symbol Cs. 40 belongs properly to the 10th. Lawrence. Cs. 41 and A 41 (preceded by mark of vigil), Gridiron. 15th. Assumption, B.V.M. Cs. 42 and A 42 Crown. 19th. Magnus of Sweden: rarely marked. Cs. 43, A 43. 21st. rarely marked. In Cod. m. the day is given to "Epifanius"; in the mod. Dan. Alm., Sebald; in the Norw. Alm., Ragnvald (Ronald). Cs. 44. 24th. Bartholomew. Cs. 45 Knife. A 44 three Circles=? The next day on A is marked by a stroke similar to that noticed *sub* June 21st, *q.v.* 28th. Not often marked. In the mod. Alms., Augustine. A 45. 29th. John Bpt.'s Beheadal. Cs. 46.
- Sep. 1st.** Giles (Aegidius). Cs. 47. A 46 Tree. 5th. rarely marked. In the mod. Dan. and Icel. Alms. Regina; Swed., Eudoxus; Norw. and also the Cod. m., Bertinus. 8th. Nativity, B.V.M. Cs. 49 and A 47 Crown, *v.* Mar. 25th, etc. 14th. Elevatio Crucis. Cs. 50 and A 22 Cross, *cf.* May 3rd. 21st. Matthew Ap. Cs. 51. A 49 Stag, *v. sub die, Proc.*, 1891-2. 29th. Michael. Cs. 52 and A 50 Trumpet.
- Oct. 4th.** Francis. Cs. 53. 6th. Eskil, on A 51, which does not mark him to either Jun. 12th or 22nd. 7th. Birgitta. Cs. 54 and A 52, both perhaps intended for the ground plan of a house,

- viz. the Abbey of Vadstena. One of the fragments of Swedish staves owned by Mr Evans bears the same symbol as A. **14th.** Calixtus. Cs. 55 and A 53 Tree. **18th.** Luke, Evangelist. Cs. 56. A 54. **21st.** Ursula and 11,000 Virgins. Cs. 57, *cf. id.* 30; A 55 Crown, *cf. id.* 28. **28th.** Simon and Jude App. Cs. 58 Club? A 56 (with preceding Vigil) Tree.
- Nov. 1st.** All Saints. Cs. 59. A 57 with preceding Vigil. **6th.** Gustavus Adolphus? or Leonard? Cs. 60; obs. the day is marked with a full cross. If intended for the anniversary of Lützen, the Cs. cannot be older than 1632 and is Protestant. Note the omission of the day on A, dated 1609. **11th.** Martin. Cs. 61 and A 58 Bird, doubtless meant for the Saint's goose. **22nd.** Cecilia, very rarely marked, but found in all modern Alms. Cs. 62. **23rd.** Clement. Cs. 63 Anchor, damaged, A 59 Anchor. **25th.** Catharine. Cs. 64 and A 60 Wheel. The mark on the latter between 59 and 60 looks like a casual injury. **30th.** Andrew. Cs. 65 St A.'s Cross; A 61 (with preceding Vigil) initial A.
- Dec. 4th.** Barbara. Cs. 66; A 62. **6th.** Nicholas. Cs. 67 Bishop's mark, *cf.* Jan. 19, etc.; A 63. **8th.** Conception, B.V.M. Cs. 68 combined with the 9th, *v. sub* Jan. 25th; A 64 Candle? **9th.** Anna. Cs. 69; A 65 Candle? **13th.** Lucia. Cs. 70; A 66. **21st.** Thomas Ap. Cs. 71 Ale-Horn, "Thomas the Brewer"; A 67 Hand. **25th.** Yule. Cs. 71 Ale-Horn; A 68 Candle? **26th.** Stephen. Cs. 72 Ale-Horn; A 69 Candle? **27th.** John Ap. Cs. 74 Ale-Horns; A 70 Candle? **28th.** Innocents. Cs. 75 Symbol probably an Ale-Horn, covered by the ferrule; A 71 Candle? **29th.** "Thomas Bishop," *i.e.*, Thomas à Becket (*v.* Appendix); A 72 Candle? **30th.** Seldom marked. Sabinus of Assisi (?), Bp. of Spoleto, m. 304 (Schn.). **31st.** Sylvester I., Pope 314-335, observed since the 7th cent. Found in the Cod. m. But the day was more generally observed in the North as New Year's Eve; A 74 Candle? The Cs. ends with Dec. 30th. The symbol, if any, is covered by the ferrule.

NORSE STAVES. (Figures 3, 4, 5.)

Winter Side.

