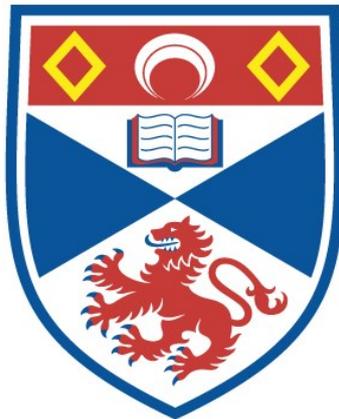


THE MEDIAEVAL BESTIARY AND ITS TEXTUAL TRADITION

Volume 1: Text

Patricia Stewart

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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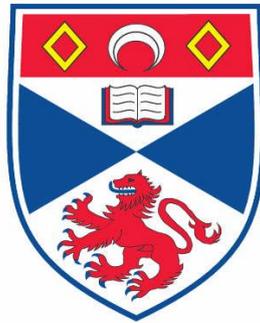
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The Mediaeval Bestiary and its Textual Tradition

Patricia Stewart



This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of
PhD
at the
University of St Andrews

17th August, 2012

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The following libraries have kindly allowed me access to their manuscripts or micro-films (and the occasional manuscript photograph):

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I end with my gratitude to my family, to whom this thesis is dedicated.

Abstract

This thesis examines the textual development of the medieval Latin prose bestiary throughout Europe over the course of the Middle Ages and uses this, in conjunction with a detailed study of the manuscripts, to propose new theories about bestiary users and owners. The Introduction describes previous bestiary research, focusing on that which concerns the relationships between manuscripts and the different textual versions, or bestiary ‘Families.’ This is used to justify my research and show how it is more comprehensive than that which has been done before and concentrates on English illuminated bestiaries. Part One takes a wider look at the bestiary in terms of geography and utilisation. The bestiary is shown to have been found across Europe in a variety of manuscript types, disproving the assumption that the bestiary is primarily an illustrated English text. Several manuscripts, both English and Continental, are then examined in greater detail to show how the physical qualities of the manuscript, along with the text, may be used to suggest (sometimes unexpected) bestiary users. Part Two makes an in-depth examination of the early development of the bestiary text, from various sources, into the different Families. A comparison of the bestiary texts allows the manuscripts of each Family to be grouped according to both the textual characteristics and place of production. The relevant features of each group and its members are discussed in detail, and the results of this examination are then used to propose new patterns of bestiary development and exchange between England and the Continent. Part Three summarises the textual changes made to each bestiary chapter and shows how these alter the sense of the individual chapter, and the text of each Family as a whole. The thesis concludes with a reiteration of the importance of the entirety of the manuscript evidence when making hypotheses about the development of a text and its users. This is particularly relevant in the case of the bestiary, which is found in such a variety of manuscripts throughout Europe during the Middle Ages.

Abbreviations and Conventions:

BL: British Library, London

BM: Bibliothèque Municipale, various locations

BnF: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris

Bodl.: Bodleian Library, Oxford

CUL: Cambridge University Library, Cambridge

PL: J.P. Migne (ed.) *Patrologia latina* (<http://pld.chadwyck.co.uk/>)

I capitalise the names of animals when they are used to refer to the chapter or text on that animal, animal names in lower case refer to the creature itself.

I use the terms ‘Laud-type’ and ‘Stowe-type’ to refer to a type of bestiary that is found in multiple manuscripts. I use the manuscript reference or sigla to refer to the text as found in a specific manuscript.

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Introduction

A great deal has been written on animals in the Middle Ages, the way they were viewed, their place in the universe, their religious symbolism, and their relationship to humans.¹ Many of these works mention ‘the bestiary’ as a source of medieval animal knowledge and symbolism, and in this context the word ‘bestiary’ is often used in a generic sense to indicate any form of animal information from manuscripts to sculpture, as well as the medieval Latin bestiary with which this thesis is concerned.² This use of the term in such a general fashion can lead to confusion between different types of bestiaries, their audiences, and uses. For example, the medieval Latin texts were created under entirely different circumstances and for different audiences than the medieval French vernacular ones. One is also thus tempted to think of the ‘bestiary’ as ‘the mass of medieval zoological knowledge and imagery’, when it is merely a group of individual manuscripts belonging to a genre created by modern historians.³ Paul Wackers has pointed out the difficulties of imposing genres on medieval texts because it tempts us to speak of genres changing and developing over time even though the term ‘genre’ is only a metaphor. ‘In reality people produce texts ... [that]... may change with the passing of time ... texts are classified or grouped and ... the standards used to classify them may also change.’⁴ Therefore, for the sake of clarification, I will use the term ‘bestiary’ in the thesis to refer to the medieval Latin texts that are based on the *Physiologus*, with additions from other classical, patristic, and medieval authors, and that were written between the late tenth century and the early fourteenth. The vernacular bestiaries are not specifically dealt with, except in connection with relevant Latin manuscripts. Because there are different *Physiologus* versions (A, B, C, Y, DC), these will be specified when necessary.⁵

¹ See (most recently): Jill Mann, *From Aesop to Reynard: Beast Literature in Medieval Britain* (Oxford, 2009); Brigitte Resl, (ed.), *A Cultural History of Animals in the Medieval Age* (New York, 2009); Aleksander Pluskowski, (ed.), *Breaking and Shaping Beastly Bodies: Animals as Material Culture in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2007); Joyce E. Salisbury, *The Beast Within: Animals in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1994); Dorothy Yamamoto, *The Boundaries of the Human in Medieval English Literature* (Oxford, 2000).

² This issue has been highlighted in recent bestiary scholarship, e.g. Willene B. Clark, (ed. and trans.), *A Medieval Book of Beasts: The Second-Family Bestiary* (Woodbridge, 2006), p. 10.

³ Ron Baxter, *Bestiaries and Their Users in the Middle Ages* (Stroud, 1998), p. 16.

⁴ Paul Wackers, ‘There are no Genres: Remarks on the Classification of Literary Texts’, *Reinardus* 13 (2000), p. 237.

⁵ The *Physiologus* was written in Greek between the second and fourth centuries A.D., probably in Alexandria. For the latest theories on the composition date of the *Physiologus*, see Alan Scott, ‘The Date

Bestiary scholarship has tended to focus on English manuscripts, and much of it has been driven by the interests of art historians.⁶ Outside of specific works on bestiary manuscripts, there is still a tendency to extrapolate work done on specific manuscripts or groups of manuscripts to all bestiaries. This is seen most often in theories about the use of the bestiary, especially with regard to preaching and education.⁷ There is also a tendency to focus on one specific bestiary version, often the Second Family (described below), as a representative of ‘the bestiary’ and to treat this almost as the definitive version. Tied in with this is the preponderance of scholarship on English bestiary manuscripts, resulting in the tacit assumption that the ‘typical’ bestiary is Second Family, English, illustrated, and belonging to the thirteenth century. This view is simplistic and, as this thesis will show, is not supported by the manuscript evidence.

of the Physiologus’, *Vigiliae Christianae*, 52:4 (Nov., 1998), pp. 430-441. The earliest surviving texts are Latin translations. The Y version is found in Bern, Burgerbibliothek MS lat. 611 (eighth-ninth century) and is very close to the Greek original but had no influence on the bestiaries. See Francis J. Carmody (ed.), ‘*Physiologus Latinus Versio Y*’, *University of California Publications in Classical Philology* 12 (1941), pp. 95-134 for an edition of the Y text. C is found in Bern, Burgerbibliothek MS lat. 318 (ninth century). This is a Latin translation of a corrupt Greek text and contains the earliest painted illustrations in a bestiary or *Physiologus*. The text is printed in Charles Cahier and Arthur Martin, ‘*Bestiaires, textes*’ in *Mélanges d’archéologie, d’histoire et de littérature, rédigés ou recueillis. vol. 2*, (Paris, 1851), pp. 106-232. It is also available in facsimile, see Christoph von Steiger and Otto Homburger, *Physiologus Bernensis, voll-Faksimile-Ausg. des Codex Bongarsianus 318 der Burgerbibliothek Bern*, (Basel, 1964). A is found in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 10074 (tenth century) and contains Carolingian illustrations that are significant for their depiction of the allegories. It is printed in Charles Cahier and Arthur Martin, ‘*Bestiaires, textes*’ in *Mélanges d’archéologie, d’histoire et de littérature, rédigés ou recueillis. vol. 2*, (Paris, 1851), pp. 106-232. B is found in Bern, Burgerbibliothek MS lat. 233 (eighth-ninth century) and it is from this version that the later Latin bestiaries are derived. It is printed in Charles Cahier and Arthur Martin, ‘*Bestiaires, textes*’ in *Mélanges d’archéologie, d’histoire et de littérature, rédigés ou recueillis. vol. 2*, (Paris, 1851), pp. 106-232. See Francis J. Carmody (ed.), *Physiologus Latinus: Éditions préliminaires Versio B* (Paris, 1939) for an edition of the B text. The DC version is thought to have been composed in France in about 1000 and is found in many manuscripts, the majority of which are German. It is so-called from the phrase ‘*Dicta Chrysostomi*’ found in the text that refers to its attribution to John Chrysostom. See Friedrich Wilhelm, (ed.), ‘Der ältere und der jüngere Physiologus’, *Müchener Texte Heft 8 B (Kommentar)* (1916), pp. 13-52 for the edited text of the DC version. Cahier was the first to use the ‘A’, ‘B’, and ‘C’ to designate these manuscripts, further classification of *Physiologus* manuscripts has been carried out by Carmody as referenced above, and by F. Sbordone, ‘La tradizione manoscritta del Physiologo latino’, *Athenaeum*, N.S. XXVII (1949), pp. 246-280. See Florence McCulloch, *Medieval Latin and French Bestiaries*, (Chapel Hill, 1960), pp. 21-25, 41, for a brief overview of the development of the *Physiologus* classification system.

⁶ Willene B. Clark, Xenia Muratova, Ron Baxter, Debra Strickland (writing as Debra Hassig), and Florence McCulloch, who have produced major works on the bestiary, are all art historians. There is, of course, bestiary scholarship written by non-art historians, including the recent edition of the Northumberland bestiary by the Latinist Cynthia White (Cynthia White, (ed. and trans.), *From the Ark to the Pulpit: An Edition and Translation of the ‘Transitional’ Northumberland Bestiary (13th Century)* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 2009)) and the study of BL MS Add. 11283 by the literary historian Susan Crane (Susan Crane, ‘A Taxonomy of Creatures in the Second-Family Bestiary’, *New Medieval Literatures* 10 (2008), pp. 1-48.) However, the books and articles by these first five authors are the most influential, and tend to be the most cited in works that mention the bestiary but do not deal specifically with it, such as those listed in n. 1.

⁷ This issue is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2 of Part One.

Before I outline the structure and methodology of the thesis, I will first provide a concise review of bestiary scholarship to date, with a focus on the approaches and concerns of previous researchers. Certain works will be discussed in much greater detail in the body of the thesis, when they are relevant to my findings.

Early Bestiary Scholarship

Since much of the history of bestiary scholarship is dealt with in Ron Baxter's *Bestiaries and Their Users in the Middle Ages*, it will be summarised only briefly here.⁸ The bestiary and the *Physiologus* have been the subject of scholarship for over 150 years; Greek and Latin *Physiologus* and individual bestiary manuscripts have been published since 1850 when Gustav Heider published the DC version of the *Physiologus*. There were subsequent publication of the A, B, and C *Physiologus*, the French verse bestiary of Guillaume le Clerc, the French prose bestiary of Pierre de Beauvais, and the English Latin bestiary found in BL MS Royal 2.C.xii. Despite the resulting increased availability of bestiary texts, the scope of early bestiary study was limited to its influence on medieval sculpture, particularly in churches.⁹ This may have been because the bestiary was (and still is occasionally) thought to contain a systematic depiction of medieval animal symbolism. This idea was laid out most clearly in the work of John Romilly Allen who, in the late nineteenth-century, was interested in discovering 'whether there is any evidence in contemporary literature that a system of symbolism, founded upon the characteristics of the animal world, existed during the Middle ages and whether it can be proved that such a system was applied to the decoration of Christian monuments and buildings.'¹⁰ Allen believed that there was such a system of symbolism found in the 'Bestiary, or book of beasts' and his examples of its influence on sculpture were largely Continental. The only English example Allen used was the south doorway of St Mary's church in Alne, Yorkshire. This doorway is indeed framed by multiple, inscribed bestiary images and was used many times as an example of this

⁸ Baxter, *Users*, pp. 1-25.

⁹ Baxter notes that this opinion was found published as early as 1868, in Charles C. Perkins' *Italian Sculptors: Being a History of Sculpture in Northern, Southern, and Eastern Italy* (London, 1868), pp. 7-12. Baxter, *Users*, p. 1.

¹⁰ J. Romilly Allen, 'Lecture VI: The Medieval Bestiaries', in *Early Christian Symbolism in Great Britain and Ireland Before the Thirteenth Century: The Rhind Lectures in Archaeology for 1885* (London, 1887), p. 335.

use of the bestiary. However, Alne's program of carvings is unique, and there is no way of knowing how it would have been interpreted by a medieval audience.¹¹

Allen's most prolific and best-known student was George C. Druce who wrote multiple early twentieth-century articles on individual animals, including their symbolic meaning, possible identification, and examples of them found in ecclesiastical wood and stone carvings. Subjects he covered include the *mermecoleon*, *amphisbaena*, *caladrius*, *serra*, yale, and the crocodile.¹² Druce's influence on later attempts to match bestiary animals with real ones, i.e. to find out which real animals the bestiary writers actually referred to when they were speaking of fabulous creatures, will be discussed below. However, the supposed influence of bestiaries on medieval carvings has largely fallen out of favour as a research topic. In fact, Mariko Miyazaki's article 'Misericord Owls and Medieval Anti-semitism' proposes that once the image of the owl was taken out of its bestiary context, it acquired a new set of meanings that were not necessary present in the bestiary. This implies that the symbolism of animals in bestiaries cannot be assumed to map onto that of the same animals in ecclesiastical carvings.¹³ The application of the bestiary's symbolism to other media was the main focus of bestiary scholarship until the work of M.R. James. Modifications of his classification system and work on the manuscripts themselves has now become one major strand in bestiary scholarship; the other is the attempt to describe how the manuscripts were used in the Middle Ages and the related areas of provenance and naturalism in the bestiaries.

Later Studies of Bestiary Provenance and Distribution

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the bestiary (which may include the *Physiologus*), was assumed to have been found in most, if not all, medieval monastic libraries in England and the Continent.¹⁴ This is likely due to the nature of bestiary studies at the time, as described above, which largely consisted of attempts to

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 347.

¹² George C. Druce, 'An Account of the Mermecoleon or Ant-lion', *Antiquaries Journal*, 3 (1923), pp. 347-364; 'The Amphisbaena and its Connections in Ecclesiastical Art and Architecture', *Archaeological Journal*, 67 (1910), pp. 285-317; 'The Caladrius and its Legend, Sculptured Upon the Twelfth-Century Doorway of Alne Church, Yorkshire', *Archaeological Journal*, 69 (1912), pp. 381-416; 'On the Legend of the Serra or Saw-Fish', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd series, XXXI (1919), pp. 20-35; 'Notes on the History of the Heraldic Jall or Yale', *Archaeological Journal*, 68 (1911), pp. 173-199; 'The Symbolism of the Crocodile in the Middle Ages', *Archaeological Journal*, 66 (1909), pp. 311-338.

¹³ Mariko Miyazaki, 'Misericord Owls and Medieval Anti-semitism', in Debra Hassig (ed.), *The Mark of the Beast: The Medieval Bestiary in Art, Life, and Literature* (New York, 1999), pp. 23-49.

¹⁴ See Baxter, *Users*, pp. 6-7 for references to early works supporting this view.

link animals found in medieval sculpture and art to a bestiary model.¹⁵ Arthur H. Collins' 1913 'Symbolism of Animals and Birds Represented in English Church Architecture' states that, due to the perceived similarity between animal subjects in church sculpture all over Europe, there must have been some common source for these images and 'this link has now been found in the natural history books of the Middle Ages ... usually called Bestiaries.'¹⁶ Naturally, such a link must be widespread: 'Few books have entered more than the Bestiaries into the common life of European nations.'¹⁷ Collins goes so far as to claim that Bestiaries were present in 'every great library.'¹⁸ Even Florence McCulloch, who was extremely precise in her manuscript descriptions, generally assumed that either the *Physiologus* or the bestiary was 'among the usual contents' of both English and Continental medieval libraries.¹⁹ These authors were perhaps over-eager in their assumptions about the bestiary's omnipresence and influence. However, more recent studies often go to the opposite extreme by focusing only on English manuscripts.

For example, Baxter's *Bestiaries and Their Users in the Middle Ages* and Debra Hassig's *Medieval Bestiaries* deal exclusively with English manuscripts, although their titles indicate a far more inclusive examination. This is not to say that these authors *intended* their work to be applicable to all bestiaries. Indeed, Baxter's emphasis on the early changes made to the *Physiologus* seems to necessitate an English emphasis as the earliest manuscripts to show these changes are, for the most part, English.²⁰ He sets out to disprove previous assumptions about the bestiary through a study of English bestiary manuscripts and their users. It is undoubtedly useful to have a great deal of localised information about bestiary production and users, but it cannot be assumed that the

¹⁵ See George Druce, 'Animals in English Wood Carvings', *Annual Volume of the Walpole Society* 3 (1914), pp. 57-73 and 'The Medieval Bestiaries and Their Influence on Ecclesiastical Decorative Art', *British Archaeological Journal* n.s. 25; 26 (1919; 1920), pp. 41-82; 35-79.

¹⁶ Arthur H. Collins, *Symbolism of Animals and Birds Represented in English Church Architecture* (New York, 1913), p. 2.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ McCulloch here refers to a statement in an un-named 'recent work' which claims the *Physiologus* (without further specification) was 'among the usual contents of an English mediaeval library,' and she then assumes that 'this is doubtless true of continental libraries also.' Throughout her book, McCulloch uses the term *Physiologus* to refer to bestiaries. McCulloch, *Latin and French*, p. 44.

²⁰ Baxter, *Users*, p. 83. However, one of the major results of the manuscript research carried out for this thesis is that when these early English manuscripts are studied in conjunction with the early Continental ones, it becomes apparent that the bestiary's initial development is more complex than has been portrayed.

results hold for bestiaries in the rest of Europe. A similar study on European bestiaries and monastic libraries is required to gain a more complete understanding of bestiary ownership and use in the Middle Ages, and it is hoped that the research presented in this thesis goes some way towards clarifying the situation in Continental Europe.

The large number of art-historical studies of the bestiary also contribute to this Anglo-centric view.²¹ It is true that there are many illustrated English manuscripts and these contain some of the best examples of English illuminated manuscript art. Therefore it should not be a surprise that much of the detailed work on particular manuscripts is by art historians. It should also be obvious that those manuscripts with the finest or most amusing illustrations are going to be those chosen for reproduction, either digitally or in facsimile, in whole or single leaves on library websites, making them the most easily accessible.²² Because of the widespread accessibility of images on-line however, it becomes relatively easy to dissociate them from their manuscript sources, as it is possible to discuss an image or series of images in great detail and to make image comparisons between manuscripts without ever having seen the originals. This is not to say such dissociation was not possible in the past, but the ready availability of digital images makes it much easier.

This is seen in works which discuss animals in the Middle Ages: *A Cultural History of Animals in the Medieval Age* only contains reproductions from the Aberdeen

²¹ For example, in her well-known study on bestiary iconography, Debra Hassig mentions that although there are French, Italian, Catalan, and Castilian bestiary books, she only uses English manuscripts in her iconographic study because '[b]estiary production reached its apogee in the thirteenth century in England.' Debra Hassig, *Medieval Bestiaries: Text, Image, Ideology* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 1.

