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***Glæd Man at Heorot:  
Beowulf and the Anglo-Saxon Psalter***

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In this essay, I examine a number of thematic parallels occurring in *Beowulf* and Anglo-Saxon psalter manuscripts. In particular, my examination focuses upon certain animal images – especially the hart – that appear to function in a similar fashion in both *Beowulf* and the Psalms. Such a comparative analysis enables a more complete understanding of specific images, while providing insight into the way cultural concepts were shared and expressed in the verbal and visual arts of the period.

The Anglo-Saxon psalters under discussion here include the Harley Psalter (London, British Library, MS Harley 603), which was begun in Canterbury in the early eleventh century and thus serves as a good example of a richly illustrated manuscript under production in England at about the time that the *Beowulf* manuscript (BL, MS Cotton Vitellius A.xv, ff. 129[132]–198[201]) was being completed;<sup>1</sup> the Paris Psalter (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 8824), in which a partial metrical version of the Psalms in Old English is preserved;<sup>2</sup> and the Bury Psalter (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 12), which contains stylistic and iconographic similarities to the Harley Psalter.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, in an effort to supplement my discussion of images in the incomplete Harley Psalter, I also look at certain of the illustrations in the Carolingian Utrecht Psalter (Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 32), which was produced at Reims about A.D. 820 but was brought subsequently to Canterbury (probably late in the tenth century), where it served as a model for the Harley Psalter and – directly or indirectly – at least two other later psalter manuscripts.<sup>4</sup>

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In Hrothgar's use of animal images – in naming his hall, in depicting his plight, and in confirming pledges and compacts of peace – we can perceive similarities

both to the style of the Psalmist and to interpretive renderings of the Psalms in manuscript illumination and translation. The idea that the Psalms may potentially shed light on some of the imagery of *Beowulf* has been advanced before; numerous critics have attempted to explain the symbolism of Heorot ('Hart') – or Hrothgar's later mention of the animal in his description of the mere – through reference to Psalm 41, which begins with that memorable image of the hart longing for pure waters.<sup>5</sup> Yet other occurrences of the hart in the Psalms have been largely ignored, as have the many iconographic representations of the animal in the psalter manuscripts. In fact, among the Psalms there exists a better parallel than No. 41 to the lines in *Beowulf* that immediately surround Hrothgar's naming of Heorot (i.e., 67b-82a): Psalm 111, which celebrates the generosity and glory of the just man. In the illustration to this Psalm in the Utrecht and Harley Psalters, moreover, we are presented with a visual counterpart to Heorot: a representation of the just man's hall as a building surmounted by a hart's head.<sup>6</sup> As in *Beowulf* 67b-82a – where Hrothgar's generous intentions in building his hall, as well as acknowledgement of God as the ultimate source of the gift-giving at Heorot, are specifically expressed – here, on f. 57v of the Harley Psalter, a wealthy man and his wife (or king and queen) sit and distribute goods under the roof of this biblical 'hornreced', while the hand of God blesses the couple from above. At the lower left of the illustration, a contrast to this central scene<sup>7</sup> of munificence occurs as a demon pushes the wicked into a pit of fire. The evident inspiration for the building's decoration is verse 9: 'Dispersit, dedit pauperibus. Iustitia eius manet in saeculum saeculi. Cornu eius exaltabitur in gloria' ('He hath distributed, he hath given to the poor: his justice remaineth for ever and ever: his horn shall be exalted in glory').<sup>8</sup> Noteworthy in the illustrator's interpretation of this psalm is his use of the antlered head to represent the 'cornu' (horn), rather than the more common keratinous horn of a sheep, goat, or bovine appearing elsewhere in biblical illustration.<sup>9</sup>

Other verses of Psalm 111 – and one particular term found both in *Beowulf* and in the metrical Old English version of the Psalm in the Paris Psalter (ff. 133v-34v) – clarify further the concept of the just man at his 'hornreced'. Both Hrothgar and the man in the Psalm are characterized by a sense of wisdom and graciousness of spirit which receives succinct expression in their mutual appellation, 'glæd man': 'glædman Hroðgar' (*Beowulf* 367b);<sup>10</sup> 'Glæd man gleawhydig, god and mildheort' (Psalm 111:5.1; f. 134r).<sup>11</sup> The term 'glæd man' – the Old English rendering of the Latin 'iocundus homo', glossed usually 'wynsum man[n]' in other psalters – adds another dimension to the portraits of these two men. For, in addition to meaning pleasant, cheerful, or kind, 'glæd' can also mean 'bright' or 'shining'. Appropriately, the word

appears to reflect in these two cases both the brightness of spirit and the glory of the house of the righteous lord, a source of enlightenment to many. Thus we read of Hrothgar at Heorot in *Beowulf*: 'þæt wæs foremærost foldbuendum / receda under roderum, on þæm se rica bad; / lixte se leoma ofer landa fela' (309-11: 'That was, for earthdwellers under the heavens, the most illustrious of buildings in which the mighty one dwelt; the light shone forth over many lands'); and of the just man at his house in Psalm 111:

3 [H]im wuldur and wela wunað æt huse,  
 byð his soþfæstnys swylce mære,  
 þenden þysse worulde wunaþ ænig dæl.  
 4 Leoht wæs on leodum leofum acyðed,  
 þam þe on ðystrum þrage lifdan  
 and hiora heortan heoldan mid rihte;  
 milde is on mode mihtig dryhten,  
 and he ys soðfæst symble æt þearfe.  
 5 Glæd man gleawhydig, god and mildheort,  
 Seteð soðne dom þurh his sylfes word,  
 se on ecnysse eadig standeð.<sup>12</sup>

[Glory and wealth shall abide at his house; likewise shall his justice be famous while he dwells in this world for any deal of time. A light has been revealed in the midst of the dear people, who had lived for a time in darkness and guarded their hearts with righteousness; kind in spirit is the mighty lord, and he is ever true at need. The 'glad' man, wise, good and kind-hearted, sets down true judgment through his own word; he stands forever blessed.]

