

Jacek Olesiejko

ORCID: 0000-0002-7047-2498

Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań  
olesiejko@amu.edu.pl

## Nebuchadnezzar's Mind and Memory in the Old English *Daniel*

**Abstract:** As Mary Carruthers observes in her seminal *Book of Memory*, the cultivation of memory was considered a mark of superior ethics in the Middle Ages. She claims, for example, that “the choice to train one’s memory or not, for the ancients and medievals, was not a choice dictated by convenience: it was a matter of ethics. A person without a memory, if such a thing could be, is a person without moral character and, in a basic sense, without humanity” (Carruthers 14). In the present article, which aims to discuss the Old English biblical paraphrase *Daniel*, I argue that memory plays an important, if not essential, role in Nebuchadnezzar’s conversion. The poet expands on the biblical source, the Old Testament Book of Daniel, to depict the Babylonian king as commencing a process of rectification of the self by incorporating and internalizing the word of God, mediated in the poem by Daniel the prophet, as part of his self.

**Keywords:** Old English *Daniel*, Old English poetry, memory in medieval culture, Old English literature, medieval English literature

Nebuchadnezzar in the Old English *Daniel*,<sup>1</sup> a biblical poem preserved in the Old English Junius Manuscript 11, has excited readers of Old English poetry on account of the vivid portrayal of his character. Graham D. Caie was first to acknowledge Nebuchadnezzar’s pride, rather than the biblical source’s preoccupation with Daniel and his prophecies, as the underlying theme of the poem and claimed that the poet altered “the original didactic purpose of the biblical narrative (intended to encourage the faithful at a time of persecution) to a universal warning of the dangers of pride at a time of prosperity” (Caie 2). Since then, many readers of *Daniel* have concen-

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<sup>1</sup> All Old English quotations from *Daniel* come from Farell, R. T. 1974. *Daniel and Azarias*. London: Methuen & Co Ltd. All translations of *Daniel* from Old to Modern English come from Anlezark, Daniel (ed. and trans.). 2011. *Old Testament Narratives*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard UP.

trated their scholarly efforts on Nebuchadnezzar, even though they have distanced themselves from Caie's argument that the poem is first and foremost an exemplum on pride, adding other layers to the poet's presentation of the king and his mind. Gillian R. Overing argues that the poem presents Nebuchadnezzar as an everyman figure who "becomes a remarkably accurate psychological portrait of one man's conversion to God" (Overing 4). Antonina Harbus, who focuses on Nebuchadnezzar's dreams and visions, emphasises a number of diversions from the poem's biblical source which are, she suggests, motivated by "a desire to account for the king's behaviour through the exposition of psychological and physical factors" (Harbus 496). More recently, Manish Sharma has also explored the poem's association between the king's wandering mind and insanity and exile (Sharma 105). Following these readings, Hilary E. Fox aligned the poet's presentation of Nebuchadnezzar's fury with the patristic concept of the tripartite soul and Carolingian mirrors for princes, discussing *Daniel* as advice literature for kings and demonstrating Nebuchadnezzar to be an example of *rex iniquus* and *rex furiosus* (Fox 428).

Indeed, the poet is preoccupied with Nebuchadnezzar's mind and uses an inventory of both formulaic and invented expressions to represent its activity. As the above-mentioned critical appreciations of the poem reveal, not only does the *Daniel* poet use a number of nouns and compounds to describe Nebuchadnezzar's mind and distress, but he also thematically aligns verbs of movement related to exile to Nebuchadnezzar's mental instability described in kinetic terms.<sup>2</sup> The present paper is written to demonstrate that there two other issues underlying the Old English poet's representation of Nebuchadnezzar's mind that are yet to be interrogated. The first is the dysfunction of Nebuchadnezzar's memory and his conversion as a return to memory. The other is the hydraulic model of the mind, widespread among Old English poetic representations of the mind, as the source of the poem's portrayal of Nebuchadnezzar's mental distress. While Nebuchadnezzar is driven by fury in the biblical Book of Daniel, the Old English poet shows him experiencing a much wider array of emotional states that disturb the king's intellectual and moral integrity, as well as his memory. In fact, the poem represents a coherent process of the disintegration of Nebuchadnezzar's self, followed by its miraculous restoration

<sup>2</sup> It is especially Manish Sharma's and Antonina Harbus's readings that bring to attention the poem's word-play on mind words and verbs of movement. Harbus discusses the poet's use of the verb *hweorfan* "to turn", which makes a connection between scenes of the arrival of the dream and the king's conversion. "The entrance of the dream, expressed by *hweorfan* (to turn), reiterates the movement of turning to rest: 'to reste gehwearf' (109), and introduces a term which will become significant later in the poem with the theme of turning one's mind to God" (Harbus 492). In addition, "the verb is particularly evocative in this context, as it has connotations of roaming and is used elsewhere in the OE corpus to refer to the activity of the mind and thought, the venue and faculty respectively of the dream" (Harbus 492). Manish Sharma claims that poem's wordplay based on the verb *hweorfan* makes a connection between the themes of pride and exile. While verbs *hweorfan* and *tohweorfan* were earlier used to describe the sin of the Israelites, the same verb describes the reversal of "the vector of the earlier movement" (Sharma 117).

through the power of memory. The forgetfulness, induced by the emotions troubling Nebuchadnezzar's mind, is the issue that the poet especially foregrounds. The present paper aims to elucidate the motif of memory, the poet's own introduction into the biblical material.

Scholars have long acknowledged the central place that memory was perceived to occupy in medieval Christian ethics and psychology. Patrick J. Geary, in his *Phantoms of Remembrance*, demonstrates that "the central place of memory in the understanding of human cognition as well as in the understanding of the relationship between the human and the divine natures placed an enormous memorial burden on medieval society" (Geary 17). As Mary Carruthers observes in her seminal *Book of Memory*, the cultivation of memory in the Middle Ages was considered to be a mark of superior ethics. She claims, for example, that "the choice to train one's memory or not, for the ancients and medievals, was not a choice dictated by convenience: it was a matter of ethics. A person without a memory, if such a thing could be, is a person without moral character and, in a basic sense, without humanity" (Carruthers 14). Carruthers claims that so central in medieval culture was memory and memorization of texts in the formation of an individual, that "instead of the word 'self' or even 'individual', we might better speak of a 'subject-who-remembers'" (Carruthers 226).<sup>3</sup>

A perception that moral integrity is contingent on memory pervades Augustine of Hippo's teachings on the nature of the soul and the mind. In his work on the Trinity, *De Trinitate*, Augustine formulated a trinitarian image of the human mind to provide an analogy elucidating the mystery of the Trinity. The triad of memory (*memoria*), intelligence (*intelligentia*), and will (*voluntas*), comprising the human mind, corresponds to the Three Persons of the Trinity: the Father, the Son and the Spirit. The trinity of the mind is the image of God, because "it can also remember, understand, and love Him by whom it was made. And when it does so, it becomes wise; but if it does not, even though it remembers itself, knows itself, and loves its self, it is foolish. Let it, then, remember God, to whose image it has been made, and understand Him and love him" (Augustine 153–154). Memory plays an essential part in the triad, as, according to Augustine, the memory of God is innately implanted in the human soul, which was created in God's image, *imago Dei*. Augustine's argument is that knowledge of God is identical not only with wisdom but also commensurate with true self-knowledge, as humans can only understand the triad of the Trinity by analogy with the triad of memory, understanding, and will.

<sup>3</sup> Similar conclusions are drawn by Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe in the context of early medieval English monastic education, a context more relevant to *Daniel*, where young boys and monks in their formative ages were required to memorize texts and their interpretation. Committing texts to memory was conceived of as a process of self-formation, whereby an individual is formed by the material he has learnt *memoriter*. "Committed to memory were not simply the words of a book but a comprehension of its text, for to learn a text *memoriter* was not to learn a text by rote, but to be formed by the text in text in terms of understanding and will" (O'Brien O'Keeffe 120).

In early medieval England, Augustine's analogy was disseminated in Bede's commentary *On Genesis* and Alcuin of York's *De Anime Ratione Liber ad Eulaliam Virginem*. Bede discusses the correspondence between the Trinity and the triad of memory, will, and understanding in his explication of the symbolism of number three in his commentary on the episode of the flood and Noah's ark: "for the number three corresponds to the religious devotion of our mind on account of the memory by which we renew our worship with God, the intelligence by which we know him, and the will by which we love him" (Bede 192). Alcuin writes that "the soul therefore possesses in its very nature, as we have said, the image of the holy trinity, because it has intelligence, will, and memory" (Alcuin 641–642).<sup>4</sup> In Old English prose, the idea was present in Alfred's *Old English Boethius*, written towards the end of the ninth century.