²² These include the digital facsimile, transcription, and translation project on the Aberdeen Bestiary in which Jane Geddes, an art historian, was responsible for the commentary, (<http://www.abdn.ac.uk/bestiary/bestiary.hti> accessed 12.1. 2012); the facsimiles of Ashmole 1511 (Xenia Muratova and Daniel Poirion (commentary), Franz Unterkircher, (ed.) *Bestiarium: Die Texte der Handschrift Ms. Ashmole 1511 der Bodleian Library Oxford in lateinischer und deutscher Sprache. Codices Selecti* 86 (Graz, 1982)); Bodley 764, (Christopher de Hamel, *Book of Beasts: A Facsimile of MS. Bodley 764* (Oxford, 2008)); St. Petersburg MS Q.v.15 (Gregorio Solera, *Bestiario de San Petersburgo: Biblioteca Nacional de Rusia*, v.1:Faksimile, v.2:Libro de Estudios (Madrid, 2003)); as well as the following manuscripts available on-line without commentary: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Parker Library MS 22 (http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/manuscript_description_long_display.do?ms_no=22 (accessed 12.1.12)); Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Parker Library MS 53 (http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/manuscript_description_long_display.do?ms_no=53 (accessed 12.1.12)); Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek MS Gl. kgl. S. 1633 4^o (<http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/manus/221/eng/> (accessed 12.1.12)); Valenciennes, BM MS 100 (<http://bookline-03.valenciennes.fr/bib/common/viewer/tifmpages.asp?TITRE=Ms+101&FILE=Ms0101.tif> (accessed 12.1.12)).

Bestiary (Aberdeen, University Library MS 24) and that in Cambridge, Trinity College Library MS R.14.9; *The Beginnings of Western Science* reproduces a leaf from BL MS Harley 3244; and while Dorothy Yamamoto's *The Boundaries of the Human in Medieval English Literature* does admittedly focus only on English literature, her discussion of bestiaries does not even mention that non-English ones survive.²³ Thus, the best-known and most-studied bestiary manuscripts are most likely going to be both English and illustrated.

Those works which include catalogues or lists of bestiary manuscripts do not, with the exception of James, differentiate manuscripts according to provenance.²⁴ The lists found in McCulloch,²⁵ George and Yapp,²⁶ Clark and McMunn,²⁷ Clark's *Aviary* edition,²⁸ and Clark's *Second Family* edition²⁹ group manuscripts according to the Family, the presence or absence of illustrations, the language, and/or the relationships between the illustrations. And, although catalogue entries such as those found in Clark's editions of the *Aviary* and *Second Family* bestiary do include information on provenance, the lack of this information in the brief lists makes these manuscripts appear more homogenous than they are. Of course, there is no guarantee that a shared provenance results in a shared text or purpose or audience, but to some extent it does make a difference. There are certainly groups of manuscript versions produced in the

²³ Resl, (ed.), *Cultural History*, pp. 12, 33; David C. Lindberg, *The Beginnings of Western Science* (Chicago, 1992), p. 352; Yamamoto, *Boundaries*, pp. 12-33.

²⁴ James only makes the distinction between English and 'foreign' manuscripts. James, *Ms Ii.4.26*, p.11.

²⁵ McCulloch, *Latin and French*, pp. 28-44.

²⁶ Wilma George and Brunson Yapp, *The Naming of the Beasts: Natural History in the Medieval Bestiary* (London, 1991), pp. xii—xiv.

²⁷ Willene B. Clark and Meradith T. McMunn (ed.), *Beasts and Birds of the Middle Ages: The Bestiary and Its Legacy* (Philadelphia, 1989). pp. 197-203. It should be noted that Clark and McMunn's inclusion of Chartres, BM MS 63 (125) in the list of *Second Family* manuscripts is likely erroneous. Whilst the manuscript was destroyed in WWII, its entry in the 1890 *Catalogue général* indicates that it was a modified *Physiologus* or *First Family* text. 'Fol. 67v. Bestiaire. 'Leo fortis significat Deus fortis, quia Deus verax est...Item de leone. Leo, cum dormit, oculi eius vigilant... - - ...De laena, de audolaps, de pelicano, de nocticorax, de aquila, de fenice, de uppupa, de vipera, de serpente, de formica, de ono centauro...' etc.' This chapter order is closer (but not identical) to that found in the *First Family* or *Physiologus*; it is not similar at all to the order in the *Second Family*. In addition, the catalogue dates the manuscript to the tenth-eleventh centuries, which is too early for it to be a *Second Family* text. *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements: T.11* (Paris, 1890), pp. 30-32.

²⁸ The manuscripts listed here include a large number of bestiary manuscripts. Willene B. Clark (ed. and trans.), *The Medieval Book of Birds: Hugh of Fouilloys's Aviary* (Binghampton, 1992), pp. 267-313. The *Aviary*, written as a teaching text for lay brothers, contains sixty chapters on birds. The moralisations found therein deal mainly with monastic life and are much longer and more developed than those which are found in the bestiary. The *Aviary* survives in at least 125 manuscripts, the majority of which are from France, Portugal, Italy, and Central Europe.

²⁹ Clark, *Second-Family*, p. 222.

same location around the same time and while this has been noticed before, discussion of these issues has been somewhat limited.

The primary debate with regard to the provenance of English bestiaries, especially the luxury manuscripts, is whether they were produced in the North or South of England. Ron Baxter has identified forty-one bestiaries in English medieval book lists and localised nineteen surviving English bestiaries based on the *ex libris*, contents, provenance, miniatures, book lists, and heraldry.³⁰ When placed on a map of England, it becomes clear that bestiaries were scattered throughout most of England but the majority of locations only contained one bestiary, exceptions being Rievaulx (2), York (3), Meaux (6), Leicester (2), Peterborough (5), Rochester (2), Tichfield (2), Dover (3), and Canterbury (9).³¹ There is also evidence that the Latin bestiary may have been known in Scotland; the 1436 and 1465 book inventories of the Cathedral church of B.V.M. and St Machar refer to a '*Bestiale*' and a '*Liber de naturis animalium*'.³² However, as the *secundo folio* texts for both do not match any of the surviving Latin bestiary texts and the library was burned during the crisis of the Scottish Reformation in 1559-1560, the specific texts that were in these manuscripts cannot be determined.³³ The bestiary also may have been found in a more professional setting, the libraries of heralds as it was deemed necessary for them to understand animal symbolism in order to assign arms.³⁴ The list of books from the bequest of Thomas Benolt, Windsor Herald (1504-11) and Clarenceux King of Arms (1511-1534), dated 30 June 1534, includes two bestiaries. One of these may have been a printed edition of the French *Bestiaire*

³⁰ Baxter, *Users*, pp. 150-151.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 171 contains a map of bestiary distribution in England. The numbers given here refer to those bestiaries that Baxter has found on medieval book lists which he specified as either borrowers' lists, catalogues, books sent elsewhere, gifts, inventories, missing books, books purchased, and scribe's lists. He also highlights uncertainties inherent in the use of medieval book lists, such as the fact that some catalogues are incomplete, in many cases it the text to which the term 'bestiary' referred is unknown, and the book lists may have not included those bestiaries that were bound with other texts. *Ibid.*, pp. 161-165.

³² John Higgitt (ed.), *Scottish Libraries. Corpus of Medieval British Library Catalogues 12* (London, 2006), pp. 9, 16, 32, 37.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

³⁴ According to Richard, duke of Gloucester's, set of ordinances for the officers of arms, 'Item we woll more over that every Kyng of armes apply hym self to rede and studye in bokes which declare the propertes, natures and kyndes (accordyng to the saing of the Noble Clerkes) of bests, fowles, Fyshes, herbes and stones, that [he] ... may haue the more perfett vnderstandyng and knowledge of the same by the reson therof they may the more perfectly assigne and gyve Armes to euery person and persons accordyng to their degrees, their qualytyes and vertues,' Nigel Ramsay and James M.W. Willoughby (eds.), *Hospitals, Towns, and the Professions. Corpus of Medieval British Library Catalogues 14* (London, 2009), pp. 169-170.

d'amour moralisé (listed as *La propriete de bestes imprimè*),³⁵ while the other is more likely to have been a bestiary similar to the ones discussed in the thesis, since it is listed as 'A booke of the propertie of beestes writtin in Latin'.³⁶ These entries do not include the *secundo folio*, though, so once again the works to which they refer are not known.

There are only two surviving bestiary manuscripts that can be reliably linked to book lists – Paris, BnF MS Nouv. Acq. lat. 873 and Oxford, Bodl. MS Douce 88E (both to St Augustine's, Canterbury).³⁷ Baxter uses the particulars of these two manuscripts to propose the South-East of England as a location for bestiary development and interest in England. MS Nouv. Acq. lat. 873 is an early-mid twelfth-century manuscript that contains the same text found in Oxford, Bodl. MS Laud misc. 247, but with the latter half of the chapters rearranged so that the beasts, birds, and fish are grouped together. MS Nouv. Acq. lat. 873 is somewhat later than BL MS Stowe 1067, the first manuscript in which the *Physiologus* chapter order has been changed.³⁸ M.R. James linked both Laud 247 and Stowe 1067 to Christ Church, Canterbury on the basis of script.³⁹ This has led Baxter to suggest Canterbury as the location of the first rearrangements and modifications of the *Physiologus*. MS Douce 88E is a Third Family bestiary and while it is not the earliest copy, Baxter has suggested that its localisation to Canterbury plus the limited popularity of the *Pantheologus*, one of the sources used in the Third Family text, around Rochester indicates South-East England as a possible location for the creation of the Third Family.⁴⁰

While South-East England has thus been proposed as the area in which bestiaries were first developed, it is the North of England that some scholars wish to link to the production of some of the most luxurious manuscripts. Jane Geddes links the so-called 'Aberdeen Bestiary' (Aberdeen, Aberdeen University Library MS 24) to the North-East, in this case Bridlington Priory as the scriptorium and the Abbot Robert de Longchamp of St Mary's, York as the patron, through the identification of common features between the Aberdeen Bestiary, the Copenhagen Psalter, and the St Louis

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

³⁷ For a description of MS Nouv. Acq. lat. 873, see B. C. Barker-Benfield (ed.), *St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury. Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues* 13 (vol. 2) (London, 2008), pp. 809-811. For a description of MS Douce 88E, see *ibid.*, pp. 898-902.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 172-175.

³⁹ James, *Ms. ii.4.26*, p. 7.

⁴⁰ Baxter, *Users*, p. 176.

Psalter.⁴¹ This last manuscript was produced by an Augustinian house in the York area and therefore she links the Aberdeen Bestiary to the same ‘artistic environment’. The Aberdeen Bestiary, along with its sister manuscript Oxford, Bodl. MS Ashmole 1511, are two of the finest illuminated manuscripts of the medieval period and were clearly created by a well-endowed scriptorium that had the capacity to produce such luxurious books.⁴² Although the surviving manuscripts that are known to have come from Bridlington are not luxury copies, Geddes has found similarities between the figures in the Aberdeen manuscript and the extensive animal sculptures on the Bridlington ‘founder’s tomb’ and cloister, and between the style of the luxury Copenhagen Psalter and the remains of a standing figure from the Bridlington Priory. She interprets the presence of dragons, a lion, and a representation of Aesop’s fable of the fox and the stork on the tomb as demonstrative of a general interest in animal lore in Bridlington.⁴³

The Aberdeen Bestiary incorporates part of the Aviary in its section on birds, and included in this is the Aviary chapter on the cedar and the sparrows that nest in its branches. The illustrations for this chapter often include a central figure surrounded by seven birds, usually sparrows. The central figure differs between manuscripts, sometimes it is Christ, sometimes a religious or secular patron, but it is always central to the monastery or scriptorium that commissioned or produced the manuscript. In the Aberdeen Bestiary, the central figure is a woman dressed in blue, surrounded by six birds and holding the seventh. The birds are white and appear to represent doves, not sparrows. The central woman has variously been identified as *Ecclesia* (Mother Church), *Sapientia* (Eternal Wisdom), or the Virgin. Because of the differences between the figures in the Aberdeen and Ashmole bestiaries (the Ashmole woman wears russet robes) and because of the extensive handling marks on this page that are absent in the Ashmole manuscript, Geddes proposes that the Aberdeen manuscript

⁴¹ Jane Geddes, ‘Observations on the Aberdeen Bestiary’, *Reinardus* 11 (1998), p. 84.

⁴² This is not to say that every bestiary was the product of a monastic scriptorium, but in her study of the manuscript, Geddes has pointed out several characteristics of the Aberdeen manuscript that indicates that it was likely produced in a wealthy scriptorium for monastic use. These include the ‘princely quality’ of the manuscript, the use of worn patches at the top of specific folios indicating that the book was held in such a way as to be visible to an audience, and the pouncing holes around several of the illustrations. Ibid., p. 74.

⁴³ Ibid., pp. 76-78.

belonged to a religious teaching establishment dedicated to the Virgin: St Mary's York.⁴⁴

Xenia Muratova also proposes a Northern production for the Transitional manuscript New York, Morgan Library MS M81.⁴⁵ However, she extends her argument to suggest that the North Midlands were an important centre of bestiary production and illumination for an audience of the 'cultured elite,' educated laypersons who were not traditional scholars. The *ex libris* in Morgan Library, MS M81 states that in 1187, Philip, a canon of Lincoln Cathedral, gave to the church of St Mary and St Cuthbert at Radford (Worksop in Nottinghamshire) several books, including a bestiary, for the edification of the brothers. Since the bestiary is thought to have been made shortly before its donation, Muratova assumes that it was created and illuminated at Lincoln. Lincoln was an important centre of book production at the end of the twelfth century, and although manuscripts known to have been produced there have very modest decoration,⁴⁶ Muratova also cites the fact that Morgan M81 and its sister manuscript, St Petersburg, Russian National Library MS Q.v.V.1, are the first known illuminated bestiaries as evidence for bestiary development in Lincoln and links their illustrations to those in other manuscripts associated with the North Midlands.⁴⁷

The end of the twelfth century was a time when the cathedral school in Lincoln flourished, and it had close connections with the school at York and with Oxford masters. The bishops of Lincoln wished to attract the brightest scholars and intellectuals of the time to their city and much of this scholarly activity was directed towards the development of the sermon. Muratova believes that the bestiary was a source for sermon *exempla* and uses the links between Morgan MS 81 and the scholarly environment at Lincoln as evidence for this.⁴⁸ She then proposes that the 'cultured elite' in Lincoln and the cathedral school could have promoted the production of illuminated bestiaries, and also claims that the royal family also had a general interest in bestiaries, taking as proof the dedication of Philip de Thaon's French verse bestiary to

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 69-72.

⁴⁵ The term 'Transitional' was first used by McCulloch to classify bestiaries that showed characteristics of James' First and Second Families (see Chapter 7 of Part Two for a fuller discussion of these manuscripts). McCulloch, *Latin and French*, pp. 33-34.

⁴⁶ Xenia Muratova, 'Bestiaries: An Aspect of Medieval Patronage', in *Art and Patronage in the English Romanesque*, ed. Sarah Macready and F.H. Thompson, (*Occasional Papers*, New Series VIII), (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1986), p. 134.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 120-122.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 131-132.

Henry I's wife, Queen Aelis, in 1121.⁴⁹ Muratova takes the scarcity of bestiaries on medieval book lists, indeed there are none on the twelfth and fifteenth century lists from Lincoln cathedral, as evidence that many may have been produced for individual patrons.⁵⁰

Naturalism in the Bestiary

In addition to questions of bestiary use and provenance, the issue of naturalism, that is, how 'realistically' bestiarists were attempting to portray the natural world through text and illustration, is one that has been asked since these documents were first studied. Allen and other early scholars labelled the bestiary's animal information a 'system of mystic zoology' and thus it was almost inevitably compared with the science of the early twentieth century and found sorely lacking. How could the bestiary compete with new theories such as Mendel's genetic explanation of Darwinian evolution? Many have pointed out the errors in bestiary information, of which there is no shortage, and interpreted this as a disregard for fact. At this time it was common amongst historians to consider the Middle Ages as a time when superstition and religion reigned at the expense of scientific rationality. A person or period could be one or the other, but not both. 'During all the centuries which separated Galen from Galileo facts, as such, ceased to have any importance for the human mind. No one took the least interest in ascertaining how anything happened.'⁵¹ M.R. James himself said 'The reading world in those days would accept some perfectly unfounded statement about an animal, and cry, what a lesson to all of us! Without troubling to ask if it happened to be true.'⁵² When James published his study on bestiary families, he treated the texts in a literary manner. He looked for the sources in classical and patristic authors, and was not overly concerned with the level of accuracy in the bestiary. This treatment was based on the assumption that bestiaries were not natural history texts even though they might contain natural history. He believed that any popularity the bestiary had was because of the illustrations, 'its literary merit is nil, and its scientific value (even when it

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 121.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 136.

⁵¹ James Carlill, *The Epic of the Beast*, (London and New York, 1927), p. 157 as cited in Grover Cronin Jr, 'The Bestiary and the Medieval Mind – Some Complexities', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 2 (1941), p. 192.

⁵² M.R. James, 'The Bestiary', *History: The Quarterly Journal of the Historical Association*, New Series XVI: 61 (April, 1931), pp. 2-3.

had been most extensively purged of fable, and reinforced with soberer stuff) sadly meagre.⁵³

This deprecating view of both the bestiary and its cultural milieu is no longer accepted amongst scholars, but efforts to redress the situation have resulted in other problems of interpretation. One finds the ‘Whiggish’ view of the history of ideas, that of viewing current ideas as the pinnacle of a series of discrete steps which continuously build on previous knowledge, in the works of T.H. White, Wilma George, and Brunsdon Yapp.⁵⁴ During the middle of the twentieth century it became increasingly popular to trace the roots of modern science back to antiquity and the Middle Ages as a way of showing the continual scientific progress of humanity without trivialising earlier beliefs. However, it often led to the assumption that the authors of bestiaries were writing about animals for the same reasons that a modern zoologist would and that they were trying to convey the same sort of information, however inaccurate that information was.

T.H. White was a Latinist and amateur zoologist whose rather free translation of CUL MS li.4.26 was first published in 1954. This was the first English translation of a bestiary and was for many years the only widely-accessible bestiary text in any language. In his appendix White went to great lengths to show that ‘A Bestiary is a serious work of natural history, and is one of the bases upon which our own knowledge of biology is founded...’⁵⁵ White was reacting to earlier patronising attitudes in his insistence that the bestiary was an impressive attempt at a biology text and not an amusing collection of moralisations. Indeed, White nearly omitted all of the religious or symbolic passages from his edition, initially viewing them with ‘boredom,’ but left them in because he was ultimately overcome by their ‘charm.’⁵⁶ That he contemplated this emphasises his belief that the religious aspect of the bestiary was subservient to its function as natural history, although he did acknowledge the pervasive religious symbolism of the medieval world view.

⁵³ James, *Ms. li.4.26*, p. 1.

⁵⁴ T.H. White, *The Book of Beasts, Being a Translation From a Latin Bestiary of the Twelfth Century* (London, 1954); George and Yapp, *Naming*; Wilma George, ‘The Living World of the Bestiary’, *Archives of Natural History (Society for the History of Natural History)*, 12:1 (1985), pp. 161-164.

