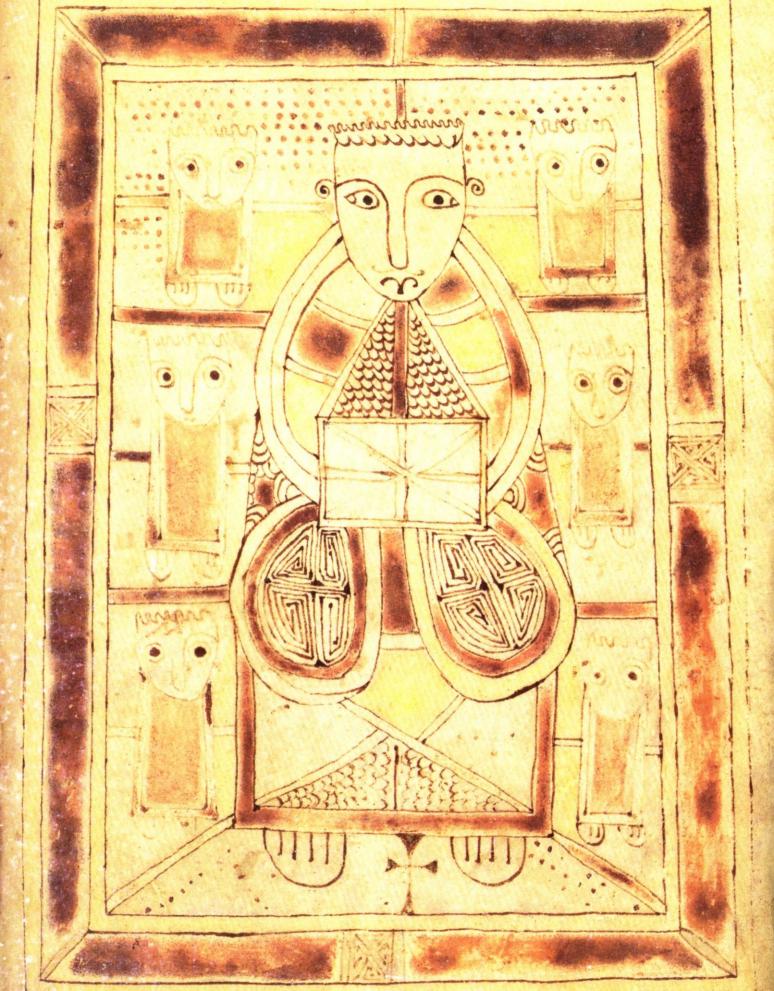
### THE BOOK OF DEER



ROY ELLSWORTH AND PETER BERRESFORD ELLIS



### THE BOOK OF DEER



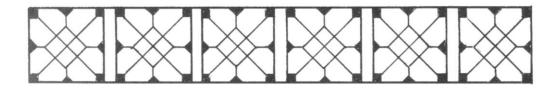
### Peter Berresford Ellis and Roy Ellsworth

Constable London



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### GENERAL SERIES INTRODUCTION

The great Celtic illuminated Gospel books – such as Kells, Durrow, Lindisfarne, Echternach, Lichfield, Dimma, Armagh and so forth, produced during the seventh to tenth centuries AD – comprise one of the peaks of European artistic creation. Produced in the period miscalled 'The Dark Ages', a period which in fact, was a 'Golden Age' of Celtic artistic and literary achievement, the illuminated books were no chance result of the times. Celtic

Christian artists were the inheritors of over a thousand years of artistic endeavour. Pagan Celtic civilization had already produced a breathtaking wealth of metalwork, jewellery, stone carvings and other artefacts.

When the Celts converted to Christianity there was a need for manuscript books, copies of liturgical texts and of the Christian Gospels. The models for such books were manuscripts produced by the cultures of Eastern Christendom and particularly the Coptic Church. However, with such an artistic and cultural heritage, the Celtic scribes and artists were not simply content to produce mere copied texts but went further, illuminating them with all the vibrancy of their pagan traditions and creating great works of decorative art.

The earliest of such works seems to be the surviving 58 folios (out of a possible 110) called the 'Cathach of St Colmcille' (Columba), copies of the Psalms which are said to have been written by the hand of Colmcille himself. He is said to have copied it from a 'Gospel of St Martin' in the library of St Finnian of Moville around AD 560. Palaeographically, this is certainly possible. The style and artwork show the 'Cathach' to be neither experimental nor primitive in concept but obviously the result of an earlier tradition. The word 'Cathach' means 'battler' and the book was so called because it was carried into battle as an icon by the clan Ó Domhnaill, the last time being in 1497.

The 'Cathach' is acknowledged as the first surviving example of what grew into the decorated Celtic manuscript books.

Not only were these Gospel books rich visual masterpieces, but most of them contained marginalia, notes by the scribes, which give fascinating comments on their lives and times; some pious, some plaintive, some facetious, some sad, some weary and some joyous. Many actually wrote poems in the margin, often a beautiful 'taste' of the magnificent literature of the Celtic world, particularly the poetic richness of Irish which language contains the third written literature of Europe.

We even know the names of many of the scribes and illustrators who were so respected in the Celtic world that they were often rewarded by ecclesiastical rank, such as Mac Reguil, the ninth-century scribe and abbot of Birr, one of whose magnificent Gospel books is preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

The purpose of this series is to produce visual analyses of many of these famous illuminated manuscripts, compounded with a short authoritative introduction to the individual book with captions to emphasize and explain some of the motifs and forms used, in an attempt to show their glorious decorations.

Examining *The Book of Kells* a thousand years ago, Giraldus Cambrensis exclaimed, 'You might say that all this was the work of an angel, and not of a man!' An examination of the Gospel books would bring any observer to share Giraldus' enthusiasm for these artistic masterpieces.



### THE BOOK OF DEER

'One of the principal antiquities of Scotland' was how the *Third Statistical Account of Scotland* described the ninth-century illustrated Gospel manuscript known as *The Book of Deer* which is now preserved in the Library of Cambridge University. While the manuscript book is not so sophisticated as some of its better known brethren, such as those from Kells, Durrow and Lindisfarne, nevertheless it has a fascinating visual vibrancy showing strong pagan Celtic motifs. Moreover, it is of intrinsic importance for as well as its main Latin text the work carries a gloss from the ninth century and additions made in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in what is regarded as the earliest known written Scottish Gaelic as opposed to its parental Old Irish.

The Book of Deer originated in the Celtic monastery of Deer in Aberdeen. The book actually carries the story of the foundation of the monastery in an eleventh-century Gaelic text. Colmcille, sometimes known as St Columba, AD 521-597, made a journey to see Bruide Mac Maelchon (c. AD 556-584), king of the Tuatha Cruithne, more popularly known today by their Latin nickname, Picts (picti, painted people). The purpose of this visit was to Christianize them and, after a conflict with the Druids of Bruide, Colmcille set in motion the process. According to the story, in about AD 580 Colmcille, together with one of his disciples, St Drostán Mac Cosgrach, came to a place named Aberdour. This is not to be confused with Aberdour in Fife but was a spot on the southern tributary of the River Ugie, just to the west of modern Peterhead in Aberdeenshire. The missionaries decided to establish a religious settlement at the spot which was later called Deer.

Most significantly, the name Deer is an Anglicization of the Gaelic *doire*, the place of oaks, so associated with Druidic worship. Many churches in the Celtic world, such as Derry, Durrow, Kildare and others, were founded on sites which were originally Druidic oak sanctuaries. This area was, in fact, one of the last areas of the Celtic world to become Christianized.

The original monastery of Deer, where the book was compiled in the ninth century,

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must not be confused with the later Cistercian monastery of Deer which was founded in to AD 1219 and whose ruins still stand some two miles west of the original site. This monastery fell into disuse after 1587 when William Keith, Earl Marischal of Scotland, who had been 'Abbot and

Commendator of Deer', resigned his office after criticism from the Kirk for his lukewarm ecclesiastical modifications during the Reformation in Scotland.

While Colmcille returned to Iona, Drostan stayed as abbot of the foundation and the rights of the settlement were confirmed by Bruide, the local mormaer (mór-mhaor, a high steward answerable only to the king).

The Book of Deer consists of 86 folios containing the first six chapters of the Gospel of St Matthew and the first 22 verses of the seventh chapter, the first four chapters of St Mark and the first 35 verses of the fifth chapter, the first three chapters of St Luke and the first verse of the fourth chapter and the entire Gospel of St John. There is also the Apostles' Creed. These are

written in a rather bad Latin, with careless spelling and grammatical errors. The Latin is close to the Vulgate form

and similar to the text called the 'Irish Gospel' which had long since been abandoned by Rome. This text was written by a uniform hand which has led previous authorities to claim that the entire ninth-century content of the book, including the illustrations, was by a single monk of the monastery. However, artist Roy Ellsworth, when preparing this study, demonstrated that at least two separate styles exist in the artwork and possibly a third, so that while one monk wrote the text, at least two were responsible for the illustrations.

There is a strong argument that The Book of Deer is, in fact, the oldest surviving

manuscript work of native Pictish scribes rather than Irish scribes from the Dál Riada settlement on the Argyll coast. The motifs can be compared with those on the remarkable Pictish symbol stones of the area dating from between the seventh and ninth centuries. This might also account for the crude knowledge of Latin displayed by the writer and the lack of sophistication of the artwork which is unusual in the tradition of the Irish Gospel books.

The textual scribe of the ninth century has added the usual colophon asking for prayers for the work and its creator to his Latin text (see page. 60). This gives the book value, for the scribe writes in Gaelic and not in the usual Latin form found in Irish books: 'Forchubus caichduini imbia arrath inlenbrán collí aratardda bendacht foranmain intruagáin rodscribai...' A colloquial translation of this would be: 'Let it be on the conscience of everyone who uses this splendid little book, that they say a blessing for the soul of the wretch who wrote it.'

In the eleventh century another scribe added the Office for the Visitation of the Sick in Latin but this version still shows Celtic Christian usages and resembles the Eastern Orthodox rather than the Roman form of liturgy. In spite of the efforts to bring the Celtic Church in Scotland under the influence of Canterbury and ultimately Rome by St Margaret, the Anglo-Saxon wife of Malcolm Canmore during this same period, we still find reports of the Cele Dé (Culdees or 'servants of God'), the Celtic monastic order founded by St Maelruain in AD 787, working in Scotland down to the fourteenth century.

Also in the eleventh century was added the story of the foundation of Deer in Gaelic which begins: 'Columcille acus Drostán mac Cóosgreg adálta tangator áhí marroalseg Día aoníc Abborddobóir ...'(Colmcille and Drostan son of Cosgrach, his pupil, came from Hy [Iona] as God had shown to them unto Aberdour...'). During the

eleventh and twelfth centuries were added 22 records of grants to the abbey and its monks ending with confirmation of the grants from David I (1124-1153). The grant is historically of importance because David I, raised from childhood at the English court and Norman-French in culture, fought for five years to bring the Scots of 0 this area under his rule. David 0 0 married the Anglo-Norman Matilda 0 and was liberal in giving estates to Anglo-Norman lords once 0 0 0

of Deer replaced the Celtic abbey in 1219.

he came to the Scottish throne. The Scots of the province of Moireabh (Moray – an area much larger than the modern county) fought against David because they rejected his policies and the introduction of Norman feudalism, and they tried to maintain the old Celtic egalitarian system. The grant to Deer was given in the eighth year of his reign but the days of the Celtic monastery were numbered and, as previously mentioned, a Cistercian monastery

Historically, the grants of land to Deer are fascinating. It is the first source for showing the decentralized structure of Celtic Scotland and the first work to mention the role of the office of mormaer. We have reference to Maol-Callum, who, with his brother Gillecomgain, slew their uncle Finlaech Mac Ruaridh in 1020. Finlaech was mormaer of Moireabh and was married to Doada, daughter of the Scottish High King, Maol-Callum (Malcolm II, 1005-1034). They had a fifteen-year-old son at the time of his murder — the boy's name was MacBeth.

The Annals of Ulster record that in 1032 Gillecomgain, who had helped kill MacBeth's

father, was himself killed, perhaps on the orders of Malcolm II. Gillecomgain was married to a lady called Gruoch, the daughter of the former High King Coinneach (Kenneth III, 997-1005). They had a son called Lulach.

MacBeth now married Gruoch and adopted her son Lulach and went on to become High King of Scotland from 1040 to 1057, one of the greatest kings Scotland was to have... in spite of subsequent propaganda and Shakespeare's creation. From 1057 to 1058 Lulach succeeded MacBeth as High King before he was 'slain by stratagem' by Malcolm Canmore. It is from *The Book of Deer* that we learn that Lulach's son Maelsnechta became mormaer of Moireabh and granted lands to the monastery of Deer before his expulsion from office in 1078. *The Annals of Ulster* record that Maelsnechta became a monk and died in 1085. It is more than likely that Maelsnechta became a monk of Deer. It would be a fantasy, though not an unreasonable one, to romanticize that Maesnechta himself might have written some of the eleventh century notations to *The Book of Deer*. We find that Angus, the son of Maelsnechta's unnamed sister, was mormaer of Moireabh at the time of his death in 1130.

The Book of Deer is, without doubt, an historical treasure. But what happened to it after the destruction of the Celtic monastery of Deer and the rise of the Cistercian abbey? We know that it 'disappeared', probably taken as booty in the attempted conquests of Scotland by the English, for in 1697 it emerged as part of the library of John Moore, Bishop of Norwich. This library was bought for 6,000 guineas by King George I (1714-1727) on the advice of his secretary of state, Charles, Viscount Townshend (1674-1738), who later advised George to take harsh measures to repress the 1715 uprising in Scotland.

George I gave the library as a gift to the library of Cambridge University.

For 150 years, The Book of Deer remained here unnoticed until the librarian,

Henry Bradshaw, stumbled across it in 1860 and

whitley Stokes, who made a translation of the Gaelic entries which appeared in the Saturday Review, 8 December 1860. He expanded on this in a book entitled Goidilica, or Notes on the Gaelic Manuscripts... etc. etc., published privately in Calcutta in 1866. Three years later John Stuart edited a text and facsimiles of the illustrations which were published for the Spalding Club of Edinburgh, in 1869.

After that, however, *The Book of Deer* was forgotten again, only to be mentioned now and then in academic discourses *en passant* until Professor Kenneth Jackson of Edinburgh made the Gaelic notations the subject of his Osborn Bergin Memorial Lecture in March 1970. Jackson expanded his lecture and published it as *The* 

Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer, Cambridge University Press, 1972.

The intention of this volume is firstly to present accurate representations of the illustrations from *The Book of Deer* and then to provide simplified drawings to demonstrate construction methods and to allow an exploration of one's own colour arrangements using, as

a guide, the full colour plates.