Hwæt, ge þonne þeah hwæthwega godcundlices on eowerre saule habbað, þæt is andgit and gemynd and se gesceadwislica willa þæt hine þara twega lyste. Se the þonne þas ðreo hæfþ, þonne hæfþ he his sceoppendes onlicnesse

Indeed, you have something godlike in your soul: that is, understanding and memory and the rational will that takes pleasure in those two things. He then who has these three things, has his creator's likeness. (*Old English Boethius* 74–75)<sup>5</sup>

Around the time of the inclusion of *Daniel* within the Junius Manuscript (c. A.D. 1000), Ælfric of Eynsham disseminated the idea in some of his writings, for example, in "Nativity of Christ", a homily opening his *Lives of Saints*, where he provides another vernacular explanation of the Augustian concept of the tripartite soul as an actual image of the Holy Trinity.

Seo sawul oððe þæt life oððe seo edwist synd gecwædene to hyre sylfra, and þæt gemynd oððe þæt andgit oþþe seo wylla beoð gecwædene to sumum þigna edlesendlice, and þas ðreo þing habbað annysse him betwynan. Ic undergite þæt ic wylle undergytan and gemunan, and ic wylle þæt ic undergyte and gemune. Þær þær þæt gemund bið, þær bið þæt andgyt and se wylla

The soul or the life or the substance are named in respect to themselves and the memory or the understanding or the will are named in relation something else, and these three things have unity among themselves. I understand that which I will to understand and to remember, and I will that which I understand and remember. Where there is memory, there is understanding and will. (Ælfric 33)

Like Augustine and Alfred, Ælfric emphasizes the interdependence of the three functions of the soul in order to explain the concept of the Trinity. It is important to note that in Ælfric's account it is the understanding of how the mind works that makes it possible to know and remember the theological concept. Since the text was widely disseminated, early medieval English audiences were likely to be exposed to the image and actually required to apply the image as a kind of common-

<sup>4</sup> The quotation is taken from Alcuin. (n.d.). *De Anime Ratione Liber ad Eulaliam Virinem. Patrologia Latina* 101. 641–642.

<sup>5</sup> The Old English quotation and its Modern English translation comes from M. R. Godden and S. Irvine (eds.). 2012. *The Old English Boethius*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

place, if not a mnemonic tool, to remember the dogma. Ælfric's application of idea, one that strongly relies on the audience's memory and their will to remember, may shed some light on the reception of *Daniel* in the post-reform period; even though the poem had been composed earlier, the role that memory plays in his conversion might have determined the trajectory of its reception.

While it is not the aim of the present article to argue that the idea of the tripartite structure of the mind directly influenced the poem, its aim is to demonstrate that Nebuchadnezzar's conversion results from his nascent will to reconfigure his the memory of God at the center of his selfhood. The motif of Nebuchadnezzar's lycanthropy is directly related to the poet's conception of his psychology and his representation of his dysfunction of memory. Nebuchadnezzar's exile into the world of beasts reflects the fallen nature of humanity. His conversion to God is related in Augustinian terms, as it happens through the restoration of *Imago Dei* within his soul through the memory of God.

As will be shown in the following pages, there is another idea that stimulated the poem's presentation of Nebuchadnezzar's mind; namely, the hydraulic model of the mind. This model, present in the poem, is related both to the poem's psychological realism, as discussed by Overing (4) and Harbus (492), and to the portrayal of Nebuchadnezzar's kinetic interior that the poet parallels with the experience of exile, as argued by Manish Sharma (117). The poem's representational psychological realism is reflected in the poet's portrayal of the working of Nebuchadnezzar's mind that is aligned with the Old English vernacular tradition locating the mind in the chest cavity, rather than in the cranium, and representing mental distress in term so the so-called hydraulic model. As Leslie Lockett demonstrated in her *Vernacular Psychologies* (2011), in Old English literature, a Christian dualism of the material body and the immaterial soul and intellect is countered by a perception that, in contrast to the eternal soul, the mind is corporeal and physically located within the chest cavity (Lockett 11). A fourfold anthropology prevailed in Old English poetry and some prose literature, where

the word *sawol* signified not a unitary soul but only that part of the human being that participated in the afterlife. The power to enliven the flesh belonged to another entity, the *feorh* (also called *ealdor* and *lif*), while the functions that we might label psychological or mental belonged to yet another entity, the *mod* (which went by many names, including *hyge*, *sefa*, and *ferhth*). This fourfold anthropology of body, mind, life-force, and soul underlies most of the narrative and lyric representations of human beings in the OE corpus. (Lockett 17–18)

The words *mod*, *hyge*, and *sefa* refer to Nebuchadnezzar's mind in the poem and must be contrasted with his *gast*.<sup>6</sup> Lockett suggests that *gast*, which she claims

<sup>6</sup> Nebuchadnezzar is described as "reðemod" (line 33), "swiðmod" (lines 100, 161, 268, 449, 528, 605), "modig" (line 105), "bolgenmod" (line 209), "anmod" (line 224), "gealmod" (line 229), "hreoðmod" (line 241). His mind is referred to as "modsefa" (line 491) and "mod" (lines 521, 596, 624, 630). At line 521, his mod is responsible for the knowledge that God has greater power and Nebuchadnezzar himself. At line 596, the movement of Nebuchadnezzar's mind upwards

is synonymous with the eternal *sawol*, in the description of Nebuchadnezzar's conversion in *Daniel* indicates mind, its use determined by alliteration (Lockett 37). In addition, "one could argue that *gast* and *mod* are not quite synonyms, but that the *gast* turns to heavenly matters (*godes gemynd*) while the *mod* turns to earthly thoughts; still, *gast* is undeniably engaged in memory in line 629 and (in a rather obscure construction) it feels the psychological influence of the *sefa* in lines 650b-1a" (Lockett 37).

An important aspect of Old English vernacular psychological realism concerns the location of the mind within the chest cavity. As Lockett demonstrates, in Old English poetry, mental activity is registered in the chest cavity, which is reflected by the use of the compound *breostsefa*, mind-within-the-breast, in the Old English poetic corpus (Lockett 54). Lockett argues that "OE poets agreed about certain core features of the relationship between the mind (including mental states and contents) and the organs of the chest cavity, such as the cardiocentric containment of the mind, and the correlation of intense mental events with increased heat and pressure" (Lockett 54). In Old English poetry, mental states are thus represented as experiences of the change of pressure and temperature within the chest cavity. The correlation between physical and mental states is accounted for by the hydraulic model of the mind, which, in Lockett's words, refers to

a loose psychological pattern, in which psychological disturbances are associated with dynamic changes of pressure and temperature in chest cavity. These physical changes resemble the behaviour of a fluid in a closed container, which expands and presses outward against the walls of the container when heated, threatening either to boil over or to burst the container if too much is applied. When the moment of intense emotion or distress passes, the contents of the chest cavity cool off and are no longer subject to excess pressure, just as if a heat source were removed from a container of boiling liquid. (Lockett 5)

The following verses of Old English poems provide examples of the hydraulic model of the mind-within-the-breast. In *Beowulf*, the protagonist's mind-within-the-breast is under distress as his kingdom is attacked by the dragon: "breost innan weoll þeostrum geþoncum, swa him geþywe ne wæs" [dark thoughts welled up in his breast, as was not usual for him] (*Beowulf*, lines 2331–2332).<sup>7</sup> Another example of cardiocentric distress is found in Cynewulf's *Christ B*, when apostles lament at the moment of Christ's Ascension.

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is related to the nascence of his overweening pride. At line 624, his mind is the repository of his memory. Another word used to describe Nebuchadnezzar's mind is "sefa" (lines 49, 110, 130, 144, 268, 415, 485, 651). There is generally no or little difference in meaning between *mod* and *sefa* in Old English. In the poem, however, *mod* is associated with memory, as the present discussion suggests. In addition, Antonina Harbus argues that the poet uses wordplay to associate Nebuchadnezzar's *sefa* with his dream (*swefn*) (Harbus 500). "Hyge", in addition to its spelling variant "hige", is also used (lines 490, 628).