⁵⁵ White, *Book of Beasts*, p. 231.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

In his footnotes and appendix, White often hypothesised on the non-fabulous animals to which the fabulous could have been referring. Indeed, he believed that ‘the real pleasure’ and reward in reading a bestiary is found in this.⁵⁷ White limited his identification to fabulous creatures, but George and Yapp’s *The Naming of the Beasts* extends this approach to every animal. Despite their recognition that even a pre-Darwinian idea of species is not older than the seventeenth century, George and Yapp confidently assign species to the bestiary creatures.⁵⁸ Thus, the *autalops* is the Asian blackbuck (*Antilope cervicapra*), the siren is the Mediterranean monk seal (*Monachus monachus*), and the panther is the African leopard (*Panthera pardus*). Much of their book is taken up in a catalogue of creatures; entries for each include a description of its ‘natural history’ and possible identification. The accuracy of the information is emphasised and the moralisations are generally ignored. George and Yapp were also anxious to show that bestiaries are crucial documents in the history of medieval science and as such should not be dismissed as credulous religious symbolism. They treat the bestiary as a work that was written primarily to describe creatures that were seen or found in literature and was used in monastery schools as a textbook of natural history.⁵⁹ This assumes an interest in animals for their own sake – a decidedly non-medieval attitude. However, in the thirty-seven years between George and Yapp and White, it has become anathema to project modern concerns onto the past. This is one reason why White’s book received a glowing review in 1955 as an ‘important contribution’ and George and Yapp’s book was labelled ‘at best naive, at worst erroneous’ in 1993.⁶⁰

The above two views of the bestiary are extreme in that they portray it as primarily religious (and therefore non-rational) or secular (and therefore assume that in the Middle Ages it was possible to speak philosophically about the natural world without reference to God). However, other scholarship has instead sought to explain the medieval mindset that allowed for the existence of fabulous animals and this has been more successful in accounting for the supposed contradictory nature of the bestiary. Augustine’s famous statement on the importance of an animal’s meaning over its actual

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 237.

⁵⁸ George and Yapp, *Naming*, p. 22.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 28.

⁶⁰ Richard H. Randall, Jr, ‘The Book of Beasts, by T.H. White’, Review, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 59:4 (October 1955), pp. 355-356; Willene B. Clark, ‘Review: *The Naming of the Beasts: Natural History in the Medieval Bestiary*, by Wilma George and Brunson Yapp’, *Speculum*, 68:3 (July 1993), pp. 787-789.

existence was the basis of medieval animal symbolism. Nikolaus Henkel has demonstrated that it was not necessary to believe that fabulous animals existed to benefit from the moral or theological lessons they provide.⁶¹ And as Susan Crane puts it, ‘...what has been *thought* about animals? what do they *mean* to us? ... they may exist in the world, or they may not, but they certainly exist in cultural memory.’⁶² It may not be possible to determine whether the bestiary’s ‘average’ medieval audience truly did believe that fabulous animals existed as they were portrayed, but the conclusion that a medieval monk had no more reason to believe in a crocodile than in a phoenix is applicable.⁶³ Both were equally possible in a universe that valued the symbolic meaning of an animal more than its existence, and equally fabulous to a peasant in medieval Western Europe who had little chance of encountering either one. Thus the question of whether a creature such as the manticore was actually a man-eating tiger is moot from the medieval point of view.

Another way of resolving the perceived tension between what seems to be the religious and non-religious aspects of the bestiary is to recognise that the modern dichotomy between the two did not exist in the Middle Ages. We use ‘nature’ to refer to the natural world, whilst the medieval use of ‘nature’ was the Aristotelian nature-of-a-thing. The natural world was referred to as ‘Creation,’ a term which constantly reminded one that there was a Creator. Despite the best intentions of attempts to portray a harmonious relationship between religion and science in the Middle Ages, this approach only confuses the issue. The bestiary would not have been concerned with the relationship between the religious and ‘natural historical’ aspects of his text because he would not have seen the two as separate.

The term ‘natural history’ was certainly known in the Middle Ages due to the popularity of Pliny’s *Naturalis Historia*, and by the thirteenth century many of Aristotle’s zoological works were available in Latin.⁶⁴ However, the bestiary does not deal with animals in the same way. The bestiary was interested in animals not because

⁶¹ Nikolaus Henkel, *Studien zum Physiologus* (Tübingen, 1976), p. 143.

⁶² Crane, ‘Taxonomy’, p. 32.

⁶³ Pamela Gravestock, ‘Did Imaginary Animals Exist?’ in Debra Hassig (ed.), *The Mark of the Beast: The Medieval Bestiary in Art, Life, and Literature* (New York, 1999), pp. 119-139.

⁶⁴ It should also be noted that Pliny’s encyclopedic text treats a variety of subjects, from animals and plants to painting and medicine, indicating that the title of ‘Natural History’ referred to a much broader range of topics than it does currently. See Marjorie Chibnall, ‘Pliny’s ‘Natural History’ and the Middle Ages’ in T.A. Dorey (ed.), *Empire and Aftermath. Silver Latin II* (London, 1975), pp. 57-78 for the use of Pliny’s text in the Middle Ages.

of an interest in nature, but because they were creatures and as such were a route to the Creator.⁶⁵ Thus, the information in bestiaries is not ‘moralised natural history’ or ‘mystical zoology’ but is rather of a kind which we no longer possess: animal information, the ultimate purpose of which is not an appreciation of the animals themselves but knowledge of Christian doctrine and behaviour.⁶⁶

These earlier approaches to the bestiary vary from attempts to link its animal iconography to that found in other spheres, attempts to determine provenance and audience, and attempts to explain the apparent lack of coherence between the bestiary’s religious and non-religious information. There is a tendency for the arguments to be framed in an ‘either/or’ manner: the bestiary was developed in the North or South of England; the bestiary is a purely religious text or a proto-biological one, or, as will be discussed in Part One, the bestiary was used for preaching or teaching. However, I have also shown that much of the previous bestiary research has relied upon the close study of a small number of manuscripts, and this may have contributed to the contradictory nature of some of these conclusions, particularly those relating to the bestiary’s owners and users. The bestiary is no longer portrayed as a biological text, but questions about bestiary users and the location of bestiary development are still relevant. As I will demonstrate in the thesis, the manuscript evidence shows that the bestiary was not developed in one specific place for one specific purpose. While different versions were developed at various times and locations to meet particular needs, each version could also be put to a range of uses. Before I describe some of these use, I will outline my methodology, the scope of my manuscript research and the overall structure of the thesis.

Methodology and Manuscript Research

Extant Latin bestiary manuscripts are listed in Appendix 1 and grouped according to their provenance and Family; I have also provided information relating to the dating of each manuscript. Each manuscripts in Appendix 1 has been mentioned previously in the literature and there are no entries that are new manuscripts discovered

⁶⁵ Andrew Cunningham, ‘Science and Religion in the Thirteenth Century Revisited: The Making of St Francis the Proto-Ecologist. Part 2: Nature Not Creature’, *Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science*, 32:1 (2001), pp. 69-98.

⁶⁶ In Crane’s assertion that one of the purposes of the Second Family was to describe animals, she includes the ‘physical, moral, and spiritual’ aspects of knowledge about animals in this. Crane, *Taxonomy*, p. 6.

by me.⁶⁷ Therefore, this list is a compilation of all of the Latin prose bestiary manuscripts that I was able to find referenced in the literature.⁶⁸ The classification of manuscripts according to provenance and Family follows that in the literature; on those occasions where I disagree with the literature or where the provenance is disputed, this is discussed further in the thesis or indicated in the footnotes of Appendix 1. Not every manuscript contains a full bestiary text, either due to mutilation or to purposeful omission of some chapters. Apart from the designation ‘Manuscripts with Bestiary or *Physiologus* Excerpts’, I do not include information on the completeness of the bestiary text in Appendix 1 but where relevant, it is discussed in the body of the thesis.

I examined seventy-nine of the remaining ninety-three bestiaries, albeit at different levels of thoroughness depending on the level of analysis found in the literature, and also due to my own use of the manuscript and its text in the thesis. However, for each manuscript I examined, I carried out a complete codicological study. The information collected in this process includes the manuscript’s dimensions, writing area, script(s) used, binding, marginalia, readers’ or owners’ inscriptions, contents (both of the bestiary and the manuscript as a whole), quire structure, and presence or lack of illustrations (or spaces left for them). I also compared my information to that published about each manuscript in earlier bestiary scholarship. In addition to this, I transcribed any surviving bestiary text, plus other texts judged useful, found in forty-five manuscripts belonging to the First and Second Families. The manuscripts I transcribed are further specified below. This gave me a fairly comprehensive idea of the sorts of changes thus made to the text in these Families.

Perhaps the most important characteristic of the bestiary text that emerged through my research is the lack of a holograph or authoritative base text as the basis for all manuscript collation. There appears to be, rather, a series of base texts. Therefore, it seems more useful to describe the relationships between groups of texts rather than between individual manuscripts. I also refer to types rather than to manuscripts because I was largely unable to find definitive copy/exemplar relationships between specific manuscripts. Appendix 3 provides a diagram of the relationships between groups of

⁶⁷ To those bestiary lists found on p. 9 may be added that found in Baudouin van den Abeele’s ‘Trente et un nouveaux manuscrits de l’Aviarius: Regards sur la diffusion de l’oeuvre d’Hughes de Fouillois’, *Scriptorium* 57:2 (2003), pp. 256-263.

⁶⁸ See n. 27 above for reasons, in addition to the manuscript’s destruction, for the omission of Chartres, BM MS 63 (125).

texts. Each of the boxes refers to a ‘type’ of bestiary text which survives in at least one manuscript, with the exception of the two hypothetical texts placed in the centre of the diagram. The diagram in Appendix 3 is the result of my collation of the First Family manuscripts which allowed me to separate the manuscripts into various groups based on textual similarities, confirmed in some cases by similarities in manuscript contents and provenance. These groups will be described in greater detail in Part Two.

In the case of B-Is manuscripts 7-10, 12-15, 68-69, 76, and 90 in Appendix 1, I transcribed the entire bestiary text in each and collated them. In the case of manuscripts 70-71, which I was unable to examine personally, I relied on the Getty Research Institute’s on-line image collection. Although I was not able to collate the entire bestiary texts of manuscripts 70 and 71, I was still able to confirm their similarity to the other manuscripts with which I discuss them in Chapter 5 of Part Two. As a result of my collation of the texts, I classified the manuscripts as either ‘B-Is Laud-type English version’ (7, 9, 12, 14, 15), ‘B-Is Stowe-type’ (8, 10), ‘B-Is Laud-type Northern-French /Flemish version’ (68-71), or *sui generis* (13, 76, 90). The first three classifications are larger groups found in Appendix 3, while *sui generis* MSS 76 and 90 occupy their own individual groups in Appendix 3. I was not able to fit Bodl. MS Douce 167 (13) into any of the categories in Appendix 3.

In the case of the H manuscripts 59, 61-62, 77-79, and 82 in Appendix 1, I transcribed the entire bestiary text and collated a selection of chapters. This, in conjunction with the codicological study of each manuscript, showed that the H texts show a great degree of similarity to one another in terms of chapter order and content. Therefore, in my discussion of the H version in Part Two, I relied upon the text as found in number 79, Paris, BnF MS lat. 2495B, the earliest complete copy.⁶⁹

In the case of the Transitional manuscripts, I transcribed the complete bestiary text of 16-19 and 22 in Appendix 1. I also used Cynthia White’s edition of the so-called Northumberland Bestiary⁷⁰ (20), which includes the texts of three other Transitional manuscripts: BL MS Royal 12.C.xix (19); New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS 81 (21); and St Petersburg, National Library of Russia MS Q.v.V.1 (22). Based on my collation and study of the Transitional manuscripts, I was able to separate them into two

⁶⁹ It should be noted that most of the earliest H Family manuscripts (numbers 59, 60 and 78 in Appendix 1) are in an extremely mutilated state and are missing a large amount of their text.

⁷⁰ See n. 6 above.

groups, one of which is similar to the St Petersburg manuscript and the other which is similar to the New York manuscript. In the case of the Second Family I used Willene Clark's edition⁷¹ but also transcribed the bestiary text as found in manuscripts 29-31, 33, 39, 43-44, 52, 64-66, 75, 84, 89, and 92 in Appendix 1. Finally, I transcribed the bestiary excerpts found in numbers 1-6 of Appendix 1.

Whilst I do not discuss every one of the transcribed manuscripts further in the thesis, my study of them still informed my impressions of the bestiary texts' development and of the variations found in bestiary manuscripts. Indeed, it is only through the transcription of so many that I was able to highlight specific characteristics in some that seemed to be significant.

Structure of the Thesis

To conclude the Introduction, I will provide a brief description of the rest of the thesis, beginning with a synopsis of the current division of bestiary manuscripts into Families, as this division is integral to the structure of the thesis. It should be kept in mind that although the classification of bestiary manuscripts into Families is based ultimately on their relationship to the Latin *Physiologus*, it is only the First Family texts that are composed primarily of *Physiologus* material. The Second, Third, and Fourth Family texts may still contain *Physiologus* material, but this is in addition to information from a variety of other sources and the *Physiologus* material often appears via one of the earlier Families.

M.R. James classified English bestiary manuscripts into one of four Families, according to their texts and such features such as the number and order of chapters, as well as the sources used.⁷² The First Family was the first to be developed from the *Physiologus* B through the addition of material from Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*.⁷³ It has been further divided into the B-Is, H, and Transitional versions, and the B-Is version may be subdivided again, as will be described in Part Two. The Second Family contains the largest number of manuscripts, as well as those which have received the most attention from scholars because of the quality of their illustrations. The Second

⁷¹ See n. 2.

⁷² M.R. James, *The Bestiary: Being a Reproduction in Full of Ms. li 4. 26 in the University Library, Cambridge, With Supplementary Plates From Other Manuscripts of English Origin, and a Preliminary Study of the Latin Bestiary as Current in England* (Oxford, 1928), pp. 1-26.

⁷³ References to the Latin text of the *Etymologiae* are taken from Bill Thayer (ed.), *Isidore of Seville. The Etymologies (or Origins)* <http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Isidore/home.html> (accessed 24.1.12).

Family text is much longer than that found in the First Family, with the exception of the Transitional version, with more additions from the *Etymologiae*, Ambrose of Milan's *Hexameron*, and Solinus' *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*.⁷⁴ In comparison with the First and Second Families, the Third Family has been relatively ignored until quite recently, while the sole member of James' Fourth Family is no longer classified as a bestiary by current scholars.⁷⁵ Because the thesis focuses on the bestiary's initial development, the Third and Fourth Family will be mentioned only briefly; all of the manuscripts discussed in detail in the thesis belong to the First or Second Families.

Part One of the thesis encompasses a wider outlook on the bestiary focusing on its spread through Continental Europe and providing two cases studies that question current theories about bestiary use. Chapter 1 describes a selection of the surviving Continental bestiaries, including theories about possible owners and users, and suggests patterns of bestiary travel through the Continent. Chapters 2 and 3 are more in-depth case studies of the bestiary in two specific contexts relating to preaching and medicine. In this section I show that despite the characterisation of the bestiary as an illustrated English work, there is a significant number of manuscripts that were neither illustrated nor English. I also show that theories of bestiary users need to take into account the physical characteristics of manuscripts, rather than proposing a single use for 'the bestiary,' or even for a specific bestiary version.

Part Two of the thesis is more extensive and technical in nature, and consists of an examination of the development of the medieval Latin bestiary text in both England and on the Continent. There is a concentration on the earliest bestiary versions because of their importance in the text's development. Part Two begins with a description of the ways in which scholars have classified bestiary manuscripts according to a system of Families. Potential concerns with earlier scholarship are highlighted throughout. Chapters 1-5 each concentrate on a specific group of manuscripts that are judged to be related to one another. The manuscripts and the texts are described to show how the

⁷⁴ The relationship between the Transitional version and Second Family will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 7 of Part Two. References to the Latin text of the *Hexameron* are taken from *PL*, 14:123-274. References to Solinus' Latin text are taken from Mommsen, Theodor (ed.), *Solinus. Collectanea rerum mirabilium* (Berlin, 1895). <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/solinus5.html> (accessed 24.1.12).

⁷⁵ An edition of the Third Family is due to be published shortly (Ilya Dines, pers. com.). For the reclassification of the Fourth Family manuscript as not a bestiary, see Baudouin van den Abeele, 'Un bestiaire à la croisée des genres: le manuscrit Cambridge UL Gg.6.5 ("quatrième famille" du bestiaire latin)', *Reinardus* 13 (2000), pp. 215-236.

manuscripts are related, and to show how and to what extent the bestiary text was changed in each group. Therefore each Part provides justifications for these groupings based on the text, the provenance, and the physical characteristics of the manuscripts. In chapters 6 and 7 I analyse the H and Transitional versions and current theories about their development. I then offer my own theories about the sources used and their relationships to other bestiary texts. These detailed and technical descriptions are used to show how the bestiary was initially created from the *Physiologus* and the different paths its development took depending on date and location. The resulting model of bestiary development, which is much more comprehensive than what is found in current bestiary scholarship, shows that the bestiary was not a universally popular text, nor was it a standard religious work found in every monastery. Rather, different versions were popular at different times and locations.

Finally, Part Three is comprised of a summary of the textual changes made to each chapter of the bestiary in the relevant Families and versions. Additions or deletions to the text, rearrangements, and the use of different sources are all described. The impact of these changes on the interpretation of the animal and the sense of the text as a whole is also included where relevant. The descriptions of these changes provide further support for the textual development and manuscript relationships proposed in Part Two. The appendices provide other relevant supporting documents to clarify the arguments made in Parts One-Three: tables of chapter orders, glosses, and word variations between manuscripts, as well as colour-coded depictions of textual rearrangements. Also included in the appendices are Latin texts discussed in the body of the thesis; the majority of these are manuscript transcriptions, although there are also some extractions from published editions.

There is a conspicuous absence of a large-scale analysis of the bestiary's illustrations, although these are discussed and compared between manuscripts where pertinent. This absence is largely due to such mundane factors as word limits and time constraints, but also because of the emphasis on both the text and on those manuscripts that have not been prominent in the literature. In her review of White's recent bestiary edition, Debra Higgs Strickland questions the usefulness of such detailed manuscript analysis, the 'repeated tweakings of categories' that 'privilege manuscript classification over the richer cultural meanings generated by the combined impact of texts and

pictorial images.⁷⁶ In this thesis I show that, on the contrary, an in-depth (as much as is possible, given the surviving evidence) understanding of bestiary development as shown by the manuscripts and their texts is necessary to understand its cultural impact. It is only through such meticulous manuscript study that one is able to show that some versions were developed in England and some were developed on the Continent. The location of a text's development is arguably crucial to an understanding of its cultural importance. With regard to Strickland's emphasis on illustrated bestiary manuscripts, my analysis of the bestiary's use in preaching, for example, is based on unillustrated manuscripts, and thus the text-image relationship is not universal.

Thus, while each of the three parts of the thesis is quite distinct from the others in its approach and format, they are all based on two key tenets that are neither original nor controversial, but which still bear repeating. The first is that the bestiary's illustrations were not necessarily more influential than its text. This refers to the possibility that the bestiary text was thought useful in itself, that it could be understood without illustrations. The very existence of unillustrated bestiaries proves this point, nevertheless, the literature does still focus on the importance of the illustrations in understanding the text.⁷⁷ Tied in with this is the idea that illustrated manuscripts were not necessarily more influential in the text's development than unillustrated ones. Again, such a statement is generally indubitable, yet the majority of studies on bestiary development are concerned primarily with the illustrated manuscripts. The second is that English manuscripts were not necessarily more influential in the text's development than Continental ones. Much of the scholarly discussion about the bestiary's development has focused on English manuscripts, and thus the role of Continental manuscripts in the bestiary's development has not been explored. The manuscript analysis which I carried out, as described below, takes into account both unillustrated and Continental bestiaries to provide a more complete account of bestiary development.

⁷⁶ Debra Higgs Strickland, 'From the Ark to the Pulpit: An Edition and Translation of the 'Transitional' Northumberland Bestiary (13th Century)', Review, *Speculum* 86:3 (2011), p. 816.