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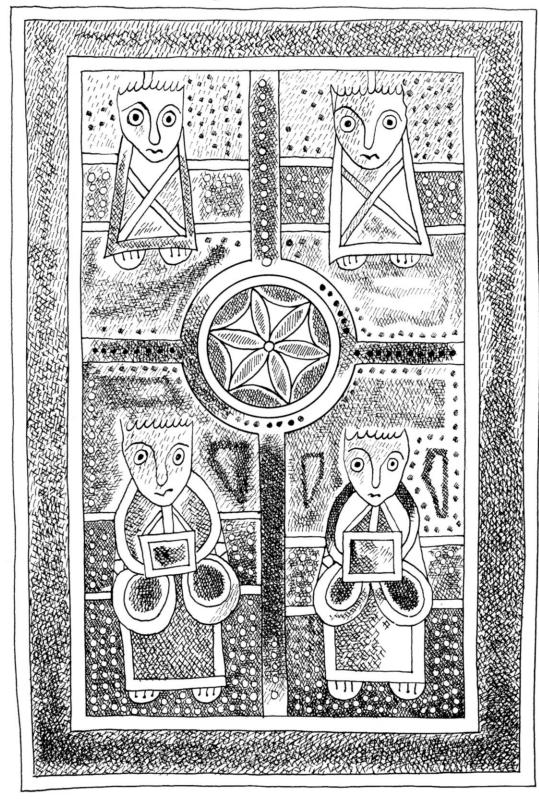
LIBRARY OF CELTIC ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS

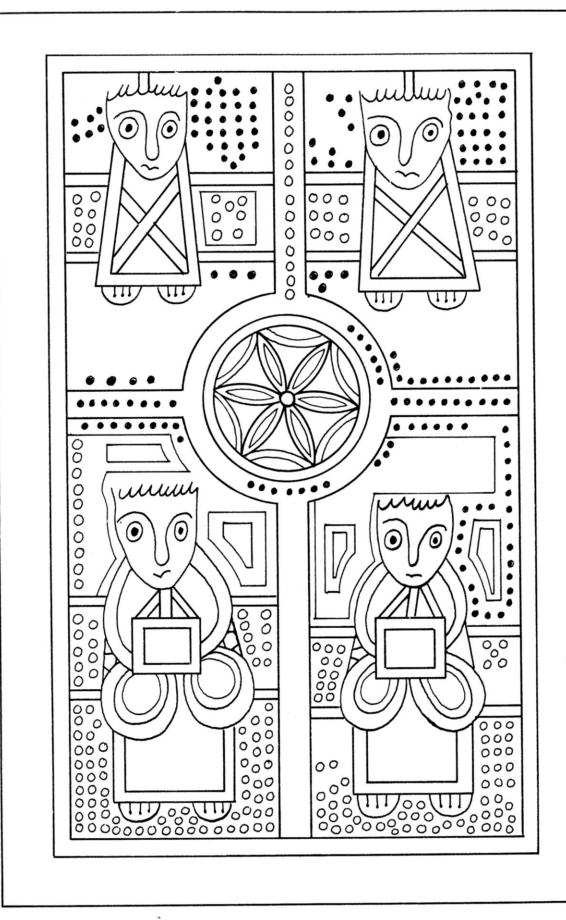
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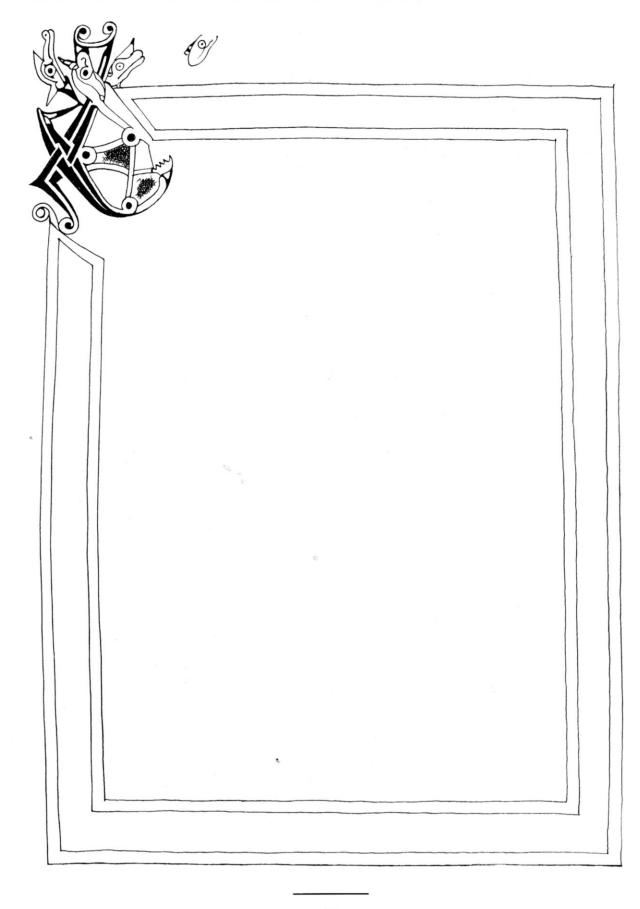


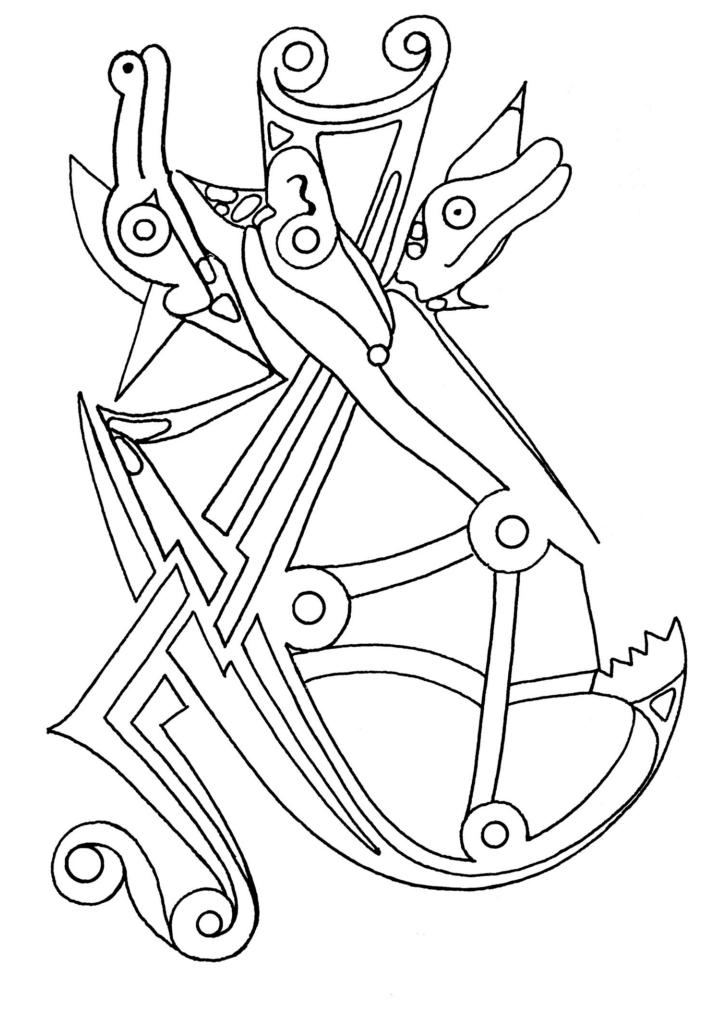
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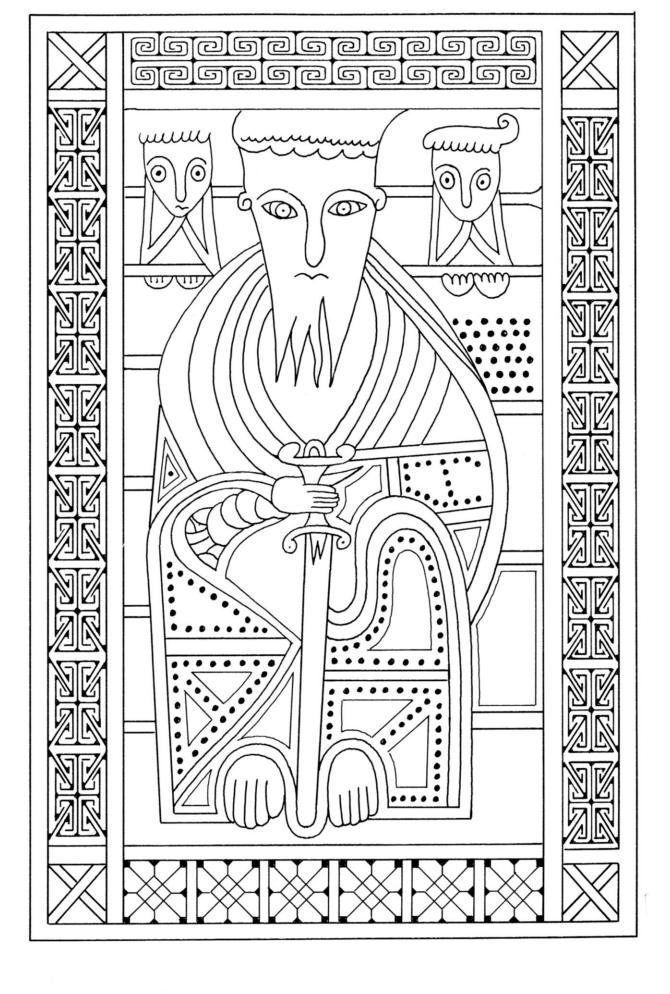


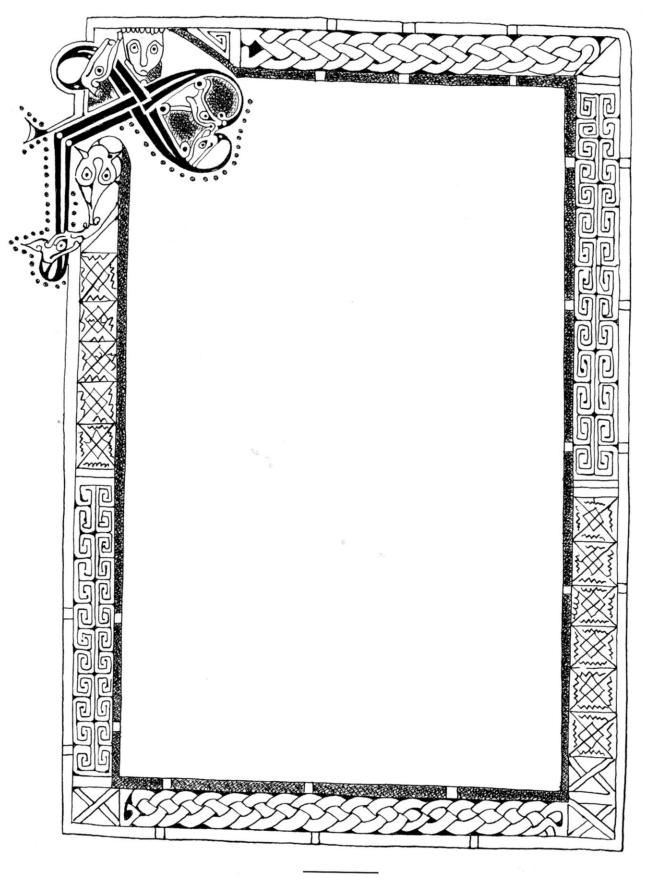


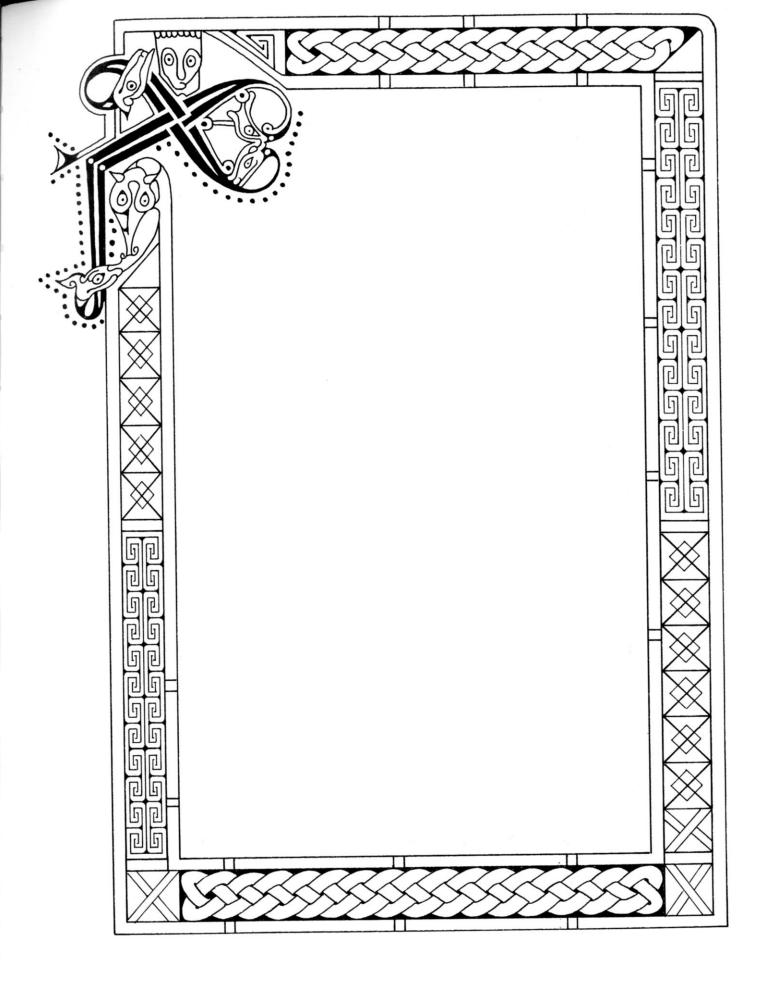


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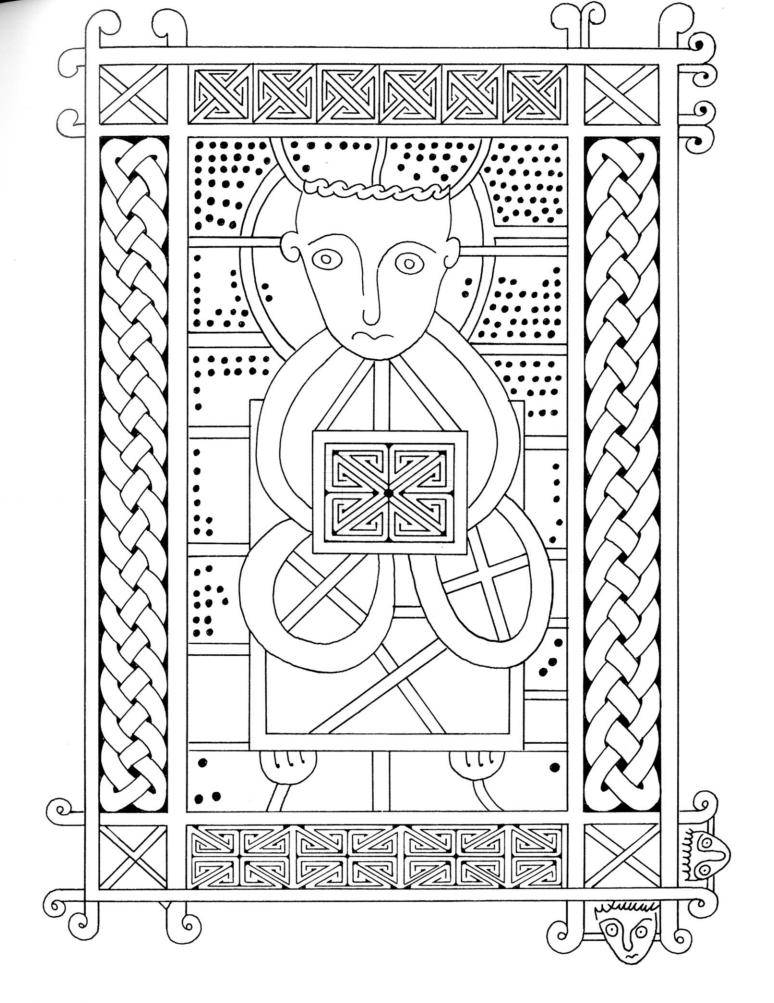