<sup>7</sup> The Old English quotation and its Modern English translation comes from Fulk, R. D. 2010. *The Beowulf Manuscript*. Harvard: Harvard University Press.

torne bitolden; hat æt heortan, beorn breostsefa.	þær wæs wopes hring, wæs seo treowlufu hreðer innan weoll,
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there was the sound of lamentation; overwhelmed with grief, constant love was hot around the heart, the breast raged within, the soul burned. (*Christ B*, 537–540)

Lockett finds the fragment from *Christ B* exemplary, as “the mental event portrayed in these lines is fuelled by the disciples’ faithful love, which is *hat æt heortan*, causing the mind-in-the-breast to burn (*beorn breostsefa*). Consequently, the whole container seethes and swells inwardly (*hrether innan weoll*), increasing the internal pressure within the container, and the love in their breasts becomes oppressed (*bitolden*) (Lockett 64). Apart from mental distress, the surging of the mind-within-the-breast includes positive experiences, as another example provided by Lockett demonstrates; in *Andreas*, when Christ praises Andreas’s wisdom, Andreas replies that

Nu ic on þe sylfum wisdomes gewit, sigesped geseald, beorhtre blisse,	soð oncnawe, wundorcræfte (snyttrum bloweð, breost innanweard)
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[now that I perceive truth and an understanding of wisdom in you, a triumphant ability granted with marvelous skill — your breast within blossoms with wisdom and sublime joy] (*Andreas*, 644–647).<sup>8</sup>

Lockett concludes her discussion of these examples by saying, “the seething of the mind and of its contents occurs in the region of the heart; this location is made even more plain when the heart and breast themselves boil and seeth” (Lockett 60).

In the furnace episode, as presented in *Daniel*, Nebuchadnezzar is described as “bolgenmod” (*Daniel*, line 209), a compound that Leslie Lockett relates to a group of poetic expression that are predicated on a perception that anger is caused by the increase of heat in the chest cavity (Lockett 59). Also, Nebuchadnezzar’s mind is located in the breast, and two of the most critical moments of the narrative, his fall into madness and exile and return, happen as a result of his mind, *mod*, disconnecting from and rising above his heart, in the chest cavity (“his mod astah heah fram heortan” [his mind climbed up, high from the heart], *Daniel*, lines 596–597), and, returning to its resting place near the heart (“his mod astah heah fram heortan” [his mind climbed up, high from the heart] (*Daniel*, lines 596–597). The aim of the present article is to elucidate the way how theme of memory in the poem is pervaded by the Old English poetic traditions of representing mind and mental distress.

The Old English poet revises the source significantly to forge a connection between Nebuchadnezzar’s mental distress and the disfunction of his memory.

<sup>8</sup> The Old English quotation and its Modern English translation comes from Clayton, Mary. 2013. *Old English Poems of Christ and His Saints*. Harvard: Harvard University Press.

The connection is especially important in the account of Nebuchadnezzar's first dream, which follows his conquest of Jerusalem and the taking of Daniel into captivity in Babylon. In the Old Testament Book of Daniel, Nebuchadnezzar dreams of a statue of gold, silver, iron and brass. When he wakes up, he cannot remember the content of the dream and yet he demands that his advisors not only retell the narrative of the dream, but provide its interpretation as well. As they are unable to meet the demand, Daniel, brought to the king's presence, retells the dream and reveals its hidden meaning. The actual biblical source of *Daniel* has not been determined, but, in his seminal study of Old English Biblical poetry, Paul Remley posits that the poem is based on an unknown Latin version of a Greek text related to the Septuagint (Remley 233). In the Septuagint version of the Old Testament Book of Daniel, before his demand is satisfied, Nebuchadnezzar is furious with his counselors: "then the king in rage and anger commanded to destroy all the wise men of Babylon. So the decree went forth, and they began to slay the wise men; and they sought Daniel and his fellows to slay them" (Septuagint Daniel 2: 12–13).<sup>9</sup> In the Vulgate, similarly, his expressions of anger being conveyed by a collocation *in furore and in ira magna*: "quo audito rex in furore et in ira magna praecepit ut perirent omnes sapientes Babylonis" [upon hearing this, the king in fury, and in great wrath, commanded that all the wise men of Babylon should be put to death] (Vulgate Daniel 2: 12).<sup>10</sup>

In the biblical account, the expression of his anger is functional and performative; his anger is a sign of his authority and his display of violent emotions causes his subjects to carry out his orders. The Old English poet, however, represents Nebuchadnezzar's anger as an aspect of his mental distress. In the biblical source, the dream induces Nebuchadnezzar's only sorrow. In the corresponding episode narrative in the Old English poem, however, Nebuchadnezzar is twice described as "wulfheort" in the passage that narrates the first dream and the first miracle in the Old English version of the poem. As was mentioned above, he first wakes up "wulfheort" from his dream (*Daniel*, line 116).

þa onwoc wulfheort,	se ær wingal swæf,
Babilone weard.	Næs him bliðe hige,
ac him sorh astah,	swefnes woma.
No he gemunde	þæt him meted wæs

Then the wolf-hearted one awoke, Babylon's guardian, who previously had slept in drunken stupor. He was not happy in mind, but sorrow mounted up in him, because of the dream's noise. He did not remember at all about what he had dreamt. (lines 116–119)

The fragment reflects the hydraulic model in that the symptom of the anxiety affecting the king is the surge of negative emotion that is depicted in kinetic terms;

<sup>9</sup> All quotations from the Septuagint are taken from Brenton, Lancelot C. L. (trans.). 1980. *The Septuagint with Apocrypha: Greek and English*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House.

<sup>10</sup> All quotations from the Vulgate are taken from Weber, R. and R. Gryson (eds.). 2007. *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft.



his sorrow rises. Furthermore, when Nebuchadnezzar wakes up from the dream, he is “wulf-heart” [wolf-hearted] (116) and his disposition is not happy (“næs him bliðe hige”, line 117). Nebuchadnezzar was dreaming while “reord-berend reste wunode” [speech bearers occupied a bed] (123). It is king's mental distress that preoccupies the Old English poet. In addition to the mental distress, the poet also emphasizes Nebuchadnezzar's decline into bestiality, an idea that he extrapolated from his interpretation of an episode describing Nebuchadnezzar's exile, coming at the climax of the narrative of the biblical source, and inserted in other episodes that are presented in the earlier portions of the narrative. The word thus anticipates Nebuchadnezzar's future spiritual lycanthropy, his exile from society and the sub-human madness, both of which result from the upheaval and the rational and irascible elements of his soul that was commonly attributed to experiencing excessive anger. His representation of the king's distress is a source of narrative consistency, since the element of bestial wolf-heartedness that he introduces to his description of the king's first fit of anger not only recurs at the central episode of the poem later, in which his fury is compared to the heat of the furnace, but also to the account of his conversion that is the climax of the poem.

An important addition to the lycanthropic representation of the king is a connection between his inhuman anger and disfunction of memory. The *Daniel* poet brings more focus on Nebuchadnezzar's fear and forgetfulness induced by the anxiety generated by his loss of memory and inability to remember the dream in addition to introducing the theme of bestiality. He is again called “wulfheart” (*Daniel*, line 135) as he threatens to kill his advisors unless they provide an interpretation of the dream he cannot remember. In the poem, his outburst of anger happens as a result of the psychological frustration that has been building up throughout the episode. The *Daniel* poet focuses on Nebuchadnezzar's fear and forgetfulness induced by the anxiety generated by his loss of memory and inability to remember the dream. Nebuchadnezzar gives vent to his wolfish anger as his wisemen admit their inability to find out and interpret the content of the dream that the king cannot remember and retell:

þa him unbliðe	andswarode
wulfheart cyning,	witgum sinum:
“Næron ge swa eacne	ofer ealle men
modgeþances	swa ge me sægdon,
and þæt gecwædon,	þæt ge cuðon
mine aldorlege,	swa me æfter wearð,
oððe ic furðor	findan sceolde.
Nu ge mætinge	mine ne cunnon,
þa þe me for werode	wisdom berað.
Ge sweltað deaðe,	nymþe ic dom wite
soðan swefnes,	þæs min sefa myndgað

Then the wolf-hearted king answered his magicians angrily: “You are not as potent in intellect above all people as you told me, when you said that you understood my allotted life,

what would happen to me afterward, or what I should encounter henceforth. Now you who present wisdom to me before the troop cannot interpret my dream. You shall suffer death, unless I know the judgment of the true dream, which my mind remembers. (134–144)

A wide array of emotions, ranging from sorrow to anxiety, destabilise the king's sense of self and generate his loss of memory, which, in the poem, is the symbol of moral and psychological integrity. Nebuchadnezzar's bestiality provides evidence that his memory and intellect have been inhibited by his sinful nature. It is thus the mental distress, rather than exercise of power through coercion and demonstrative outbursts of anger, that is the poet's focus.