- Oct. 14th.** Calixtus B.C.D. 1. Mitten. The last has also a Tree. **16th.** Gallus; D 2 "G." The marks on this ring-staff are almost all initials; where this is obvious, comment is occasionally omitted. **18th.** Luke; D 3. **21st.** Ursula and 11,000 Virgins; B 2 *cf.*

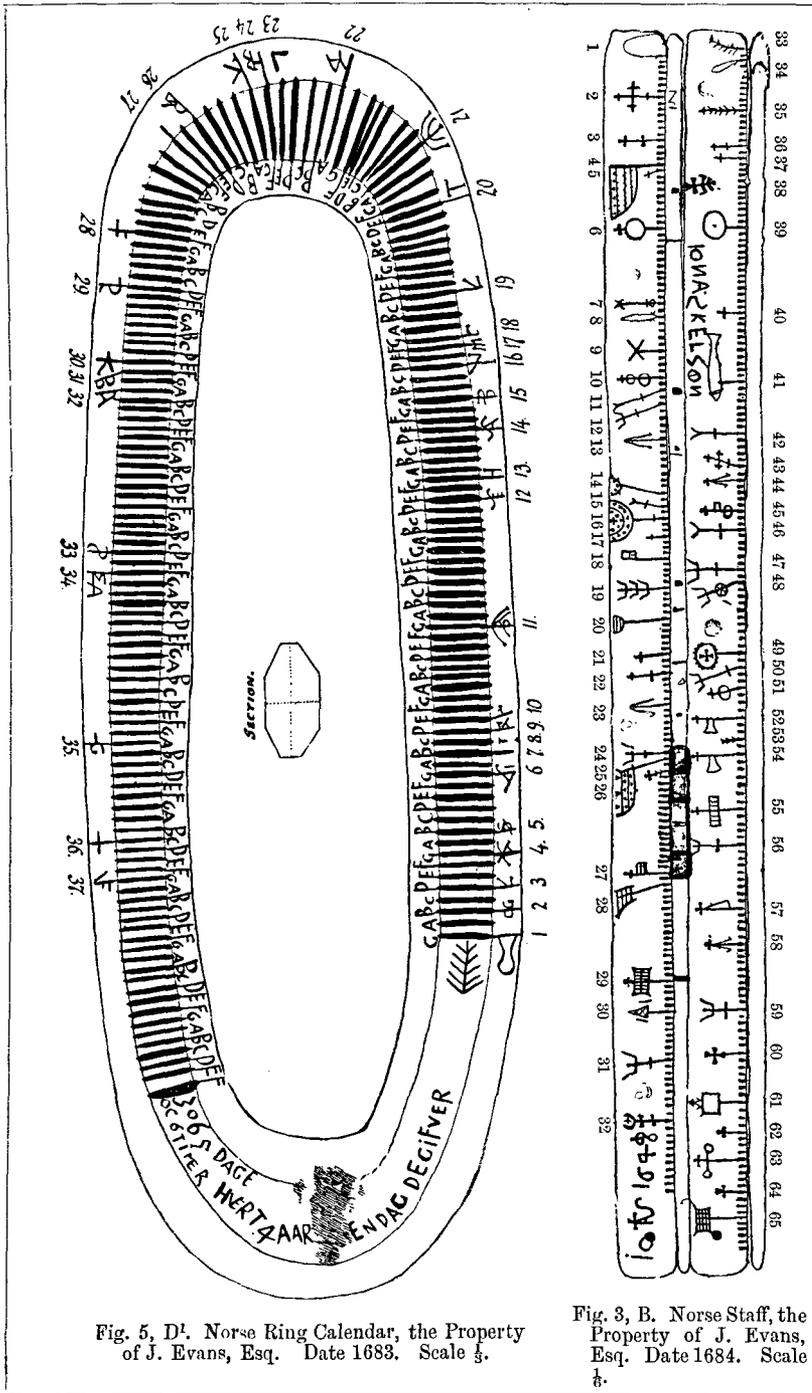


Fig. 5. D¹. Norse Ring Calendar, the Property of J. Evans, Esq. Date 1683. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

Fig. 3. B. Norse Staff, the Property of J. Evans, Esq. Date 1684. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

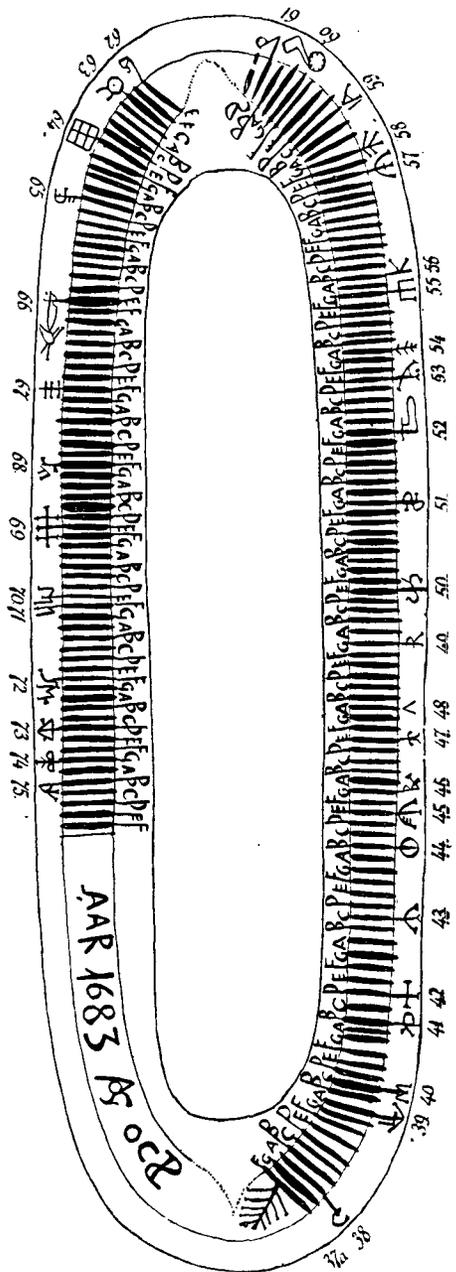


Fig. 5, D².