The rulers of these particular shining halls possess a quality that distinguishes them from other powerful men: justice or righteousness. The 'horn' or 'hart' may have represented power or glory in a more general sense,<sup>13</sup> but how one used power – the horn of authority – was very important. The illustration to Psalm 74 in the Utrecht Psalter (f. 43r)<sup>14</sup> makes clear the distinction between good and bad chiefs: the Psalmist, holding a hart's head, stands at the upper right of the picture with a group of just men; with a rod, he is breaking the horns of the wicked opposition. The picture is meant to illustrate verse 11, where is voiced a familiar refrain regarding the just

man's glory (expressed accordingly with the same antlered motif as in Psalm 111 of the Psalter): 'Et omnia cornua peccatorum confringam; Et exaltabuntur cornua iusti' ('And I will break all the horns of sinners: but the horns of the just shall be exalted'). Similarly, contrasts between just and unjust rulers occur didactically in *Beowulf* – especially apparent in the munificent Hrothgar's verbal denunciation of Heremod's cruelty and injustice toward his own people. Indeed the story of Heremod's downfall illustrates well the corresponding fate of the wicked in the Psalm. Heremod abused his authority and was subsequently deprived of his kingdom, exiled and ultimately betrayed 'on feonda geweald' (903: 'into the power of enemies'). Hrothgar's situation is quite different, in deliberate contrast. As stated earlier, his intention in building his 'hornreced' was a generous one: 'ond þær on innan eall gedælan / geongum ond ealdum, swylc him God sealde / buton folcscare ond feorum gumena' (71-73: 'and therein [he would] distribute to young and old all that God had given him, except for the public land and lives of men').<sup>15</sup> Upon completion of the hall, true to his word, he does not forget his promise, as we are reminded at lines 80-81a – 'He beot ne aleh, beagas dælde, / sinc æt symle' ('He did not leave unfulfilled his promise; he distributed rings, treasure at the feast') – a statement that is immediately followed by words with an uplifting effect: 'Sele hlifade, / heah ond horngeap,<sup>16</sup> (81b-82a: 'The hall stood tall, high and horn-gabled'). Through the use of contrast and sequenced thought, the *Beowulf*-poet echoes the themes and techniques of Psalms 74 and 111, suggesting in his portrait of Hrothgar that the horn of the just is indeed exalted, and that an act of generosity is rewarded with towering glory. Heorot stands thus as a monument to justice, a bright beacon for the people. Although the hall itself at a later time will be subjected to material destruction, the concept that it represents endures. As Psalm 111 reminds us, a sense of righteousness continues to abide in the hearts of men even in the darkest of times.

In his intentions and actions, the lord of Heorot bears also a resemblance to the Lord of Psalm 104. In a hall whose construction and decoration appropriately reflect thematically God's Creation, Hrothgar, as we have seen, is depicted as a lord who honors his promises and shares his wealth with the people. True to form, then, much later in the poem, upon mentioning to Beowulf the idea of 'shared treasures' ('maþmas gemæne', 1860a) and evoking the image of their two peoples exchanging goods over the 'gannet's bath' ('godum gegrettan ofer ganotes bæð', 1861), Hrothgar again distributes gifts at Heorot: 'Da git him eorla hleo inne gesealde, / mago Healfdenes maþmas twelfe' (1866-87: 'Then, still inside, the protector of men, Healfdene's son, gave him [Beowulf] twelve treasures'). His gift-giving this time, however, extends beyond his immediate kingdom in a gesture of personal friendship and gratitude to a

foreigner with whom he wishes to renew a compact of peace and alliance (1863b-65). Given such a context, where the values of peace – friendship and sharing – are emphasized, Hrothgar's use of the gannet image here may well be seen to hold a symbolic import, as Adrien Bonjour has suggested:

Indeed, if symbolism were not so suspect and looked at askance in certain quarters, we might be tempted to look upon the gannet here as a symbol of peace: the image involved being the sea not as a violent and hostile element, but as a *trait d'union* between the friendly nations. Typical at least is that the only time this choicest term occurs in the poem is within a context that gives the highest expression to the ideal of a *rex pacificus* rejoicing in a vision of love and concord.<sup>17</sup>

Curiously, the creative Anglo-Saxon translator of Psalm 104 in the Paris Psalter, f. 123v, chose to use the image of the gannet in place of the more traditional quail (Latin 'coturnix', usually glossed 'edischen') in a context similar to that of *Beowulf*: 'of garsege ganetas fleogan' (verse 35.2) – gannets flying from the sea in what amounts to a full line of alliterative verse that has been added to produce both a unique interpretation and stunning visual effect.<sup>18</sup> In their appearance, along with the bread from heaven ('heofonhlæfe'), the gannets function as a token of God's covenant with the Israelites in a scene of munificence that reinforces the Psalm's overall theme of the Lord's fidelity to His promise. Certainly, as John Tinker points out, the versifier may have been aware of the quail's association with the sea in other contexts – in Isidore, in Numbers 11, or in commentary on the verse that gives a reference to Numbers 11<sup>19</sup> – but in the gannet, a white seabird, we have an appropriate symbol of the bright promise that accompanies the words and actions here and in *Beowulf* – a sign of friendship, munificence, and confirmation of a compact in both cases.<sup>20</sup>

As many have noted, the image of the hart in Hrothgar's description of the mere (1368-72) likewise assumes greater significance when examined from the standpoint of the Psalms. But, here again, we must take into account other Psalms in addition to No. 41 to fully appreciate the image – especially the 'hounded' element of his description.<sup>21</sup> It must be remembered that the king of Heorot is in a state of distress not unlike that of the 'heorot' of his speech. For he is hounded by 'wolfish' enemies – the 'sea-wolf' ('brimwylf' 1506, 1599) and her son who inhabit the wolf country ('wolf-hleoþu' 1358) – intruding forces who threaten the security of the 'horn-reced'.<sup>22</sup> The illustration to Psalm 17 on f. 9r of the Harley Psalter,<sup>23</sup> when examined

together with the text of the surrounding Psalms, affords us further insight into the hart symbolism in *Beowulf* – particularly in regard to Hrothgar's distress at the hands of his enemies. The scene is one of deliverance: at center, God, leaning out of his mandorla in the sky, holds a flaming torch down toward the Psalmist, who stands triumphantly upon the body of one of his enemies, while winged angels cast spears down upon the wicked. To the left is a walled enclosure in which people are gathered alongside a tabernacle, with an altar and hanging lamp within and an angel standing on its roof. To the far right, at the bottom, is the flaming lake with the head of the man-eating monster to which M. B. McNamee called our attention in his 1960 essay '*Beowulf* – An Allegory of Salvation?'<sup>24</sup> A significant feature of this picture about which he did not speak, however, is the herd of harts standing on the hillside immediately above the hellish mere, evidently meant to illustrate Psalm 17:34: 'Qui perfecit pedes meos tanquam cervorum, / Et super excelsa statuens me' ('Who hath made my feet like the feet of harts: and who setteth me upon high places'). Thus, here again, are we presented with a righteous man and a building visually and verbally associated with the image of the hart. His salvation, moreover, is brought about through the agency of a protecting Lord identified with the horn: 'Protector meus, et cornu salutis meae, et susceptor meus' (Psalm 17:3: 'My protector, and the horn of my salvation, and my support').