In *Daniel*, Nebuchadnezzar's anger is not accidental to the situation; rather Nebuchadnezzar is essentially *wulfheort*, his fierceness being his permanent trait. Antonina Harbus claims that the description generates connotations related both to Christian and heroic traditions in the poem. In Christian typology, the wolf "represents the devil prowling around the flock of the faithful" (Harbus 494). The use of the word suggests "the greed and ferocity of the pagan king" (Harbus 494). Such a connotation reinforces the poet's earlier statement that Nebuchadnezzar's paganism is the cause of not being able to recall the dream. Harbus claims that the word also provides some identification of Nebuchadnezzar with the wolf as one of the beasts of battle, a trope common in OE poetry, and claims that "the poet communicates Nebuchadnezzar's power and belligerence, his arrogant nature engaged in reprehensible behavior" (Harbus 494). Another interesting suggestion made to account for the poet's emphasis of Nebuchadnezzar's spiritual lycanthropy comes from Hilary J. Fox's discussion of *Daniel* in the light of the tripartite model of the soul, as disseminated by Alcuin, which "includes *ratio* as the guarantor of humanity, which rules the soul's more volatile aspects, *iracundia* and *concupiscentia*; when one of these latter takes control, Alcuin says, the result is catastrophic, a breaking of natural order and the transformation of a human being into 'something worse' — implicitly, an animal" (Fox 441). While the tripartite model of the soul explains the trajectory of Nebuchadnezzar's fall, it does not account for the poet's presentation of Nebuchadnezzar's development from his loss of memory to his return to memory, as well as the poet's depiction of his un wisdom and blindness as predicated upon his mental distress.

I would suggest that the poet's handling of the king's spiritual wolfishness serves to sharpen the theme of memory in the poem, as a similar contrast between memory and animality is evident in some early medieval hagiographic writings. In her study of Ælfric's vernacular hagiographic works, Rhonda L. McDaniel claims that the Trinitarian model of the soul subtends all of Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*: "the deliberate development of memory fuelled by love, the desire to pray and reflect to build up understanding of oneself and of God within the memory, and the will to remain faithful to the relationship to Christ held within the memory and understanding" (McDaniel 92). She also observes that in such works as the *Life of St Eugenia*, Ælfric tends to make a contrast between the mind of the holy man or woman's in-

tellectual condition through the cultivation of memory with their persecutor's ferocious bestiality reflecting Augustine's association of inward beastliness with the fallen condition of mankind (McDaniel 116). The theme of memory receives a similar treatment in the poem through the poet's manipulation of the motif of bestiality. In the Old English *Daniel*, memory defines humanity, while bestiality underlies the fallen condition of humanity, represented by the pagan characters in the poem.

The point made in the Old English adaptation of the text is that there is a connection between forgetfulness and mental bestiality which results from moral and intellectual decline. The connection reflects the medieval practice of the cultivation of self that is based on the cultivation of memory. The characterisation of Nebuchadnezzar as lupine serves to emphasize the point, not made in biblical source, that Nebuchadnezzar's wolfishness is connected to his inability to remember the content of his dream, a lapse in memory, which is a symptom of a more profound ineptitude. His mentality represents the lowest, bestial order, the reverse of the Augustinian ideal tripartite model of the mind in which memory guarantees not only the moral integrity of the self, but also subordinates the intellectual and volitional aspects of the soul to form an image of God. Nebuchadnezzar's violent nature causes his inability to remember, inhibits his intellect and drives his desire for pagan knowledge and dominion that leads him to proudly denounce God as "heofonrices weard" [the guardian of heavenly kingdom] (*Daniel*, line 457). The connection exists because of the importance ascribed to memory as a mental faculty that is essential for one's moral integrity. Nebuchadnezzar's loss of memory, compounded by his animal fury, matches Mary Carruthers' description of a person bereft of memory as, hypothetically, perceived by medieval writers, "a person without moral character and, in a basic sense, without humanity" (Carruthers 14). Such a connection between lack of morals and loss of memory is actually made by the narrator, who attributes Nebuchadnezzar's forgetfulness of his dream (bear in mind the scribe's confused of *meted*, dreamed, with *metod*, God, the measurer) to his sinfulness, that dream that "he ær for fyrenum onfon ne meahte, Babilonie weard, in his breostlocan" [which for his sins, the guardian of Babylon, previously had not been able to grasp in his heart (*Daniel*, lines 166–167). Nebuchadnezzar's inability to convert stems from his lack of moral integrity. The poet's comment that Nebuchadnezzar cannot remember his dream on account of his sinfulness foreshadows the role that his memory is to play in his ultimate conversion in the wilderness.

In the text of the poem as inscribed in the Junius Manuscript, a possible scribal error reinforces the connection between Nebuchadnezzar's inability to remember the dream and his paganism. In the Junius Manuscript, line 119 of the poem reads, "No he gemunde þæt him metod wæs" [he did not remember who his god was], while Farell's edition has "No he gemunde þæt him meted wæs" [he did not remember what he dreamt] (*Daniel*, line 119). Antonina Harbus defends the manuscript reading of the poem, claiming that "forgetfulness of divine omnipotence is an issue on which the *Daniel* poet concentrates in rendition of the biblical story of

Nebuchadnezzar's journey towards grace" (Harbus 497). The narrator's remark that Nebuchadnezzar does not remember God is not out of keeping with the general tendency to characterize pagans as failing to remember God. As Fox observes, the poem's representation of Nebuchadnezzar's paganism in terms of an inability to remember God resembles the depiction of pagans in Cynewulf's *Juliana* (Fox 439).

In the poet's handling of the source, the second miracle serves to reiterate the significance of Nebuchadnezzar's sinful nature as an impediment to achieving the intellectual and moral integrity on which full conversion may be predicated. While the account of the first miracle focused on Nebuchadnezzar's loss of memory, the account of the second miracle, that of the angel rescuing the three youths from death in the furnace as punishment for their refusal to worship a golden idol erected by Nebuchadnezzar, makes a compelling connection between the king's mental disorder and idolatry.

ða him bolgen	Babilone weard
yrre andswarode,	eorlum onmælde
grimme þam gingum,	and geocre oncwæð,
þæt hie gegnunga	gyldan sceolde
oððe þrowigean	þreanied micel,
frece fyres wylm,	nymðe hie friðes wolde
wilnian to þam wyrrestan,	weras Ebrea,
guman to þam golde,	þe he him to gode teode.

Then, enraged, the guardian of Babylon answered them angrily, grimly advised the young men, and harshly said that they immediately should worship, or suffer great oppression, the terrible surge of fire, unless they would pray to the most terrible thing for protection, the men of the Hebrews, as the men to gold, which he had set up for them. (*Daniel*, lines 209–217)

In addition to "yrre" [angrily] (*Daniel*, line 210), "grimme" [grimly] (*Daniel*, line 211), which the poet uses to depict Nebuchadnezzar's anger, he also describes the king as "bolgenmod" (*Daniel*, line 209). In anger, he wants to confine the youths to the "wylm" [surge] of fire in the furnace (*Daniel*, line 214). As Lockett demonstrates, "foremost among the physical phenomena that accompany mental events is the production of heat in the chest cavity. Heat generates or is generated by distress (most often anger and grief) and sometimes by the experience of strong positive emotions" (Lockett 57). In Old English poetry, the mind and the heart are described as boiling and seething, and "most depictions of psychological seething and boiling rely on words from one of two families: that which includes *weallan* and *wylm*, or that which includes *belgan*" (Lockett 59). Lockett argues that in Old English poetry "the simplex *belgan* 'to swell up (in anger)' and its related compounds ... are associated solely with anger" (Lockett 59). The vocabulary the poet uses in the fragment is predicated on imagery that characterizes a number of depiction of minds swelling in anger in terms of the hydraulic model.

In his detailed analysis of the episode, Manish Sharma claims that "the walls of fiery furnace are exploited by the poet as symbols of the boundaries that Nebu-

chadnezzar's wayward soul transgresses" (Sharma 104). He claims that the furnace, as a symbol of defiance of measure and transgression of moral boundaries, is related to the poem's theme of exile, exile being a form of divine punishment for mental waywardness, associated in the poem with idolatry as well as pride. As he points out, "the depiction of Nebuchadnezzar's kinetic interior is not so much psychological realism as representative of a structural principle by means of which the poem is organised" (Sharma 104).<sup>11</sup> I would suggest, however, that the poem's depiction of the furnace in parallel with its exploration of Nebuchadnezzar's mind is based on an Old English poetic tradition that represents the mind-in-the-breast with all its psychosomatic phenomena such as heat and a sense of pressure within the chest cavity.