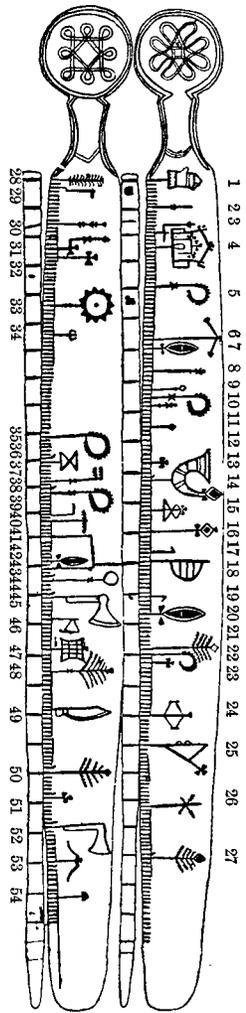


Fig. 4, C. Norse Staff, the Property of J. Evans, Esq. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

id. 43 Jun. 22; C 2; D 4, "A"? *cf.* Cod. m. "*Allivu Thousand Moia*"? 23rd. Severinus, in Norse "Søren"; hence D 5 "Sø." In W.f.r. marked with a plough-stilt, as a sign of the ploughing season. St S., Confessor, Bp. of Cologne † ca. 346 or soon after 400, found in the Bremen and Hamburg missals and in Cod. m., but not earlier than the 12th cent. (Schn.) 28th. Simon and Jude App.; B 3, *cf. id.* 36 May 1; C 3; D 6, "S.L.A." monogram. 30th. D 7=? 31st. D 8 "T", Quintinus, in Norse *Tinus*? (*cf.* Antonius and Toni).

Nov. 1st. All Saints; B 4 Boat, *i.e.*, the time to dock ships; C 4 Church; D 9, "A.H." for *Alle Helgen*. 2nd. All Souls; B 5 small cross; D 10=? We should expect "A.S." for *Alle Sjaele*. The omission of the day on C points to a Protestant origin. 11th. "Martin Biskup"; B 6 Ring and Cross; C 5 Crosier; D 11 "M.B."? 23rd. Clement, *Sankt Clemens*; B 7 Anchor with Bishop's mark above, *cf. id.* 11; C 23 Anchor; D 12 "S.C." The middle stroke to the C is doubtful. 25th. Catharine; B 8 and C 7 Spindle; D 13 "H"? We should expect "K", for *Kari*, the Norse for Catharine. 30th. S. Andrew; B 9 and C 8 St A.'s cross; D 14.

Dec. 3rd. D 15 "B.V."? namely *Barbro-voku*? the Eve of St Barbara. 4th. Barbara; B 10 Two rings and a cross; C 9=? 6th. Nicholas Bishop; B 11, *cf. id.* Dec. 23rd and Jun. 11th; C 10 Crosier; D 16 "N." 8th. Conception, B.V.M. B 12, C 11, D 17. 9th. Cyprianus; D 18, usu. S. Anna. 13th. Lucia; B 13, *cf.* Jan. 25th and Jun. 24th. C 12. D 19. 21st. Thomas. B 14 Ale-Bowl? *cf. id.* 16; C 13. D 20 "I T" namely *Imber* Thomas, the season of the *Imber-run* or Ale-tasting. 23rd rarely marked. In mod. Alms., Thorlak Bishop. B 15 the Bishop's sign on this staff, *cf.* Nov. 23 above, etc. 25th. Yule. B 16 Ale-Bowl; C 14 (with mark of Vigil to 24th) Ale-Horn. D 25 Candlestick of the *Julelys*. The day-notch to the 26th on D has no Sunday Letter above it. 28th. Innocents. B 17.

Jan. 1st. New Year. B 18 Key? C 15=? D 22 NA. = *Nyt-aar*. 5th. King Edward (the Confessor), *v.* Appendix. D 23. The mark here is injured? 6th. Epiphany or "Holy Three Kings." B 19 Three Crowns. C 16=? D 24 "H3," *i.e.* "Holy Three." 7th. D. 25 "K.L" *i.e.* Knut Laward, or *Eld-björstag*: *v. sub* Feb. 2 Newcastle Staff, Archæol. Aeliana xv. Knut was Duke of Schleswig, murdered 1133, can. 1171 (Schn.). 11th. Brictiva or Brettiva, specially Norse. Nothing is known of this Saint, but her feast was as old as the Older Gulathings Law (*v. App.*). In later