In the preceding Psalm, however, like Hrothgar and the hart of his speech, the Psalmist was seen as prey to ravening enemies – a cruel-hearted, proud lot, likened to a lurking lion: 'Inimici mei animam meam circumdederunt. . . . [12] Susceperunt me sicut leo paratus ad praedam, / Et sicut catulus leonis habitans in abditis' (Psalm 16:9-12: 'My enemies have surrounded my soul. . . . They have taken me, as a lion prepared for the prey; and as a young lion dwelling in secret places'). And elsewhere the Psalmist's plight at the hands of evil-doers is indeed expressed in terms of a figure beset by dogs: 'Quoniam circumdederunt me canes multi' (21:17: 'For many dogs have encompassed me'); 'Erue a framea, Deus, animam meam, / Et de manu canis unicum meam' (21:21: 'Deliver, O God, my soul from the sword: my only one from the hand of the dog'); 'Convertentur ad vesperam, et famem patientur ut canes; / Et circuibunt civitatem' (58:7, 15: 'They shall return at evening, and shall suffer hunger like dogs: and shall go round about the city'). In this last instance (Psalm 58) we are presented with a situation reminiscent of the one that Hrothgar faces at Heorot: bloodthirsty ravagers returning in the evening for a prowl of the town. The illustration to this Psalm in the Utrecht Psalter (f. 33r), as well as the twelfth-century version later added by Artist H to the Harley Psalter (f. 32r),<sup>25</sup> is of additional interest – particularly when viewed in association with the idea of Hrothgar's hall as an object of predation, itself a

'hounded hart' of sort. Here we see a man in the grasp of his attackers, petitioning the Lord at the upper left, while below them dogs are pictured both inside and outside a walled enclosure.

Another striking image appears in the Harley illustration to Psalm 41 (f. 24v),<sup>26</sup> where a hart, pursued by hounds, runs uphill, out from a grove of trees, alongside a reddish stream (verse 2: 'Quemadmodum desiderat cervus ad fontes aquarum, / Ita desiderat anima mea ad te, Deus' ['As the hart panteth after the fountains of water, so my soul panteth after thee, O God']). Standing in a pool at the center is the Psalmist, who is being prodded with a pole or spear by one of his enemies on the left bank. Despite the prodding, the oppressed man points to a communion table with his right hand and gestures toward heaven with his left. God's right hand returns the gesture from above while indicating the presence of the figure of Mercy (verse 9) holding a palm and standing near the source of the stream. Again, correspondences with situation, concept, and scene in *Beowulf* are strongly evident. For in the text, in both cases, the oppressed man uses the image of the hart to convey his personal circumstances, while the visual artist adds the further element of the 'chase', thus paralleling Hrothgar's description of the 'hounded hart' averse to the chilling woods and foul waters of the mere. Here we see the animal depicted in its true, upward, natural inclination to seek the fountain, the pure source of the stream. Like the hart of Hrothgar's speech, the animal here must endure the hounding as it aspires to the heights. The hart in both works thus functions as an emblem of fortitude in the face of adversity.

A similar use of the 'hounded hart' motif appears in the illustration to Psalm 90 (f. 53v) in the Utrecht Psalter. In the upper left of this illustration, the Psalmist watches from his doorway the scene of triumph at center, where the figure of Christ, holding a book and a spear, treads upon a lion and dragon (verse 13: 'Et conculcabis leonem et draconem' ['and thou shalt trample under foot the lion and the dragon']); with His spear, He strikes the mouth of the dragon. In the middle register, below the Psalmist, a figure standing within a cave takes aim at the Lord with a bow-and-arrow, as does a similar figure at the entrance to a cave at the far right (verses 5-6: 'Non timebis a timore nocturno; [6] A sagitta volante in die, / A negotio perambulante in tenebris, / Ab incursu, et daemonio meridiano' ['Thou shalt not be afraid of the terror of the night. [6] Of the arrow that flieth in the day, of the business that walketh about in the dark: of invasion, or of the noonday devil']). And in the foreground, at center, a mounted bow-hunter and his hounds pursue a leaping hart (verse 3: 'Quoniam ipse liberavit me de laqueo venantium' ['For he hath delivered me from the snare of the hunters']). As in the illustration to Psalm 17, the hart is depicted in close proximity



to hell-scenes – especially to the one at the right, where the clutching man-monster in the flaming pit is suggestive of the Grendelkin in *Beowulf*. The hart's upward movement, likewise in keeping with Hrothgar's characterization of the animal averse to the foul mere, contrasts with the downward fall of sinners on either side. In addition to the basic 'hounded hart' motif, there is an added feature here: both the hart and the Lord are presented in parallel situations, both depicted as targets for the arrows of archers. That the Lord's attackers are within a cave is also significant. For in this respect they resemble the enemies of Hrothgar and Beowulf who trusted in the false security of their cavernous lairs<sup>27</sup> – as well as the poisonous enemy of the hart in the bestiary tradition, the 'draco' (dragon-serpent) who 'fugit a ceruo in fissuras terre'<sup>28</sup> ('flees from the hart into fissures of the earth'). Thus it is especially noteworthy that Christ, here thematically identified with the hart,<sup>29</sup> is pictured in His role as dragon-slayer, just as in the Latin *Physiologus* the hart's trampling victory over the 'draco' ('et educit draconem, et conculcauit eum, et occidit eum') is likened to Christ's victory over the great devil-dragon.<sup>30</sup>

The influence of the *Physiologus* is evident in another curious psalter illustration, where the righteous use of the horn by the animal itself – indeed a hart 'hornum trum' (*Beowulf* 1369a: 'strong in its horns') – receives expression. In the marginal drawing on f. 107v of the Bury Psalter,<sup>31</sup> intended evidently to illustrate Psalm 103:18, a horned hart confronts its fanged, coiling adversary in a more direct display of the popular theme of hart-dragon opposition that, as I have discussed extensively elsewhere,<sup>32</sup> is key to appreciating fully the structure and meaning of *Beowulf*. The manner here is reminiscent of one particular bestiary rendering: that which appears on f. 17 of Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS lat. 318, the earliest illustrated Latin *Physiologus*, where likewise the hart is depicted attacking the enemy 'draco' with its horns – rather than with hooves, as the attack is usually described.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, the Psalter illustration corresponds more closely to Cassiodorus's commentary on the verse than to the verse itself, which reads simply: 'Montes excelsi cervis, / Petra refugium herinacii' ('The high hills are a refuge for the harts, the rock for the irchins'). The commentary, however, makes specific reference to the hart's disposition towards its venomous enemy: 'Cervus est (ut diximus) venenosarum serpentium vorax, spinosa transcendens et summa agilitate praeditus, habitare diligit in montibus altissimis'<sup>34</sup> ('The hart is [as we have said] voracious for venomous serpents; also, climbing over thorny summits, endowed with agility, it chooses to inhabit the highest mountains'). Thus the visual artist, possibly aware of both commentary and bestiary illustrations of the subject, succeeded in adding further depth to the text of the manuscript through pictorial representation of the exegetical image.