Nebuchadnezzar's mental state literally extends to the events within the furnace. For example, it is significant that the poet uses the same adjective to characterize Nebuchadnezzar's statement and the action of heating the furnace:

þa he wæs gegleded,	swa he grimmost mihte,
frecne fyres lige,	þa he þyder folc samnode,
and gebindan het,	Babilone weard,
grim and gealhmod,	godes spelbodan

When it was heated as it most cruelly could be with the terrible flame of fire, then he summoned the people there, and there, and the guardian of Babylon, grim and bloody-minded, commanded God's messengers to be bound. (*Daniel*, lines 226–229)

In addition, the poem's repeated use of the word *bolgenmod* to describe Nebuchadnezzar's anger in the context of the fiery furnace makes it clear that in *Daniel*, it is an externalization of Nebuchadnezzar's chest cavity and his troubled mental interior. The poem's analogy between Nebuchadnezzar's mental state and the fiery furnace relies on the embodied idea of mind-in-the-breast that is common in Old English poetry, namely, the hydraulic model of the mind that is located in the breast. The poet's presentation of Nebuchadnezzar does not involve only vocabu-

<sup>11</sup> As Sharma points out, the heat of the furnace was claimed by Jerome to be related to Nebuchadnezzar's wrath (Sharma 109). Sharma suggests that the heat of the furnace is symbolically related in the poem to "Nebuchadnezzar's pride and exile" (Sharma 109). First, the poet's use of *gemet* to describe how immoderate the fire is suggests a parallel to his depiction of pride as defiance of measure. "With the echo of line 249 (*micle mare þonne gemet wære*) line 491 (*mara on modsefan þonne gemet wære*), Nebuchadnezzar's movement into pride is anticipated and paralleled by the movement of the excessive blaze of the furnace... The 'immoderately great' (*ungescead micel* [242]) fire refuses to be contained within the boundaries of the appropriate 'measure' (*gemet* [249]) and, exactly like the proud spirit of the king, moves up (anticipating *up astigeð* [494]) beyond the limits set by its creator (*oðþæt / up gewat lig ofer leofum* [494])" (Sharma 110). Second, the poem uses the adverb *oðþæt* to make a parallel between the reversal that befell the Israelites, Nebuchadnezzar's change of fortune that is a punishment for his pride, and the moment when the fire swells and breaks out of the furnace to destroy Nebuchadnezzar's servants (Sharma 110). Third, the use of the verb *gesceod* also parallels other descriptions of pride that brings a self-inflicted harm to the proud; here the flame harms (*gesceod*) the Chaldeans (Sharma 110).

lary and formulaic phrases that evoke other presentations of the mind in Old English poetry; he is particularly inventive in representing the fiery furnace as a construction in which changes in pressure and temperature reflect the corresponding fluctuations affecting Nebuchadnezzar's chest cavity. The furnace as an externalization of Nebuchadnezzar's mind is definitely the poet's invention, as it could not be extrapolated either from the Vulgate or from a hypothetical Latin version of the Septuagint that Remley suggests as the source of the poem.<sup>12</sup> Both the Septuagint and the Vulgate accounts mention the heat of the furnace and Nebuchadnezzar's order to increase its heat seven times more than usual is the only connection between the heat within the furnace and his anger. In *Daniel*, the poet's additions create a structural unity between the three episodes. The first dream is linked to the furnace episode through wolfishness. Some significant features of the furnace introduced by the poet, the fact that it is made of iron and its content, the fire, moves upward, link it to the third key episode, where a trunk of a tree that appears in Nebuchadnezzar's second dream is bound by iron chains to grow, imitating the surge of the fiery furnace made of iron.

In the second episode, the poet sustains the analogy between Nebuchadnezzar's mind-within-the-breast and the furnace, while maintaining the focus on the king's spiritual lycanthropy. Another surge of anger affects the king when the fire in the furnace to which the three youths were confined as punishment for their refusal to pray to Nebuchadnezzar's golden idol turns out to be not hot enough to destroy the youths:

Hreohmod wæs se hæðena þeoden,  
 æled wæs ungescead micel.  
 isen eall ðurhgleded.  
 wurpon wudu on innan,  
 bæron brandas on bryne  
 (wolde wulfheort cyning  
 iserne ymb æfæste),  
 lig ofer leofum  
 micle mare

het hie hraðe bæran.  
 þa wæs se ofen onhæted,  
 Hine ðær esnas mænige  
 swa him wæs on wordum gedemed;  
 blacan fyres,  
 wall onsteallan,  
 oðþæt up gewat  
 and þurh lust gesloh  
 þonne gemet wære

The pagan prince was furious, commanded them to be incinerated immediately. The pyre was unreasonably large. Then the oven was intensely hot, the iron utterly incandescent. Many servants threw wood inside it there, as had been commanded them by orders; they bore brands

<sup>12</sup> "Then Nabuchodonosor was filled with wrath, and the form of his countenance was changed toward Sadrach, Misach, and Abdenago: and he gave orders to heat the furnace seven times more than usual, until it should burn to the uttermost. 20 And he commanded mighty men to bind Sadrach, Misach, and Abdenago, and to cast them into the burning fiery furnace. 21 Then those men were bound with their coats, and caps, and hose, and were cast into the midst of the burning fiery furnace. 22 forasmuch as the king's word prevailed; and the furnace was made exceeding hot. 23 Then these three men, Sadrach, Misach, and Abdenago, fell bound into the midst of the burning furnace, and walked in the midst of the flame, singing praise to God, and blessing the Lord" (The Septuagint Daniel 3.19–23).

into the blaze of the gleaming fire (the wolf-hearted king wished to found an iron wall around those who kept the Law), until a flame went up over the dear ones, and through over-excitement slew many more than was fitting. (*Daniel*, lines 241–249)

This outburst of anger has no parallel in Vulgate and is purely of the Old English poet's contriving. The poet uses the adjective "wulfheort" [wolf-hearted] again at line 246, as he reports Nebuchadnezzar's order to set up an iron wall around the youths. The iron wall serves to increase the pressure of the heat inside the furnace with a view towards immediately destroying the three youths by fire. As the flame rises, it destroys Nebuchadnezzar's servants instead, frustrating the king order. Like in the poet's discussion of Nebuchadnezzar's first dream, where *wulfheort* is collocated with a kinetic action taking place in the king's mind (his sorrow surging up in his mind), here the furnace is an externalized representation of the Chaldean king's frustrated anger, as its fire surges beyond its iron walls to destroy Nebuchadnezzar's servants rather than the three youths.

The second miracle also reveals a profound disfunction that affects the king's mind and prevents him from achieving a spiritual understanding of the events that happen in his presence. Nebuchadnezzar's dysfunction is compounded by the limitations imposed on his intellectual faculties (*intelligentia*). This disfunction of his intellect is made manifest in the perception that the Babylonians have regarding the processes of knowledge acquisition. The king's counsellor's comment on the miracle: "Geðenc, ðeoden min, þine gerysna! Ongyt georne hwa þa gyfe sealde gingum gædelingum" [Consider, my prince, your proper duty. Understand clearly who has granted that grace to these young Companions] (*Daniel*, lines 419–421). Neither Nebuchadnezzar nor his counsellor understand that wisdom comes as a gift from God. While the counsellor is aware that the youths' survival is a gift from their God, he uses the imperative forms "Geðenc" and "ongyt", as if knowledge could be obtained by grasping in a volitional process independent from God and outside divine economy of grace and wisdom.

In her recent study in *Alexander's Letter to Aristotle* from Beowulf-Manuscript, Kate Perillo observes that the Old English verb *ongitan*, used as is shown here also in *Daniel* by Nebuchadnezzar and his counsellor, derives from the verb *gitan*, whose sense is "seize": "The Old English *ongitan* (along with its variant *angitan*) means 'to perceive,' often visually, along with the more abstract meaning 'to understand' or 'to realize,' as seen here. However, it also has other implications: the verb's stem, *gitan*, means 'to get, take, obtain,' and so Alfred Bammesberger explains, 'the meaning "understand" represents a semantic development of 'seize'" (Perillo 79). Perillo argues, "In the *Letter*, *ongitan* links Alexander's desire for knowledge of India with his efforts to take 'kingdom[s] into our possession' and become 'king and lord of the world'" (Perillo 79). The *Daniel's* poet use of the verb *ongitan* characterises Babylonian wisdom in opposition to the wisdom imparted by God to the Hebrews. As he actively seeks knowledge independently from divine agency, Nebuchadnezzar's intellectual greed is the inversion of the self-knowledge

the acquisition of which is only possible as an effect of divine grace. Nebuchadnezzar understood the miracle: “wundor onget” [understood the miracle] (*Daniel*, line 459). However, he does not convert. Nebuchadnezzar suffers from sinful intensification of the self that results in his loss of memory and perversion of will, demonstrating that a pagan prince cannot arrive at a true understanding of God and is incapable of true conversion.