- times corrupted into *Brykke-* or *Brokkes-mess*, the feast of broken meat, *i.e.* the remnants of the yule-feasting. B 20 a bowl? C. 17=? D 26 "BR." 13th. "Twentieth Day of Yule." C 18 Bowl? D. 27 a stroke, marking the octave of Epiphany? 17th. Antonius the Great † 356. Not in Cod. m. and rare on the staves. B. 21 Cross. 20th. B 22 Double Cross. D 28 "FS" *i.e.* Fabian and Sebastian, found in Cod. m. : *v.* Southesk-s. *sub* Jan. 19. 21st. Agnes C 19. So also the mod. Norw. alm. 25th. Paul's Conversion; "*Pal Skytter*," or "Paul with the Bow." B 23, *cf. id.* 13, etc. C 20. This spindle-shaped symbol occurs also to Nov. 25 and Jul. 20, both female saints. D 29, "PS." On the narrow edge of D is a small notch to mark Feb. 1st, also to Ap. 1st, Nov. 1st, Dec. 1st.
- Feb. 2nd.** Candlemas, or Purification, B.V.M. B 24, the same symbol to Dec. 8, namely the Virgin's crown; *cf.* also Mar. 25, Jul. 8, 22, Aug. 15, Sep. 8. C 21 Tree, the usual Virgin's symbol on this staff, *cf.* Mar. 25, etc. D 30 "K" *i.e.* *Kyndilmess* = Kindling mass. 3rd. Blasius Bp., patron of sailors. B 25 Ship. C 22 Crosier. D 31 "B." 5th. Agatha. B 26 branched Cross. C 23 Cross. D 32 "A." 17th. Rarely marked. Findanus? C 24. 22nd. Peter at Antioch (later, at Rome), Peter's Chair, Norse *Petri Stol*, *Paer Varmstein*. B 27 Key. D 33 "PS." 24th. Matthias Ap. B 28=? C 24=? D 34 "MA."
- Mar. 12th.** Gregory. B 29=? C 26 Branching cross (sign of spring). D 35 "G." 17th. Gertrude (commoner on Swed. staves). B 30 Spear? 21st. (Benedict), the Easter term. D 36 large Cross. Benedict is commoner on Swed. staves. 25th. Annunciation, B.V.M.; in Norse *Dyre vor Fru* = Our Lady Dear. B 31, and C. 27 with Vigil preceding; *v. sub* Feb. 2. D 37 "VF."
- Apr. 3rd.** B 32=? Rarely marked; not noticed by P.A.M., F.M., E.M., Schn., nor in Cod. m. The mod. Alms. of Norw., Denm., and Icel. give *Nicætas*.

Summer Side.

- Apr. 14th.** Tiburtius, or First day of Summer. B 33, C 28, and D 37a, the usual Tree. 16th. Magnus, Jarl of Orkneys. B 34 Fish-bait? C 29=? D 38 has "C," which agrees with Worm, who gives Calixtus, m. at Corinth, 3rd cent. 23rd. George. Norse *Jörgens-dag*, *Fardag*, *Lille Gangdag*, *Letania litli*, hence D 39 "LL." 25th. Mark. B 35 Tree. C. 30=? D. 40 "M."
- May 1st.** Philip and James App. B 36 and C 31 double Cross, *cf.* Jan. 20. D 41 "PJ"? 3rd. Inventio Crucis. B 37, C 32, and D 42,

Cross. On B above the 7th, but attached to no day, is a large deeply cut cross with branches, perhaps an additional mark to May 3. May 6th was known as *Lille Hans*, the lesser feast of S. John, *S. Johannes ante Portam Latinam*, the day of his martyrdom at Rome.

9th. Rarely marked. D 45=? The mod. Alms. give Caspar, also Transl. of S. Andrew, Transl. of S. Nicholas, etc.

15th. Halvard, specially Norse. B 39, C 33, and D 44 all doubtless meant for the Quern, this Saint's usual symbol. St H., m. 1043, became patron of Oslo (Christiania).

18th. Erik ix. D 45 "E."

20th. Rarely marked. Bernhard (mod. Norw. Alm.). D 46 "BL"?

22nd. Rarely marked. C 34. The Cod. m. gives Romanus, the mod. Norw. Alm. Castus.

25th. Urban Pope, m. ca. 223 (?), rarely marked. D 47=?

28th. William (*Vilhelm* mod. Norw. Alm.) D 48 "V." **29th.** Maximinus, Bp. of Treves, m. 349. Rarely marked. B. 40 Cross.

Jun. 3rd. Erasmus. Norse *Rasmus*. D 49 "R." **8th.** *Kolbjörn med*

Laxen, "St K. (Columba) with the Salmon." B 41 (given, as sometimes, to the 9th) a Salmon, D 50 "KS"?

17th. Botolph Bp. B 42 the Bishop's mark usual on this staff, cf. Dec. 6th, etc.

C 35 Crosier. D 51=? **22nd.** Achatius and 10,000 Knights.

B 43, cf. *id.* 2, Oct. 21. **24th.** John Bapt. "Midsummer's

Day." B 44. C 36 with Vigil preceding. D 52 a foot, of John,

as the forerunner? **29th.** Peter. B 45 and C 37 Key. D 53 "P"?

Jul. 2nd. B. 46, Bishop's mark, C 38 (with Vigil) Crosier, and the tree, D 54, all point to Bishop Swithun. Norse *Syftes-ok*, an older festival to this day than the Visitation, B.V.M. **8th.** The

Men in Sellö, or Sunniva, patroness of Bergen and first saint of

Norway. B 47 Virgin's Symbol, specially large, cf. Dec. 8,

etc. C 39 Scythe, the usual symbol to the day. D 55=?

10th. Knut, *Bonde Knut*, King of England, Norway, and Denmark,

m. 1086 at Odense. B 48 the Bishop's mark (?) with a ring. C 40

Rake, his usual symbol. D 56 "K." The mark on C No. 41 is

probably no symbol. The upper end terminates in the 14th week-

notch of the winter side (Jan. 13th), and the lower end in the 14th

week-notch of the summer side (Jul. 14th). Hence this mark

divides each side exactly into two halves, or quarter-years.