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Generally, the hart in these psalters and in *Beowulf* appears to function as an emblem of nobility and righteousness, in keeping with the traditional identification of the hart with kingship among various peoples of Europe and Asia.<sup>35</sup> In Britain, the animal's appearance on the scepter found in the ship-burial at Sutton Hoo demonstrates well the connection between the hart and the king's office.<sup>36</sup> Further, as has often been observed, there is an affinity between the Sutton Hoo treasure and *Beowulf*, in that both contain a mixture of pagan and Christian elements; hence, an overlap or synthesis of symbolism is possible in either case. Perhaps for our purposes here, this possibility for mixed significance remains best expressed in the words of C. L. Wrenn on Sutton Hoo and *Beowulf*, as they call attention to the importance of the Psalms in interpreting the symbolism of the hart:

For instance, the royal stag suggests a memory of the ancestral cult of that Woden from whom the East-Anglian Wuffingas, like many other OE royal families, derived their origin. Yet at the same time the animal might be a Christian symbol suggested by the thirsting hart of the 42nd Psalm [41st in the Vulgate]. In like manner one may think of *Heorot*, Hrothgar's hall in *Beowulf*, as having its origin in some such complex set of symbolic significances.<sup>37</sup>

In particular, though, in both *Beowulf* 67b-82a and the Utrecht-Harley representations of the just man's house, the animal's image marks an important social function – a public ceremonial display – associated with the righteous ruler and his hall: the distribution of goods to the people. This concept was fundamental not only to the heroic society depicted in *Beowulf*, but also to the Christian society of the poet and psalter illustrators. Bearing witness to the continuing importance of the king's role as a distributor of wealth, and to the centrality of the hall in his giving, are the Old English *Maxims I* and *II* – collections of apothegms assembled by ninth- or tenth-century Anglo-Saxon authors, 'undoubtedly clerics who fused, however awkwardly, ancient and more contemporaneous aphoristic lore'.<sup>38</sup> In *Maxims II*, for example, ring-giving is presented as an essential activity of the king's office: 'Cyning sceal on healle / beagas dælan' (28b-29a: 'A king shall distribute rings in the hall').<sup>39</sup> And in *Maxims I* we learn that the foremost mark of a royal couple should properly be their generosity: 'Cyning sceal mid ceape cwene gebicgan, / bunum ond beagum; bu

sceolon ærest / geofum god wesan' (81-83a: 'A king shall buy his queen with goods, cups and rings; both shall first be good with gifts').<sup>40</sup> In *Beowulf*, Hrothgar demonstrates and stresses, in both deeds and words, this proper function of the king. In contrast, Heremod (Hrothgar's chosen example of an unjust king) represents the opposite principle – that of niggardliness and harshness towards his own people and companions: 'Hwæpere him on ferhþe grew / breosthord blodreow; nallas beagas geaf / Denum æfter dome' (1718b-20a: 'Yet in his heart his breast-hoard grew bloodthirsty; not at all did he give rings to the Danes in pursuit of glory'). Correspondingly, the hart – as opposed to its traditional enemy, the dragon, whose harsh, greedy nature approximates Heremod's – seems a fitting vehicle for conveying the qualities of leadership that Hrothgar, as well as the Christian poet, highly values: companionship, cooperation, and sharing.

Power and wealth are ultimately God-given (cf. *Beowulf* 72b and 1716-18a in the contrasting portraits of Hrothgar and Heremod), meant to be shared. As the Exeter gnomes remind us, no man can hope to possess earthly goods indefinitely: 'Mappum opres weorð / gold mon sceal gifan. Mæg god syllan / eadgum æhte ond eft niman. / Sele sceal stondan, sylf ealdian' (*Maxims I*, 154b-57: 'Treasure becomes another's; a man must give gold. God may give possessions to the rich and take them away again. A hall shall stand, grow old itself'). Fortunes change, buildings deteriorate, but righteous living goes on. This is the message of the Psalms and of *Beowulf* – a message made manifest through the imagery of the hart. For the animal appears as an emblem of the righteous soul in both the best and the worst of times. Hrothgar's depiction calls to mind alternately the image of the rich man in Psalm 111 distributing goods at his 'hornreced' and the situation of the Psalmist, a steadfast man of faith whose soul's longing is likened to that of the thirsting hart and whose suffering at the hands of his enemies is signified by the image of the hounded hart. Making all the more apparent the deliberate significance of Hrothgar's hart images, furthermore, is his vision of the 'gannet's bath' upon Beowulf's departure from Heorot. For at this point in the poem the symbolism implicit in the naming and building of the hall receives reinforcement. Hrothgar's gannet image, through its emphatic display of friendly exchange, serves to reaffirm, further develop, and extend outward internationally the sharing and gift-giving associated with the king's hall.

Like the verbal image of the 'hornreced' in *Beowulf*, the visual image of the hart's head in the Utrecht Psalter and its later English copies represents power and glory – conveying particularly, in the illustrations to Psalms 74 and 111, the notion that 'the horn[s] of the just shall be exalted'. The artist's association of the hart with the horn[s] of these psalms, where no direct mention of the animal is made, may be