Nebuchadnezzar’s perverted will and his intellect, incapacitated by pride, cause another lapse into error. Nebuchadnezzar’s acknowledgement of God’s power and God’s role in delivering the youths from destruction in the fire does not shield him from the internal injury wrought by his own pride. While he makes “swutol tacen Godes” [the clear proof of God] (*Daniel*, line 488) manifest to his advisors and countrymen, he does not convert. His understanding of God’s role does not go beyond his recognition of his physical power: “No þy sel dyde” [he did no better] (*Daniel*, line 488). However, Nebuchadnezzar’s pride causes his ambition to increase and earns him divine punishment:

Ac þam æðelinge oferhygd gesceod,  
 wearð him hyra hyge and on heortan geðanc  
 mara on modsefan þonne gemet wære,  
 oðþæt hine mid nyde nyðor asette  
 metod ælmihtig, swa he manegum deð  
 þara þe þurh oferhyd up astigeð

a haughtier mind developed in him, and in his heart’s pondering came grander thoughts than was fitting, until the almighty creator necessarily caust him down, as he does to many of those who through arrogance climb upward. (*Daniel*, lines 489–494)

This growth is described in kinetic terms, as Manish Sharma observes; his arrogance, “oferhyd”, literally climbs upward, “up asigeð” (Sharma 108). Nebuchadnezzar’s pride manifests itself in the disintegration of elements that comprise, and are contained within, his mind. There is another important dimension of his pride, however: a perception, implicit in the text, that the king’s interior remains uncultivated in a way that defies both religious and secular values. This is lack of the ordinate cultivation of interiority, the opposite of the one that is required of both a pagan and a god-fearing king, is described in terms of a destruction of mental boundaries whose function is to hide the self from public view, a moral directive embraced by the speaker of the Old English poem *The Wanderer*, who claims that it is a noble custom to withhold the contents of one’s heart within the treasure-chest of one’s thoughts.<sup>13</sup> Nebuchadnezzar’s pride harmed (“gesceod”, *Daniel*, line 489)

<sup>13</sup> The lyrical subject of the Old English poem *The Wanderer* says that “þæt biþ in eorle indryhten þeaw, /þæt he his ferðlocan fæste binde, /healde his hordcofan, hycge swa he wille” [it is a noble custom in a man to bind fast his soul enclosure, hold his treasure chamber, think as he will] (*The Wanderer*, lines 12–14). The Old English quotation and its Modern English translation comes from R. E. Bjork. 2014. *Old English shorter poems. Volume II: Wisdom and lyric*. Harvard: Harvard University Press.



him internally and contents of his mind, “mod-sefa”, his thought, “geðanc”, grow beyond acceptable limits, bringing about an outpouring of his interior that should be kept suppressed within the breast-chest; it is the intensification of the self, *oferhyd*, that destroyed (“gesceod,” *Daniel*, line 489) the prince.<sup>14</sup> The internal movement outward of thoughts beyond the boundaries of the mind-within-the-breast is one of the symptoms of the prideful intensification of the self, a symptom that results in a revelation of what should remain hidden in the individual's self.

I would thus like to argue that the representation of Nebuchadnezzar's pride in *Daniel* is pervasively influenced by Old English poetic idea of the normative cultivation of self. Nebuchadnezzar's sin is mainly pride, *oferhygd*, a word which in Old English means, literally, an intensification of thought, very much like another word for pride that is widely disseminated in Old English poetry, namely, *ofermod*, an intensification of the mind. The perception that pride develops in an individual that is too much preoccupied with his or her interiority is well-attested in Old English poetry. Sarah L. Higley claims that in Old English poetic practice, the revelation of private emotion is proof of weakness, while “to keep one's personal thoughts undetected is a source of strength” (Higley 34). She argues the narratorial and first-person revelations of interiority in Old English poetry do not “necessarily represent sympathy or identification in the Anglo-Saxon mind-set. No wonder Beowulf's private heart is hidden from us until the end: it is not merely that it is not polite to reveal it; there is until that point nothing to hide” (Higley 34).<sup>15</sup> A similar negative view on interiority was earlier gleaned from *Beowulf* by Michael R. Near, who observes that the *Beowulf* narrator's focus on interiority serves only to highlight a dangerous and harmful intensification of the self, which leads to the alienation of an individual from society. He discusses how “Grendel demonstrates a mind confined to interiority by the excess of its own psychological condition of *oferhygd*”. Hrothgar's discourse on pride, he further argues, is a warning given to Beowulf “that he has the potential for becoming the very creature that he has beheaded” (Near 327). Near concludes that “in the privileged culture of the poem a character turns inside not to find the self but to lose it. By denying an immediate participation in the social structures of the known and public world, the silence of the self denies the gesture of language essential to the constituent nature of identity” (Near 329).

<sup>14</sup> Manish Sharma observes that the *Daniel* poet uses the verb *gesceod* the use of the verb *gesceod* also parallels other descriptions of pride that brings a self-inflicted harm to the proud; here the flame harms (*gesceod*) the Chaldeans (Sharma 110).

<sup>15</sup> In Junius Manuscript, most of extended speech come from Satan's mouth in three poems, *Genesis A*, *Genesis B*, and *Christ and Satan*, where first-person discourse also appearance in the context of the sin of pride. Nebuchadnezzar's speech, hence, provides an intertextual link to other texts in the same manuscript to Satan; as a result, both the devil and Nebuchadnezzar are figures who reveal too much about themselves and their ambition.

His pride causes Nebuchadnezzar's ultimate fall from earthly prosperity. The vision of this fall is revealed to him in his second dream, in which he dreams of a towering tree felled by an angel from heaven. The destruction of the tree by the angel represents a reversal of the growth of pride in Nebuchadnezzar's mind. The angel's descent from heaven is the reverse of Nebuchadnezzar's pride's ascent: "ðuhte him þæt engel ufan of roderum stigan cwome" [it seemed to him that an angel descended from the skies above and gave orders in a clear voice] (*Daniel*, lines 508–509). He also dreams of the tree as a representation of his mind, confined to torment as a sign of God's ultimate power that supersedes Nebuchadnezzar's sway over the earth:

Het eac gebindan beam þone miclan  
 ærenum clammum and isernum,  
 and gesæledne in susl don,  
 þæt his mod wite þæt migtigra  
 wite wealdeo þonne he him wið mæge

He also commanded the great tree to be bound with brass and iron chains, and when bound, given to be tortured, so that his mind should know that a mightier one controls the punishment that he is able to resist. (*Daniel*, lines 518–522)

The tree is bound with metal chains and subjected to torture. God violently imposes a physical limit on Nebuchadnezzar's mind, constricting and immobilizing its growth. The destruction of the tree by the angel, however, veils an allegorical perspective on the felling of the tree and the violent binding of its trunk. This constriction is, in fact, penitential and salvific in the context of the function of the boundaries that separate the self from the world; the fetters constitute a new structure to which Nebuchadnezzar's self might potentially be restored. In *Daniel*, the poet's statement that the trunk is bound with iron chains is predicated on the source; such chains are mentioned in both the Septuagint and the Vulgate accounts. In the poem, however, iron is also a material from which the furnace is constructed, which creates a parallel between the-furnace-of-the mind and the-trunk-as-the mind more pointed.

In *Daniel*'s interpretation of the aforementioned dream, the *Daniel* poet introduces a parallel between Nebuchadnezzar's royal anger and divine anger that causes reversals of fortune for both nations and individuals. In *Daniel*'s interpretation, the angel is driven by anger. More to that point, the divine word that he represents is a word of anger:

þæt is, weredes weard, wundor unlytel,  
 þæt þu gesawe þurh swefen cuman,  
 heofonheane beam and þa halgan word,  
 yrre and egeslicu, þa se engel cwæð,  
 þæt þæt treow sceolde, telgum besnæded,  
 foran afeallan

Guardian of the troop, that is small wonder that you saw advancing in your dream, the heaven-high tree and the holy words, angry and terrifying, that the angel spoke, saying that the tree, trimmed of its branches, beforehand must be felled. (*Daniel*, lines 551–556)

Earlier, Nebuchadnezzar ordered the destruction of the wisemen unable to interpret his dream and the youths refusing to pray to the golden idol. Those destructive displays of royal anger served as evidence for Nebuchadnezzar's abuse of earthly power. However, the divine wrath, epitomised by the angel felling the tree and curbing its trunk with fetters is a metaphor for God's protection, rather than destruction, of Nebuchadnezzar's fragile self.