20th. Margaret. B 49 Sun, to mark the Dog Days? C 42 Spindle.

Cf. *id.* 20, etc., D 57 "M." **22nd.** Mary Magd. B 50; C 43=?

D 58 "M.M"?

25th. James Ap. B 51. C 43 with Vigil.

Obs. in both a ring and cross. D 59 "IA" (JA). **29th.** Olaf,

Storre Olsok. B 52, C 45 (with Vigil), and D 60, the invari-

able large Axe. On the last the haft is fancifully twisted into initial "O."

- Aug. 1st.** S. Peter ad Vincula, Norse *Pervinkel*. B 53. D 61 "P."
3rd. Olaf *hin lille*, Lesser feast of St O., his "translation." B 54, C 46 the usual small axe. On D 62 we have apparently "I.S.," namely *Inventio Sancti Stephani*. **5th.** King Oswald. D 63 "O.C." or "O.K."? **10th.** Lawrence. B 55, C 47, D 64. Universally observed, and always marked with his symbol, the gridiron. C shows traces of the mark for a Vigil on the 9th. **15th.** Assumption B.V.M. *Dyre Vor Fru*. B 56 Virgin's mark, cf. Dec. 8th, etc. C 48 (with traces of Vigil to the 14th) Tree, as usual for the Virgin on this staff. D 65 "D.F." **24th.** Bartholomew Ap. B. 57 Knife and Cross. C 49 and D 66 Knife. The last has also the forequarters of some animal, perhaps to mark this as the season for slaughtering the winter stock, a Norse rationalisation of the Saint's symbol. **29th.** John Baptist's Beheadal. B 58, the same mark as 44 to June 24th, *q.v.*
- Sep. 1st.** Egidius (Giles) D 67 "E." **8th.** Nativity, B.V.M. *Sire Vor Fru* "Our Lady's Day the Later." B 59 Virgin's symbol. C 50 (with Vigil) Tree. D 68 "S F." **14th.** *Elevatio Crucis*, cf. May 3. B 60, C 51 (with Vigil), D 69, a Cross; on the last very prominent, with "H," *i.e.* *Korsmess i Hosten*, "Autumn Cross-mass," to distinguish the day from *Korsm. i Vaar* (Spring), namely May 3. **21st.** Matthew Ap. B 61 Banner? C 52 (with Vigil) Axe, his usual symbol, but generally, as here, distinguished in form from Olaf's battle-axe, *v. id.* 45. D 70 "M." **22nd.** Mauritius in some Alms. The mark to D 71 is obscure in meaning. **29th.** Michael. B 63 Scales, as often. C 53 "M." D 72 "S M" *Sankt Mikkel*.
- Oct. 4th.** Francis of Assisi. B 64 Cross. D 73=? **7th.** Birgitta, commoner on Swed. staves. C 54=? D 74 "B" and? **8th.** B 65 Demetrius? rarely marked and perhaps here an error for the 7th, Birgitta. A very similar mark occurs to her day on Swed. staves, *e.g.*, on the sword-shaped fragment belonging to Mr Evans, and possibly denotes the ground-plan of the Abbey at Vadstena, *v.* Swed. staves above, *sub die*. St B. founded the order of the "Birgittines"; can. 1391. The round mark next to this on B is a hole pierced through the staff, to hang it by. **9th.** Dionysius Areopagita, or Denys of Paris. D 75 "D A"? This is the only notice I have observed on the staves of this day. The Cod. m. marks it in red, perhaps an indication of French influence.

Note.—Dr A. Haselius has kindly favoured me with the following correction of my list of Swedish staves in the Nordiska Museum, Stockholm (*Proc.*, 1891-2, p. 332). From Dalecarlia 66 (3 without the Prime); Uppland 12; Småland 12 (1 without the Prime); Östergötland 3; Södermanland 2; Gotland 1; Norrland 5 (none with the Prime). Undetermined origin 20,—total 121.

APPENDIX ON THE CALENDARS IN THE OLD CHURCH LAWS OF NORWAY.

Frequent reference has been made to the Church Law of John, Archbishop of Nidaros, named the Red, or the Younger, to distinguish him from John Byrgesson, the first Archbishop of that See, who was consecrated in 1152. On the authority of Dr Magnússon, of Cambridge, from whom the extract in my former communication was copied, the date of this Law was given as 1284. But from Munch's History of Norway it appears that Archbishop John died in 1282. It is probable that the *Christenret* bearing his name was drawn up as early as 1273. In August of that year there was a meeting at Bergen between John and Magnus Haakonsson, "the Law Mender," which however seems only to have exasperated the fiery prelate and the no less stubborn king. Probably the first if not the complete draft of the Archbishop's Law was submitted for approval at this conference. It is certain that the *Christendoms Baalk* (Book)¹ of the Icelandic Bishop Arne of Skaalholt was drawn up in the winter of 1273-4, with the advice of the Archbishop; and, allowing for differences, due to variety of circumstances and locality, the two Laws are in contents essentially the same.