related to other psalms where the hart is featured and regularly depicted (such as Psalms 41 and 103) or it may be an association rooted in an alternative, non-Scriptural tradition. But the specific example of righteous behavior being illustrated in Psalm 111 – distribution of goods to the needy – seems to bear some relationship to the second nature of the hart appearing in the *Physiologus* of Theobald (most likely of the eleventh century)<sup>41</sup> and in subsequent bestiaries. Attesting to the eventual awareness or popularity in England of this *natura secunda*, which is based upon a description in Isidore's *Etymologiae* (posthumously published shortly after A.D. 636) of the hart's cooperative behavior in crossing streams,<sup>42</sup> is the Middle English translation of Theobald's Latin *Physiologus*. In the *significacio* of the 'hertes costes' (249: 'hart's habits') here, this particular behavior is associated with the related concepts of companionship, sharing the burden, helping others in need, and receiving one's just reward: 'Wurðen stedefast his wine, / Ligten him of his birdene; / Helpen him at his nede; / God giueð ðerfore mede'.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, preceding by approximately three centuries this incorporation of Isidore's description of the helpful hart into the expanding bestiary was the Carolingian scholar Rabanus Maurus, Alcuin's student, who in his own composite portrait of the hart not only draws from Isidore but, like the early Latin versions B and Y of the *Physiologus*, quotes from the Psalms as he presents the animal to his reader.<sup>44</sup> Additionally Rabanus includes Scriptural commentary, notably passages taken verbatim from Cassiodorus's *Expositio in Psalterium*.<sup>45</sup> I suggest that the illustrator of Psalm 111 in the Utrecht Psalter is making similar associations, that he is an informed artist working within an ongoing interpretive tradition, and that the hart-ornamented building represents possibly an early attempt to give significance to the 'sharing' nature of the hart by linking the animal's image to an appropriate Psalm. That psalter illustrators were often insightful, informed, and not tied slavishly to the text before them is evident, as I have indicated above in regard to the marginal illustration to Psalm 103 in the Bury Psalter, where not only does the artist display an awareness of commentary but also, it seems, a familiarity with the *Physiologus*, both its text and illustrations. And certainly the Utrecht artist's rendering of 'cornu eius exaltabitur in gloria' shows a keen interpretive ability.

A similar argument might be made for *Beowulf*, where the heroic past is viewed from the perspective of a knowledgeable poet who adds Christian relevance to the material through carefully chosen images and biblical allusions. By examining the parallel images occurring in the psalters, we become better informed and gain additional insights in our understanding of the poem. Significantly, the psalter representations of the hart – variously identified with the Psalmist, the just man at his

house, and the Lord Triumphant – help to dispel the ambiguity surrounding modern interpretations of the hart image in *Beowulf*, illuminating favorably the intentions and activities of Hrothgar at Heorot. To opt for an opposite, unfavorable interpretation – for example, to maintain with Margaret Goldsmith that the 'heorot' of the poem symbolizes pride (a meaning attributed to the animal by Phaedrus and later fabulists) or to presume with Lewis E. Nicholson that the proud Danes' hall-festivities, including gift-giving, take place in an 'unclean' structure because of possible associations with the pagan stag god, Cernunnos<sup>46</sup> – seems not so plausible, especially in the face of the very obvious, undeniably positive parallels to Hrothgar, the 'glæd man' at his 'hornreced', in the words and illustrations to Psalm 111. Furthermore, in *Beowulf* pride is not really apparent in Hrothgar's building of Heorot; such a vice is far removed, in fact, from the selfless, generous intentions of the king that are stressed by the narrator. If anything, it is the 'goodness' of Heorot that receives emphasis through 'poetic association with divine creation', as Edward B. Irving has pointed out.<sup>47</sup>

The psalters provide a valuable resource for Anglo-Saxonists. Through a careful study of iconography, translations, and glosses, scholars may discover popular associations and exegetical themes occurring in addition to the text, thus enabling a deeper appreciation of the Psalms and of comparable images in other Anglo-Saxon texts such as *Beowulf*.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup> On the production of Harley 603, see Janet Backhouse, 'The Making of the Harley Psalter', *British Library Journal*, 10.2 (1984), 97-113; and William Noel, *The Harley Psalter*, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology, 4 (Cambridge, 1995). As Backhouse initially indicates, there has been a general acceptance that this psalter was produced in the scriptorium of Christ Church, Canterbury, and was begun early in the eleventh century (p. 98); but she goes on to qualify later the meaning of such a dating in light of her observations: 'The "early eleventh century" dating for the earliest work in the book may, however, imply a period closer to 1020 than to 1000' (p. 106). Noel likewise places production at Christ Church (pp. 140-45) and dates the work of the early artists (A-F) and scribes (1 and D2) – those with whom we are primarily concerned in this essay – to the second decade of the eleventh century (p. 139). Photographic reproductions of the illustrations in the Harley Psalter have recently been published in their entirety, in black and white, in Thomas H. Ohlgren, comp. and ed., *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration: Photographs of Sixteen Manuscripts with Descriptions and Index* (Kalamazoo, 1992), pls. 2.1-2.102.

The date generally assigned to the *Beowulf* manuscript is c. 1000 – or roughly 975-1025 – as Neil R. Ker's dating of it to 's. X/XI' (*Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* [Oxford, 1957], no. 216) would seem to indicate. However, in a recent effort to date the manuscript more precisely, David N. Dumville ('Beowulf Come Lately: Some Notes on the Palaeography of the Nowell Codex', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 225 [1988], 49-63) has argued convincingly for the early eleventh century (but not likely later than 1016). My folio references here are to the *Beowulf* text within the greater Nowell Codex (ff. 91[94]-206[209]).

<sup>2</sup> Ker, no. 367; s. XI med. In a column to the right of the Roman version of the Psalms runs an Old English translation, with Psalms 1-50 in prose and 51-150 in verse. My present concern is with the OE metrical text. For a facsimile of the manuscript, see John Bromwich et al., *The Paris Psalter (MS Bibliothèque Nationale Fonds Latin 8824)*, EEMF, 8 (London, 1958).

<sup>3</sup> See Ohlgren, *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration*, pp. 2-3; Elzbieta Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900-1066*, Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, 2 (London, 1976), no. 84; Backhouse, p. 112, n. 15; and Noel, pp. 150-69. Ohlgren dates the Bury Psalter to XI<sup>1</sup>; Temple, the second quarter of the century; Backhouse, the third decade of the century; and Noel, not before A.D. 1032 or after 1095. Noel demonstrates that the similarities between Harley and Bury are most likely due to the Harley artists' reference to 'an earlier eleventh-century prototype of the Bury Psalter' (p. 168), of a

tradition apart from that of the Utrecht Psalter. For photographic reproductions of the illustrations in the Bury Psalter, see Ohlgren, *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration*, pls. 3.1-3.49.

<sup>4</sup> Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.17.1 (Eadwine Psalter; Ker, no. 91; s. XII med.); and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 8846. For recent analyses of these two psalters, see Simon Keynes, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, Old English Newsletter *Subsidia*, 18 (Binghamton, 1992), no. 26; Margaret Gibson, T. A. Heslop, and Richard W. Pfaff, eds., *The Eadwine Psalter: Text, Image, and Monastic Culture in Twelfth-Century Canterbury* (University Park, Pa., 1992); and C. Reginald Dodwell, 'The Final Copy of the Utrecht Psalter and its Relationship with the Utrecht and Eadwine Psalters (Paris, BN, lat. 8846, ca. 1170-1190)', *Scriptorium*, 44.1 (1990), 21-53. For reproductions of the Utrecht Psalter's drawings, see E. T. DeWald, ed., *The Illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter* (Princeton, 1933).