Nebuchadnezzar's anger is thus shown to reflect not only the disfunction of his mind, but also the limitation of his earthly power. The transformative potential of God's word of anger displaces Nebuchadnezzar from the position of power that he occupied and maintained through the performance of royal anger. Daniel tells Nebuchadnezzar that no one on earth equals Nebuchadnezzar, apart from God the Measurer (*Daniel*, lines 565–566). God, according to Daniel, will transform Nebuchadnezzar, causing his madness and exile:

Se ðec aceorfeð of cyningdome,  
and ðec wineleasne on wræc sendeð,  
and þonne onhweorfeð heortan þine,  
þæt þu ne gemyndgast æfter mandream,  
ne gewittes wast butan wildeora þeaw,  
ac þu lifgende lange þrage  
heorta hlypum geond holt wunast

He will cut you off from your kingdom, and send you friendless into exile, and then he will transform your heart, so that you do not remember human happiness, nor be aware of any intellect except the way of wild animals, but you will continue living for a long time on the courses of the deer across the forest. (*Daniel*, lines 567–573)

He will not be mindful of worldly joys and will lose his mind, living among wild animals until he truly believes in God: “oðþæt þu ymb seofon winter soð gelyfest, þæt sie an metod eallum mannum, reccend and rice, se on roderum is” [until after seven years you believe the truth, that there is one creator for all people, a ruler and a power, who is in the heavens] (*Daniel*, lines 577–579).

The dream of Nebuchadnezzar's fall, madness and conversion comes true and the *Daniel* poet retells the source, operating within the parameters of the poetics of mentality that pervade Old English poetry and his own poem. Nebuchadnezzar's mind is elevated, as in the biblical source. However, the image that the poet evokes of his *mod* rising and separating from his heart is his own invention, peculiar to Anglo-Saxon poetics of mentality insisting on the containment of emotion and representing the mind metaphorically as enclosed within the breast. Nebuchadnezzar's pride: “his mod astah heah fram heortan” [his mind climbed up, high from the heart] (*Daniel*, lines 596–597). The poet literally describes the separation of his mind from the interior of his chest-cavity as the cause of the king's insanity.

Within the Christian context of the poet's exploration of the transience of earthly glory, the quality of being *swiðmod*, a word that frequently describes Nebuchadnezzar in the poem, gains an additional meaning. While the minds of Daniel and the youths are literally made stronger by God Nebuchadnezzar fortifies his mind with the trappings of earthly glory and materiality. Nebuchadnezzar

wearð ða anhydig ofer ealle men,  
swiðmod in sefan, for ðære sundorgife  
þe him god sealde, gumena rice,  
world to gewealde in wera life

grew stubborn over all people, arrogant in mind, because of the unique grace God had given him, the empire of men, the world to rule in mortal life. (*Daniel*, lines 604–607)

Nebuchadnezzar's *swiðmod*ness reflects his confidence in the outstanding gifts that he has received and prosperity that results from them. The quality of being *smiðmod* represents the destructive internal potential of the mind to grow beyond the boundaries that constrict its content from being revealed and manifested outwardly; the material fortifications of his worldly glory are as feeble as the boundaries between his intensified self and the world. The *smiðmod* monarch, made strong by worldly prosperity and power, suffers, in effect, from an intensification of his mind that will cause a displacement of all its elements, the elevation of mind (*oferhygd*) and heart (as Nebuchadnezzar becomes "heah-heart" [pride], *Daniel*, line 539). Such strength of mind is, in the context of the poem's statement on the transience of earthly values, as ephemeral as worldly prosperity and effects the eventual collapse of the boundaries that separate the self from the public world.

It is important to observe that Nebuchadnezzar does not assert his pride in reported speech; the narratorial voice of the poem no longer inscribes Nebuchadnezzar's interior voice through direct discourse; Nebuchadnezzar speaks in the first person, isolated from the Christian discourse of the narratorial voice:

ðu eart seo micle and min seo mære burh  
þe ic geworhte to wurðmyndum,  
rume rice. Ic reste on þe,  
eard and eðel, agan wille

You are mine, the great and famous city that I built to my honour, a broad empire. I repose in you, city and homeland I will possess. (*Daniel*, lines 608–611)

Nebuchadnezzar's reiteration of the pronoun "ic" testifies to the harmful intensification of the self that is to separate him from humanity socially, in terms of his exile, and intellectually, as he is to lose his mind to live in "wilddeora westen" [the wilderness of wild beasts] (*Daniel*, line 621). Nebuchadnezzar's direct discourse discloses a moment of the revelation of the self to the world that goes against the dictum, voiced in *The Wanderer*, that it is a noble custom to suppress one's thoughts and remain silent. The Old English poet's idea that the pouring out of thoughts from Nebuchadnezzar's mind is thus stimulated by the tendency in Old English poetry

to stigmatize the failure to keep the contents of the mind secret; Nebuchadnezzar's direct discourse provides a counter-exemplum to the ideal that "to keep one's personal thoughts undetected is a source of strength" (Higley 34).

Given the destruction of his mind's boundaries and displacement of the intellectual faculties that outdoes his mental integrity, Nebuchadnezzar's conversion is a miracle. The poet rewrites the source, changing the direct discourse of the biblical book to indirect speech. In the Septuagint Book of Daniel, the king gives an account of his exile in first-person speech:

And at the end of the time I Nabuchodonosor lifted up mine eyes to heaven, and my reason returned to me, and I blessed the Most High, and praised him that lives for ever, and gave him glory; for his dominion is an everlasting dominion, and his kingdom lasts to all generations: and all the inhabitants of the earth are reputed as nothing: and he does according to his will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth: and there is none who shall withstand his power, and say to him, What has thou done? At the same time my reason returned to me, and I came to the honour of my kingdom; and my natural form returned to me, and my princes, and my nobles, sought me, and I was established in my kingdom, and more abundant majesty was added to me. Now therefore I Nabuchodonosor praise and greatly exalt and glorify the King of heaven; for all his works are true, and his paths are judgment: and all that walk in pride he is able to abase. (Septuagint Daniel 2.31–34)<sup>16</sup>

The Old English poet excises first-person pronouns and reports the conversion in indirect discourse to indicate that that the king's conversion happens on condition that it is no longer impeded by the intensification of his *mod*; his interior is now hidden from view according to the Old English poetic convention that a well-cultivated self has nothing to reveal and is not in excess of emotion.

The second significant modification is the Old English poet's representation of Nebuchadnezzar's as an act of remembering God, which is not accounted for by either the Septuagint or the Vulgate version of the Book of Daniel. In the biblical source, Nebuchadnezzar looks up to the heaven and praises, magnifies and glorifies God. In the Old English poem, Nebuchadnezzar is presented consciously engaging his memory to start the mental process of conversion from his spiritual lycanthropy to full humanity. What makes Nebuchadnezzar of the Old English poem different is his nascent will to reconfigure the memory of God at the center of his selfhood. Nebuchadnezzar's self is thus restored to a condition that closely

<sup>16</sup> Sense for sense, the Vulgate account is very similar: "Now at the end of the days, I, Nabuchodonosor, lifted up my eyes to heaven, and my sense was restored to me: and I blessed the most High, and I praised and glorified him that liveth for ever: for his power is an everlasting power, and his kingdom is to all generations. And all the inhabitants of the earth are reputed as nothing before him: for he doth according to his will, as well with the powers of heaven, as among the inhabitants of the earth: and there is none that can resist his hand, and say to him: Why hast thou done it? At the same time my sense returned to me, and I came to the honour and glory of my kingdom: and my shape returned to me: and my nobles, and my magistrates, sought for me, and I was restored to my kingdom: and greater majesty was added to me. Therefore I, Nabuchodonosor, do now praise, and magnify, and glorify the King of heaven: because all his works are true, and his ways judgments, and them that walk in pride he is able to abase" (Vulgate Daniel 4: 34–37).

resembles the Augustinian model of the mind, in which memory functions as the guardian of intellectual and moral integrity that, the model, which was mediated by Ælfric to his English audiences in his homiletic and hagiographic vernacular writings. In *Daniel*, the process of the restoration of Nebuchadnezzar's *mod* to the memory of God is described within the parameters of Old English poetics of the hydraulic mind. First, Nebuchadnezzar looks up at the sky, his mind's state being that of a wild animal: "ða se earfoðmæg up locode, wilddeora gewita, þurh wolcna gang" [then the wretched looked up, the savage-minded one, through the drift of clouds] (*Daniel*, lines 622–623). The process of conversion starts when Nebuchadnezzar suddenly remembers that God is the highest king: "*Gemunde* þa on mode þæt metod wære, heofona heahcýning, hæleða bearnum ana ece gast" [he remembered then in his heart that the creator should be high-king of the heavens, the one eternal spirit for the children of men] (*Daniel*, lines 624–626). The act of remembering causes his conversion, which is perceived as a movement of his mind closer to his heart, a mental process that is the reverse of his proud self (*ofermod*) rising above his heart earlier in the poem: "þa he eft onhwearf wodan gewittes, þær þe he ær wide bær herewosan hige, heortan getenge" [then after that he returned from his mad mind, where formerly he widely bore a belligerent mind close to his heart] (*Daniel*, lines 626–628). The poet thus returned to an image of Nebuchadnezzar's mind's dislocation from its central position in the chest cavity; now, his mind moves closer to his heart. Ultimately, as his mind finds rest, his soul turns to the memory of God: "þa his gast ahwearf in godes *gemynd*, mod to mannum, siððan he metod onget" [then his spirit turned to the *memory* of God, his heart to the people, after he understood the creator] (*Daniel*, lines 629–630). Gillian R. Overing remarks that now "the king's spirit is with God, his mind with man" (Overing 13) [gast versus *gemynd* according to Leslie Lockett]. The poet also makes it clear that it is the memory of God that revives the king's spirit and restores him from the company of animals to the company of people, putting an end to his intellectual lycanthropy. These turnings of intellectual faculties towards memory make it possible for Nebuchadnezzar to understand the creator.