During most of the year 1274 the Archbishop was absent from Norway on a visit to Pope Gregory X. at Lyons. His mission was doubtless due to the dispute with the king on the pretensions of the Church. On his return he brought with him, as a present from Philip III. of France, a Thorn of the True Crown, set in a fine crystal, borne by a silver angel. On Nov. 4th, as he was nearing Bergen, his ship was wrecked in a storm at Eidsvaag, but he escaped without loss. On Friday the 9th, "being a bright day," the precious relic was solemnly inaugurated by King and Prelate in the Apostle's Church at Bergen, and the "Feast of the Crown of Thorns" was instituted for the anniversary. It is important to note, as Munch points out, that the Archbishop's Law contains no allusion to this feast, although it mentions the "Gold Ring Mass" (*Fingrgulz messo daghr*, Law, c. 24), "on which the blood of our Lord came to Nidaros," a relic procured from Rome by the agents of Archbishop Eystein in 1165 or 1166.² It is reasonable, therefore, to infer that the Law was drawn up in its present form as early as 1273, though not passed till the later meeting of the King and Archbishop at Tunsberg in 1277. In many respects it seems to have been an attempt to codify the varying Church usages which from the earliest days of

¹ Munch, *Hist.*, iv. pt. i. p. 559 and n. 1, p. 566.

² *Id.*, pt. iii. p. 37.

Christianity prevailed in the three great districts of Norway, subject to the various codes of—

- A. The FROSTA-THING, extending in jurisdiction roughly from Hálogaland south to the Romsdal, the district of the Thronds, with Nidaros (Thronhjem) as the metropolis.
- B. The GULA-THING, south of Romsdal to the southern extremity of Norway, including Bergen and Stavanger.
- C. The EIDSIVA-THING, embracing most of the interior, with Tunsberg, Oslo (Christiania), and the modern provinces of Gothenburg and Bohuslän on the west coast of Sweden (*Map to Munch, Hist.*, pt. 1, vol. ii.).

From these three jurisdictions some ten several codes of law or revisions of older codes have been preserved, and are published in *Norges Gamle Lov*, edd. Keyser og Munch (vols. i. ii., Christiania, 1846, 1848).

In his article on a Norwegian Calendar (*Camb. Proc.*, 1878), Dr Magnússon has also referred to one of the earlier codes, the Gulathings Lov, which he dates 1260. The later law of that name was passed in 1273, and promulgated on St John's Day, June 24th, 1274. The older code of the same name, which is the first in Keyser and Munch's edition, professes in its preamble to be as old as the days of Olaf and Bp. Grimkell, ca. 1022, to whom it is attributed; but, in the form given, it has certainly been revised since 1160, though probably not much later.

Its list of days includes Olaf himself † 1030, canonised 1031; Hallward, † May 15th, 1043; Knut, m. 1086. Moreover, at the very outset, mention is made of Eystein, archbishop (of Nidaros), elected 1160, † 1188; Erling Jarl; and Magnus Erlingsson, king in 1161, crowned at Bergen in 1164. The law appears to contain no allusion to the settlement made by Cardinal Nicolas "the Good" (N. Breakspere, afterwards Pope Adrian IV.) during his mission to the Scandinavian churches in 1154. The MS. of fragment C. is said by the editors to be as old as the middle of the 12th century, which agrees very closely with the above evidence. Unhappily, this fragment appears to lack the chapters containing the list of mark-days. The most characteristic saints in this list, besides those mentioned above, are Sunniva, or the mass of the holy men in Sellö, and Brittifu or Brictiva, mod. Brokkesmess (*v. Jan. 11* above); also Swithun, to whom the church in Stavanger was dedicated in 1112, and Botolf, both English saints, whose cult testifies to the origin of Christianity in Norway. Possibly the legend of S. Sunniva, an Irish princess, the first canonised saint of Norway, points to Irish influence; and Kolbjörn (Jan. 7th), if rightly connected by Munch with Columba, though not mentioned in these codes, indicates a Culdee influence. None of the codes mention the Danish Knut Laward, † Jan. 7th, 1131, or the Swedish saints Henry and Sigfrid, canonised by Adrian IV. in 1158. It is interesting

to note that, though nine of these codes all mention Jan. 6th, it is as "thirteenth day of Yule," without any allusion to the Three Kings or Magi (*Helligtrekonger*), whose cult became so popular in Germany, and thence spread to Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, after the translation of their relics to Cologne in 1164 (? "their bodies to Coloigne under Frederic, 1174," *Adam King's Scotch Calendar*, Paris, 1588, ed. Forbes). Nor do they make mention of Valborg (Valpurgis), a Saxon saint, though observed in England since the 10th century (Dr Schnippel), who afterwards became so popular, as often to supersede the Apostles Philip and James for May 1st, still so assigned by six of the codes, including the first and last.

Besides the Bergen churches noticed in the Town Law of 1276, we have a number of others in Nidaros, Oslo, and Tunsberg, from which we infer that the saints after whom they were named had become popular in Norway at that date. Thus, in Nidaros, we have a "Gregoriskirk" and a "Benedictuskirk," the latter being the only mention made of this saint. I am unable to say when the Benedictine or Black Friars first set foot in Norway. We have them in Scotland as early as 1098 at Coldingham (the year in which the Cistercian order of S. Bennet's Rule was founded). His cult seems to have been more popular in Sweden.