<sup>5</sup> See especially Alvin A. Lee, *The Guest-Hall of Eden* (New Haven, 1972), pp. 181, 209-10; D. W. Robertson, Jr., 'The Doctrine of Charity in Medieval Literary Gardens', in *An Anthology of Beowulf Criticism*, ed. Lewis E. Nicholson (Notre Dame, 1963), pp. 185-86; and C. L. Wrenn below, n. 37.

<sup>6</sup> Harley 603, f. 57v (Ohlgren, *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration*, pl. 2.74); Utrecht 32, f. 65v. I first called attention to this illustration in my article 'Heorot and Dragon-Slaying in *Beowulf*', *Proceedings of the Patristic, Mediaeval and Renaissance Conference*, 11 (1986), 159-75. More recently, after my presentation of a preliminary version of the present paper at the Twenty-Ninth International Congress on Medieval Studies (1994) in Kalamazoo, MI, Kevin S. Kiernan suggested that the Harley illustration be included among the ancillary materials of the 'Electronic *Beowulf*', a project under his direction.

In my treatment of the Harley Psalter here, folio references (wherever foliation differs) are made also to the Utrecht Psalter. Descriptions are based on my own personal examination of Harley 603 in the British Library, Ohlgren's *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration*, and DeWald's *Illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter*. Noel labels the Harley artist's hand on f. 57v as 'D2g', indicating the work of Artist D2 (Wormald's Hand D), with later additions by Artist G (for G's additions – blue and green touches to certain details – see Noel, p. 112). The work of D2, which appears only in quire 9 of the manuscript, is extremely close in feeling and composition to the corresponding images in the Utrecht original (Backhouse, p. 99; Noel, pp. 60-68). Like the other early quires of Harley 603 (quires 1-4), the ruling of quire 9 was apparently done by the artist, who executed his drawings before the text was added. Noel, moreover, assigns the further role of scribe to D2, attributing to him the text of ff. 50r-54r, col. a, line 23. See Noel, Chapter 1 ('Quires

ruled by the artists') and Appendix 1 ('The Harley Psalter: a tabulated description'). For an excellent full-color reproduction of the illustration to Psalm 111 in the later Eadwine Psalter (f. 201v) – complete with the hart's head and the blessing hand of God – see Gibson et al., pl. 28.

<sup>7</sup> The hart is often pictured in central position in medieval biblical scenes, perhaps indicative of its symbolic importance in relation to other members of the animal kingdom. The hart's presence at center seems particularly significant in scenes such as this one, where it occurs in conjunction with God's pointing hand or benevolent gesture. Two other good examples of this idea can be seen in the Anglo-Saxon illustrated Hexateuch (BL, Cotton Claudius B.iv; Ker, no. 142; s. XI<sup>1</sup>): on f. 4, God is pictured in the upper left creating (embracing) Adam as all of the animals watch – birds zooming down from the air, and at center, among the land animals, the hart leaping up toward God at this act of creation; on f. 6, God points out the Tree of Knowledge to Adam at left, while motioning with His other hand toward the flying birds and land animals at right, among whom the hart stands, centered in the foreground, closest to God (under His hand, looking up at Him attentively). Likewise attesting to the importance of the hart among beasts are the illustrations on pp. 7 and 74 of Junius 11 in the Bodleian Library (Ker, no. 334; s. X/XI, XI<sup>1</sup>). The former depicts, in one design continued over two pages (6-7), the six days of Creation. Here, amid a sequence of symbols, the hart is cast as the lone representative of land animals. In the latter illustration (p. 74) Noah and his sons are depicted offering a sacrifice to God. At the center of the picture Noah holds out a bird toward the facing figure of the Deity, pictured at left with His right hand raised in a gesture of blessing. Beneath the bird and Noah's outstretched arms, facing God, stands a smiling, winged stag with horns. For facsimiles of these manuscripts, see C. R. Dodwell and Peter Clemoes, eds., *The Old English Illustrated Hexateuch*, EEMF, 18 (Copenhagen, 1974); and Israel Gollancz, ed., *The Cædmon Manuscript of Anglo-Saxon Biblical Poetry, Junius XI in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford, 1927). The illustrations from Junius 11 that are described above are reproduced in Ohlgren, *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration*, pls. 16.4-5 and 16.42.

<sup>8</sup> Unless indicated otherwise, all Latin quotations of the Psalms are taken from the *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Clementinam*, 6th ed. (Madrid, 1982). All English translations of the Latin Psalms are the Douay version, as printed in the Murphy Edition of *The Holy Bible* (Baltimore, n.d.).

<sup>9</sup> See Ohlgren, *Insular and Anglo-Saxon Illuminated Manuscripts: An Iconographic Catalogue c. A.D. 625 to 1100* (New York, 1986), 'Index to Iconographic Contents', s.v. 'Horn' and 'Moses: horned'. In the only other illustration to Psalm 111 that Ohlgren lists – on f. 118r of the Bury Psalter (Ohlgren, *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration*, pl. 3.46) – there is no pictorial rendering of the horn; however, the generous man is depicted in a conical hat



or crown, which might be seen as suggestive of a squat horn in its shape.

<sup>10</sup> All quotations of *Beowulf* in this essay are from Fr. Klaeber, ed., *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg*, 3rd ed. with Supplements (Boston, 1950).

<sup>11</sup> All quotations of the Old English metrical translations of the Psalms in the Paris Psalter are from George Philip Krapp, ed., *The Paris Psalter and the Meters of Boethius*, ASPR, 5 (New York, 1932).

<sup>12</sup> I have added brackets at the start of verse 3 to indicate omission of an initial capital in the manuscript (both here in the OE and in the corresponding Latin text), as noted by Krapp, p. 95. See MS ff. 133v-34r. All translations from the Old English are my own unless indicated otherwise.

<sup>13</sup> See Ruth Mellinkoff, *The Horned Moses in Medieval Art and Thought* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1970), for a thorough treatment of the image of the horn, especially chapter 7, on the Commentary of the Theologians, which begins by explaining the general metaphorical use of 'horn' in the Bible – 'It signifies glory, dignity, power, might, honor, victory, kingship, courage, defense, safety, and salvation' (p. 76) – and goes on to treat more specifically the association of the horn with radiant light in Moses' glorification and communion with God. Mellinkoff points out also that the biblical meaning of 'horns' or 'horned' was not new but 'continued the ancient meaning of horns as symbols of honor, divinity, strength, kingship, and power' (pp. 4-5). For the importance of horns in the ancient world and the continuing use of the horn motif in northern Europe, see pp. 2-5 and 37-57.