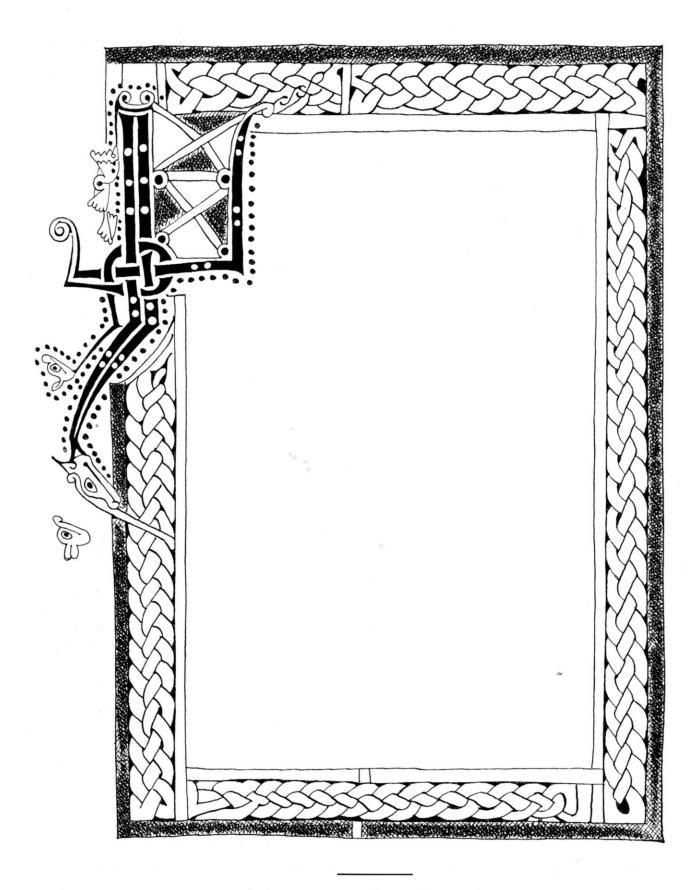


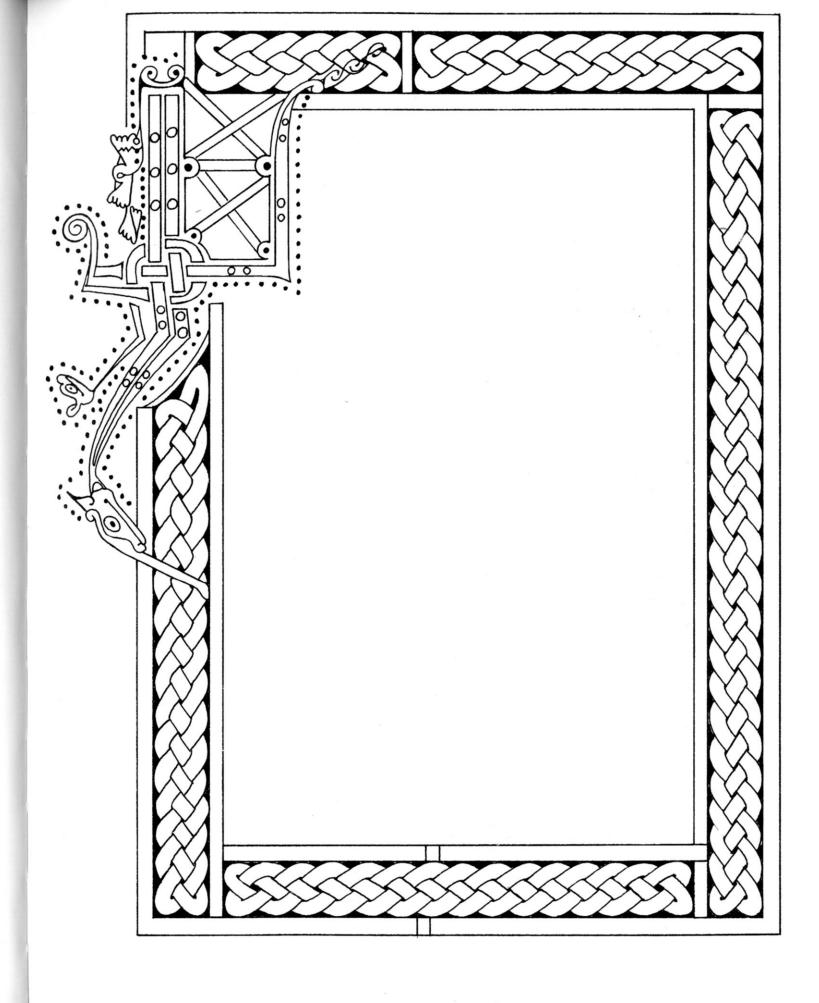


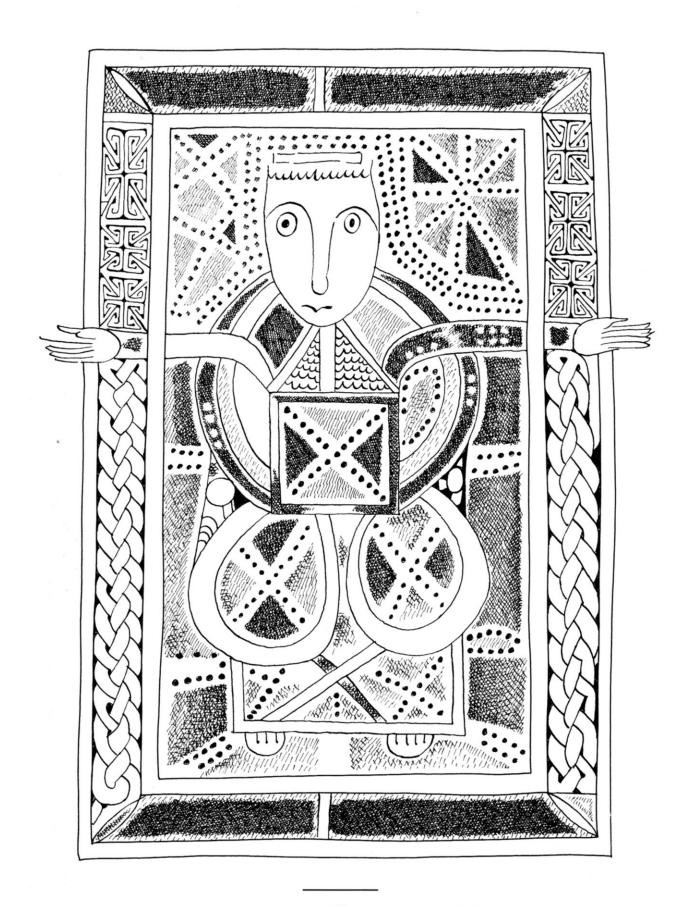


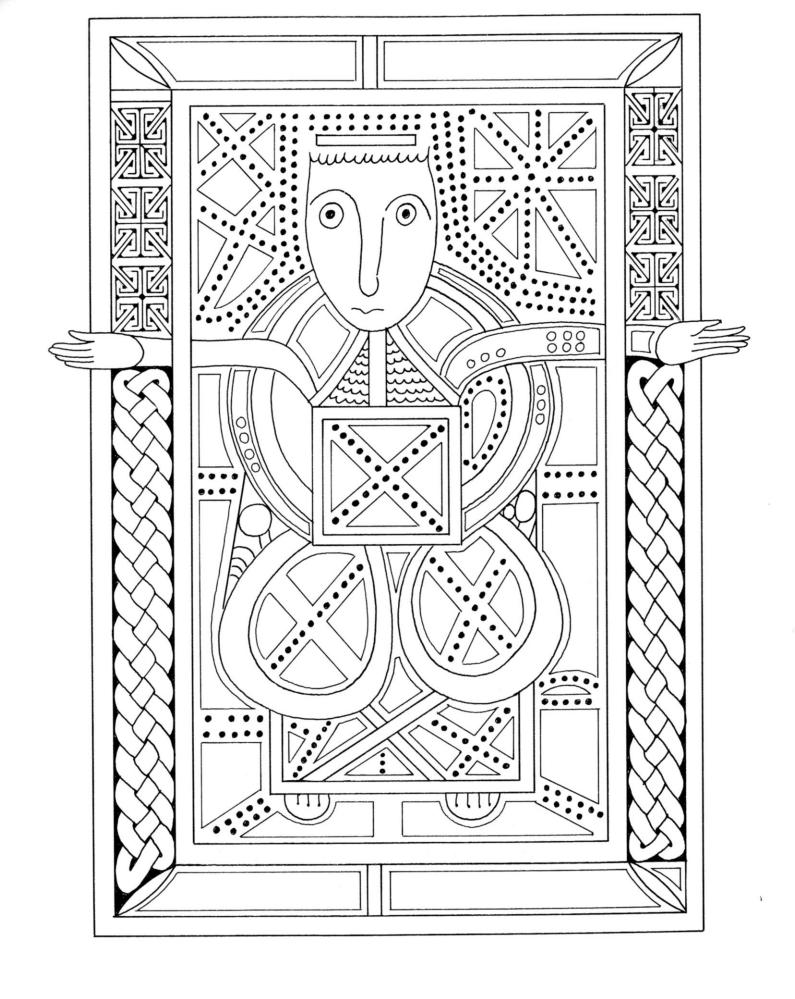


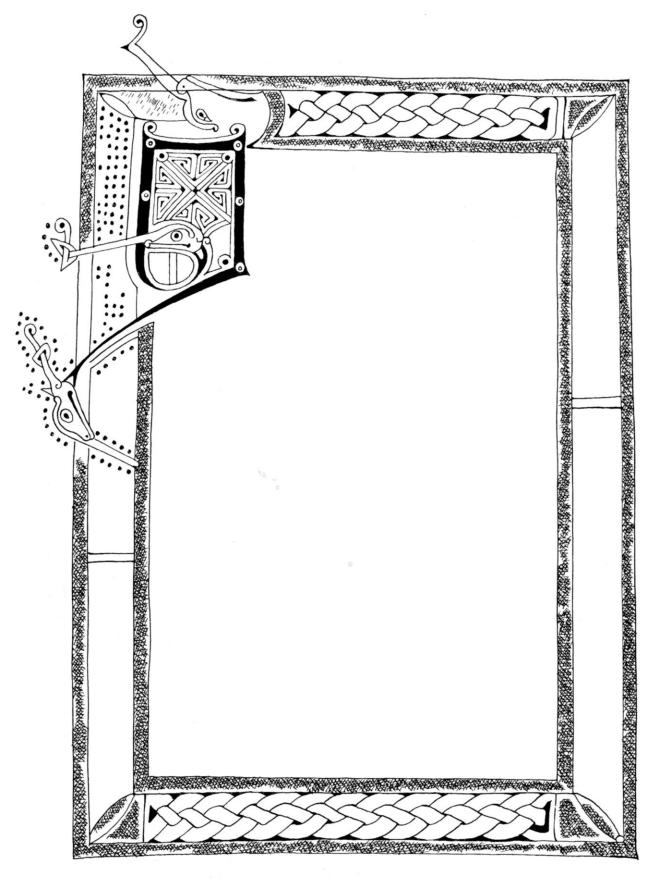


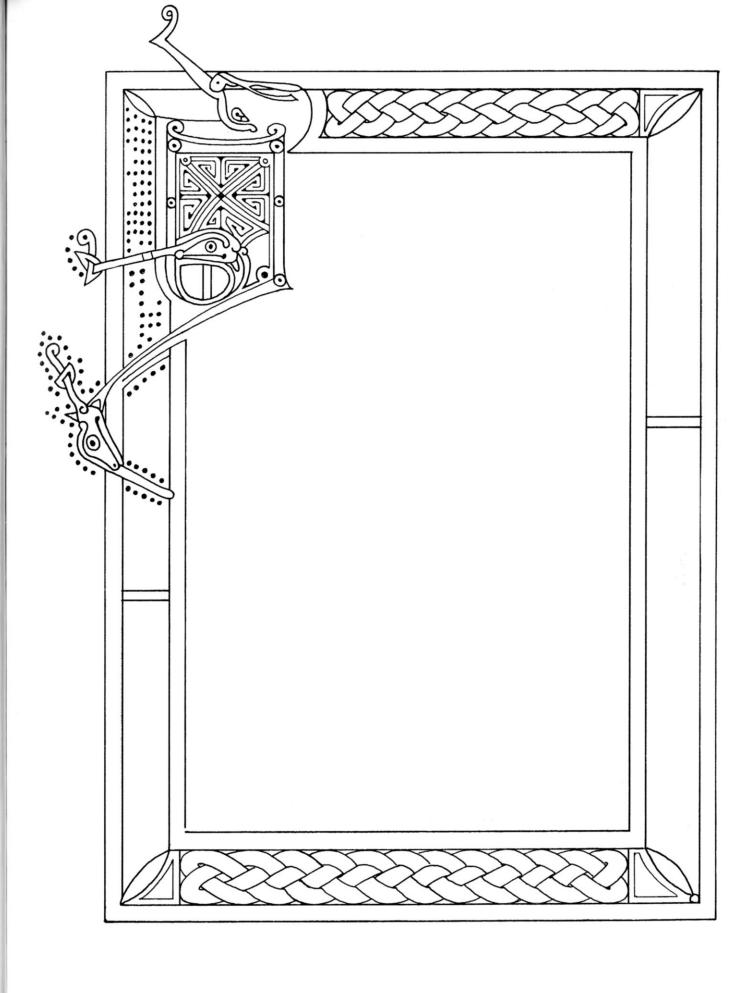


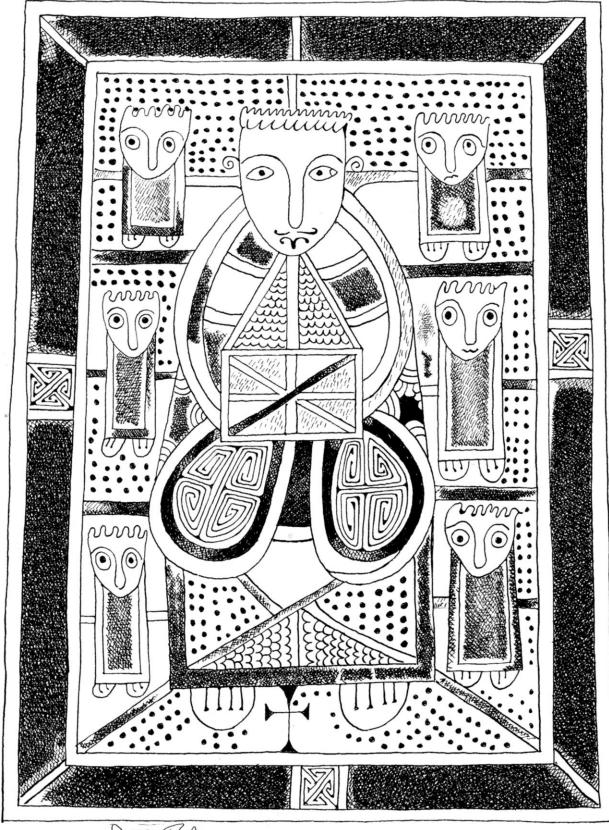


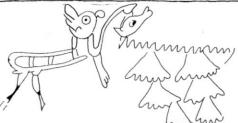


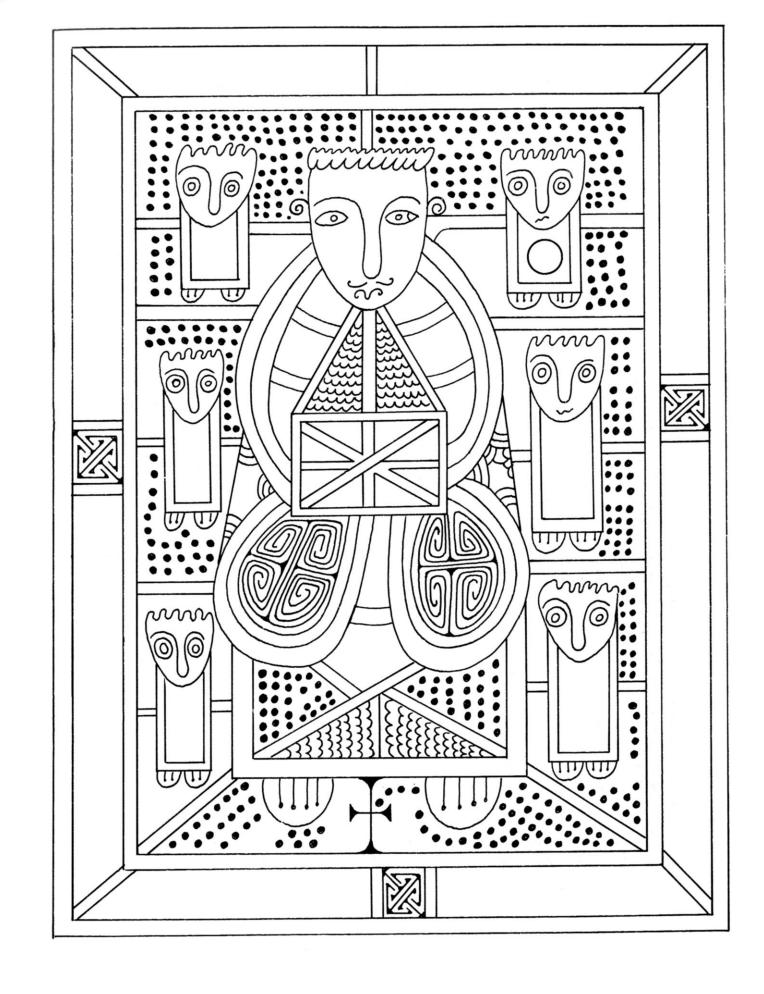


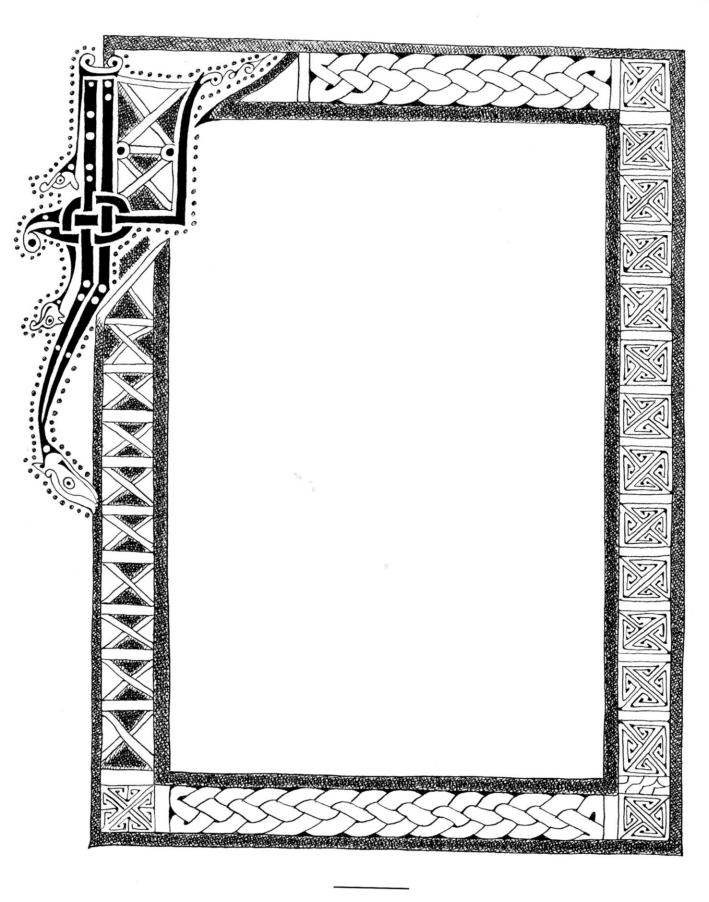


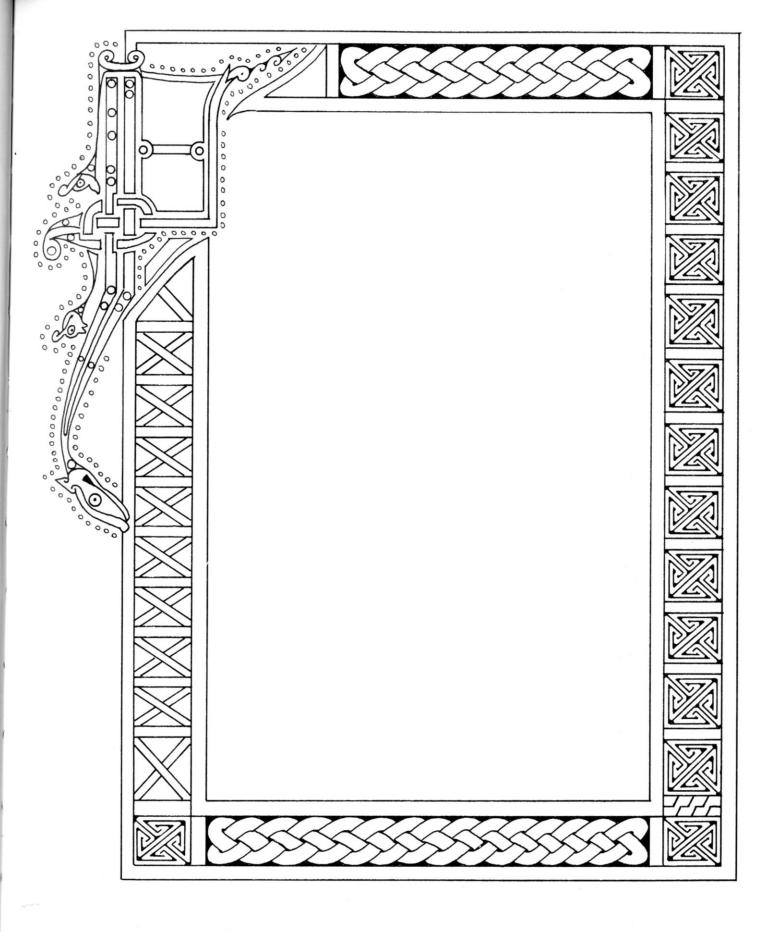


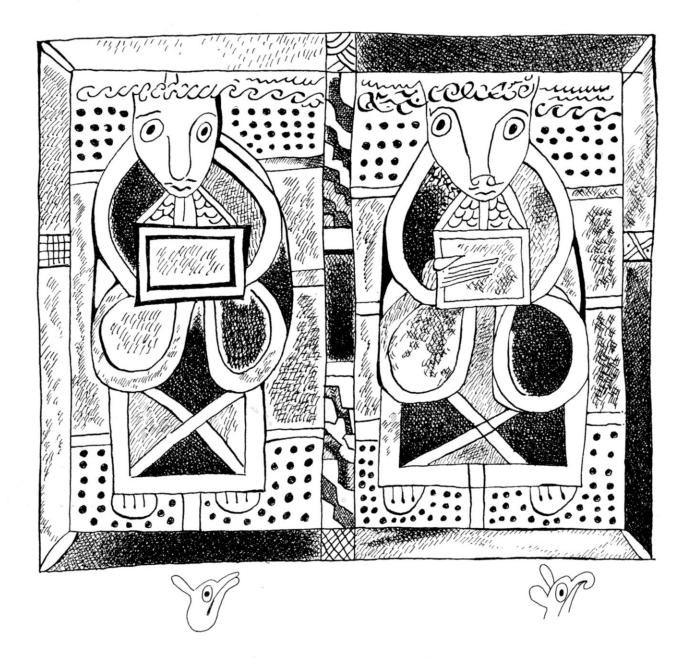


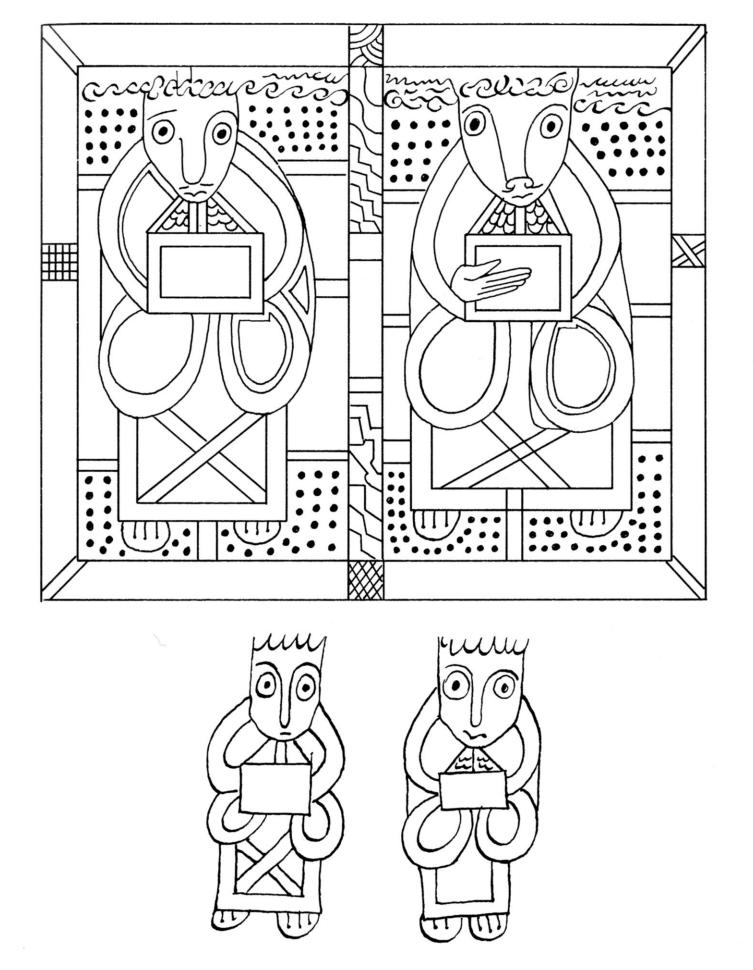


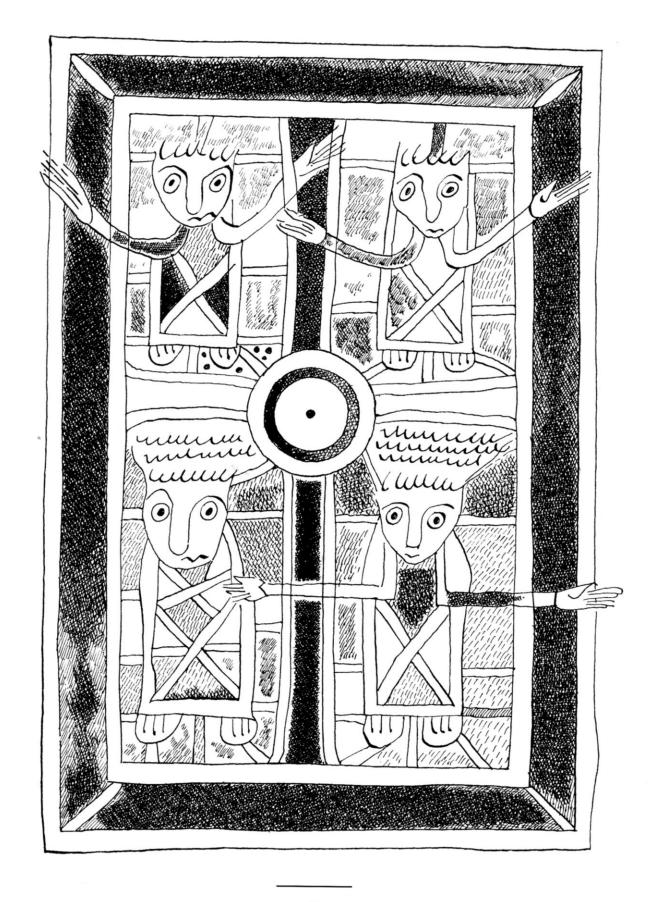


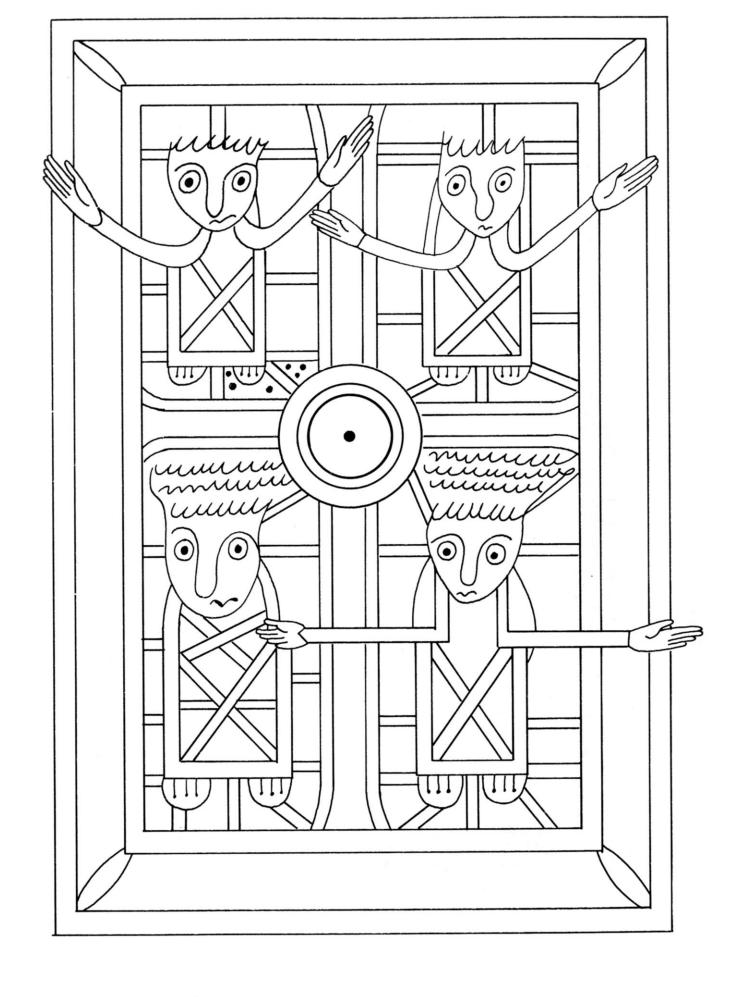


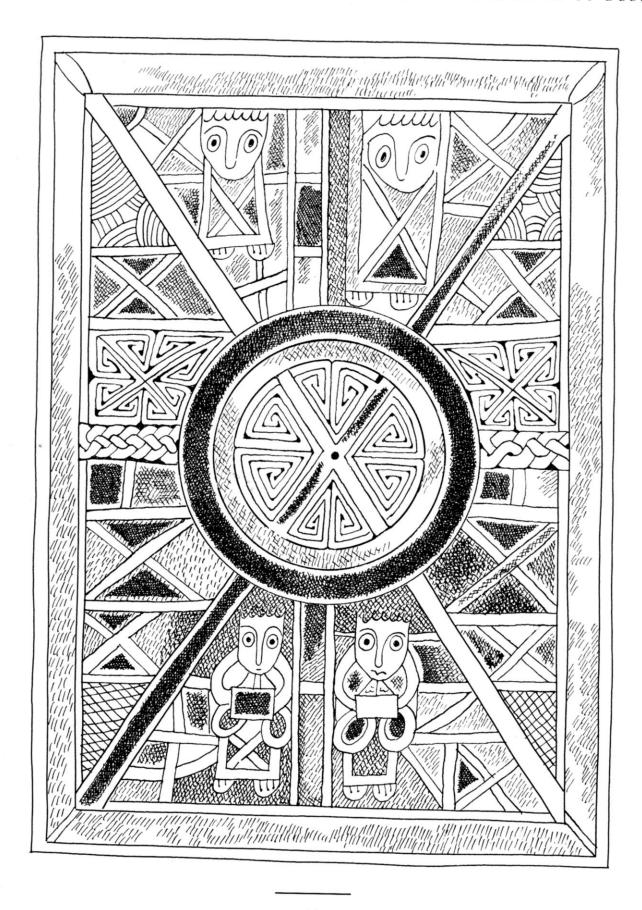


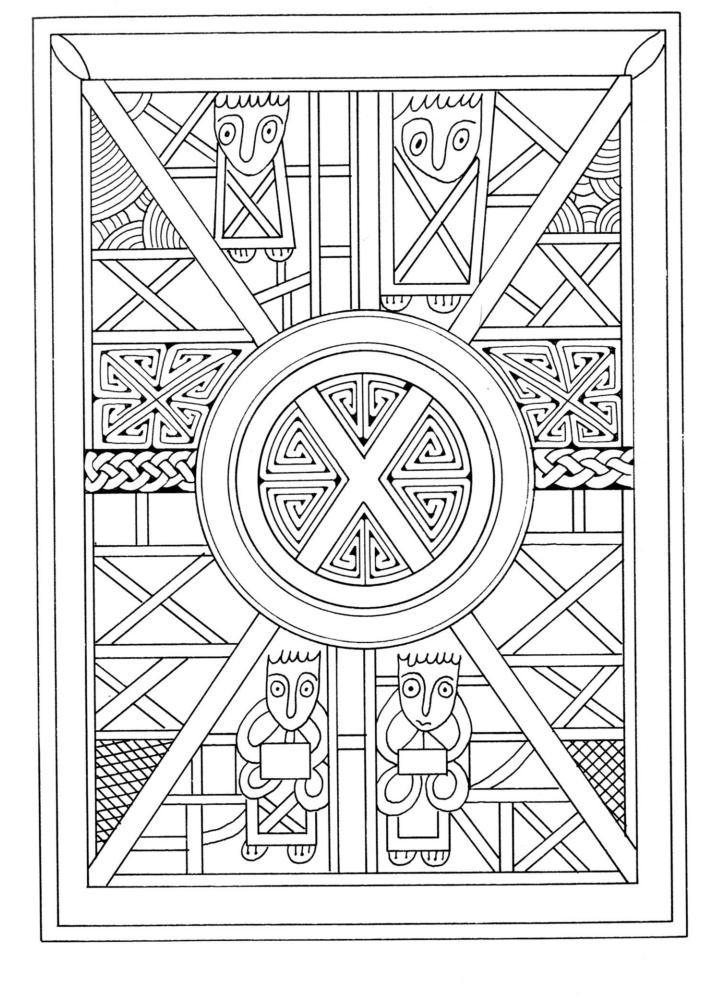


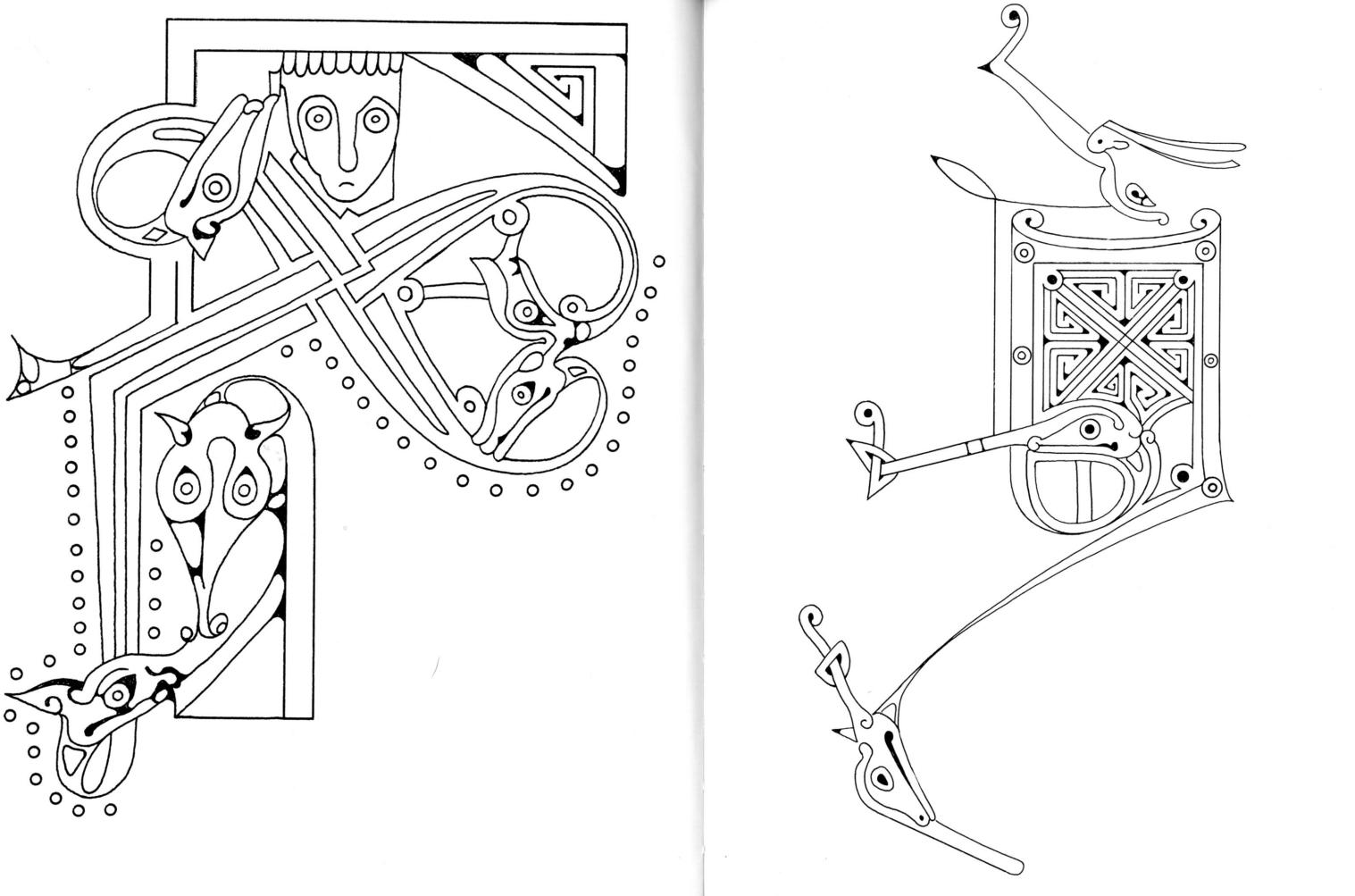


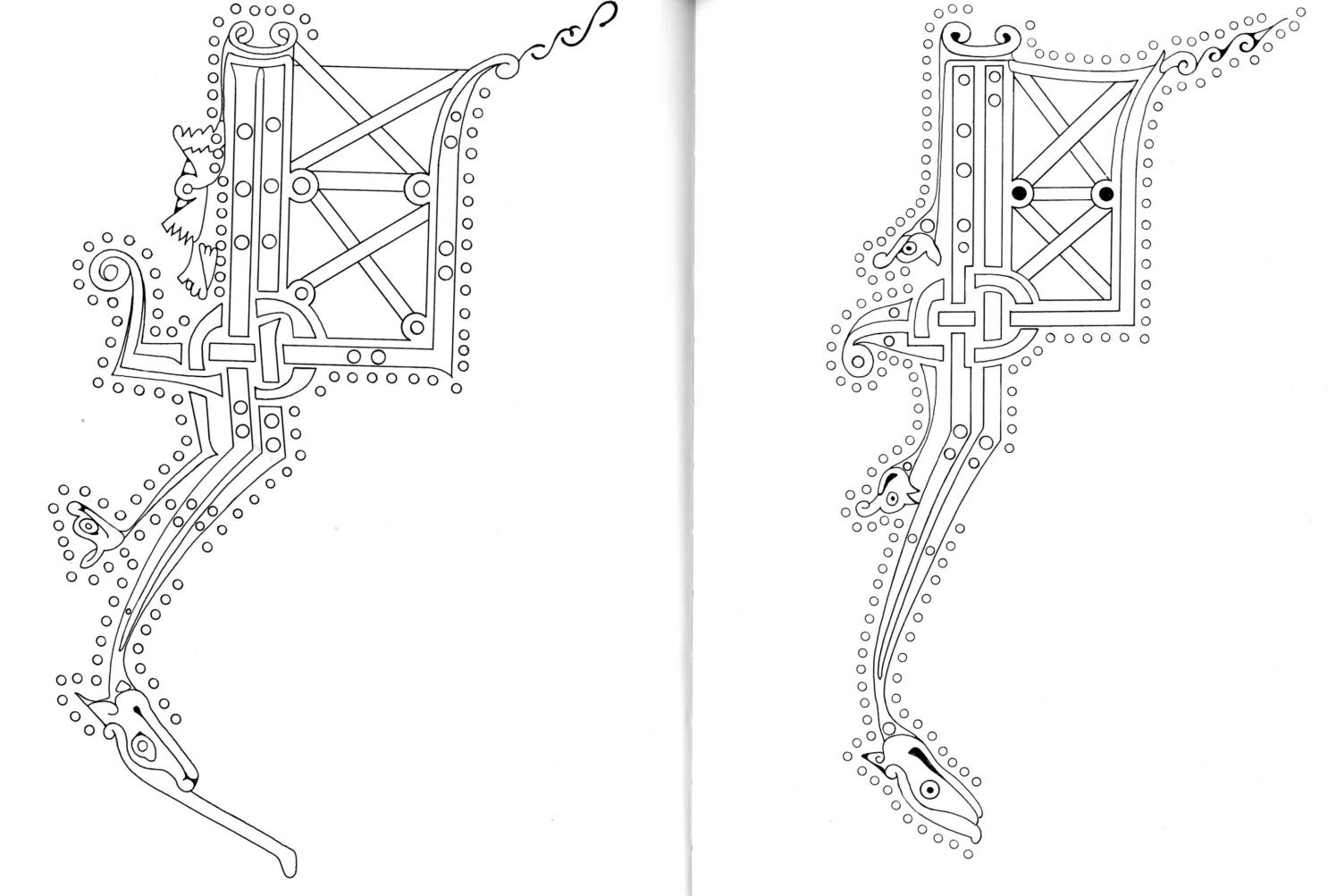


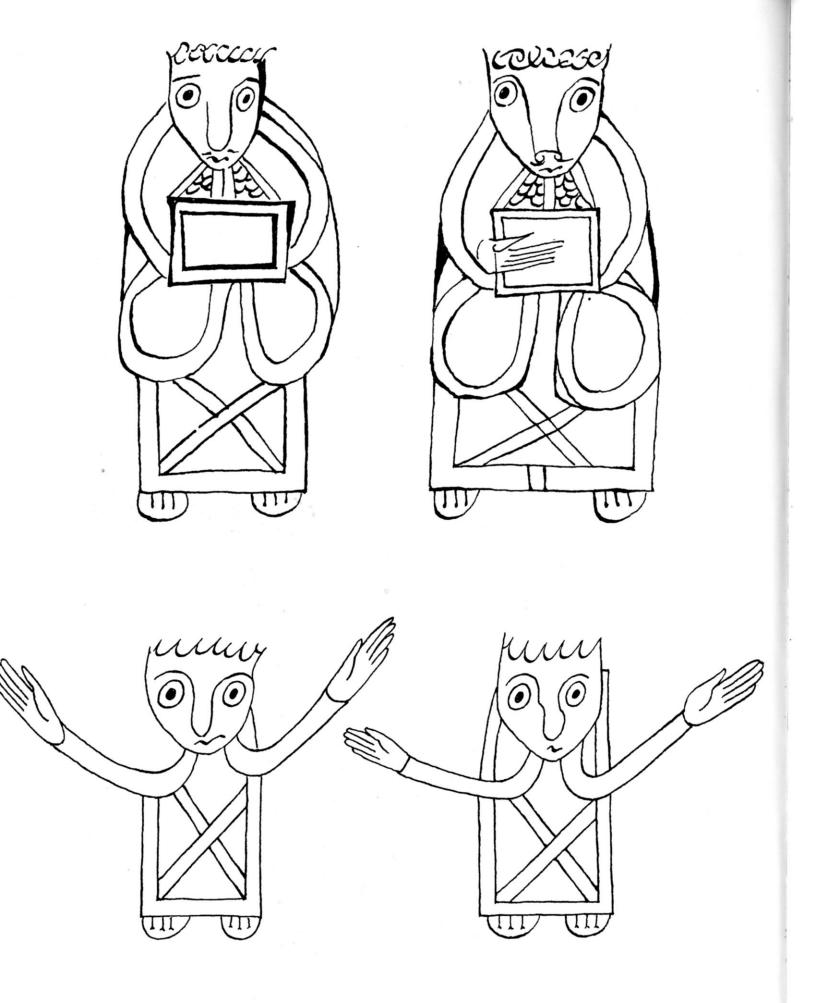


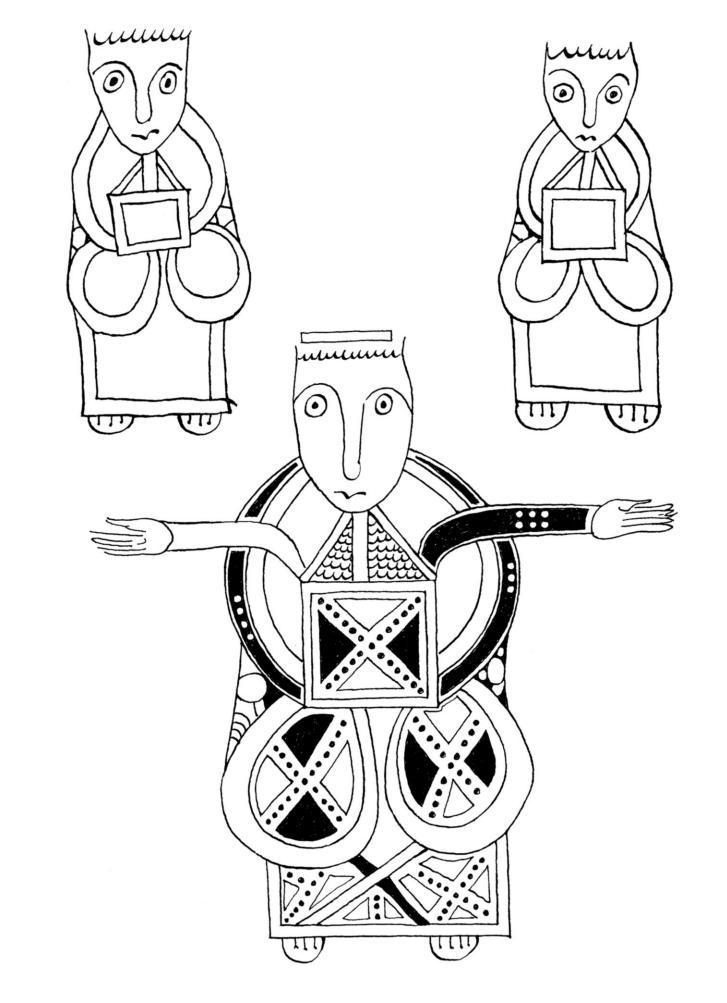




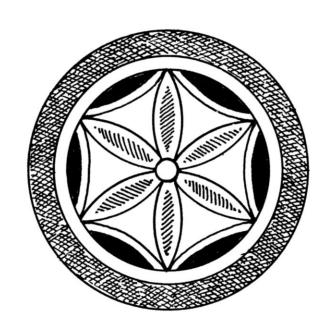








# THE BOOK OF DEER



NOTES ON THE ARTWORK



### NOTES ON THE ARTWORK

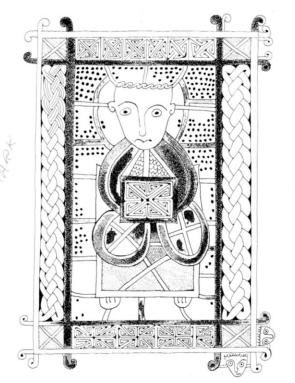
The artists: while a single uniform hand wrote the original ninth-century text, the hands of at least two and possibly three illustrators can be seen at work, contrary to previous opinion.



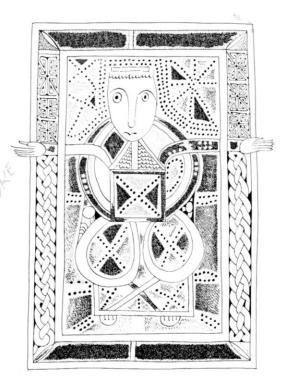
Fol. 4b