Of more special interest to our own country, we observe that in the law attributed to the earlier *Eidsivathing*, held by King Olaf in 1022, mention is made of a St Thomas, immediately after "Bairns' Mass" (Innocents, Dec. 28th) and before "Attanda daghr Jola" (the octave of Christmas, Jan. 1st). This can only be our own Thomas à Beckett, Dec. 29th. Now "Thomas Bishop" lived in the days of Archbishop Eystein, who founded a monastery of Augustine monks at Nidaros in 1170. In that year Beckett was murdered, and canonised in 1173. His cult soon became very popular in Norway and Iceland, and ancient copies of his "Saga" are still numerous. As early as 1232 we find a certain Jarl Skule applying to Henry III. of England for a passport to visit the shrine at Canterbury. The code also makes mention of Magnus, Earl of Orkneys, † Dec. 13th, 1135. In its present form, therefore, it must have undergone recension or interpolation not earlier than the close of the 12th century. None of the MSS. appears to be older than the beginning of the 14th century. It is to be regretted that the editors have not printed the calendar attached to one of the MSS.—(Christiania University Library, No. 317).

In offering these comments I do not presume to determine the dates of these early laws,—an inquiry beyond my range and object. But for such a purpose details of this nature are of much importance, and also of general interest, less, perhaps, as a contribution to the critical study of old Norse documents, than as illustrating some valuable principles of criticism in the study of early mediæval diplomatics.

From ten of these codes I have extracted lists of canonical saints and days

of note, omitting the movable feasts, "Gang" or Rogation days and Ember days, and including incidental mention in dates of certain saints and of churches dedicated to various saints, the last mainly from the *Later By-Lov* (Town Law), which gives us a very curious picture of "Biorguin" or Bergen in the year 1276.

The "Mark Days" are given below in one list, in calendar order. The numbers attached indicate the code in which they occur in the following order:—

1. *ÆLDRE GULATHINGS LOV* (Norges Gamle Lov, vol. i. cc. 17, 18, p. 10), not earlier than the end of the 12th century, *v.* above.
2. *ÆLDRE FROSTATHINGS LOV* (*id.*, vol. i. § iii. c. 1) alludes to the Monstrar Thing held in 1022. § xvi. c. 1 alludes to Olaf, King Sigurd, and Abp. Eystein. c. 14 "Harold King and Magnus gave this Law Book to the Thronds. These are all laws which the Holy King Olaf gave and established." ii. c. 30-4, pp. 141-2, List of Holy Days, including Magnus Jarl.
3. *BORGARÞINGS CHRISTENRET* or *BJARKÖ-RET*, the Older Town-Law (vol. i. p. 348, cc. 14 ff.): omits Knut, Magnus, and Thomas à Beckett. Earliest MS. ca. 1320-40. Briefer and simpler than the above, and as such, seems earlier than either (?).
4. *ÆLDRE EIDSIÞATHINGS CHRISTENRET* (vol. i. p. 396, § 2: c. 8 ff.), not earlier than end of 12th cent. The MSS. belong to the middle of the 14th cent.
5. *KONG SVERRERS CHRISTENRET* (vol. i. p. 421 ff., c. 41 ff.) "The first 5 days and 8th and 13th days of Yule are equally holy." The preamble mentions Abp. Erik (elected 1188), Bp. Thorer (el. 1189), Bp. Haelgi († 1190). Consequently the law must have been drawn up 1189-90. But it was not ratified by the king, and appears to be a mere draft. It claims the very points in dispute in the next century. None of the MSS. is earlier than the first quarter of the 14th cent. (*v.* also *Munch, Hist.*, pt. iii. p. 263 ff.).
6. *NYERE BY-LOV*, the later Town-Law (vol. ii. p. 288). "This book of Laws was enacted in Biorguin (Bergen) on Vincencius-mass day (*i.e.* Jan. 22nd). Then was past from the birth of our Lord thousand winters and ij hundred winters and seventy winters and vj winters. In the xij year of King Magnus' reign," *i.e.* 1276. It contains an important list of churches. For this formula of dating, *v.* my paper in *Proc.* 1891-2, pp. 265 ff.
7. *NYERE LANDS-LOV* (vol. ii. p. 178). The conclusion gives the date in a similar formula: "John's Wake (June 24th) 1274:" [various readings give "Botolf's Wake," "The eve before the later Mary-mass" (Sep.

7th), "Peter's Wake," "1273," "1277," in the 9th, 11th, or 13th year of King Magnus].

8. NYERE BORGARTHINGS CHRISTENRET (vol. ii.). Dated 1276, but not accepted in various towns till a year or two later.
9. NYERE GULATHINGS CHRISTENRET (vol. ii.). Passed in 1273, promulgated on John's Wake, 1274.
10. ERKEBISKOP JONS CHRISTENRET (vol. ii.), ca. 1273, *v.* above, p. 373.

(*Note.*—Saints mentioned in various readings are marked thus 8². Ch. after a number denotes mention of a church bearing the saint's name.)