⁷⁷ For example, 'Surviving manuscripts of medieval bestiaries of all versions demonstrate that they were defined in their day as books in which text and picture were intended to function in a complementary manner.' Clark, *Second-Family*, p. 51.

Part One: A Wider Look at the Bestiary

Chapter 1. The Bestiary as a European Text?

Ever since James developed his method of bestiary classification, the majority of bestiary scholarship has either implied or stated outright that the bestiary was primarily an English work. In addition to those secondary works referred to in the Introduction, George and Yapp's *The Naming of the Beasts: Natural History in the Medieval Bestiary* states 'By the twelfth century the bestiary seems to have been taken up in England, and from then on the majority of known copies are written in Latin and were produced in England, with some similar ones made in northern France and Flanders.'⁷⁸ Whilst this statement is not strictly incorrect, it does downplay the bestiary's role on the Continent. Clark's 2006 Edition of the Second Family bestiary is based on ten manuscripts, nine of which are English and all of which are illustrated. This focus on English manuscripts is not unexpected, partly due to the influence of James' system and partly due to more prosaic reasons, such as ease of access to archives and libraries, and the lack of published information on non-English manuscripts. However, bestiaries from outside England, and even France, are starting to become wider-known. In 2003, Baudouin van den Abeele published an invaluable list of previously unknown Aviary manuscripts (some of which contain bestiaries).⁷⁹ In addition, the availability of on-line manuscript catalogues and images has made it far more possible to find new manuscripts. Perhaps the most important development has been the relative ease of travel to areas in Eastern Europe that would have been significantly more difficult to reach even ten years ago. Therefore, the Anglo-centric narrative of bestiary development needs to be revised.

While it is true that the majority of bestiaries are English in origin, there are still a significant number of manuscripts that were not made in England. Out of the ninety-three Latin prose bestiary manuscripts mentioned in the literature, fifty-nine are English in origin and the remaining thirty-four are from the Continent.⁸⁰ This means that non-English bestiaries are not 'the exception to the rule,' they are more likely to be indicators of interest in bestiaries in specific locations and times.⁸¹ This is more clearly

⁷⁸ George and Yapp, *Naming*, p. 3.

⁷⁹ Baudouin van den Abeele, 'nouveaux manuscrits', pp. 256-263.

⁸⁰ See Appendix 1 where extant bestiaries are grouped according to provenance.

⁸¹ The same may be said about illustrated and non-illustrated manuscripts. Twenty-eight manuscripts are not illustrated, with a further four in which the spaces for the illustrations were not filled in. This suggests that illustrations were not a ubiquitous aspect of the bestiary.

seen when the provenance, date, and location of the Continental manuscripts are visualised on a chart, as in Appendix 2. Since patterns of bestiary use and production in England have been previously analysed, this chapter will instead focus on the situation in Continental Europe, describing the prominent groups of bestiary manuscripts produced on the Continent according to Family and place of production.⁸² Some manuscripts will, out of necessity, be covered in less detail than others.

Surviving Continental manuscripts were produced in France, Flanders, Germany, Bohemia, and perhaps Northern Italy. The two major regions where the bestiary does not seem to have been popular are the Iberian peninsula and Scandinavia.⁸³ Apart from England, the bestiary seems to have been most popular in France, albeit at specific locations and dates. The surviving manuscripts fall into three groups: B-Is with the Aviary, H, and the Second Family. The first group of bestiary manuscripts that show popularity in specific places and times is the group of luxury B-Is texts made in Northern France/Flanders between 1250-1280 (68-71 in Appendix 1). The relationship between these manuscripts will be described more fully in Chapter 5 of Part Two; here I examine some shared characteristics of the manuscripts, in particular the texts accompanying the bestiary. These are often of a more ‘scientific’ or natural philosophical character than those found with English B-Is texts, although they also include other more theological works. Three of these companion texts, the Aviary, *De medicina anime*, and *Liber de pastoribus et ovibus* are all written by Hugh of Fouilloys and were intended to be used in a monastic setting. However, another companion text, William of Conches’ *De philosophia mundi*, could be thought of as the ‘odd one out.’

⁸² Baxter, *Users*, pp. 145-181. I refer to countries and regions by their current names to avoid complications caused by changing regional names over such a long period of time.

⁸³ Whilst the earliest extant bestiary, Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica MS Cod. Palat. lat. 1074 may have a Catalan provenance (see Appendix 1), there are no later ones from the Iberian peninsula. There are, however, a significant number of Aviary manuscripts that were produced in Portugal. See Clark, *Aviary*, pp. 41-51. There is also an Icelandic version of the *Physiologus* surviving in two twelfth-century fragments. See Halldór Hermannsson, *The Icelandic Physiologus. Facsimile Edition with an Introduction Islandica* 27, (Ithaca, 1938) for the text and facsimile. Hermannsson assumes that the source for this text was English for two reasons. The first is that the word used for goat, *gát* instead of *geit*, is either a scribal error or else taken from the Anglo-Saxon. The second is that the Icelandic manuscripts show illustrations of Isidore’s monstrous races; such illustrations are found in the English Third Family manuscripts. Hermannsson was evidently unaware, however, of the Northern French/Flemish luxury B-Is texts which also have illustrations of the monstrous races. Unfortunately, neither of these groups of manuscripts are known to have existed in the twelfth century and the source of the Icelandic texts remains unknown.

The inclusion of these texts, therefore, may give some indication about the manuscripts' audiences.

It is generally agreed that the *Aviary* was written as a teaching text for monastic lay brothers. The *Aviary's* lessons are largely concerned with issues pertinent to monastic life and any theology included is basic. Thus, although the text is allegorical and metaphorical in nature, it is not abstract or difficult to understand.⁸⁴ The period of the *Aviary's* (and *bestiary's*) greatest popularity, when measured by the number of surviving manuscripts, also coincides with that of the greatest popularity of the lay brothers.⁸⁵ By the mid-thirteenth century, though, the use of lay brothers was in decline.⁸⁶ It is therefore likely that the *Aviary* was used in a wider environment. This is in addition to the fact that as they are clearly luxury copies, they may have seen limited use and could have been display copies or status books not intended for everyday use.

The *De pastoribus et ovibus* is also intended for a monastic audience, but as in this case it is addressed to a '*frater*' in the prologue, it seems that this work was intended for a much more literate audience than the *Aviary*. It is less obviously a teaching text and is more suited to be read by an educated individual.⁸⁷ Characteristic to the *De pastoribus* are the frequent references to classical texts and subjects, especially Virgil's *Bucolics*, which are not seen in the *Aviary*. On the whole, this text is not as coherent or complete a work as the *Aviary*. De Clercq notes that the text seems unfinished and that Virgil is perhaps not the obvious choice as a starting point for a discussion of monastic communities.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Willene Clark, 'The Illustrated Medieval Aviary and the Lay-Brotherhood', *Gesta* 21:1 (1982), p. 65.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

⁸⁶ This decrease was formally noted by the Cistercian's general chapter in 1274. Brian Noell, 'Expectation and Unrest Among Cistercian Lay Brothers in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *Journal of Medieval History* 32 (2006), p. 273.

⁸⁷ This text is not as well known as some of Hugh's other works. It is divided into four parts, in the first of which Hugh considers two different flocks, one of sheep and the other of goats. The sheep are represented by various members of a monastic community. The prior is the ram, the ordinary religious are the ewes, the young recruits are the lambs, and the shepherd is obviously Christ. The shepherd of the herd of goats is the devil. The large goats symbolise the unrepentant sinners, the small goats the sinners who have recently turned from the good, and the kids are lustful young men. Hugh also looks at examples of shepherds from the Bible and pagan shepherds from classical sources. See Charles de Clercq, 'Le "Liber de pastoribus et ovibus" d'Hughes de Fouilloi', *Archivum latinitatis mediæ aevi (Bulletin du Cange)* 31:1 (1961), pp. 77-107 for an introduction and the Latin text.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 77-80.

The *De medicina animae* is a treatise on ‘*De duplici curatione seu medicina, animae videlicet et corporis.*’⁸⁹ In the Prologue Hugh writes that things which protect the soul are also beneficial to the human body, but his is not a systematic treatise on medical treatment.⁹⁰ Rather, it covers only a few key areas including the elements, the humours, prognostication, and ailments of the head.⁹¹ It should be noted that Hugh, in his Prologue, mentions that the work was originally longer. He unfortunately lost the original so the current work is only what he could remember of it; he apologises if it seems like a collection of items taken from a larger work.⁹² As in Hugh’s other writings, he bases his information on literary sources and not personal experience. The importance of the information was, in Hugh’s eyes, the potential for interpretation.⁹³ However, Hugh is distinct from other earlier authorities on allegorical interpretation, such as Hrabanus Maurus, because he begins with the medical and physiological information (which may well be from secular authors) and then interprets it allegorically and morally using the usual sources, rather than using Biblical information as his base.⁹⁴

Whilst Hugh’s writings are orthodox in their discussion of religious matters, William of Conches’ *De philosophia mundi* was not entirely so. Written between 1110 and 1145 in several versions, it was a summary, of sorts, of all his knowledge about the natural world, both the corporeal and incorporeal, and the Creation.⁹⁵ One of the reasons why the *De philosophia mundi* came under attack was ‘William’s refusal to accept Biblical statements that run contrary to physical laws...’ This includes his belief that Eve was not really created from Adam’s rib, as well as his disbelief that anything should exist simply because God has the power to make it. The fallout over these sorts

⁸⁹ See PL 176, Col. 1183-1201 for the Latin text. This text is also discussed in Chapter 3 of Part One.

⁹⁰ ‘*Sicut enim dicis, ea multis utilia fore credis. Nec solum, si attente considerentur, animas incolumes servant, sed etiam corporibus humanis sanitatem praestant.*’ PL, 176, Col. 1183A

⁹¹ See Irmgard Müller, ‘Hugo de Folieto: De medicina animae. Antike Humoralpathologie in christlicher Deutung’, in Christian Schulze and Sibylle Ihm (eds.) *Ärztelkunst und Gottvertrauen: Antike und mittelalterliche Schnittpunkte von Christentum und Medizin. Spudasmata: Studien zur Klassischen Philologie und ihren Grenzgebieten* 86 (2002), pp. 71-89 for a fuller discussion of the text.

⁹² See text A of Appendix 4 for the Latin text. In this Appendix I provide the original Latin of texts that I paraphrase or summarise in English in Part One of the main body of the thesis. Selections are taken either from published sources or consist of my own transcriptions from the manuscripts.

⁹³ Müller, ‘Humoralpathologie’, p. 73.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

⁹⁵ William’s own information on these topics comes from several texts that would have been very well-known in the twelfth-century Renaissance: Plato’s *Timaeus*, Martianus Capella’s *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, Macrobius’ Commentary on the ‘Dream of Scipio, and Boethius’ Consolation of Philosophy. William also used Arabic sources that were newly-arrived in Western-Europe, in particular Constantine the African’s translations of ancient Greek texts from Arabic into Latin. R.W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe: Volume II. The Heroic Age* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 67-69.

of statements resulted William writing the *Dragmaticon* as a recasting of the *De philosophia mundi* where statements contrary to the Catholic faith have been omitted.⁹⁶

The presence of the *Aviary* and other works by Hugh of Fouillois are not unexpected in manuscripts connected to monasteries, due to Hugh's preoccupation with the allegorical interpretation of various topics related to the specifics of the monastic life. It could be debated, however, whether manuscripts of this quality would have been either used to train lay brothers, or indeed regularly used by the brothers themselves. The inclusion of the other texts also seems to indicate that these were not texts used for teaching the finer points of theology to the unschooled. Both the *De philosophia mundi* and the *De medicina animae* subject theological information to natural philosophy, although in differing degrees, and the *De philosophia mundi* contains information that could be theologically problematic.

The second group of French manuscripts that appears to have a limited geographic and temporal spread is that of the H Family manuscripts (59-63, 77-79).⁹⁷ This version was particularly popular in France in the first half of the thirteenth century and all eight French manuscripts date from 1220-1280. The earlier H manuscripts, especially Paris, BnF MSS lat. 2495A, lat. 2495B; Chalon-sur-Saône, BM MS 14; and Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College Library MS 100 are very closely related with respect to their iconography and chapter order.⁹⁸ Clark has proposed that these manuscripts were produced in Paris; it is unclear when the manuscript at Sidney Sussex College came to England, although it contains some sixteenth-century English glosses of birds' names. The manuscript in Chalon-sur-Saône was at the Abbey of La Ferté-sur-Grosne (the *ex libris* on fol. 38r may be contemporary to the manuscript text) and MS lat. 2495A was in the Foucarmont Abbey in the sixteenth century (*ex libris* on fol. 72v). It may be that Paris was a centre for the production of H Family manuscripts, although a complete edition of the H Family manuscripts is necessary to establish the relationships between them. At least one of the H manuscripts, Paris, BnF MS lat. 14429, can be linked to Saint-Victor in Paris. However, the first documented evidence

⁹⁶ Helen Rodnite Lemay, 'Science and Theology at Chartres: The Case of the Supracelestial Waters', *The British Journal for the History of Science* 10:3 (1977), pp. 231-232. The *Dragmaticon* is also found accompanying an English Second Family manuscript, Oxford, St John's College Library MS 178. It may be significant that many of the texts in MS 178 are on astrology, astronomy, and other 'scientific' and mathematical topics.

⁹⁷ The H text itself will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6 of Part Two.

⁹⁸ See Clark, *Aviary*, pp. 53-61 for a comparison of the iconography.

of it there is in the fifteenth-century library catalogue.⁹⁹ It appears that there was a particular interest in the bestiary and Aviary at Saint-Victor. The sixteenth-century compilation *De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus*, which was derived in part from a Second Family and an H bestiary, was created at Saint-Victor from manuscripts that were in the Abbey's library.¹⁰⁰ It is tempting to suggest that the evident interest in different bestiary versions shown by Saint-Victor indicates that the H Family was developed there but this cannot be proven.

There are also two copies of the H Family text surviving from Germany (82-83), one from the latter half of the thirteenth century and the other from the fourteenth century. As is the case with the French copies, both of these also include the Aviary, but neither of these manuscripts was illustrated. The thirteenth-century manuscript in Dresden (82) appears to have had a religious or monastic provenance since the other works in the manuscript include those on monastic novices and the Offices. There are signatures to indicate it was owned by a (fourteenth-century?) vicar in Duisburg, and by Amplonius Rating de Berka.¹⁰¹ Amplonius (ca. 1363-1435) was a physician, theologian, university professor and rector, as well as a prominent book collector. He studied and worked at the Universities of Prague, Cologne, and Erfurt, and in the early fifteenth century donated his collection of 633 manuscripts, most of which are theological or medical works, to the '*Collegium Porta Coeli*' in Erfurt. Amplonius himself founded this college to support students from the University of Erfurt and to preserve his book collection.¹⁰²

The fourteenth-century manuscript in Lüneburg (83) likewise had a monastic or religious provenance; the manuscripts in the Rättsbucherei all came from surrounding religious houses, several of which were Franciscan. The other works in the manuscript,

⁹⁹ Gilbert Ouy, et al., *Le catalogue de la bibliothèque de l'Abbaye de Saint-Victor de Paris de Claude de Grandrue 1514* (Paris, 1983), p. 22.

¹⁰⁰ Willene Clark, 'Four Latin Bestiaries and *De bestiis et aliis rebus*', in Baudouin van den Abeele (ed.) *Bestiaires médiévaux. Nouvelles perspectives sur les manuscrits et les traditions textuelles* (Leuven-la-Neuve, 2005), p. 49. It should be noted that there are errors in Clark's description of the manuscripts. She describes Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 742 as the largest of the four and BnF MS lat. 11207 as the smallest, when it is MS 742 that is the smallest and MS lat. 14297 that is the largest. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

¹⁰¹ The manuscript is number 184 in his 1412 catalogue, written in Amplonius' own hand. Wilhelm Schum, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Amplonianischen Handschriften-Sammlung zu Erfurt* (Berlin, 1887), p. 864. www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/hs/katalogseiten/HSK0495_b0864_jpg.htm (accessed 13.1.12).

¹⁰² Brigitte Pfeil, 'Amplonius Rating de Berka', <http://www.uni-erfurt.de/amploniana/historisches/amplonius/>; 'Bibliotheca Amploniana', <http://www.uni-erfurt.de/amploniana/historisches/bibliotheca/> (accessed 13.1.12).

the *Speculum humanae salvationis* and Arnoldus Saxo's *De floribus naturalium rerum* would also have been of interest in a monastic setting.¹⁰³ Thus, while both the French and German H Family manuscripts were used in monastic or other non-lay environments, there are slight differences. At least one French manuscript may be connected to higher education and learning, given Saint-Victor's prominence in that area, while those in Germany are part of a more typical monastic environment. It should also be noted that at the time of the H text being copied in Germany, it appears to have gone out of favour in France; there is only one surviving French copy from the latter half of the thirteenth century.

The only bestiary version that was, most likely, initially developed in England before travelling to the Continent is the Second Family.¹⁰⁴ Both the earliest and latest Continental Second Family manuscripts are French. There are ten surviving Second Family manuscripts (64-67, 72-75, 80-81) and six of these date from around 1220-1250 (64-67, 74, 80). Apart from this, one is from the latter half of the thirteenth century (72), two are from the latter half of the fifteenth century (73, 75), and one is from the early sixteenth century (81). Three of the earlier bestiaries have been identified in the early catalogues of the Abbey of Saint-Victor in Paris or of the Sorbonne,¹⁰⁵ while two others, Douai, BM MS 711 and BnF MS lat. 6838B, were likely made in Northern France or Flanders.¹⁰⁶ The four Parisian manuscripts (64-67) all show evidence of originally having had a glossary and occasionally a lapidary attached to them, and this combination seems to have been unique to this group of manuscripts.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ Interestingly, the *Speculum*, like the *Aviary*, was also designed to be an illustrated text but is also unillustrated in the Lüneburg manuscript. 'In the Prologue is the statement that the learned can find information from the scriptures, but the unlearned must be taught by pictures, which are the books of the lay people.' Adrian Wilson and Joyce Lancaster Wilson, *A Medieval Mirror: Speculum Humanae Salvationis 1324-1500* (Berkeley, 1985), p.24.

<http://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=ft7v19p1w6&chunk.id=d0e549&toc.depth=1&toc.id=d0e549&brand=ucpress> (accessed 13.1.12) See Isabelle Draelants *Un encyclopédiste méconnu du XIII^e siècle. Arnold de Saxe, Œuvres, sources et réception* (unpublished PhD thesis, Université catholique de Louvain, 2000) for a discussion of Arnoldus Saxo's work.

¹⁰⁴ The earliest surviving English manuscript, BL MS Add. 11283, dates from at least fifty years before the earliest surviving French manuscripts (see Appendix 1 for dates). This, in addition to the fact that one of the sources for the Second Family text was a First Family text of the type found in the English manuscript Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library MS 22, indicates that the Second Family is most likely of English origin. Clark, *Second-Family*, pp. 12, 24.

¹⁰⁵ Clark, 'Four Latin Bestiaries', pp. 60-64.

¹⁰⁶ Clark, *Second-Family*, pp. 230, 247.

¹⁰⁷ Clark, 'Four Latin Bestiaries', p. 58.