There is another aspect of the connection between Nebuchadnezzar's mind's movement and acts of remembering requiring discussion. As Leslie Lockett observes, remembering in Old English poetry is in a number of instances depicted as a metaphorical mind-travel (Lockett 39). She also considers description of mind-travel in *The Wanderer*, *The Seafarer* and in the Finnsburh episode in *Beowulf* (Lockett 39). She argues that whether conceived of literally or figuratively, "temporary departures of the mind ... are associated with memories and imaginations of earthly people and places" (Lockett 38). In the Finnsburh episode, Lockett suggests reading *mod* not as courage but as "the mind travelling out of the breast in the act of remembering" (Lockett 39). In addition, "while the mutually hostile parties of Danes and Frisians are forced to winter together, they can hope to maintain peace only if they can banish memories of past violence between them. Despite

their best efforts, 'the restless mind was unable to remain in the breast,' that is, the men could not restrain themselves from recalling old hostilities" (Lockett 39). In *Daniel*, Nebuchadnezzar's return to sanity is represented as his mind's return to its proper place within the chest-cavity, which results in his return to Babylon.

It is only appropriate that in the Christian rewriting of the source, Nebuchadnezzar's conversion is represented as restoration of memory, as Nebuchadnezzar's kingship on earth reflects God's kingship in heaven. In medieval thought, "memory is the highest intellectual faculty and the key to the relationship between God and man" (Geary 17). Further to this, *memoria*, in the triad of memory, intellect, and will that comprises the mind, mirrors the first Person of the Trinity, whom Nebuchadnezzar desired to imitate, if not excel beyond, in his sinful past and whom now he recognizes as highest authority to which earthly authority must be subordinated.<sup>17</sup> The poem's idea that the memory of God is implanted in Nebuchadnezzar's mind recalls Augustine's notion that the memory of God that is innately present in the human mind.

In the account of the conversion, the poet again uses the verb *ongitan* ("he metod onget" [he understood the creator], *Daniel*, line 630) to report Nebuchadnezzar's arrival at the understanding of the creator. Unlike his earlier infelicitous attempts to understand God, Nebuchadnezzar's ultimate enlightenment pivots on the restoration of his *memoria*, which has previously been incapacitated by his pride. The poet's repetition of *ongitan* at the moment when Nebuchadnezzar's conversion concludes is significant, as it alludes to Nebuchadnezzar's earlier attempts to arrive at the understanding of the nature of God's power. Instead of seeking knowledge, Nebuchadnezzar cultivates his memory, the cultivation of which buttresses his reformed morality and role as monarch.

Another observation that might be gleaned from the poem's manipulation of the hydraulic model of the mind and his presentation of Nebuchadnezzar's mental's distress is the relationship between the king's trouble mind-in-the-breast and the poem's presentation of Daniel as the prophet and its handling of the prophetic material in the Song of the Three Youths and the Song of Azarias. In contrast to the critics who mainly concentrated on Nebuchadnezzar, a number of readers explored the poem's prophetic material as its narrative and conceptual center, underlying the poem's monastic background and its preoccupation with education. For example, John Bugge and Phyllis Portnoy argued that the poem's prophetic material, present in the Song of the Three Youths and the Song of Azarias in the middle of the poem is the thematic center of *Daniel*.<sup>18</sup> More recently, Janet Schrunk

<sup>17</sup> Hilary E. Fox also observes that madness in medieval thought "reflects an absence of that psychic order that made the human image like God" (Fox 429). My study is more aligned to the idea that the poem is an exemplum of an individual's conversion rather than one of how to rule according to Christian standards.

<sup>18</sup> John Bugge considers *Daniel* to be "essentially a monastic poem" (Bugge 127). Bugge tries to demonstrate that "*Daniel* celebrates prophecy as a diagnostic feature of the monastic life by link-

Eriksen has demonstrated that *Daniel* reinforces a connection between Nebuchadnezzar's conversion and the poem's prophetic material. She argues that the poem represents Daniel as an authority of discernment, while Nebuchadnezzar's growth from mental blindness to enlightenment depends on his recognition of Daniel as the authority that channels spiritual insight (2021: 78). I would argue that the poet's manipulation of the hydraulic model, especially in the furnace episode, is essential for the poem's theme of prophecy. Daniel and the three youths provide an important contrast to the king in terms of an interiority that is conducive to the reception of wisdom. In the contrast to Nebuchadnezzar's, whose *mod* is always troubled, the youths represent mental stability. The state that Daniel and the three youths display is associated with enlightened vision. As the fire turns against Nebuchadnezzar's servant, the three youths remain "bliðemode" [blissful] (*Daniel*, line 252) and "glædmode" [glad in heart] (*Daniel*, line 259), in contrast to Nebuchadnezzar, who is "bolgenmod" [enraged] (*Daniel*, line 209) and "gealhmod" (*Daniel*, line 229).<sup>19</sup> John Bugge argues that it is Daniel and the three youths' virginity that makes them the conduit of vision and prophecy in the poem.<sup>20</sup> In light of the hydraulic model of the mind in evidence in the poem, it might be added that their enlightened vision and prophecy are predicated upon the untroubled mental condition of their minds-within-the-breast.

In conclusion, in adapting the source material, the poet relied on both Christian and vernacular traditions. His treatment of Nebuchadnezzar's forgetfulness, as a reflection of his moral failure, is original and not paralleled by any motif that he found in the source. The *Daniel* poet represents *memoria* as the most essential faculty, which Nebuchadnezzar loses and regains, on which the mental integrity

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ing the special intercourse Daniel and his companions enjoy with divine wisdom to their practice of virginity, the essential monastic virtue" (Bugge 127). He also views the Song of the Three Youths and the Song of Azarias as central episodes in the poem, arguing that *Daniel*'s "lyrical portions, when seen in relation to their place in the baptismal liturgy of Holy Saturday, help to locate purity and prophecy in a central position in the Church's view of the spiritually regenerative effect of the sacrament" (Bugge 127). Phyllis Portnoy has also argued for the centrality of the furnace episode in which the focus is provided on the three youths rather than the king himself. She finds evidence in the structure of the central episode, which relies on ring composition and a careful balancing of narrative elements (Portnoy 203).

<sup>19</sup> The poet makes the contrast between the violence of the blaze and the youths' disposition particularly sharp. The entire passage reads: "ða se lig gewand on laðe men, /hæðne of halgum. Hyssas wæron /bliðemode, burnon scealcas /ymb ofn utan, alet gehwearf /teonfullum on teso" [then the flame turned on the hateful men, to the heathen from the holy ones. The youths were blissful, the servants around were incinerated outside the oven, the fire turned in hurt to the harmful ones] (*Daniel* lines 250–254).

<sup>20</sup> He claims that the poem's diction juxtaposes Nebuchadnezzar's sensuality with Daniel and the three youths' purity: "such evocative diction has the effect of spotlighting the three virginal youths in a circle of heavenly light against a gloomy backdrop of a history of concupiscence and irreligion. A monastic audience would have sensed without further comment that their purity made them fit ministers of God's word" (Bugge 135).



of the king depends. In the representation of the mind in *Daniel*, the poet is sensitive to two other ideas that have been given insufficient attention so far, namely, the significance of memory in the cultivation of the self, a concept that is stimulated by the Christian influence upon the poem, and the vernacular Germanic hydraulic model of the mind. The connection between morals and the function, or dysfunction, of *memoria* discloses the text's hybridity, since the poet's understanding of memory and its importance was shaped by both his Christian and monastic training and by the investment in the memory and cultivation of the self that characterized the Germanic, and originally pre-Christian, oral tradition.

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