1. The list of mass days with Nones and Fasts begins with John, Jun. 24. Mass days without Nones and Fasts but observed as Sundays begin with Yule, Dec. 25.
2. Mass days with Nones begin with Candlemas, Feb. 2. Mass days without Nones begin with Paul's Mass, Jan. 25.
3. C. 26 gives days on which herring fishing is forbidden or allowed by Pope Alexander (ii.? 1061–1073, or iii.? 1159–1181), but not in calendar order.
4. Begins with Dec. 25.
5. Days with Nones and Fasts preceding begin with John's Mass in summer, June 24. Days without Nones and Fasts begin with Dec. 25.
8. Days with Fasts and Nones begin with "Mary Mass," in the Long Fast (Lent), *i.e.* Mar. 25. Days without Fasts begin with Dec. 25.
9. Days with "Water Fasts" and Nones begin with "Long Friday." Days with Fasts and Nones begin with Mar. 25. Days without Fasts or Nones begin with Dec. 25.
10. "High Tide Days" begin with Dec. 25. Days to be observed like the Lord's Day begin with Dec. 26–29. Days with Nones and Fasts begin with Mar. 25. Days with Nones but no Fasts begin with Candlemas.

From this summary it is evident that Dec. 25 was commonly regarded in Norway as the commencement of the church year, at least till the end of the 13th cent. There are also traces of the old commencement with Mar. 25; but none of the division into a summer and winter side, beginning Ap. 14 and Oct. 14, so common on Norse staves.

- Jan.** 1. Attande Dagher, octave of Yule, in all. 6. Thirteenth Day, all exc. 7, which contains no list. 7. Fardag, 6. 11. Brictiva, 1, 10². 13. Twentieth Day, 2. 17. Antony, 10². 22. Vincentius, 6. 25. "Paul next after Yule," all exc. 6, 7.
- Feb.** 2. "Kuindil-messa," all exc. 5, 6. 3. Blasius, 10². 5. Agatha, 9², 10². 22. Peter's Chair, 5. 24. Matthias, "Leap Year's Day," 1, 2, 5, 8, 9, 10.
- Mar.** 12. Gregory, 2, 6 ch., 8, 9, 10. 21. Benedict, 6 ch. 25. "Our Lady Day," or "Mary-Mass in Spring," 1, 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10.
- Apr.** 16. Magnus (Jarl.) 2, 4, 10.
- May** 1. "Apostles Twain in Spring," (Philip and James), 1, 2, 5, 8, 9, 10.

3. "Cross-Mass in Spring," all exc. 7.—6 ch. 15. Hallward, all exc. 7.—6 ch. in Oslo, founded 1112.
- Jun. 17. Botolf, 1, 2, 5, 7, 9², 10. 24. "John's Wake," all exc. 5, 6.
29. "Peter's Wake," all exc. 5.—6 ch.
- Jul. 2. Swithun, 1, 2, 5, 9², 10. 8. Sunniva (can. 996) and the "Holy Men in Selliu" (Sellö), all exc. 5, 7.—6 ch. 10. Knut King, m. 1086, 1, 5, 9. 20. Margaret, 2, 8, 9, 10. 22. Mary Magdalene, 8, 9, 10². 25. James Ap., 1, 2, 5, 8, 9, 10.
29. "Olaf hinn fyrri" (the former), all, and also 6 ch.
- Aug. 3. Olafsmessa hinn sidare (the later), 1, 2, 5, 8, 9, 10. 10. "Lafranz," Lawrence, all exc. 7. 15. Mary-mass hinn fyrri, "the former Lady-day in Autumn," all exc. 6. 24. Bartholomew, 1, 2, 5, 8, 9.
- Sep. 8. "Mary Mass the later in Autumn," all exc. 3, 6. 14. "Crossmass in Autumn," or "the Later," 1, 2, 5, 8, 9, 10. 21. Matthew, 1, 2, 5, 8, 9, 10. 29. Michaelmas, all exc. 6, 7.
- Oct. 28. "Apostles Twain in Autumn" (Simon and Jude), all exc. 4, 6, 7.
- Nov. 1. All Saints, all exc. 7.—6 ch. 9. Festum Coronæ Spineae, estab. 1274 A.D. (*v. above*), *in none*. 11. Martin, all exc. 3, 4, 7.—6 ch. 23. Clement, all exc. 3, 4, 7.—6 ch. 30. Andrew, all exc. 4, 6, 7.
- Dec. 6. Nicolas, all exc. 1, 3, 7.—6 ch. 21. Thomas, all exc. 3, 4, 7. 25. Yule, all exc. 7. The next days are usually "The first 4 (or 5) days in Yule," or "the first 3 (or 4) days after Yule." The former number occurs in 1, 2, 3; the latter in 3 (*var. lect.*), 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10. 4 gives the 5 days of Yule by name, namely 25. "ioladaghr hin fyrsti." 26. "Stephans moessae" (Stephen). 27. John's moessae" (John Ev.). 28. "barna moessae" (Innocents, *anglicè* "Childermas."). 29. "Thomas moessae" (Thomas à Beckett). Though 10 does not mention the last by name, a various reading to c. 14, "Thomas-mass day *before Yule*," indicates a knowledge of another Thomas, namely, in or after Yule, Dec. 29. The fact that these codes from No. 4 onwards prescribe a degree of sanctity to the "5th day," not recognised before, is due, we may conjecture, to the observance of "Thomas Bishop" on that day, though his name is only once expressly mentioned, in the older Eidsivathings Law.