There appears to have been a gap in Second Family bestiary production, as there are no surviving copies from the greater part of the fourteenth century. There are two German Second Family manuscripts from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries (84,85); these are analysed in some detail in Chapter 3 of Part One. There are also two, perhaps three, late fifteenth – early sixteenth-century French Second Family manuscripts likely belonging to private owners (73, 75, 81).¹⁰⁸ One of these, which is currently in Nîmes (81), is unillustrated apart from a marginal pen drawing of a lion that looks as if it were done by the scribe as it is in the same ink as the text and ruling. The other two works in the manuscript have not been identified. One is a ‘*quidam liber de animalibus*’ and the other begins ‘*Legitur in libro Canticorum...*’¹⁰⁹ Although I have not been able to decipher the 1776 *ex libris*, it appears to refer to a private owner. In addition, very few of the manuscripts in Nîmes’ Bibliothèque municipale came from the surrounding religious houses.¹¹⁰

The remaining two late manuscripts can be more reliably linked to private owners, although not originally. The earlier one dates from 1485 and is currently in the National Library of Russia in St Petersburg (75). There are multiple coats of arms and dedications at the front of the manuscript, but the earliest of these is the arms of Gui II Arbaleste (d. 1570), counsellor in the Parliament of Paris. Later owners include Pierre Segurier, Chancellor of France (1588-1672); his secretary Jean Ballestdens (1595-1675); and Henry Charles du Cambout de Coislin (1665-1732), Segurier’s great grandson and the Bishop of Metz.¹¹¹ The illustrations in this manuscript appear to have been

¹⁰⁸ The provenance of one of these, Museum Meermann MS 10.B.25, is disputed.

¹⁰⁹ The Nîmes online catalogue labels this last work as a ‘*Fragment mystique.*’ <http://bibliotheque-numerique.nimes.fr/fre/notices/108339-Titre-absent-et-non-renseign%C3%A9-.html> (accessed 16.1.12). Neither of these two works has been found with any other bestiary, and thus a comparison of the Nîmes text to those of other Second Family manuscripts would be useful in shedding some light on its origins.

¹¹⁰ The core of the BM in Nîmes was formed around the scholar Jean-François Séguier’s books, manuscripts, medals, and house that he left to the public upon his death in 1778. There is no evidence that the Nîmes bestiary was owned by Séguier. The collections of the various churches in Nîmes had been dispersed by the Protestants during their sixteenth-century occupation of the city. *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements: T.7* (Paris, 1885), pp. xxxiv-xxxv.

¹¹¹ On the front pastedown is the arms of Gui II Arbaleste (d. 1570), counsellor in the Parliament of Paris (C.f. the arms on the manuscripts Harley 3799 – 3809 in the British Library). The manuscript is bound in red leather with a gold embossed coat of arms on the front and back. The coat of arms shows two stars above a chevron, with a lamb passant under the chevron, and the motto ‘*Coelum et Solum.*’ This is the binding of Pierre Segurier, Chancellor of France (1588-1672). Folio 1 is the dedicatory folio with the arms of Segurier on them and appears to have been added in as the original foliation begins on the following folio, when the text begins. The dedication reads ‘*Illustrissimo et Insigni Virtute Viro Domino Domino Petro Segurio Franciae Cancellario Integerrimo In Submissi ac Devoti Animi Testimonium.*’

modified for a lay aristocrat as many of them show unique and complex scenes, with elaborate depictions of clothing, armour, and architecture. In addition, several scenes depict the deadly aftermath of encounters between knights, while a large, portrait-style illustration shows a knight whose horse-blanket sports a double-headed eagle above the name 'Alessandro'. This may refer to Alexander the Great, whose horse Bucephalus is described in the chapter as being unwilling to carry any rider other than Alexander once the royal 'stratu' is placed on him.¹¹²

The provenance of the second manuscript (73), which is in the Museum Meermanno in The Hague, is unclear. The iconographic similarity to the Second Family manuscript in Douai, as well as the painting style, led Clark to propose Northern France/Flanders as a place of origin.¹¹³ Conversely, North-western Italy, either the duchy of Milan or another area under Spanish authority, has also been suggested. This is because of the 'Italian' system of gathering used, the table of contents in a fifteenth-century Italian hand, two marginal signatures: 'Gaetano Guglielmetti' (sixteenth-century) and 'Don Geronimo Cananga' (seventeenth-century),¹¹⁴ and because of two Spanish acts copied onto a flyleaf at the end of the manuscript.¹¹⁵ Since the manuscript has been dated to 1450, though, it is not impossible that it was created in Northern France/Flanders and then arrived in Italy relatively quickly. In addition, the duchy of Milan was not under Spanish rule until the early sixteenth century, so these Spanish inscriptions do not indicate anything about the original provenance. As in the St Petersburg manuscript, the illustrator(s) pay careful attention to the depiction of

Debitae Gratitudinis Symbolum. Perpetua Observantiae Monumentum. Mss. hunc Codica Dicat, Offeit, Consecrat, Joannes Balesdeis Clientelari fide Addictissimus. This dedication has a floral border with numerous insects throughout. The book may have been given to Segurier by Jean Balesdens (1595-1675), his secretary who was also a book collector (<http://www.academie-francaise.fr/immortels/base/academiciens/fiche.asp?param=51> accessed 24.1.12). On folio 2r there is the ex-libris of Henry Charles du Cambout de Coislin (1665-1732), Segurier's great grandson and the Bishop of Metz 'Ex Bibliotheca MSS. COISLINIANA, olim SEGUERIANA, quam Illust. HENRICUS DU CAMBOUT, Dux DE COISLIN, par Franciae, Episcopus Merensis, et cetera. Monasterio S. Germani a Pratis legavit. An. M.DCC. XXXII.' Folio 78r has the signature of 'Joannes Balesdens' and the ex-libris of Peter Dubrowsky (1754-1816) 'Ex Museo Petri Dubrowski.'

¹¹² Clark, *Second-Family*, p. 157 translates 'stratu' as the saddleblanket while Cynthia White, (ed. and trans.), *From the Ark to the Pulpit: An Edition and Translation of the 'Transitional' Northumberland Bestiary (13th Century)* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 2009), p. 143 translates it as the saddle. In this case the saddle blanket is the more likely meaning, as it is depicted with an insignia.

¹¹³ Clark describes the style as 'good but provincial.' Clark, *Second-Family*, p. 231.

¹¹⁴ Clark, *Ibid.*, identifies these men as 'possibly only readers' and labels the flyleaf on which they appear as 'unrelated' to the rest of the manuscript, thus discounting it as influential in theories of provenance. In contrast, the Museum's Catalogue refers to them as owners. P.C. Boeren (ed.) *Catalogus van de handschriften van het Rijksmuseum Meermanno-Westreenianum* (The Hague, 1979), p. 36.

¹¹⁵ Boeren, *Catalogus*, p. 36.

clothing. There is not, however, the same emphasis on warfare and the aristocracy in the illustrations, which are usually animal ‘portraits’.¹¹⁶

These manuscripts demonstrate that the Second Family bestiary was popular amongst religious audiences in France in the thirteenth century, particularly in Saint-Victor and Paris in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, and that it was somewhat popular with private lay owners at the end of the Middle Ages. Interestingly, the illustrations of bestiaries owned by roughly contemporary late-medieval English owners, such as the fifteenth-century Second Family copy belonging to Ann Walsh (34) and the fifteenth-century Fourth Family manuscript belonging to George Williams (58), are done in a rather crude manner and may well have been done by the scribes.¹¹⁷

There is only one surviving bestiary known to be Italian, a copy of the Second Family text dating from the 1220’s (89). There is, unfortunately, no information on its early provenance and it has been in the Vatican library in its current form from at least 1604, when it first appears in the Library’s catalogue.¹¹⁸ The manuscript itself is very neatly done, and there were large spaces left for the illustrations but these have not been filled in. Textually, the entire section on Fish is missing, and the chapter on the Bonnacon has been added onto the end of the Hyena chapter. It appears that the copyist did not recognise that it was a separate chapter, perhaps because the initial was missing. The Italian manuscript states ‘*Nasia animal...*’ instead of ‘*In asia animal...*’ (f. 42r). As well, most of the section on the parts of the human body, taken from Isidore’s *Etymologiae*, has been purposefully omitted. After the description of tears, the copyist wrote ‘*et cetera longum esset dicere*’ (f. 74v) on the last line of the folio.¹¹⁹ The bestiary text as a whole takes up five quires out of eight, so it may have been done to make the text fit into the available number of folios. That only one surviving bestiary is thought to have originated in Italy may demonstrate a lack of interest in this sort of text; there are no surviving Italian Aviaries either.

¹¹⁶ See Clark, *Second-Family*, p. 231 for a description of the manuscript’s iconography and style.

¹¹⁷ Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek MS Gl. kgl. S. 1633 4^o and CUL MS Gg.6.5, respectively. The multiple iconographic similarities between the illustrations of the two manuscripts suggest that the Cambridge Manuscript may have used the Copenhagen one as a source. For example, the griffin, ape, crocodile, manticore, fox, dog, ibis, siren, and peridexion tree are all very similar.

¹¹⁸ The bestiary is referred to as ‘*Item de naturis animalium et arborum.*’ *Inventarium manusccriptorum latinorum bibliothecae Vaticanae Tomus Quartus, Armarium XII* (1604), p. 178.

¹¹⁹ That the copyist grew weary of the text is evident by the explicit, ‘*Explicit liber de naturis animalium deo gratias Amen.*’ (f. 76v)

When one moves further east into Poland and Bohemia, the bestiaries that survive do not fit neatly into any of the existing Families or versions, but instead contain chapters from both the H and Second Family bestiaries. There are three surviving manuscripts from these regions, dating from the late fourteenth – fifteenth centuries and all of which are unillustrated and written on paper (86-87). The other works travelling with the bestiaries are, however, quite different across the three. The manuscript that is currently in Gdańsk (86) contains texts that deal mainly with natural philosophy. Out of the current contents, the Aviary, bestiary, ‘*Liber de zachelis in solutione sompniorum,*’ and lapidary travelled together at some point in the past.¹²⁰ This is the only identified manuscript copy of the ‘*Liber de zachelis,*’ although the same work is mentioned in the inventory of the fourteenth-fifteenth-century library of Rizardo Villani, lawyer and *consigliere* of the duke of Milan, Gian Galeazzo Visconti.¹²¹ The inventory does not list any other works present with the *Liber zachelis*, so it is not known if the bestiary was part of this manuscript, or even whether this is the same copy of the text.¹²² There is some evidence to support the presence of the Gdansk manuscript in Italy; there are texts relating to Florence in addition to copies of the letters of Guarino Veronese found at the back of the manuscript. Other works in the manuscript include those by Raymond Lull and Albertus Magnus.

In contrast to the Gdańsk manuscript, the texts accompanying the bestiary in the Wrocław manuscript (87) are of a more religious nature. Many of them are also by writers from Germany and Poland, including Rudolf von Biberach, Henry of Friemar, and Matthew of Cracow. The manuscript itself is a miscellany of religious and contemplative texts that in 1678 belonged to Frederick Maximilian, a Duke of Cracow and Knight ‘*Palatine Eques Auratus.*’ A 1685 *ex libris* shows the manuscript belonging to the Cistercian monastery at Henryków.¹²³ The bestiary in Prague (88) is also part of

¹²⁰ A blank folio after the lapidary carries the following inscription: ‘*De naturis animalium. De interpretaciones sompniorum hec hic continentur. Lapidarius*’ f. 127r.

¹²¹ See André Paradis, ‘Un témoin nouveau de la tradition onirocritique artémidorienne: *le Liber Zachelis in solutione sompniorum* (ms. Gdansk 2224). Édition critique et analyse des sources. (Unpublished PhD thesis, Université de Montréal, 1972). Monica Pedralli, *Novo, grande, convertito e ferrato. Gli inventari di biblioteca e la cultura a Milano nel Quattrocento. Bibliotheca Erudita. Studi e documenti di storia e filologia* 19 (Milan, 2002), p. 217.

¹²² Paradis has suggested that the text in the Gdansk manuscript is not the original one due to the presence of an eyeskip error. Paradis, ‘témoin’, p. 158.

¹²³ On f. 20r are the crossed-out ownership notice of Frederick and the seventeenth century *ex-libris* ‘*Liber B.V. Maria in Henrichau. Ord. cisterciensis. HAH. 1685.*’ The Abbey in Henryków, founded in the early thirteenth century, and its library were largely destroyed during the Thirty Years War. It was

a religious miscellany containing works by regional authors such as Stephen of Cologne and John of Olomouc. That the manuscript begins with a '*Fragmentum actorum iudicialium consistorii Pragensis de anno 1394*' may indicate its origin in or around Prague itself, but there are no indications of previous owners in the Prague manuscript. I have not specified which bestiary version it is that is found in the Polish and Czech manuscripts and this is because all three texts show similarities to several versions: the Second Family and H ones, as well as a Stowe-type text. The existence of these texts may support my hypothesis, as developed in Part Two, that the Stowe-type text was initially created on the Continent and not in England. However, in-depth textual analysis is necessary to determine whether any of the Bohemian and Polish bestiaries were copied from one another and the degree to which they differ from the current Families. As Parts Two and Three will show, some versions of the bestiary were developed through extensive rewording and editing of the material, while others were developed through the addition and combination of material that was essentially unchanged when taken from its source.

The existence of such marked groups of bestiaries indicates that no version of the text was ubiquitous in Continental Europe. The B-Is text is found initially in a very early copy (90), and then only much later in the luxury copies of Northern France/Flanders (68-71). As will be discussed in Part Two, it is likely that before the twelfth century the B-Is text moved from the Continent to England. In England it was transformed into the Transitional and Second Family versions, while in France it became the H version and influenced the creation of vernacular French bestiaries.¹²⁴ The Second Family text was developed in England then spread to France, and further east. In each of these instances the bestiary was used in a different intellectual and social environment, and I will now discuss in greater detail two case studies of bestiary use that will serve to widen our understanding of what sort of text the bestiary was thought to be.

only in last twenty years of the seventeenth century that the Abbey was rebuilt in the baroque style (<http://www.henrykow.sakralnebudowle.pl/> (accessed 16.1.12). Although I was unable to further identify Frederick Maximilian, it is possible that between 1678 and 1685, he either gave the manuscript to the Abbey to aid in its regeneration, or left it to the Abbey in his will.

¹²⁴ See Appendix 3. This is discussed in greater detail in Part Two.

Chapter 2. The Bestiary as a Source of Sermon *Exempla*?

One of the more contentious proposed uses of the bestiary is that as a source of sermon exempla. M.R. James was unable to conceive of any medieval interest in the bestiary apart from its illustrations but others have taken the widespread occurrence of animal *exempla* in medieval sermons as evidence of the bestiary's use as their source.¹²⁵ This idea was so widely accepted as to become taken for granted, despite such assertions being largely based on two rather dated sources: G.R. Owst's *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England* and Morson's 'The English Cistercians and the Bestiary.'¹²⁶ Owst's work describes many instances of 'Bestiary-lore' in medieval sermons but he does not refer to any specific bestiary manuscript or text. This is because he uses the term 'bestiary' in its most general sense; many of his examples from 'bestiaries' are taken from the encyclopaedias of Bartholomaeus Anglicus and Isidore of Seville. In addition, his sermon examples are from the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries when the bestiary's popularity was waning.¹²⁷

In contrast, Morson searched the sermons of three Cistercians, St Aelred (d. 1167), Gilbert of Hoyland (d. 1172), and Baldwin of Ford (d. 1190), for specific information 'reminiscent' of the bestiary. One of the reasons Morson focused on the Cistercians may have been because he himself was a member of the order and therefore he was interested in discovering the sources for the writings of English Cistercian authors.¹²⁸ His starting point is an interest in sources used by specific Cistercian authors; he is not attempting to apply his findings to all Cistercians. Therefore, the results of his study should not be used as evidence that the Cistercians, in comparison to other orders, were especially interested in the bestiary. Indeed, he states 'If the bestiary

¹²⁵ 'But for its pictures I do not think that the Book [the Bestiary] could possibly have gained or kept any sort of popularity. Its literary merit is *nil*, and its scientific value (even when it had been most extensively purged of fable, and reinforced with soberer stuff) sadly meagre.' James, *Ms. Ii 4.26*, p 1.

¹²⁶ G.R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England*, (Oxford, 1961). Fr. John Morson, 'The English Cistercians and the Bestiary,' *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 39:1 (1956), pp. 146-170. See, for example: Yamamoto, *Boundaries*, p. 16; Salisbury, *Beast Within*, pp. 126-127.

¹²⁷ Owst, *Literature*, pp. 188-209.

¹²⁸ 'The past few years have given us the first editions of Aelred's contemporary biography, of some of his sermons and of his last work, *De Anima*. Certainly this interest in Aelred and the school of writers in which he was a leader will increase with the approach of the eighth centenary of the saint's death in 1967. The present study is undertaken with the idea that anything has some importance which may have been a source, even indirect, for such writers, or a part of their cultural background.' Morson, 'English Cistercians', p. 146.

was in some Cistercian monasteries there is a likelihood that it was in others, but ... we have not found enough to prove anything.¹²⁹

Morson then compared any such information to that found in a selection of bestiary manuscripts and published works: BL MSS Add. 11283 and Stowe 1067; CUL MS li.4.26; New York, Morgan Library MS 890; Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*; the *Physiologus*; and Philip de Thaon's *Bestiaire*. The sermon passages which Morson compared are of various lengths. Some show only that an animal is associated with a certain word while others are much longer.¹³⁰ Morson found forty-six instances where bestiary lore is found in the sermons and although the pertinent information is found in several sources, the only one that contains every instance of it is the 'twelfth-century standard bestiary' (i.e. the Second Family text).¹³¹ Morson's choice of sources is perhaps more relevant than that of Owst, but it must be noted that only Baldwin, in whose sermons just two relevant passages were found, was alive at the time of the earliest Second Family manuscripts. Cautious in the implications he drew from his study, Morson could only conclude that it is likely that '...some English Cistercians knew and were influenced by the bestiary.'¹³² Despite this, Morson's study has been taken as authoritative proof of bestiary use in sermons.¹³³

It is only recently that the assumed use of bestiaries in sermons has been challenged. Willene Clark re-examined the passages Morson used and found that several of them were closer in wording to texts not found in his study, including Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job* and the *Aviary*. In addition, she noted that as the Second Family bestiary was likely created around the same time as Aelred and Gilbert's deaths, it is doubtful whether they both would have had access to such an incipient work. Clark then searched several hundred Latin sermons for animal lore and did not find any information that could *only* have come from the bestiary.¹³⁴ She found that the

¹²⁹ Ibid., p. 167. In Baxter's summary of English medieval book lists, twenty-five bestiaries are found on the lists of the Benedictines (including abbeys, cells, and cathedral priories) while eight are found on the lists of the Cistercians. Baxter, *Users*, pp. 161-163.

¹³⁰ Morson, 'English Cistercians', pp. 153-164.

¹³¹ Ibid., p. 166.

¹³² Ibid., p. 167.

¹³³ In addition to the works listed above, see Bobbi Dykema 'Preaching the Book of Creation: Memory and Moralization in Medieval Bestiaries', *Peregrinations* 3:2 (2011), p. 108 and Debra Hassig, 'Beauty in the Beasts: A Study of Medieval Aesthetics', *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 19/20 (1990/1991), pp. 140.