Fol. 4b contains the illustration for the Gospel of St Matthew and this shows the highest degree of sophistication of artwork. It stands on its own and the artist who executed this work seems to be one individual who is not responsible for any other artwork. The style is comparable to that of the artist who executed the illustration of St Matthew in the ninth-century 'Mac Durnan Gospels' in Lambeth Palace (Ms 1370). The sword is a rare, though recognizable, symbol of Matthew and therefore its inclusion makes the illustration unusual. There is a mention of the sword as Matthew's symbol in one ancient list of the 'emblems of the saints'. The sword itself is of unusual form.

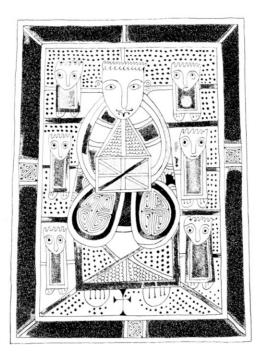
Whereas scholars have previously thought that the beard on the figure was five-pointed, closer examination reveals it to be only four-pointed. Indeed, an illustration of Matthew in *The Book of Kells* shows a four-pointed beard. The figurines on either side of the saint's head are most probably those of angels.



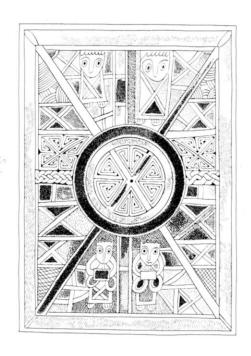
Fol. 16b



Fol. 29b



Fol. 41b

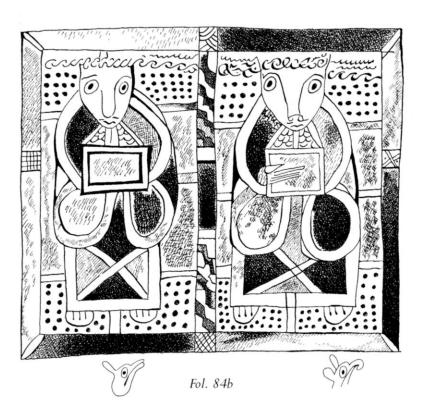


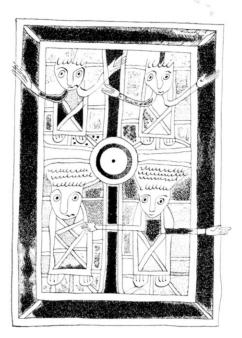
Fol. 86



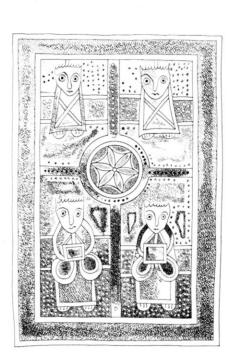