<sup>14</sup> The Harley Psalter is incomplete here, having twenty-five blank spaces for drawings between illustrated Psalms 67 (f. 35r [a very faint, unfinished twelfth-century sketch by Artist H]) and 101 (f. 50r [Artist D2]). For a listing of folio occurrences of blank spaces, see Ohlgren, *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration*, p. 31. See also Backhouse, p. 111, and Noel's tabulated description, pp. 210-11, for further details of the manuscript here.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Psalm 111:8 of the Paris Psalter: 'Se þe his æhta ealle tostredeð / and þearfendum þa gedæleð, / his soðfæstnyss wunað symble oð ende; / byð his horn wended her on wuldur' ('He who divides up all of his possessions and distributes them to the needy, his justice shall abide ever until the end; his horn shall be exalted here in glory').

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Andreas 668a, where 'heah ond horngeap' is used to describe the temple of the Lord. See Lee, p. 210.

<sup>17</sup> Adrien Bonjour, 'On Sea Images in *Beowulf*', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 54 (1955), 113.

<sup>18</sup> These words are immediately preceded by 'fuglas coman' in the manuscript – a phrase enough in itself to convey the simple wording of the Latin version (i.e., 'et venit eis coturnix'). Thus, through the use of variation, the Old English poet/translator creates for

his audience a most interesting addition to (and alteration of) the verbal picture, complete with sea and seabirds.

<sup>19</sup> John Douglas Tinker, *Vocabulary and Syntax of the Old English Version in the Paris Psalter: A Critical Commentary* (The Hague, 1971), pp. 83-84.

<sup>20</sup> For a fuller discussion of the significance of the 'gannet's bath', as well as the other kennings for the sea in *Beowulf*, see my article 'From "Whale-Road" to "Gannet's Bath": Images of Foreign Relations and Exchange in *Beowulf*', forthcoming in *Mediaevalia* 20 (1996).

<sup>21</sup> For parallels in the Latin poetic tradition to the 'hounded hart/beast' and aversion to certain groves and waters, see Andy Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the Beowulf-Manuscript* (Woodbridge, 1995), pp. 44-45.

<sup>22</sup> Perhaps even closer than the hounded-hart motif to Hrothgar's situation at Heorot are the depictions of the soul as a hart hunted by 'Death or the Devil as a wolf' in West Nordic art: 'In westnordischen Bildwerken wird die Seele als Hirsch vom Tod oder Teufel als Wolf gejagt'. See the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1927-42), s.v. 'Hirsch', section 4. e, col. 97. Orchard, in discussing the possible influence of the Hiberno-Latin *Reference Bible* on *Beowulf*, points out how Grendel and his mother 'are described in lupine terms rather reminiscent of the story of the Arcades' in the other text (p. 75).

<sup>23</sup> Ohlgren, *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration*, pl. 2.16. This drawing by Artist A (with G's later addition of 'the cross of the nimbus' [Noel, p. 108]), like the above-described illustration on f. 57v (Artist D2), was completed during the first phase of work on the manuscript. See Backhouse, pp. 98-99, 110; and n. 1 above.

<sup>24</sup> See M. B. McNamee, 'Beowulf – An Allegory of Salvation?' *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 59 (1960), 199-200 and fig. 1. McNamee points to a number of the illuminations in the Harley Psalter that, in his judgment, could serve generally as illustrations for Grendel's mere in *Beowulf*, reproducing this illustration as a representative example. His discussion, however, is limited to those illustrations that depict 'hell as a lake inhabited by serpents and a great man-monster'. A further note: in both the first appearance of McNamee's essay in *JEGP* and its subsequent appearance in *An Anthology of Beowulf Criticism*, this illustration is mistakenly identified as the one that 'accompanies Psalm XXV'. The illustration actually appears below Psalm 16 (in which the Psalmist calls upon the Lord to deliver him from the clutches of the wicked) and before Psalm 17 (the Psalm of thanksgiving for deliverance being illustrated).

<sup>25</sup> Ohlgren, *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration*, pl. 2.56. Backhouse dates this illustration to the mid-twelfth century (p. 110); Noel, however, places the work of Artist H in the first half of the twelfth century, based upon the style of the bishop's mitre on f. 29v

(p. 140; Ohlgren, *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration*, pl. 2.51); he regards H's dogs outside the walls on f. 32r as one of the 'superb pieces of draughtsmanship' by this struggling artist (p. 113).

<sup>26</sup> Ohlgren, *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration*, pl. 2.42. Like the drawings on ff. 9r (Artist A) and 57v (Artist D2), this drawing by Artist B was completed during the first phase of production, with the later addition by G of 'the green touches to the tent' (Noel, p. 111).

<sup>27</sup> Thus Grendel 'wolde on heolster fleon, / secan deofla gedræg' (755b-56a); and the dragon 'beorges getruwode, / wiges ond wealles; him seo wen ge Leah' (2322b-23).

<sup>28</sup> See for the complete passage Francis J. Carmody, ed., *Physiologus latinus, versio Y*, University of California Publications in Classical Philology, 12.7 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1941), p. 131. See also Florence McCulloch, *Mediaeval Latin and French Bestiaries*, Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, 33 (Chapel Hill, 1960), pp. 172-74.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. the early Romano-British example of this association of Christ with the 'hounded hart' in the fourth-century mosaic floor from Hinton St. Mary, Dorset, in the British Museum, where the hunt motif serves as a surrounding design to Christ's portrait.

<sup>30</sup> See McCulloch, p. 172. Version Y, stressing the effect of pure water upon the 'draco' (for the hart must first use water drawn from a fountain [Ps. 41:2] to flush the enemy from its refuge before trampling and killing it), expresses the comparison thus: 'Sic et dominus noster interfecit draconem magnum diabulum ex celestibus aquis' (Carmody, ed., p. 131).

<sup>31</sup> Ohlgren, *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration*, pl. 3.41.

<sup>32</sup> In 'Heorot and Dragon-Slaying'.

<sup>33</sup> See Otto Homburger and Christoph von Steiger's colour facsimile-edition of this Carolingian work which has certain similarities to the Utrecht Psalter: *Physiologus Bernensis* (Basel, 1964). See also McCulloch, pp. 72-73 and 174.

<sup>34</sup> Cassiodorus, *Expositio in Psalterium*, in J.-P. Migne, ed., *Patrologia Latina* 70. 735. Translation mine. Cf. Rabanus Maurus, *De universo* 7. 8, in PL 111. 205.