¹³⁴ In her 1996 article Clark claims that the tale of the stag shedding its horns and coat came from the H bestiary. Clark, 'Twelfth and Thirteenth-Century Latin Sermons and the Latin Bestiary', *Compar(a)ison*

Bible was the source for the majority of animal *exempla*, followed by the *Physiologus*, patristic writers, and the encyclopaedias; these are all more widespread and authoritative works than the bestiary.¹³⁵ Another reason for the dismissal of the bestiary as a source of sermon *exempla* is the lack of illustrations in handbooks for priests and preachers (this is, of course, dependent on the conception of the bestiary as an illustrated text).¹³⁶ Decorations in these types of manuscripts are limited to simple coloured initials and other aids for navigation through the text. Clark concluded that the similarities in sermon *exempla* and bestiaries are due to their production in the same cultural milieu that emphasised a conception of nature as a source of religious and moral instruction.¹³⁷

Clark has instead suggested that the Second Family bestiary was intended to be used primarily as an elementary school text. Her reasons for this are threefold. First, the information found in the bestiary is engaging, easy to understand, and approachable for her proposed lay audience. Second, its moderate length and authoritative sources would have made it attractive to teachers who may have had to copy or finance their own teaching books. Third is the presence of glossing in fourteen Second Family manuscripts. There has not been much attention paid to the glosses in Second Family manuscripts, perhaps because of a focus on the illustrations. The glosses are of several types but none of the texts are glossed the whole way through. The most common types are related to interpretation of the chapter's contents. There are also grammar glosses and *q* glosses in which the letter 'q' is found in the margins beside the illustration or text, implying a question about it. Although other glossed works have been linked with teachers and the classroom, scholars are still unsure as to whether glossing is a sure sign of educational use and if so, the reasons for not glossing the entire text.¹³⁸ However,

1 (1996), pp. 16-17. In her 2006 edition of the Second Family, Clark revises this as she found a reference to the same information in Peter Lombard's commentary on Psalm 41.1, an earlier and more widespread text than the H bestiary. Clark, *Second-Family*, n.13, pp. 94-95. However, I have also found the same information in the DC *Physiologus*, which dates from around 1000 and which I discuss in Chapter 6 of Part Two as a major source for the H Family text.

¹³⁵ Clark, 'Latin Sermons', p.17.

¹³⁶ Clark, *Second-Family*, p. 95.

¹³⁷ Clark, 'Latin Sermons', p. 18. The idea of the bestiary as a primarily illustrated text was still strong when Morson was writing, and thus he has used this as evidence that preachers would remember what they had read in the bestiary and use it in their sermons "all openings of sections accompanied by pictures, could not fail to impress the memory of one who had ever been familiar with the bestiary." Morson, 'English Cistercians', pp. 153-154.

¹³⁸ Clark, *Second-Family*, pp. 103-109. Gernot R. Wieland calls for caution in ascribing classroom-use to a manuscript unless there is definitive proof. Gernot R. Wieland, 'The Glossed Manuscript: Classbook or Library Book?' *Anglo-Saxon England* 14 (1980), pp. 153-173.

other research into potential bestiary use in education does not support this hypothesis as applied to the Second Family.¹³⁹

Such conclusions however, are unsatisfactory. In the first place, the very nature of the bestiary as a composite text means that very little, if any, of the material found in it will be completely original to the bestiary and not found anywhere else.¹⁴⁰ Thus, it is difficult to categorically prove that a text came from the bestiary instead of one of its sources. Second, there are multiple examples of illustrated and unillustrated bestiaries found in manuscripts that also contain sermons and sermon *exempla*, or that are labelled as being useful for preaching. The 1321 catalogue of the Grande Librairie of the Sorbonne lists the entry ‘Z.o’ as a bestiary that is useful for preaching.¹⁴¹ BL MS Harley 3244, which was likely made for a Dominican, contains a Second Family bestiary flanked by Richard of Thetford’s *Ars dilatandi sermones* and an anonymous *Narrationes et exempla*.¹⁴² Unillustrated manuscripts include Bodl. MS Rawlinson C77 and two copies of Peter of Limoges’ ‘*Distinctiones*’ based on the Aviary and H bestiary (BnF, MSS lat. 15971 and lat. 16482). Clark recognised this, but nevertheless took it merely to mean that the bestiary was ‘not ignored’ by sermon writers. Thus the significance of such manuscripts was labelled as ‘uncertain.’¹⁴³

In her study of the ‘Northumberland Bestiary,’ Cynthia White came to the opposite conclusion regarding the bestiary as a source of *exempla*.¹⁴⁴ This is based on her analysis of the text to find ‘four distinct types of explicit sermon material’ and her connection of this material to the exhortatory texts found at the beginning of the manuscript.¹⁴⁵ White’s methodology is problematic for several reasons. The first is

¹³⁹ Henkel discusses *Physiologus* texts that were used in the classroom for practicing the conversion of Latin verse into prose. Henkel, *Studien*, p. 35. Texts such as fables and the *Physiologus* were used in teaching grammar and rhetoric, while the material found in the Second Family is unsuitable for these purposes. We also have no evidence that natural philosophy of any kind was a subject in elementary or monastic schools.

¹⁴⁰ Clark, *Second-Family*, p. 21.

¹⁴¹ ‘*Libellus qui bestiarum de naturis animalium et avium et aliarum rerum quarundum que valet ad predicandum. ‘Leo fortissimus etc.’*’ This is the Second Family manuscript BnF MS lat. 11207. Clark, ‘Four Latin Bestiaries’, p. 63.

¹⁴² Clark, *Second-Family*, p. 233.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

¹⁴⁴ ‘...bestiaries were rich sources of sermon material, and that they were either designed as, or evolved into, homiletic aids for preachers.’ Cynthia White, ‘The Northumberland Bestiary and the Art of Preaching’, *Reinardus* 18 (2005), p. 168.

¹⁴⁵ The Northumberland Bestiary belongs to the Transitional group of manuscripts, the structure of which is described in Chapter 7 of Part Two. It should be noted, however, that the presence of this material as a kind of preface to the bestiary text is characteristic of many Transitional manuscripts. The four types of

again related to the bestiary as a composite text. The chapters she cites as examples of the four types of sermon material are all taken from other sources, including the *Physiologus* B or Y, the B-Is bestiary, or Ambrose's *Hexameron*, with little modification.¹⁴⁶ Reasons as to why such information would have been taken from the bestiary in preference to these sources are not elaborated upon. It may boil down to a question of whether the medieval sermon writer preferred to take his information from a more authoritative work, or from a convenient collection.

The second is found in her examination of the so-called '*Quotiescumque...*' sermon found at the beginning of the manuscript and what she calls the 'web of interconnected sermon material relating ... to [its] theme – how the sinner may be pleasing to God.'¹⁴⁷ This chapter describes the steps necessary for a sinner to be reconciled to God, and how a sinful soul may be healed through the use of spiritual medicine. In certain manuscripts of the Transitional version, there is also a separate entry addressed to the 'brothers', describing the 'journey of life' and the spiritual attributes and acts necessary to enter the 'heavenly city.'¹⁴⁸ White interprets these as being intended to help preachers spiritually prepare themselves to preach.¹⁴⁹ Their placement before the bestiary text proper is because they are to aid in the use of the rest of the text as a source of *exempla*. However, such an interpretation is limited in its application, since there are several other bestiary manuscripts associated with preaching in which the *Quotiescumque* text has been purposefully omitted.¹⁵⁰ If indeed the *Quotiescumque* text was so integral to the interpretation of other bestiary chapters for use in sermons, it does not make sense to omit it from a manuscript that is to be used by preachers.

sermon material that White identifies are 1) the 'just as' similes in which some characteristic or behaviour of an animal is likened to (usually) Christ through the phrase 'In the same way...' 2) the allegorical comparison in which the animal is the 'type' for either the devil or Christ 3) addresses to the '*homo Dei*', the reader or listener, to follow the commands given in the spiritual interpretations so as not to lose his salvation or fall into the traps of the devil, 4) instructions for the '*boni praedicatores*' in the spiritual interpretation and delivery of the morals, and advice on how to keep spiritually sound themselves. White, 'Preaching', p. 182.

¹⁴⁶ The reason for this is White's incorrect theories about the development of the Transitional text. I discuss these and related issues in Chapter 7 of Part Two.

¹⁴⁷ White, 'Preaching', p. 172.

¹⁴⁸ White, *Northumberland*, pp. 66-67.

¹⁴⁹ White 'Preaching', pp. 171-172.

¹⁵⁰ These manuscripts include BL MS Harley 3244; Cambridge, St John's College Library MS C12; and Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 742. Clark, *Second-Family*, p. 47.

The final problem with White's methodology is that she tends to focus on one specific manuscript as a source of *exempla*. The fact that there are multiple other manuscripts with the same text as the Northumberland Bestiary is only briefly mentioned. She does not clarify whether those bestiaries similar to it are other Transitional bestiaries. In addition, she claims that the instructions for the preacher found in the Dove chapter are not found in other Transitional manuscripts and this is thus evidence that this specific manuscript was used by preachers. But the same text is found in two other Transitional manuscripts, New York, Morgan Library MS 81 and BL MS Royal 12.C.xix. White does not provide satisfactory evidence that this specific manuscript was used by preachers, but focuses on showing how the text found in the manuscript contains information that would be useful for preachers. Linked to this is her disregard of the fact that Northumberland is an illustrated manuscript, and the vast majority of preaching aids are not illustrated. It is true that Harley 3244, one of the manuscripts mentioned earlier as being connected with preachers but lacking the *Quotiescumque* text, is also illustrated, meaning that it is not impossible for a preaching aid to contain pictures. The rarity of this, however, does call for further study.

The literature discussed above demonstrates how difficult it is to prove the use of bestiary lore in sermons. The lack of sermons with *exempla* that could only have come from the bestiary, coupled with the incongruities between the manuscript characteristics of preaching aids and the best known bestiaries, would seem to indicate that the bestiary was not a popular choice for preachers searching for that elusive new and exciting 'hook' to catch the congregation's attention.¹⁵¹ Or, it may indicate that a different approach is necessary. There is a surprising lack of scholarship on those manuscripts which contain bestiaries in addition to sermons, *exempla*, and other preaching aids. This is probably because most of these manuscripts are unillustrated and may only contain bestiary extracts rather than the complete text. However, it is these manuscripts that ultimately provide more information on the relationship between the bestiary and sermon literature. In the rest of this section, I will highlight some of the findings resulting from an examination of these manuscripts, and show that this relationship is rather more nuanced and subtle than has been portrayed. The

¹⁵¹ White, 'Preaching', p. 177.

manuscripts containing bestiary texts and extracts are Cambridge, St John's College Library MS A15, Bodl. MS Rawlinson C77, and MSS 742 and 1029 from the Bibliothèque Mazarine in Paris. Appendix 4 contains the Latin text for those sermons and other relevant works which I paraphrase in English below.

St John's College MS A15 contains four unrelated manuscripts that were bound together by the fifteenth century. The third manuscript dates from the second half of the thirteenth century and contains the Second Family bestiary, which is unillustrated. It has been stated that 'Clearly St John's College A.15 was intended to be an illustrated bestiary, but for some reason the artwork was never undertaken.'¹⁵² But this does not seem likely as the spaces left between chapters are very small and there are only really two spaces that are suitable for illustrations. The rest of the spaces are all of one or two lines, better suited to pen flourishes and decoration. However, the capitals were never filled in so it is difficult to be certain of this. The volume is neat and easy to read, with wide margins and some marginal glossing (although none in the bestiary, apart from one *nota bene* sign beside the Lion chapter). It is also plain in appearance and looks to have been heavily used.

Unfortunately, the earliest known provenance is the fifteenth-century signature of Robert Portland, who has been tentatively identified as a Franciscan provided by the Pope to the see of Emly in the south of Ireland.¹⁵³ The next owner was Nicholas Kempston, an Oxford graduate who donated books to the Eton College Library. His 1477 inscription states that 'This book ... must never be sold after the owner's death but should be owned freely by priests skilled in preaching the word of God, and handed down from one priest to another at no cost, as long as it shall last.'¹⁵⁴ This is a rather self-evident statement on the usefulness of the texts, including the bestiary, to preachers.

The bestiary is preceded by a series of sermons. While these sermons contain several instances of animal *exempla*, none appears to have been directly copied from the bestiary, although they may have been influenced by it. One of the sermons states the dove is 'simple' and 'innocent' of wrong behaviour and therefore an example to us; it

¹⁵² Michelle S. Hoffman, 'A Forgotten Bestiary', *Notes and Queries* 244:4 (1999), p. 446.

¹⁵³ Unfortunately, Portland did not take up the see, as he was 'tardy tardy in drawing up the necessary letters, and so forfeited his right to [it].' *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ '*Liber quondam Magistri Nicholai Kempston A.D. 1477 nunquam vendendus secundum ultimum defuncti sed libere occupandus a sacerdotibus instructis ad predicandum verbum dei, ab uno sacerdote ad alterum sine precio tradendus quamdiu duravit. AD 1477*' (found on the recto side of the end flyleaf).

also alludes to the beauty of the red dove.¹⁵⁵ The specific use of *simplex* to describe doves is biblical, taken from Matthew 10:16, and is also found in many of the bestiary sources and in all of the bestiary versions.¹⁵⁶ The B-Is versions of the bestiary speak about the different colours of doves and place the red dove foremost over all of the others because it signifies Christ. The allegorical descriptions of the colours of the dove appear to originate in the *Physiologus* and were retained in some, but not all, of the bestiary Families.¹⁵⁷ So while this may indicate bestiary influence, it is not conclusive.

In another sermon, there is an extended passage explaining how animals and rocks are examples for human behaviour. This section begins by stating that humans possess greater powers of reasoning than animals, and therefore when, in biblical examples, humans are compared to animals, it is clear that these humans are sinners. It is the case that beasts naturally lack reason and this is not a problem; their irrational actions cannot be classified as ‘sinful’. However, since God has honoured humans with reason, humans who live by the irrational will *are* sinners. The author then shows how sinners are like different kinds of beasts, or even worse. One of the verses quoted is Proverbs 6:6, which advises the lazy man to look to the ant and to imitate its ways, ‘for we are the disciples of ants’. Unlike ants, humans ruin their intelligence and reason, and scorn to imitate God. Therefore, through their behaviour, ants surpass us in similarity to, and imitation of, the God who made us like him.¹⁵⁸ This verse is also found in the bestiary Ants chapter, but it is used with different moralisations, either as the first sentence in the chapter before a description of the ant’s three characteristics, or an introduction to a section exemplifying the way that ants collect grain from human harvest, although there is no one to tell them how to do so. Men watch the ants taking their grain but are too embarrassed by the example of hard work to stop them.¹⁵⁹ The other examples of human inferiority to other creatures relate to biblical quotations from the Old Testament, and the sermon ends with the reprisal that we are outdone by the

¹⁵⁵ ‘*Item cum columba simplex et innocens animal sit. pulchre in columba rufus est. significans quod per simplicem et innocentem aliene conversationis tenorem exemplum multos emendat*’ MS A15, f. 132r.

¹⁵⁶ ‘*Ecce ego mitto vos sicut oves in medio luporum estote ergo prudentes sicut serpentes et simplices sicut columbae.*’ Matthew 10.16; *Physiologus* B,Y, *Hexameron* 5.14.49; *Etymologiae* 12.7.1; *Moralia in Job* 1.5.2.

¹⁵⁷ It is found in the B-Is and Transitional versions, but not the Second or Third Family. While the bestiary refers to different colours of doves, the *Aviary* explains allegorically the differently-coloured parts of the dove’s body, e.g. its silver wings, gold back, yellow eye, and red feet. Clark, *Aviary*, pp. 120-137.

¹⁵⁸ See text B of Appendix 4 for the Latin text of the sermon.

¹⁵⁹ See text C of Appendix 4 for the Latin text of the bestiary.

beasts, birds, ants, and even the stones. In fact, our frail nature is inferior to all of creation.

While the information about animals in these sermons is taken from the Bible, the attitude towards animals is (unsurprisingly) similar to that found in the bestiary: that the behaviour of humans is reflected in that of the natural world. According to the sermons, sometimes nature is to be imitated (although the animals do not act out of reason) and sometimes nature shows us how we act according to our will, or desires, as animals do.¹⁶⁰ And the bestiary's very definition of a wild beast as found at the start of the first chapter on the lion is that of a creature which follows its own will and goes wherever the spirit leads.¹⁶¹ Such behaviour is sinful in humans because we have God-given reason and a knowledge of right and wrong.

The second manuscript, Bodl. MS Rawlinson C77 contains bestiary extracts, as well as sermons, prayers, and spiritual writings.¹⁶² It is this manuscript that Clark describes as 'probably the most likely of these to have been used by a sermon writer, or at least a preacher'.¹⁶³ The extracts are from the Second Family chapters on birds and are the first work in the manuscript, but as the manuscript is incomplete at the beginning it is not known whether chapters on other types of animals were originally included. The text order and content in Rawlinson C77 generally follow those of the Second Family bestiary, although there are some order rearrangements and exclusions of chapters.¹⁶⁴ The extracts end with the chapter on bees, which is normally followed in the bestiary by the section on serpents.

Many of the sermons do mention animals, but again their relationship to the bestiary is questionable. One of the sermons entitled '*Item in circumcissione domini*' begins with a quote from Psalms 102, 'Your youth will be renewed like that of the eagle.'¹⁶⁵ This verse is found in most bestiary versions, the *Physiologus*, and the

¹⁶⁰ One of the themes running through Salisbury's *Beast Within* is the medieval preoccupation with, and concern over, the divide between humans and animals, and the ways in which this divide is crossed.

¹⁶¹ '*Fere appellate eo quod naturali utuntur liberate et desiderio suo ferantur. Sunt enim libere earum voluntates et huc atque illuc vagantur. et quo animus duxerit eo ferantur.*' Clark, *Second-Family*, p. 119. The original source of the text is the *Etymologiae*, 12.2.2.

¹⁶² See Barker-Benfield, *St Augustine's*, pp. 1478-1481 for a description of MS Rawlinson C77.

¹⁶³ Clark, *Second-Family*, p. 95.

¹⁶⁴ The chapters found in Rawlinson C77 are: parrot (incomplete at start), *caladrius*, ibis, ostrich, *fulica*, *alcione*, phoenix, *cinnamolgus*, hoopoe, owl, siren, the nature of fish, nightengale, bat, crow, dove, turtledove, duck, goose, eggs, and bees.

¹⁶⁵ '*Renovabitur ut aquile iuventus tua.*' Rawlinson C77, f. 5v.

Aviary, a testimony to its popularity.¹⁶⁶ The Second Family bestiary lore used to illustrate this states that when the eagle becomes old and its feathers are heavy and its eyes dim with age, it flies up into the sun and its feathers are burned off and the dimness in its eyes is consumed by the sun's rays. It then dives into a specific pool and it is restored to its youthful strength and sharpness of sight.¹⁶⁷ However the Rawlinson C77 sermon illustrates the verse by stating that as the eagle ages, its beak becomes so overgrown in a curve that it can no longer eat and becomes weak from hunger. It must break off the overgrown part by striking it against a rock, which allows it to eat and it is thus rejuvenated. The sermon then uses this lore to show how the eagle hitting its beak against a rock is like the sinner, who strikes Christ with his mouth, i.e. confesses his sin, and through this the infirmity of sin drops off and the sinner is renewed, freed from all corruption of the mind and body.¹⁶⁸ This lore about the eagle's beak and the corresponding moralisation is not found in any of the bestiaries. It is, however, found in the Aviary and Theobald's metrical *Physiologus*.¹⁶⁹

Another sermon entitled '*In die qua crux dominicus adoretur*' states that the lion has three characteristics and this is similar to the introduction found in the *Physiologus* and the bestiary.¹⁷⁰ It revives its dead cubs on the third day; it erases its tracks with its tail so that the hunters cannot find it; and when it wishes to kill its prey, it makes a circle around the animals which none dares to cross and then it catches and devours them. These characteristics are then moralised. The rousing of the cubs on the third day is said to be the awakening of the Holy Spirit in the friend of Christ. The lion's tracks represent evil deeds done which are covered with the tail, that is, with good works so that the hunter, who is the devil, cannot find the sinner. In the case of the third characteristic, the Christian is to encircle and trap bestial thinking and fortify his senses against it, lest that thinking leads him to sin. Thus trapped, the bestial thinking is killed

¹⁶⁶ The only bestiary version to have omitted it is the B-Is Stowe-type (see Chapter 3 of Part Two for a description of this version).