It might be argued that the illustrator of Fol. 4b could well be one and the same as the illustrator of Fols. 16b, 29b, 41b and 86, and that in Fol. 4b he had reached a high point in his art. We are inclined to think, however, that a second artist probably did this work. While the style on these folios is certainly very similar, and the rectangles are true and there is care in the drawing, they do not quite come up to the same standard as that of Fol. 4b. Celtic key and knotwork patterns and motifs demonstrate a style similar to many of the early Irish Gospel books such as *The Book of Dimma*. The figure of St Mark (Fol. 16b) is similar in style to the Evangelist as depicted in *The Book of Durrow*. Mark carries an object which may represent a book in ornamental binding; this is a common enough motif in depictions of Mark in early Celtic manuscript art. However, judging from the shape, the objects in front of the saints have been claimed as reliquary caskets, which we will discuss in our note on Fol. lb.

The figure of St Luke (Fol. 29b) can also be compared to his visualization in *The Book of Durrow*, though the same motifs can also be found in the figure of Luke in the 'Mac Durnan Gospels'. The figures of the two Evangelists and two angels on Fol. 86 are analogous to some of the pages of *The Book of Lindisfarne* with their quaint flourishes and fern leaf clusters.

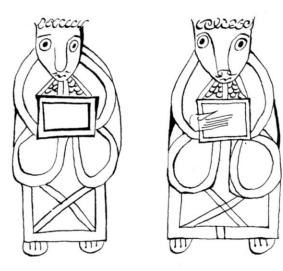






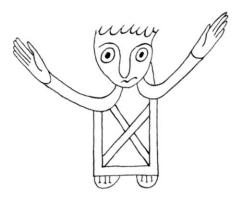