<sup>35</sup> See Jessica Rawson, *Animals in Art* (London, 1977), pp. 3-8. The ancient Scythians especially had a high regard for the animal, which was featured prominently in their art. On the patriarchal, directorial significance of the full-horned stag, see Georges Charrière, *Scythian Art* (New York, 1979), pp. 140-42; for contributions of Scythian animal style to the growth of Celtic art (a factor to consider certainly in determining the iconographical import of any Insular work), see Francis Klingender, *Animals in Art and Thought to the End of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), pp. 99-101; see also pp. 505-06, n. 3, for a fuller bibliography and direction to further discussion of Celtic and Germanic borrowings from Scythian art.

<sup>36</sup> On the resemblance of the Sutton Hoo standard to artifacts found in royal tombs at Alacahöyük in Anatolia, and in graves of Scythian and Altai chiefs, see Klingender, p. 121. On possible Celtic influence and significance, see Michael J. Enright, 'The Sutton Hoo Whetstone Sceptre: A Study in Iconography and Cultural Milieu', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 11 (1983), 119-34.

<sup>37</sup> C. L. Wrenn, 'Sutton Hoo and *Beowulf*', in *An Anthology of Beowulf Criticism*, p. 316. See also Klingender, pp. 103-08, on Germanic animal ornament, with special ref. to Sutton Hoo, and pp. 130-41, on the convergence of Christian and heroic animal symbolism. But again, see Enright, who calls into question a strictly Anglo-Saxon origin and meaning for the scepter.

<sup>38</sup> Stanley B. Greenfield and Daniel G. Calder, *A New Critical History of Old English Literature* (New York, 1986), p. 259. *Maxims I* and *II* are contained, respectively, in the Exeter Book and BL, MS Cotton Tiberius B.i.

<sup>39</sup> Quotation is from Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie, ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, ASPR, 6 (New York, 1942). On the importance of ring-giving as part of the larger, more elaborate banquet ritual – 'one of the most public forms of ritual exchange' – see Fred C. Robinson, *Beowulf and the Appositive Style* (Knoxville, 1985), pp. 74-75.

<sup>40</sup> Krapp and Dobbie, eds., *The Exeter Book*, ASPR, 3 (New York, 1936).

<sup>41</sup> This metrical Latin version of the *Physiologus*, according to McCulloch, 'is usually attributed to the Theobaldus who was abbot of Monte Cassino from 1022 to 1035' (p. 40); however, both its date of composition and authorship are really uncertain. The earliest extant manuscript containing Theobald's poem is BL, MS Harley 3093, datable to the late eleventh or early twelfth century. See P. T. Eden, ed., *Theobaldi 'Physiologus'* (Leiden and Cologne, 1972), pp. 5-7; and Hanneke Wirtjes, ed., *The Middle English Physiologus*, EETS os 299 (Oxford, 1991), p. lxxix.

<sup>42</sup> Wirtjes, in commenting upon the *Natura secunda* of the 'hert', explains that while this *natura* derives ultimately from Pliny and Solinus, Theobald's source was most likely Isidore, who differs from Pliny and Solinus in a certain respect: 'Both Pliny and Solinus add the detail that the deer go by scent to find dry land, but both assume that the animals cross seas. Since this detail is not in Isidore, who has them cross *immensa flumina vel maria* (XII.I.19), Isidore is probably Theobald's source . . . Theobald's deer do no more than cross *fluvios*' (p. 33, n. 230-48). Isidore's full description of this *natura* reads: 'Si quando immensa flumina vel maria transnatant, capita clunibus praecedentium superponunt sibique invicem succedentes nullum laborem ponderis sentiunt' ('If ever they swim across immense rivers or seas, they place their heads on top of the haunches of the preceding ones and, succeeding each other in turn, feel no weariness from the weight'). The Latin quotation is from W. M. Lindsay's two-volume edition of Isidore, *Etymologiarum sive originum libri*

XX (Oxford, 1911). Cf. Rabanus, *De universo* 7. 8 (PL 111. 204), where this passage from Isidore is followed by comparison of the hart to holy men desiring God ('Cervus enim sanctos viros significat, Deum desiderantes') and reference to Psalm 41, demonstrating the development and the complexity of the animal's Christian symbolism, as well as the integral importance of the Psalms therein.

<sup>43</sup> Wirtjes, ed., ll. 253-56; ff. 6v-7r of BL, MS Arundel 292 (c. 1300). Corresponding lines in Theobald's version read: 'Per tales mores alienos ferre labores / Cum pietate monent atque juvare docent' ('Through such customs they instruct us to bear the labours of others with compassion and teach us to help them'). The Latin quotation and modern translation are from Eden's edition, pp. 50 and 51. See also Richard Morris, ed., *An Old English Miscellany*, EETS os 49 (London, 1872), which includes, in addition to the Middle English text on pp. 1-25, the Harleian Latin text of Theobald in an appendix, pp. 201-09.

<sup>44</sup> See n. 42 above, and McCulloch, p. 172. In the B version of the *Physiologus*, for example, the chapter on the hart is neatly framed between verses from the Psalms, beginning 'Item in psalmo quadragesimo primo: Sicut ceruus desiderat ad fontes aquarum, ita desiderat anima mea ad te, deus [Ps. 41.2]', and ending 'Et Dauid dicit: Montes excelsi ceruis [Ps. 103.18]. Montes apostolos et prophetas dicit, ceruos uero homines fideles, qui per apostolos et prophetas et sacerdotes perueniunt ad agnitionem Christi; sicut scriptum est in psalmo: Leuaui oculos meos ad montes, unde ueniet auxilium mihi [Ps. 120.1]' (quoted from Carmody, ed., *Physiologus Latinus: Éditions préliminaires versio B* [Paris, 1939], pp. 50-51). McCulloch, in her tables on pp. 26-27, dates the earliest extant manuscripts of B and Y – Bern MSS lat. 233 and 611 respectively – to 's. VIII-IX'.

<sup>45</sup> See n. 34 above.

<sup>46</sup> See Margaret Goldsmith, *The Mode and Meaning of Beowulf* (London, 1970), pp. 83-84; and Lewis E. Nicholson, 'Beowulf and the Pagan Cult of the Stag', *Studi Medievali*, 3rd ser., 27 (1986), 660. This is not to say that such interpretations of the hart *in malo* are without merit. Indeed the association of the hart's horns with pride is incorporated into the later *Physiologus* of Theobald; there, however, rather than dwelling on negativity, the poet emphasizes the hart's more positive nature of shedding its horns (i.e., pride) and experiencing renewal.

<sup>47</sup> See Edward B. Irving, Jr., *A Reading of Beowulf* (New Haven, 1968), pp. 89-91.