¹⁶⁷ See text D of Appendix 4 for the Latin text of the bestiary.

¹⁶⁸ See text E of Appendix 4 for the Latin text of the sermon.

¹⁶⁹ Clark, *Aviary*, p. 255; P.T. Eden, (ed. and trans.), *Theobaldi 'Physiologus'. Mittellateinische studien und texte* Band VI (Leiden, 1972), pp. 28-29. This was written in the eleventh century by Bishop Theobald, Abbot of Monte Cassino 1022-1035, and was based on more than one version of the *Physiologus*.

¹⁷⁰ All of the bestiary and *Physiologus* texts state that the lion has either three or four natures, depending on the version.

within and perishes.¹⁷¹ These three characteristics are not found in this combination in either the bestiary or the *Physiologus*, as the fact that the lion sleeps with its eyes open is found in place of it circling its prey. Neither are the moralisations the same. The *Physiologus* allegorically compares the lion to Christ rather than Christians; the bestiary retains this comparison and only moralises the Isidorean additions that the lion spares a prostrate man and is not easily angered.¹⁷² The wording from the second characteristic is very similar to that found in the metrical *Physiologus* by Theobald, but the third characteristic is not found in this text.¹⁷³ It is found in the text of Bartolomaeus Anglicus' encyclopaedia *De natura rerum*, however, as this manuscript dates from around the same time the encyclopaedia was written, it is more likely to be from an unidentified common source.¹⁷⁴ The sermon information on the eagle is very short and only states that it flies higher than other birds. This information is also found in the Theobaldus *Physiologus* but not in the Aviary or bestiary of any version.¹⁷⁵

There is another sermon that describes the way in which the serpent sheds its old skin, and compares this to sinners shedding their sins and old nature in order to be renewed to eternal life. This lore and moralisation is found in the Second Family bestiary where it was taken from the *Physiologus* version Y.¹⁷⁶ Therefore, it is not clear

¹⁷¹ See text F of Appendix 4 for the Latin text of the sermon.

¹⁷² Clark, *Second-Family*, p. 121.

¹⁷³ 'Si venatorem per notum sentit odorem, Cauda cuncta linit, que pes vestigia figit, Quatinus inde suum non possit querere lustrum.' Eden, *Theobaldi*, p. 26.

¹⁷⁴ 'circa quae cum cauda in orbem lineam ducit, & illius lineaturae circulum transire quodlibet animal pertimescit, & stant animalia stupida, quasi edictum expectantia regis sui' Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De genuinis rerum coelestium, terrestrium et infernarum proprietatibus* (Frankfurt, 1601; repr. Frankfurt, 1964), p. 1083.

¹⁷⁵ 'per aquilam significatur filius qui sicut aquila ceteris avibus volat altius' f. 14v-15r, Rawlinson C77. According to the Theobaldus *Physiologus*, 'Esse ferunt aquilam super omne volatile primam,' Eden translates this as 'They say the eagle is foremost of all flying things.' Eden, *Theobaldi*, pp. 28-29. However, this phrase has also been interpreted in other ways. Rendell translates it as 'No other bird, it is said, can pass the Eagle in flying' and then clarifies 'It is to be noted about the first verse where it is said ('No other bird, it is said') that some say that the Eagle is first among birds because he was created first. Others say that he is first, not on this account, but because he is more noble and flies higher than other birds.' Alan Wood Rendell (trans.), *Physiologus. A Meterical Bestiary of Twelve Chapters by Bishop Theobald. Printed in Cologne 1412* (London, 1928), pp. 58-60.

¹⁷⁶ Compare text G of Appendix 4 with that found in *Physiologus* Y, 'et si voluerit novus fieri, abstinet et ieiunat quadraginta diebus, donec pellis eius relaxetur a carne sua; et si relaxata fuerit ieiunis pellis eius, vadens querit fissuram angustam in petra, et intrat in fissuram, et contribulat se, et cogit, et deponit pellem veterem, et novus fit' Carmody, 'Versio Y', p. 111; and the Second Family 'Prima eius natura habet haec est cum senuerit caligant oculi eius, et si voluerit novus fieri, abstinet se et ieiunat multis diebus donec pellis eius relaxetur et quaerit angustam rimam in petra et intrat in eam et contribulat se et deponit veterem pellem.' Clark, *Second-Family*, p. 202.

which the sermon writer used, although given the earlier evidence for *Physiologus* influence, this may be the more likely source.

The sermons found in St John's A15 and Rawlinson C77 demonstrate that while it cannot be proved that the animal *exempla* used definitely came from a Latin prose bestiary, they do seem to indicate the influence of the *Physiologus* and other bestiary sources. And the fact that the bestiaries were originally part of these manuscripts that were thought useful for preachers indicates that they were judged to be so, even if the bestiary texts were not quoted in the sermons themselves. It may have been that the scribe deliberately avoided putting in texts that relied on the same attributes of the animals, in order to provide as wide a range of moralisations as possible. In this case the bestiary could then be seen as a potential source. It may also be significant that there do not seem to be any copies of the *Physiologus* or *Physiologus* extracts in books of sermons, even though, as shown here, they were used in sermons.¹⁷⁷

I will now examine two manuscripts that contain a bestiary in addition to collections of sermon *exempla*, as opposed to complete sermons. Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 742 is composed of several theological and moral works in addition to a complete Second Family bestiary (with an incomplete glossary) and a collection of *narrationes* and *exempla*. The manuscript as it is today is recorded in the 1514 catalogue of the Abbey of Saint-Victor and it retains its fifteenth-century binding and the old Saint-Victor Pressmark.¹⁷⁸ However, the *narrationes*, *exempla*, bestiary, and glossary all appear to have been originally part of a separate earlier work since they all share the same fourteenth-century foliation that has been superseded by that in a fifteenth-century hand, presumably done when the manuscript was bound at Saint-Victor. The first work in the manuscript also has earlier pressmarks that have been crossed out. Therefore, it seems likely that the bestiary and glossary were meant to have served the same purpose as the *narrationes* and *exempla*, several of which feature animals.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁷ Two manuscripts with *Physiologus* extracts in them, BL MSS Royal 6.A.xi and Add. 1 22041, contain theological texts but not sermons.

¹⁷⁸ The old Saint-Victor pressmark 'SS 3' is on the front flyleaf. Ouy, *Saint-Victor*, p. 261.

¹⁷⁹ Of the two other manuscripts with the bestiary/glossary/lapidary combination, BnF MS lat. 11207 has lost the original accompanying texts, and BnF MS lat. 14297 has been rebound with other works from Saint-Victor. These other works have the Saint-Victor *ex libris* and coat of arms on them, while the bestiary/glossary texts do not.

Some of the *exempla* which mention animals and their characteristics are related to the descriptions found in the bestiary, although the moralisations found in these chapters are often different from that in the bestiary. For example, Mazarine MS 742 states that the eagle holds its chicks up to the rays of the sun and it keeps those that the sun nourishes but throws down the others. Similarly, Christ will nourish those who live correctly according to the faith, and he will expel the others into the darkness.¹⁸⁰ The eagle's testing of its young is found in the Second Family bestiary (although without moralisation), the *Etymologiae*, and the *Hexameron*, although in these sources it is those chicks able to withstand the sun's rays which are kept.¹⁸¹

Many of the Second Family bestiary chapters include information on the natural enmities between certain animals. Indeed, earlier versions of the bestiary as well as the *Physiologus* often placed these creatures after one another for emphasis, such as the crocodile and *hydrus*, and the panther and dragon.¹⁸² There is a short *exemplum* in Mazarine MS 742 that comments on the wonder that brute animals flee death and their natural enemies. The dove flees the hawk, the bird flees the eagle, and the lamb knows to flee the wolf but not the calf.¹⁸³ One is amazed by these behaviours presumably because of the animals' lack of reason. How would a lamb, which no doubt has never encountered a wolf before, know that the wolf means it harm?¹⁸⁴

The bestiary chapter on Adam assigning names to the animals is taken from Isidore's *Etymologiae* and while it is not moralised, it does illustrate the main tenet of the *Etymologiae* and an important feature of the bestiary. It describes how Adam used Hebrew rather than Latin or Greek or any contemporary language to give the animals names according to their natures. For example, different sorts of domestic animals are named after the ways in which they aid humans.¹⁸⁵ There is an *exemplum* in Mazarine

¹⁸⁰ 'Item aquila ponit pullos suos ad radios solis. et illos qui radios erigunt visuales ad radios solis nutrit. et alios proicit. Similiter et christus illos qui recte secundum fidem procedent nutriet alios detrudet in tenebras exteriores ubi erit et cetera' MS 742, f. 122r.

¹⁸¹ Clark, *Second-Family*, pp. 166-167; *Etymologiae* 12.7.10-11, *Hexameron* 5.18.60-61.

¹⁸² These pairings of animals were originally double chapters in the *Physiologus* but were split in the bestiaries. See Chapters 2 and 3 of Part Two for a discussion of the reorganisation of the *Physiologus* chapter order in the B-Is bestiaries.

¹⁸³ 'Item mirum est quod animalia bruta fugiunt mortem et suum inimicum naturaliter ut angus lupum avis aquilam columba ancipitrem. agnus enim quando videt lupum fugit quod non faceret si videret vitulum vel alium agnum.' MS 742, f. 125r.

¹⁸⁴ See Peter King, 'Aquinas on the Passions', pp. 127-128 for a discussion of Aquinas' attempts to explain how a non-rational animal perceives the intentions of another object.

¹⁸⁵ Clark, *Second-Family*, pp. 150-151.

MS 742 that expounds on the role of Adam in this capacity. Before he sinned, Adam was obeyed by all the animals and assigned names to them, but after sinning he became comparable to the animals. Therefore we humans are still similar to the animals because we are unable to resist the lures of the flesh.¹⁸⁶ This is in contrast to the sermons from St John's A15 discussed above, in which a key difference between humans and animals, the possession of reason, was used to show that animals are to be imitated.

An extended *exemplum* compares Christ to the lioness, pelican, and caladrius: i.e. the lioness because if its cubs are in danger of death, it will sacrifice itself to save them; the pelican because with its blood it raises its chicks from the dead; and the caladrius because when it looks at a sick man it draws his illness into itself, flies into the air, and there expels the death and illness, just as Christ bore our own weaknesses.¹⁸⁷ The lore about the pelican and caladrius is found in both the bestiary and *Physiologus*, which also compares Christ to these birds. However, the bestiary and *Physiologus* do not compare the lioness to Christ, only the male lion. The description of the ape's unequal love for her twin offspring is also found in the bestiary and *Physiologus*, although in Mazarine MS 742 this lore is given a different moralisation. Instead of the ape's lack of a tail symbolising the devil as in the bestiary and *Physiologus*, its inability to throw down the twin it hates (which is clinging to its neck) to save its own life symbolises those who are not able to throw down the earthly riches of the world, which end up being their downfall.¹⁸⁸

In the case of the *exempla* which are not related to the bestiary or any of its sources, the majority of these are related to passages in the Bible. For example, the snake that lies in wait for the man's heel is like the devil waiting for a man to die; this is likely taken from the text in Genesis which states that the snake will strike the man's heel.¹⁸⁹ The ass is a stupid animal and indifferent to its burdens because it will carry both dung and gold willingly, just as the sinner is more willing to carry the load of the

¹⁸⁶ See text H of Appendix 4 for the Latin text of the sermon.

¹⁸⁷ See text I of Appendix 4 for the Latin text of the sermon.

¹⁸⁸ See text J of Appendix 4 for the Latin text of the sermon. This tale about the ape and its young is not moralised in the bestiary, and the unmoralised information is also found in Aesop's fables, Olivia and Robert Temple, (trans.), *Aesop: The Complete Fables* (London, 1998), p. 227; the *Etymologiae* 12.2.31; and Solinus, *Collectanea* 27.57 so it is not original to the bestiary or *Physiologus*.

¹⁸⁹ 'Item serpens insidiatur hominis calcaneo. et diabolus hominem in morte observat. quare mors peccatorum pessima' MS 742, f. 124v.

devil's dung, that is, the filth of sin, than the yoke of the Lord, which is pleasant and light – an allusion to Matthew 11:30.¹⁹⁰

Most of the *exempla* in Mazarine MS 742 are short and the moralisations in them are not prolonged or theologically complex. They are often rather vague instructions to avoid sin and worldly pleasures, and to live in the faith; several refer to 'we Christians' instead of 'men of God' or 'brothers.' Therefore, this manuscript may have been intended as an aide for a preacher in a lay setting, as opposed to the next manuscript I will discuss, which appears to have been intended for use in composing sermons for a monastic environment.

Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 1029, a French manuscript from the first half of the thirteenth century, contains the Aviary and H bestiary in addition to a collection texts related to sermons and preaching. The manuscript was in its present form by at least Friday, 25th of October 1482, the date on a table of contents found on one of the paper flyleaves at the back of the manuscript. On the verso side of the last folio there are some inscriptions that give clues as to the manuscript's earlier owners. One of these is dated 1332 and appears to be an act of Peter Molet of Flavacuria, the abbot of Val-Notre-Dame, a Cistercian monastery in the Île-de-France northwest of Paris. The Aviary, which accompanies the H bestiary, was created as a teaching text for Cistercian lay brothers. The chapters found in the original Aviary text are often quite long; the Ostrich chapter is over 1600 words, and the moralisations are extremely detailed.¹⁹¹ However, the Aviary found in Mazarine MS 1029 is significantly shorter than the original text as many chapters are skipped, often the ones dealing specifically with the lay brothers. The chapters that are included have been shortened by the omission of material rather than by paraphrasing. Therefore, the Aviary in Mazarine MS 1029 appears to have been altered so that it is no longer a teaching text for Cistercian lay brothers but is closer to a collection of sermon *exempla* in its form and format. And given its thirteenth-century production, this is in keeping with the decline in the number of lay brothers at this time, as discussed above.

¹⁹⁰ 'Item asinus stolidum animal est qui indifferenter portat fimum et aurum. Similiter peccator qui eque libenter et libentius portant honus stercorum dyaboli. idem peccatorum sordes quam iugum domini licet iugum domini suave sit et leve est' MS 742, f. 140v. Cf. Matthew 11:30, 'iugum enim meum suave est et onus meum leve est.'

¹⁹¹ Clark, *Aviary*, pp. 188-199.

Many of the shorter *exempla* found in Mazarine MS 1029 are not directly influenced by the bestiary or Aviary. Their moralisations are instead related to good Christian behaviour rather than the explanation of doctrine. For example, the chastised dog is quickly placated and comes when its master calls, although the sinner grumbles when God corrects him.¹⁹² Man is a wicked and cunning fish, who avoids being speared by the word of God, but is caught by the worm that is the desires of the flesh.¹⁹³ Many of the *exempla* are directed against the rich and powerful of this world: big fish in the sea devour little fish, just as the rich devour the poor, and the whale's frolicking is a sign of future storms, just as riches are a sign of future disasters.¹⁹⁴ The rich are the pigs of this world, spared now in order to be killed on the day of the great feast of the Lord (i.e. Judgement Day) when they will be the food of the devil.¹⁹⁵ In comparison, the sheep is described as a simple animal and therefore an example to humans who should have simplicity, sufficiency in bread and water, peace of mind, and good works.¹⁹⁶ All of the information needed to understand these comparisons could have been gained through daily interactions with animals and humans in a rural or semi-rural society.

There are also many *exempla* which are related to monks and the ways in which to live the proper monastic life. The evangelist's symbols have been specifically moralised for this purpose. The eagle represents contemplation, but many pull off the face of the eagle and put on the face of the crow because they desire the dung of this world when they ought to strive for the delights of paradise. The calf represents self-sacrifice, but many pull off the face of the calf and put on their own face because they do not bind the desires of the flesh. They instead immerse themselves in obscene pleasures. The man represents suffering for the weaker brother, but many throw off the

¹⁹² *'Canis dum verberatur a domino suo non latrat contra eum. nec mordet eum. sed verberatus cito placatur. si blande revocetur peccator vero correptus domino contra eum latrat et murmurat.'* MS 1029, f. 37v.

¹⁹³ *'Quilibet homo piscis est nequam et astutus. et ad capiendum difficilis. nec lapitur clavo gariosili scilicet verbo dei sed verme in amo posito id est vili voluptate carne.'* MS 1029, f. 38v.

¹⁹⁴ *'Mare est mundus. sicut in mari magni pisces devorant minores ita in mundo divites devorant pauperes. et sicut ludus ceti signum est future tempestatis. ita prosperitas divitum signum est venturae calamitatis'* MS 1029, f. 36v.

¹⁹⁵ *'Divites sunt porci in mundi. hii reservantur occidendi in die magne festivitatis domini et esset cibus diaboli'* MS 1029, ff. 39r-39v.

¹⁹⁶ *'Quatuor sunt in ove. ovis simplex est. pastum invenit ubi alia animalia non invenirent. lac habet. et lanam. habemus igitur simplicitatem habemus sufficiency in pane et aqua. habemus mentis dulcedinem. habemus bona operationem'* MS 1029, f. 37v. Interestingly, these derogatory descriptions of the rich appear after many Cistercian monasteries had gained immense wealth.

face of the man and put on the face of the dog because they hide rather than come to the brothers in their need. The lion represents roaring at sin but many flee this and put on the face of the locust. They do not correct their own sins but flatter the vices of their neighbours.¹⁹⁷

One of the longer texts deals in depth with preachers and members of the monastic community. Good preachers are compared to the dog which has both good and bad qualities that symbolise either good preachers or mercenaries and thieves. The dog guards its master's property, chases away thieves, and barks at wolves. In addition, its tongue is medicinally useful, a trait also found in Mazarine MS 1029's bestiary Dog chapter comparing the physical healing of the dog's tongue to the spiritual healing of confession. Good preachers are compassionate and friendly to those under them, they point out their flock's weaknesses and rejoice when they are spiritually healthy, and they have compassion for the sick. In addition, they guard the Lord's church against: the heretics' attempts to steal members through cunning suggestions, the devil's attempts to devour members through temptation, and the tyrants within the church seeking to cause violence and suffering. Dogs that let wolves pass, travel with bandits, and obey thieves are like heretical prelates who, whether purposefully or through habit, do not prevent sin. Sinful prelates neglect the canonical hours and personal prayer, they disregard the offices, they rush through the mass, they do not expel the excommunicated, they are not moved by the sacraments, and they sell baptism and the body of Christ. In short, they are not pastors but mercenaries, and wolves instead of guides. Evil dogs signify evil preachers because the dog is mad, unclean, and returns to its own vomit. These preachers appease those they ought to convict and those they ought to appease, they condemn to death. They are unclean in the seven deadly sins to which they continually return.¹⁹⁸

Comparisons of dogs with preachers was common in the Middle Ages and, as demonstrated by the text found in Mazarine MS 1029, this could encompass both positive and negative examples.¹⁹⁹ The descriptions of good and bad ecclesiastics listed above have the tone of experience about them, as though the writer had acquaintances

¹⁹⁷See text K of Appendix 4 for the Latin text of the sermon.

¹⁹⁸See text L of Appendix 4 for the Latin text of the sermon.

¹⁹⁹See Charles F. Altman, 'The Medieval Marquee: Church Portal Sculpture as Publicity', *Journal of Popular Culture* 14:1 (1980), pp. 41-44 for an example of religious sculpture that communicates this association of dogs and preachers.

or specific situations in mind when describing them. Although White links the Transitional and Second Family Dog chapters to the *Quotiescumque* sermon found in these versions, it should be noted that the actual description of the dog as preacher in these texts is quite brief. The majority of the Dog chapter is concerned with tales of the loyalty of dogs.²⁰⁰ It should also be noted that the H Family bestiary does not contain the *Quotiescumque* chapter; this adds weight to my argument made earlier that the *Quotiescumque* chapter is not necessarily an indication that a manuscript was used as source of sermon *exempla*. Of course, this manuscript could also be interpreted as an indication that medieval authors felt free to use and manipulate texts in a variety of ways, and this brings me to the final manuscript I would like to briefly discuss relating to the use of bestiaries in sermons, BnF MS lat. 15971.