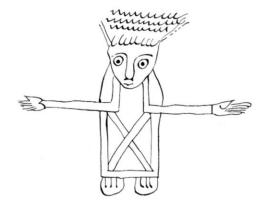
Fol. 1b

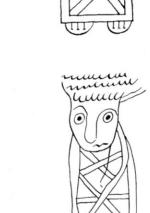


Fol. 84b

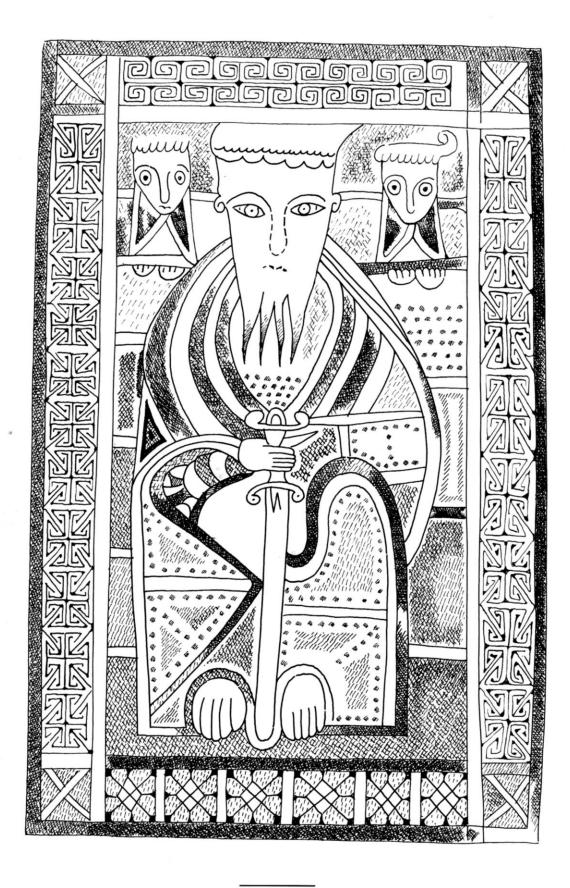
The hand of another illustrator executed the work on Fols. 84b and 85b. While there is a curious variety of thickness of lines, there appears a greater regularity of shapes but a crudeness to the faces. Fol. lb has signs of this same hand but, if so, the illustrator clearly has had a 'good day', is more controlled and takes care to compass draw his circles. On all these three folios there is no attempt at knotwork or other visible Celtic motifs, which distinguishes them from the other folios.

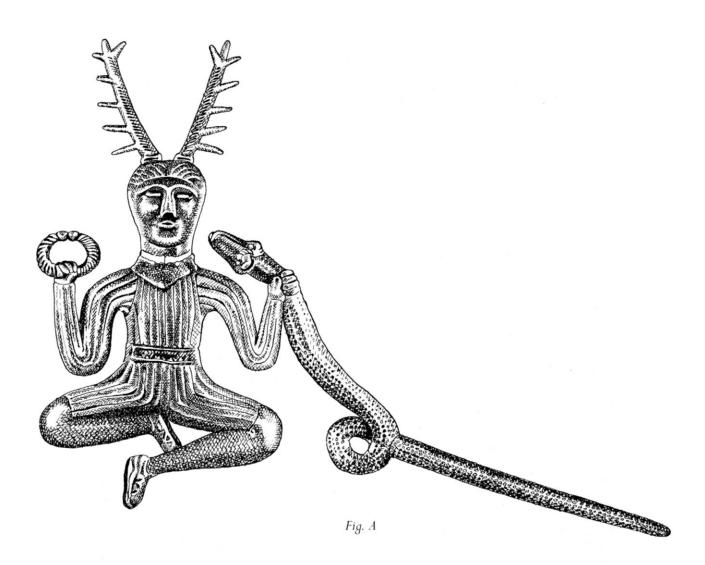






Fol. 85b





Of the four Evangelists, the figure of Matthew is standing upright with his sword point resting between his feet. These are drawn in fairly unsophisticated manner compared to the usual splayed-out depiction of feet seen in most Celtic work of the time. True, in the 'Mac Durnan Gospels' and even in *The Book of Kells* feet are shown in a similar position to those in *The Book of Deer*, but the artist covers them with elaborate shoes, perhaps to hide his lack of ability to draw them. Of the feet of Mark, Luke and John, we can say that they seem placed there as a complete afterthought: a hurried, crude stroke or two of the pen.

One wonders whether this was an intentional 'oversight'. Did the artist originally draw the figures without feet, as squatting figures, only to be told later by his outraged abbot to add them for the sake of the proprieties? The marks representing the feet of the figures seem merely to intrude in the illustration. The squatting figure appears in a long tradition of pagan Celtic art. Gods, such as Cernunnos, seen in Irish tradition as The Dagda, 'Father of the Gods', are often depicted in a Buddha-like posture. Most famous is a visualization on the Gundestrup Cauldron (see Fig. A). Perhaps the illustrator was following the pagan tradition of depicting gods (in this case the Evangelist) in squatting postures.

Thubut eachdunn imbia annach inleb pan colli-anacandda bhidache fan main intunazan podrombai...

Fol. 85/1

Initial letters: only the initial letter of each of the four Gospels is enlarged and ornamented, each being two inches high, highlighted with patches of different colours and the strokes of the letters terminating in dogs' heads. This is in the style of the lettering in the 'Psalter of St Ouen'. Ouen (c. AD 600–684) was Bishop of Rouen. Other comparisons can be made with the Irish Biblical Mss No.4, from the Harleian Gospels in the British Museum. These 'initial' folios are also surrounded by ornamental borders, formed of typical interlaced ribbons in both lozenge and rectangular form.

Represented here (Fol. 85/1) is the ninth-century handwriting producing the Gaelic entreaty to prayer for the soul of the scribe, as discussed in the introduction. This is worth examining for the style of the letters, particularly the strange beauty of the opening capital, although the scribe varies his style – note particularly the letters 'a'. As a comparison, Fol. 85/2 shows the opening word of the Creed and the line marking the ending of the second book of the Evangelist, John – 'explicit euangelium secundum iohannum' (Fol. 84b/1).



Fol. 85/2



Fol. 84b/1

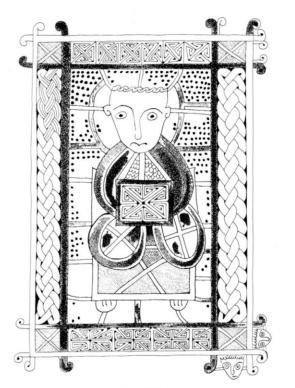


Fol. 85

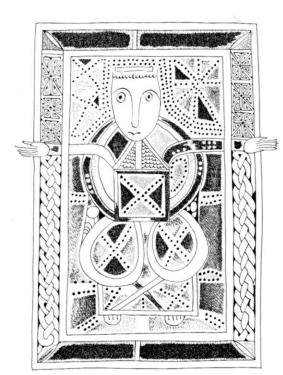


The transformation of Latin letters into a distinctly Gaelic script is said to have occurred in the seventh century and tradition has it that this was brought about by the work of a single scholar named Cenn Faelad of Tuaim Drecain (Tomregan, Co Cavan), one of the great universities in 'Dark Age' Ireland. While established by the religious, the university was essentially for lay students and there were four faculties: a law school, a school for classics, a medical school and a school of general Irish learning. Each faculty was run by a non-churchman, a *druimcli* or professor.

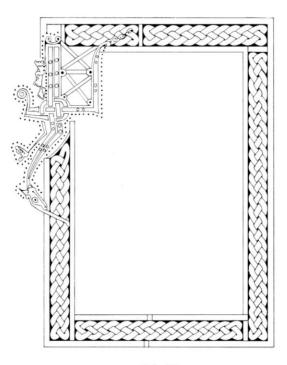
Cenn Faelad (d. AD 670) was not a monk but a layman who was educated in Latin and then followed an Irish course of studies. He became one of the best known of the scholars of Tuaim Drecain. While only fragments of his writings remain, he is known to have written a treatise on Irish grammar, a work on traditional legal maxims and some historical texts. He was known to have supported Colmcille's missionary work in what became Scotland. There is reference to a work written by Cenn Faelad in support of Colmcille's contention at the synod of Druim Ceatt in AD 575 that the Argyll Dal Riadan settlements should be independent of Irish interference. It is claimed that Cenn Faelad visited, among other establishments, the Abbey of Deer. In this visit to Pictland he advocated the use of Latin letters to make written records of learning. According to the Irish scholar Alice Stopford Green (1847-1929), in her *History of the Irish State to* 1014 (1925), 'Cenn Faelad established the union of the Latin and Gaelic schools in a common culture'.



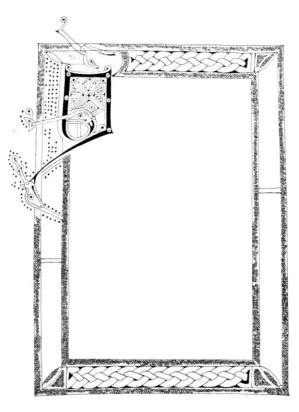
Fol. 16b



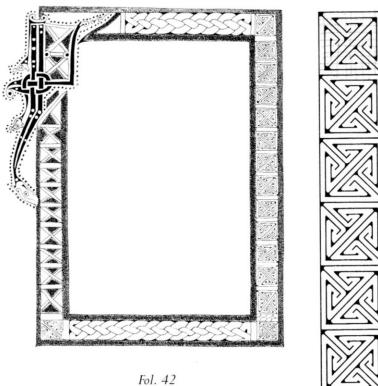
Fol. 29b



Fol. 17



Fol. 30



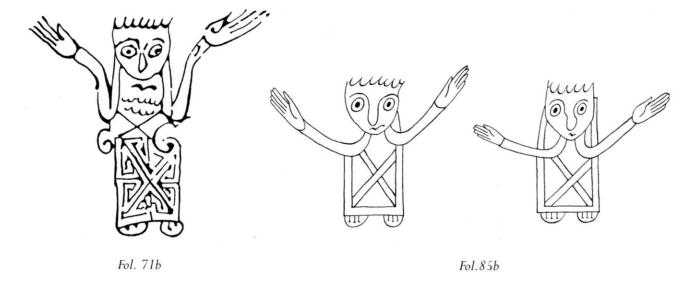




Borders on the folios containing the ornamented initials, Fols. 16b, 17, 29b, and 30, show designs which clearly echo the patterns on many of the Pictish stones. Parts of the border on Fol. 42 can be seen as an echo of the patternwork on the stones at Aberlemno, near Forfar (Angus), particularly the Glamis Manse Cross. The border work\*is not at all consistent and in some folios is simply straight lines without patternwork. However, in those stretches where the illustrator has taken the trouble to elaborate with patterning we find borders which range from Celtic key patterns, so favoured in what has been called the 'Pictish School', with the use of straight lines and diagonals, to the more loose and flowing Celtic knotwork which also found favour in the 'Pictish School'. Included are examples of isolated border knotwork from *The Book of Deer* to emphasize what the artist was attempting to achieve.



Fig. B





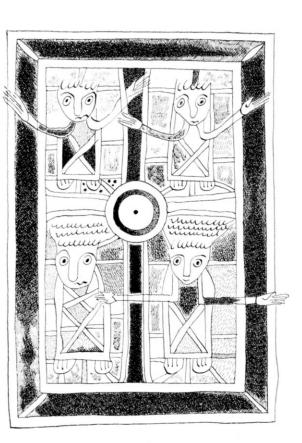
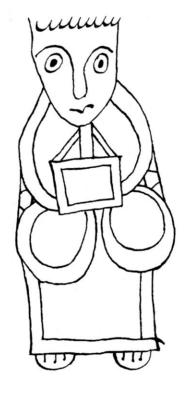


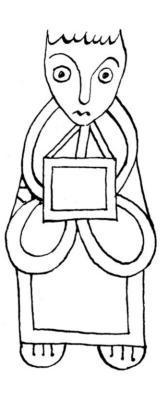
Fig. C

Fol. 85b

On many folios of *The Book of Deer* there occur doodles of dogs' heads, birds, hares, deer and, on Fol. 71b, a human figure which seems extremely pagan in representation but presumably is meant as a bearded saint. The figure holds up both hands in the same manner as pagan Celtic gods have been depicted, particularly the figures on the Gundestrup Cauldron. The figure (Fig. B) from the Cauldron, thought to be a representation of Taranis, god of thunder, shows the hands in this typical Celtic position but he holds dead animals. Indeed, also given here as illustration (Fig. C) is a crude rock carving of Cernunnos, with stag's antlers, from the fourth century BC found at Val Camonica in what was then Cisalpine Gaul (northern Italy). This clearly demonstrates the continuity of depiction of holy personages.

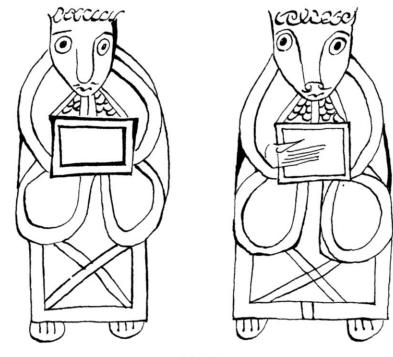
The two top figures of the four Evangelists on Fol. 85b hold their hands up in similar benediction or supplication while the third simply holds his hands out in the form of a crucifix, echoing the position of St Luke on Fol. 29b. The fourth Evangelist has no hands at all. Why did the artist change his mind half-way through this page? Did he realize the unintentional pagan symbolism of the first two figures and then alter the position consciously for the third and fourth Evangelists? The four Evangelists as they appear on Fol.lb do not suffer this curiosity, being shown without hands at all but with the bottom two apparently holding books or reliquary caskets. For comparative purposes we show (Figs. D and E) two caskets from this period – eighth and ninth centuries – both from Lough Erne, near Tully, Co. Fermanagh. These caskets,made of yew wood, gilt, tin and highlighted by amber and glass, would have been familiar objects to the artists.



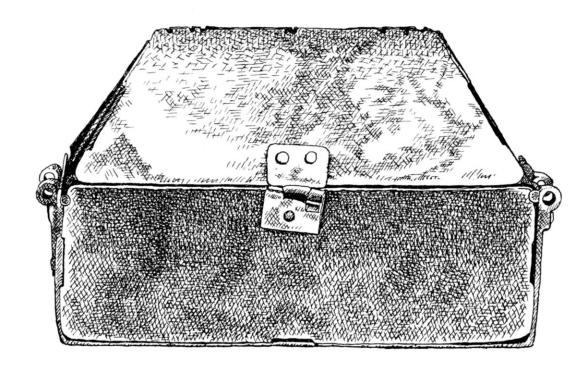




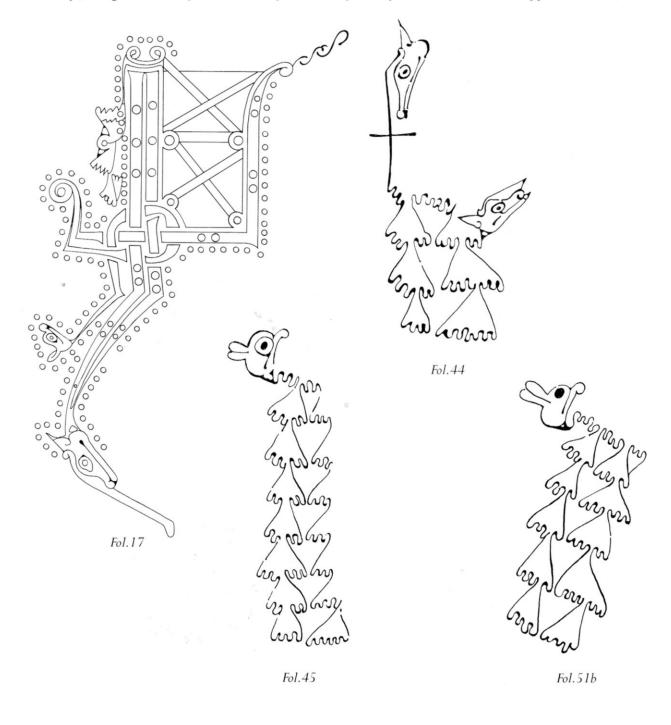


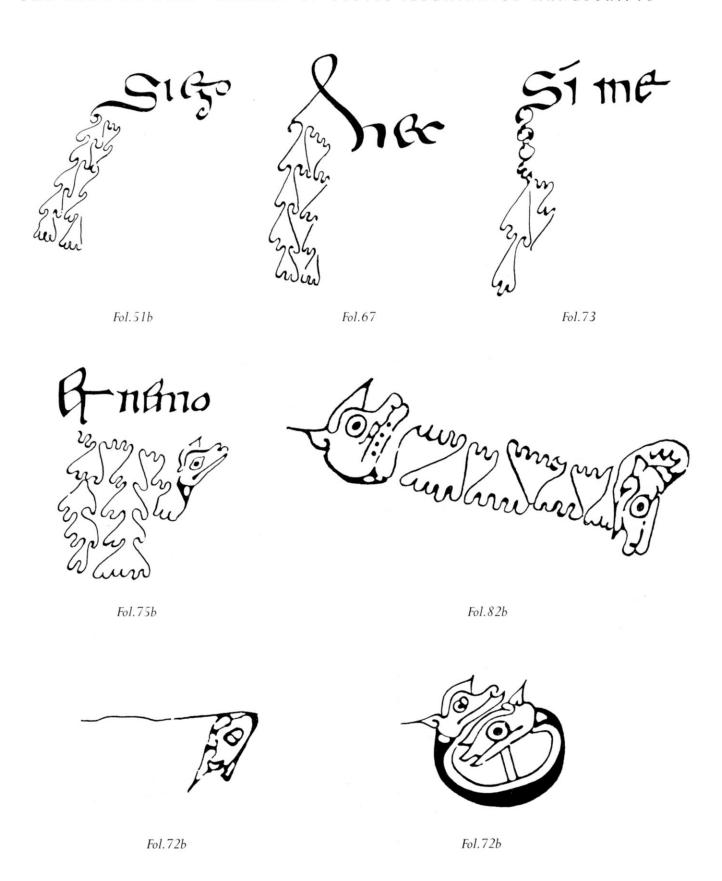


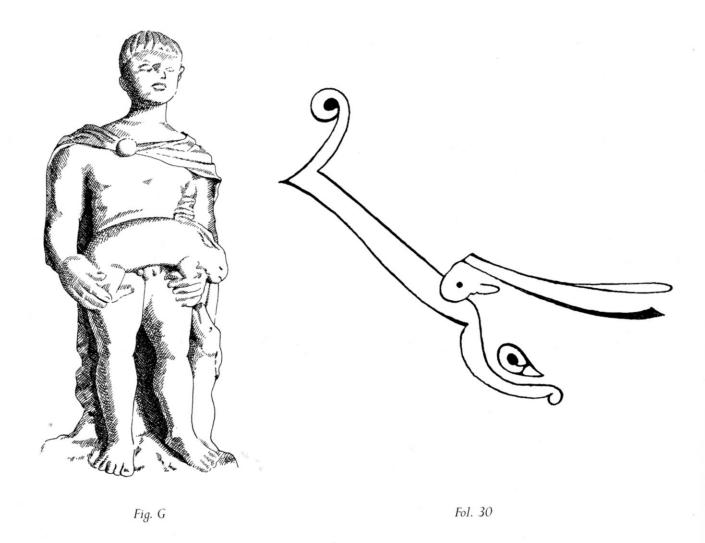




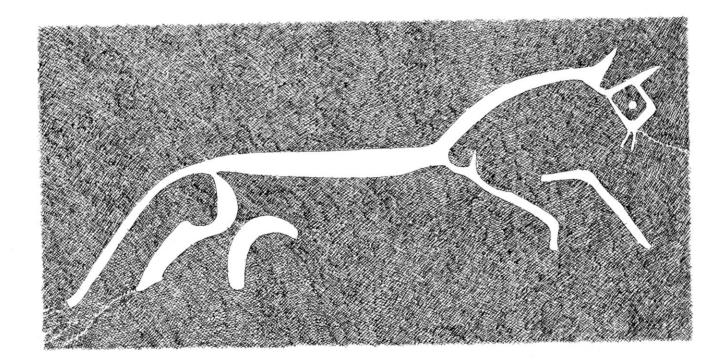
There are several doodles in the book which are certainly obscure and their intention or meaning is hard to guess at. For examples, Fols, 44, 45, 51b, 67, 73, 75b, 82b have pen lines ending in dogs' heads or letters which, if not conforming to the same particular patterning, and used to shape a capital letter on Fol. 17, one would dismiss as simple doodling. Clearly, they do represent something in the eye of the artist – but what? The only jotting which is impossible to decipher, and is probably an unfinished scrawl, appears on Fol. 72b.

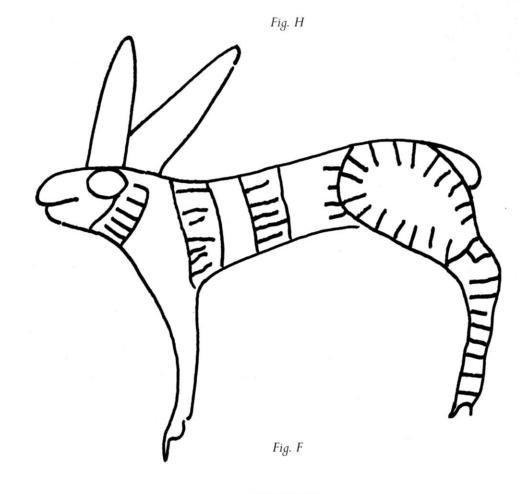




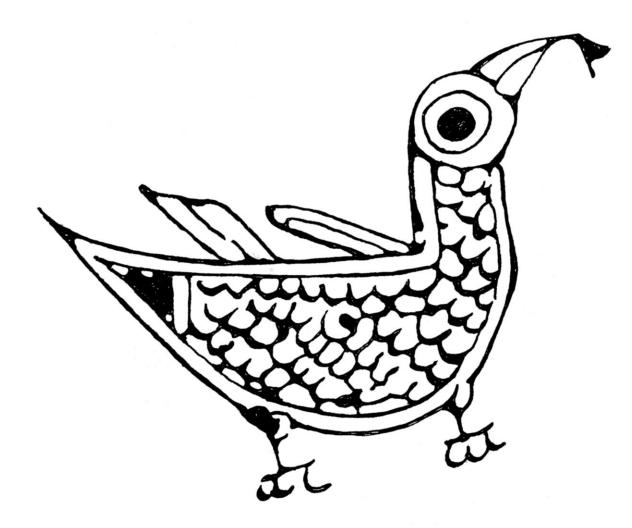


Many of the zoomorphic doodles are crudely drawn but are comparable with the animals which occur on several of the Pictish stones of the area as well as in other manuscript books. However, the symbolism of such animals stretches back far beyond Christian times. A detail of incised decoration on a Celtic long-necked ceramic flagon from the fourth century BC, found at Matzhausen, Germany, shows a similar hare (Fig. F). That animals played an important role in pagan Celtic life is seen by their prolific appearance in the art of the period and this role continued under Christianity. The Gundestrup Cauldron is full of such fabulous pagan mythological imagery. The figure of a Celtic hunter god, with knife, hound and hare (Fig. G), shows the importance of these animals and is dated to the first century AD; it was found at Touget, Gers, in France. The exciting surrealism of some Celtic forms gives food for thought. What seems to be a hare in *The Book of Deer* might easily be the surreal form of a horse, which was equally revered. For a comparison, Fig. H shows the White Horse at Uffington, thought to have been executed by Belgae craftsmen between the first century BC and the first century AD. It is 365 feet from nose to tail. The same style of horse is depicted on a gold coin of the Celtic Aulerci tribe of Britain dating from the first century BC.





The crow or raven doodled on Fol. 54b is clearly an echo of the symbol of the pagan Celtic goddess of death and battles and looks rather similar to the bronze figurine found in an early Celtic sanctuary at Woodeaten, Oxford, which is reproduced here for comparative purposes (Fig. I). An early form of Celtic raven, with wings outspread, dating from the third century BC, appears on a Celtic war helmet found at Ciumesti, Romania, also given here for comparative purposes (Fig. J).



Folio 54b

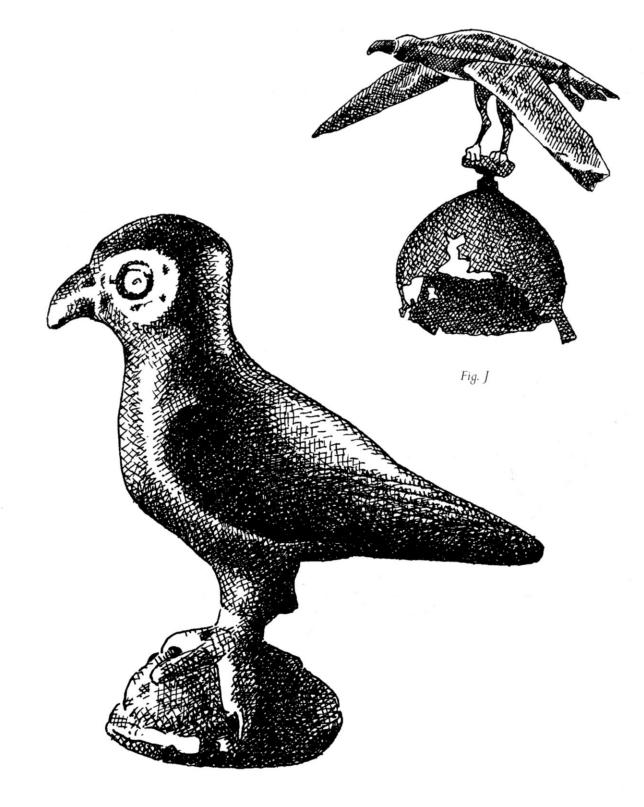
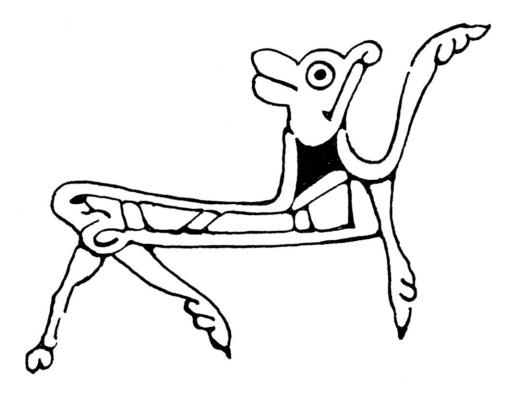
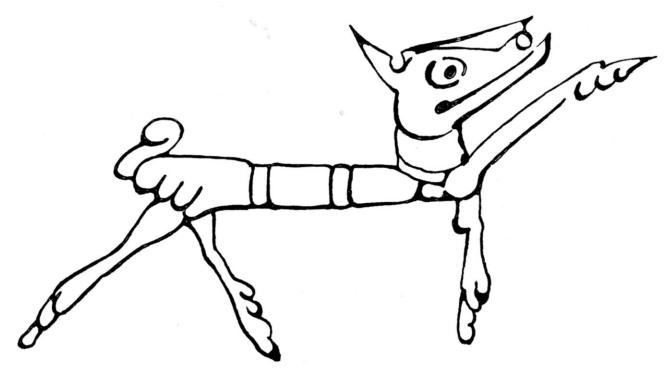


Fig. I



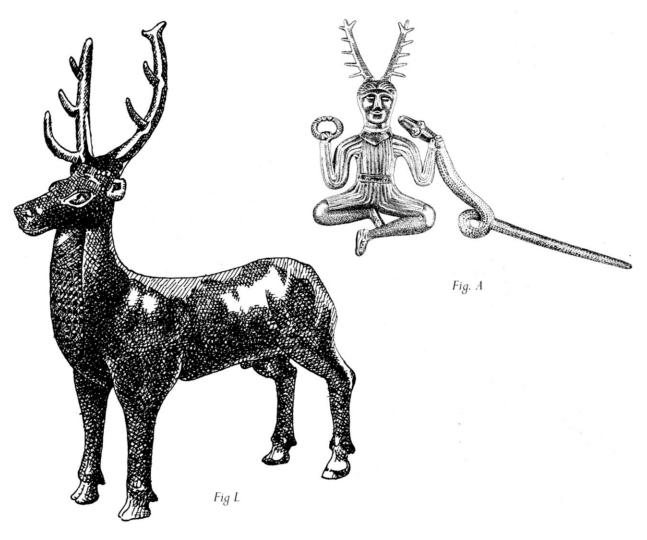
Folio 67



Folio 54b

The deer motifs (Fols. 54b and 67) are not one of the best examples of Celtic visualization of this sacred animal which occurs so frequently in Celtic mythology. Cernunnos was usually depicted with stag's antlers emerging from his head and symbolized both hunter and guardian of the forests. One of the figures on the Gundestrup Cauldron (Fig. A) has been identified as Cernunnos, holding a hero's torque, or golden collar, in one hand, and a serpent in the other. The Celts revered the speed and alertness of the deer and its aggression and strength. As an example, in Fig. L we show a bronze stag made by Celtic craftsmen in the second century BC, found at Saalfelden near Salzburg. The animal depicted in *The Book of Deer*, however, is a female. But the Irish god of death, Donn, shape-changed into a deer.

Fionn Mac Cumhail found the beautiful Sibh in the shape of a deer while hunting. She had been shape-changed by the Black Druid. Sibh bore their son who was named Oisín (os, deer; in, a diminutive form; i.e. 'little deer', more popularly known by the Anglicized form of Ossian); Oisín's son, in turn, was Oscar (os, deer; car, lover; lover of deer). Not only is there a long pre-Christian tradition of deer symbolism which influenced the artists, but St Aidan of Lindisfarne, the Irish monk who left Iona to convert the Northumbrians (d. AD 651), is ascribed the emblem of a deer.



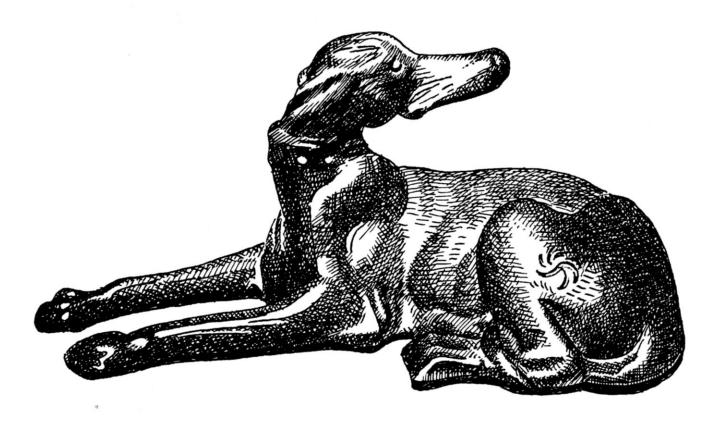
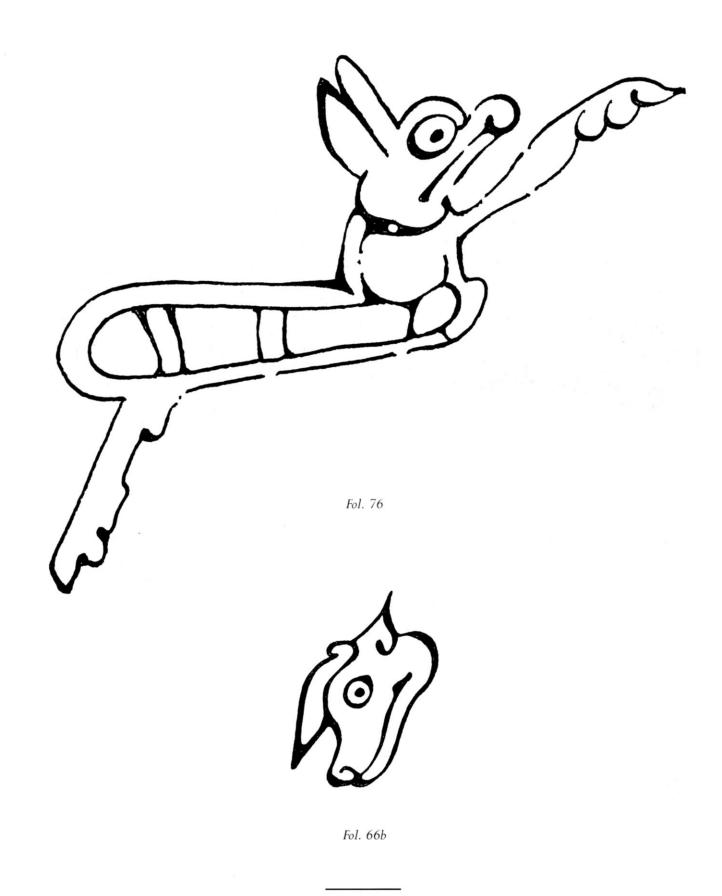


Fig. K

The dog which so obviously fascinates the illustrators of *The Book of Deer* is clearly a deer-hound: the head is similar to that of the bronze figure of such a hound dated to the third century AD found at the shrine of Nodens at Lydney, Gloucester. Nodens corresponds to the Irish hero/god Nuada and the Welsh Nudd. The figure of the hound is shown as Fig. K for comparison.



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### Cover illustrations

Front cover: Four figures – clerics
Inside front cover: The Evangelist St John
Inside back cover: The Evangelist St Luke
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