This manuscript is only briefly mentioned by Clark as a ‘possible sermon-aid and bestiary connection’.²⁰¹ It contains a series of *distinctiones* written by Peter of Limoges (ca. 1230-1306), in addition to sermons preached by Robert of Sorbonne in 1260-61 and a selection of horoscopes in a different hand, dating from the 1280’s.²⁰² The *distinctiones* are based on the Aviary and H bestiary and this collection appears to be unique in that it can be reliably linked to a specific bestiary version; the collections discussed above could more properly be described as being ‘influenced’ by the bestiary.²⁰³ In addition, chapters in Peter’s *distinctiones* are labelled according to the animal or bird, as they are in the bestiary and Aviary, although there are also chapters that are not found in the H bestiary, such as the pig, cat, and horse.

There is very little extant information about Peter of Limoges but what we do have demonstrates an interest in preaching, natural philosophy (especially medicine and astronomy), and unorthodox theology (including that of Joachim of Fiore).²⁰⁴ Indeed,

²⁰⁰ Clark, *Second-Family*, pp. 145-147.

²⁰¹ His *distinctiones* are also found in BnF MS lat. 16482. Ibid., p. 95.

²⁰² Albert Soler, ‘Ramon Llull and Peter of Limoges’, *Traditio* 48 (1993), p. 98.

²⁰³ Although Peter made many alterations to the H bestiary, a comparison of the text in MS lat. 15971 to other H bestiary texts reveals some similarities with BnF MS lat. 14429. It cannot be confirmed that this manuscript was at St Victor before 1514 (see n. 99). However, given the textual similarities between MSS lat. 15971 and lat. 14429, and given that in the latter part of the thirteenth century the Sorbonne possessed library catalogues for St Victor (and other Parisian houses) that were used by the masters locate books outside the Sorbonne, it is possible that MS lat. 14429 was in Paris at this time. Mary A. Rouse and Richard H. Rouse, ‘The Early Library of the Sorbonne’, in Mary A. Rouse and Richard H. Rouse, *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts* (Notre Dame, 1991), p. 373.

²⁰⁴ Soler mentions the four sources with information about Peter and his life: two obituaries, a list of bishops of Limoges, and Peter’s library left to the Sorbonne after his death. Ibid., pp. 96-97.

Peter was so well known for his interest in astrology that his obituary at the Sorbonne called him the ‘*magnus astronomus*.’ He studied at Paris, belonged to the college for theology students founded by Robert of Sorbonne (whom he knew personally), and was at least a ‘*baccalarius in theologia*.’ Despite receiving a prebend in the cathedral of Évreux, Peter did not progress beyond the level of deacon, turning down a bishopric twice. His library went to the Sorbonne after his death, including BnF MS lat. 15971 which contains the *ex libris* on f. 234v: *Iste liber est pauperum magistrorum de sorbo. ex leg’ M. petri de lemovicis ... In quo continentur exempla sermonum et sermones*. A significant number of his surviving manuscripts, including this one, were copied by Peter himself, although he has few original works. One text which he did write, *De oculo morali*, is a moralised description of the structure of the eye and thus accords well with the bestiary’s method of interpreting nature. One may ask why Peter was not content to merely include a copy of the Aviary and H bestiary in his library. However, it appears that he was more inclined to correct the work of others rather than to write his own; many of his manuscripts show extensive reworking of the text and he was also concerned with the ways in which material is presented and organised.²⁰⁵ Thus, as someone whose interests clearly lay in the moral and allegorical interpretation of the natural world, as well as in preaching and the organisation of material, Peter of Limoges is perhaps a ‘natural’ example of someone who would use the bestiary as a source of sermon *exempla*.

As demonstrated in this chapter, the question of bestiary use in sermons or as sermon *exempla* does not have a simple answer. Earlier conclusions, such as those by Owst and Morson, are problematic because they depend upon theories about the bestiary that have been amended in the light of more recent research. Clark’s analysis of bestiary use in sermons does highlight certain difficulties in addressing the issue, in particular the fact that the bestiary often largely consists of excerpts from other, more popular texts. Her conclusion that ‘not a single example was found in which a sermon-animal could be matched exclusively with the text of a Latin bestiary’ is based on a search of sermons found in published collections and manuscripts.²⁰⁶ However, Clark does not specify whether any of the sermons which she checked are found in manuscripts that have both sermons/sermons *exempla* and bestiary text. As my analysis

²⁰⁵ Ibid., pp. 96-101.

²⁰⁶ Clark, *Second-Family*, p. 94.

has shown, in these cases there are similarities between the way that animals are treated in the bestiary and in the sermon material. In addition, the example of Peter of Limoges' reworking of the H bestiary also supports the potential usefulness of the bestiary to medieval preachers. The use of bestiary material in medieval sermons is an issue that requires further detailed study, in particular regarding the identification of the preachers and the authors of the sermons.

Chapter 3. The Bestiary as a Medical Text?

The above examination of unillustrated bestiary manuscripts has shown that the bestiary was indeed considered useful by preachers and was influential in the development of medieval preaching. I will now examine a group of fifteenth-century bestiaries that appear to have belonged to private owners, demonstrating that the bestiary was not used in exclusively monastic environments.

Scholars have both associated, and not associated, two popular medieval works, the herbal and the encyclopaedia, with the bestiary. Herbals have been associated with bestiaries because certain herbals are accompanied by animal texts that may contain illustrations that are similar to those in bestiaries (note about this). Wilfred Blunt and Sandra Raphael's book on illustrated herbals states that 'many herbals also contain bestiaries,'²⁰⁷ but it is clear that they use the term in a generic sense, and the texts to which they refer are not bestiaries. For example, the fifth-century *Liber medicinae ex animalibus*, a text that will be further discussed, is labelled as a 'bestiary.'²⁰⁸ Minta Collins emphatically highlights that these animal texts are not bestiaries, 'the two could not be more different in intent.'²⁰⁹

And while it is true that some bestiary versions, particularly the Second Family, contain substantial extracts from the *Etymologiae*, which is itself an encyclopaedia, bestiaries are not referred to as encyclopaedias. These three texts may overlap in terms of subject matter, but they provide different types of information for different purposes. Herbals are concerned with the medicinal uses of plants, and the realism of their illustrations vary dramatically – some were stylised to the point of becoming merely decorative, whilst others were clearly drawn from life and were intended to portray the plant in a recognisable fashion.²¹⁰ This is in contrast with the bestiaries, which contain information that is often factually incorrect and accompanied by illustrations that, even in the highest quality manuscripts, would have often been completely useless if one wanted to use them to identify the animal. However, bestiaries were not intended as guides to animal identification, as the religious and moral lessons learnt from an

²⁰⁷ Wilfred Blunt and Sandra Raphael, *The Illustrated Herbal* (London, 1979), p. 11.

²⁰⁸ For example, Eton College Library MS 204 is described thusly, 'There follows paintings of plants, and finally a bestiary...' Ibid., p. 49.

²⁰⁹ Minta Collins, *Medieval Herbals: The Illustrative Tradition* (London, 2000), n.3, p. 29.

²¹⁰ Compare the illustrations in BL MSS Sloane 1975 and Egerton 2020. Blunt and Raphael, *Illustrated Herbal*, pp. 42-43 and 70-71.

animal's behaviour were of far greater importance than that animal's actual existence. The information in a bestiary is there to provide a vehicle for the moral and theological messages which were the real purpose of the text. Of course, encyclopaedias could have moralisations added to the material, and were sometimes created for use by preachers and ecclesiastics, as in the case of Thomas of Cantimpré's *De natura rerum*, but there is a far greater proportion of chapters which are not moralised, especially since there are sections covering a variety of physical phenomena which do not lend themselves to moralisation, such as God, the Angels, and the planets.²¹¹

Pertinent to this is the example of the Fourth Family manuscript, CUL MS Gg.6.5, dating from the second half of the fifteenth century. The bestiary text found in this manuscript is unique in its combination of sources, and there are no known copies of it. James noted that the chapter order is much like that of the Second Family but it also contains some of the Third Family additions. However, its most striking characteristic is that it seems to be based as much on Bartholomaeus Anglicus' encyclopaedia entitled *De Proprietatibus rerum* as on the *Etymologiae*.²¹² Baudouin van den Abeele described this manuscript as '*un bestiaire à la croisée des genres*' and confirmed James' views on its sources. Although the text follows the chapter order of a Second Family bestiary, some subjects, as well as much of the information within chapters, was taken from Bartholomaeus, who is occasionally mentioned by name.²¹³ For example, some bestiary chapters, such as the tiger, are taken in their entirety from Bartholomaeus' text, whereas others such as the panther only use his non-moralised information whilst retaining the bestiary moralisation. The Fourth Family manuscript again raises the question of genre. Moralisation is often taken to be one of the hallmarks of the bestiary, but the presence of moralising glosses in the Bartholomaeus manuscripts and their loss in the bestiaries blurs the boundaries. Is the Fourth Family

²¹¹ For example, the porcupine *istrix*, which is not in the bestiary, symbolises heretics. H. Boese, (ed.), *Thomas Cantimpratensis. Liber de natura rerum* (Berlin, 1973), p. 138. See Eva Albrecht, 'The Organisation of Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Maius* and of Some Other Latin Encyclopedias', pp. 46-74; Gerald E. Se Boyar, 'Bartholomaeus Anglicus and His Encyclopedia', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 19 (1920), pp. 168-189; and Baudouin van den Abeele, 'Bestiaires encyclopédiques moralisés: quelques succédanés de Thomas de Cantimpré et de Barthélemy l'Anglais', *Reinardus* 7 (1994), pp. 209-228 for descriptions of medieval encyclopedias, their structures, and their uses.

²¹² James, *Ii.4.26*, p. 25.

²¹³ Van den Abeele also notes that the Third Family texts did not serve as an intermediary between the Second and Fourth Families since the Third Family texts have a completely different chapter order and begin with the domestic animals rather than with the big cats. Van den Abeele, 'croisée des genres' p. 221.

an animal encyclopaedia that calls itself a bestiary, or a separate version of the bestiary based on new sources? A text such as this is a reminder that our modern genres of ‘bestiary’ and ‘encyclopaedia’ refer to a categorisation of information that may not have occurred in the medieval mind.

With this in mind, the first manuscript to be discussed is known as the ‘Salvatorburg’ bestiary, currently MS BM 3731 at the Wormsley Library in Buckinghamshire. It was owned, likely originally, by the Carthusian Abbey of Salvatorburg, near Erfurt, and then later owned by the Cistercian Abbey at Bildhausen, about 120km south west of Erfurt.²¹⁴ It dates from the late fourteenth century and contains a complete and fully illustrated Second Family bestiary followed by alphabetically arranged chapters on trees (further divided into sections on trees that bear edible fruit or nuts, and aromatic trees), herbs and seeds, waters, Marbod’s Latin prose lapidary, and a final section on plants. This last is helpfully labelled ‘*plantatoria*’ and is again alphabetically arranged. The chapters following the bestiary are only illustrated at the beginning of sections and unfortunately, I have not been able to find a single source for them in this format, although several authorities are named, including Aristotle, Isidore of Seville, Augustine, Ambrose, and Pliny. Therefore this could be an arrangement that is unique to this manuscript.

This manuscript could be a general reference work, perhaps a sort of ‘encyclopaedic’ text. However, a contemporary table of contents on the first folio reveals that it was thought to belong in a more specific category. The table of contents lists the topics covered: the nature of animals and birds, fish, trees, humans, etc and then ends with the term ‘*Medicinalia*.’²¹⁵ *Medicinalia* is a neuter plural adjective, and because the end of the manuscript is missing, it is not known if this refers to those works that have gone before, or if there were originally other medicinal works included that are now missing. Regardless, this seems to indicate that the monastery considered

²¹⁴ ‘*Carthus. prope erfford*’ is found in a fourteenth-century hand on f. 22r; the date 1645 is written beside the lion illustration on f. 1r; and ‘*Monasterii B.V. in Bildhausen S.O. Cist*’ is written in the top margin on f. 1r in the same hand seventeenth-century hand. Clark also notes that the manuscript is listed in Salvatorburg Abbey’s fifteenth-century manuscript catalogue where it is attributed to Hugh of Saint-Victor. Clark, *Second-Family*, p. 238.

²¹⁵ ‘*Et hic natura animalium. avium. serpentum. piscium. arborum. hominum natura. Gradus etatis. lapidum. frumentorum. aque. ignis. metallorum. lapidum. plantarum. arborum.[...] Medicinalia*’ f. 1r. My transcription is somewhat different to Clark’s, which reads ‘*Et hic natura animalium et vivum sed pictum, piscium, arborum, Hominum natura, Gradus etatis, <natura> frumentorum, aque, ignis, metallorum, lapidum, plantorum, arborum, faenorum. Medicinalia*’ Clark, *Second-Family*, p. 238.

either the manuscript itself, or its contents including the bestiary, to belong with other medicinal texts. Clark states that this might be because of the ‘medicinal and related ‘virtues’ noted for the lapidary stones and the various kinds of plants.’²¹⁶ But as the bestiary is the first text in the manuscript and occupies the majority of it, it seems strange that such a manuscript would be described as ‘*Medicinalia*’ if the only texts that were regarded as such were the ones following the bestiary.

It may be significant that the charmer in the asp illustration, f. 27v, carries the words ‘*Magister ypocras gracia*’, a reference to Hippocrates, although it is unclear if the figure is Hippocrates himself.²¹⁷ Bestiary illustrations of the asp portray the creature with its tail in its ear, to avoid hearing the enchanter whose aural charms are shown in various ways. When the enchanter is shown, he usually carries either a musical instrument such as a harp or other violin-like stringed instrument,²¹⁸ a blank book,²¹⁹ a staff and shield,²²⁰ a gathering of cloth,²²¹ or a scroll which may contain writing.²²² This writing varies between manuscripts but the most common seems to include parts of the biblical phrase ‘*super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis*,’ from Psalms 90:13.²²³ This verse is not quoted in the Asp chapter, and none of the verses which are found in the chapter are found reproduced as the enchanter’s words. Therefore, the connection between the writing on the scrolls and the material within the Asp chapter is not always obvious. The mention of Hippocrates may be a reference to the particular uses of this manuscript.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ In the library’s catalogue, the Latin is translated as ‘Master Hippocrates, thanks’. William M. Voelkle ‘The Salvatorbug Bestiary’ in H. George Fletcher (ed.) et al., *The Wormsley Library. A Personal Selection by Sir Paul Getty, K.B.E.* 2nd ed. (London, 2007), p. 32.

²¹⁸ A harp is shown in Bodl. MS Douce 157, f. 8v and Douai, BM MS 711, f. 41r, a different stringed instrument is shown in BnF MS lat. 14429, f. 116r.

²¹⁹ BnF MS lat. 3630, f. 93v; Bodl. MS Bodley 764, f. 96r; Bodl. MS Douce 88A, f. 24r; and BL MS Harley 3244, f. 61v.

²²⁰ Bodl. MS Ashmole 1511, f. 80v; Bodl. MS Douce 151, f. 74v; Bodl., University College MS 120, p. 88; Morgan Library MS M.81, f. 81v, Aberdeen University Library MS 24, f. 67v, BL MS Royal 12.C.xix, f. 67r; BL MS Sloane 3544, f. 37r; Sidney Sussex College Library, MS 100, f. 37v; Cambridge, St John’s College Library MS 61, f. 64v; State Library of Russia, MS Q.v.V.1 f. 82v. In BnF lat. 11207, f. 33v, the asp has four heads and the enchanter is brandishing a sword and shield.

²²¹ Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 8340, f. 203r; Morgan Library, M.81, f. 83r; Bodl. MS e. Mus., f. 42v; State Library of Russia, MS Q.v.V.1, f. 84r.

²²² There are blank scrolls in Bodl., MS Bodley 602, f. 24v; Bodl., MS Bodley 533, f. 23v; Westminster Abbey Library, MS 22, f. 48r; Getty Research Institute MS Ludwig XV 4, f. 97v.

²²³ ‘*Super aspidem et basiliscum amb.*’ BL MS Harley 4751, f. 61r; ‘*Super aspidem et basiliscum*’ CUL MS Kk.4.25, f. 94v and Bodl. MS Douce 88E, f. 106r; ‘*cauta serpens*’ Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Gl. kgl. S. 1633 4^o, f. 53r; ‘*Adiuvo te verum*’ (note that the enchanter here is a woman) Cambridge, St. John’s College Library MS 178, f. 191v.

Several bestiary chapters do contain information about the use of different animal parts for medicinal purposes, for example the stag's horns, the puppy's tongue, the beaver's testicles, and the dung of the *caladrius*.²²⁴ In the case of the *caladrius*, in addition to its dung which is useful in curing cataracts, the bird itself (whilst alive) also cures more generic 'illnesses.' As an interesting aside, it might be argued that this is not a true cure, since the *caladrius* only cures, i.e., removes the illness, of those it knows will recover.²²⁵ Does this mean that the patient would have recovered without its intervention? If this is the case, then what is the use of the bird's actions? A bird which cured those who would otherwise have died is theologically problematic as the natural actions of a bird cannot reverse the will of God. However, such speculations are ultimately futile since this attribute of the bird is only described to provide an allegory of Christ taking on the sins of the world.

Statements about the medicinal properties of animals are found amongst other types of information and are never the main focus of the chapter, with the exception of the beaver's testicles. However, in this case the usefulness of this particular part of the beaver is mentioned only as a way of setting up the spiritual lesson. According to Forbes, 'it seems safe to assume that the bestiary may also have been an influential element in popular medicine' even though the information provided about the medicinal properties is woefully inadequate for anyone who actually wanted to use that part of the animal in the prescribed way.²²⁶ For example, the puppy's tongue is said to be beneficial for internal wounds. Does this mean it is to be ingested? Is it to be mixed with anything else? How is it to be prepared? If the bestiary was to be used as a 'medicinal' text, it is surely not through the provision of remedies for physical ailments.²²⁷

²²⁴ See Thomas R. Forbes, 'Medical Lore in the Bestiaries', *Medical History* 12:3 (1968), pp. 245-253 for a fuller, although somewhat generic, discussion of the topic.

²²⁵ '...assumit omnem aegritudinem hominis intra se ...' Clark, *Second-Family*, p. 170.

²²⁶ Forbes, 'Medical Lore', p. 246. In contrast to this, Iolanda Ventura points out that animal parts are more likely to be connected to magic rituals and questionable practices than herbs are, and they were never used as widely as herbs were. Iolanda Ventura, 'The *Curae ex animalibus* in the Medical Literature of the Middle Ages: The Example of the Illustrated Herbals', in Baudouin van den Abeele (ed.) *Bestiaires médiévaux. Nouvelles perspectives sur les manuscrits et les traditions textuelles* (Leuven-la-Neuve, 2005), pp. 213-223.

²²⁷ Animal symbolism was also found in physicians' descriptions of the very diseases themselves. Karine van 't Land examines the ways that fourteenth century descriptions of the diseases 'bubo,' 'scrophula,' and 'lupus' reflect the symbolism of the associated animals (owl, sow, wolf). Parts of this symbolism is similar to that found in the bestiary, although by such a late date it could be argued that it had entered the general medieval worldview and did not necessarily originate in the bestiary. Karine van 't Land, 'Animal

This leads us to the bestiary as a source of spiritual remedies. This link between spiritual and physical health was well-established in medieval thought. Hugh de Fouillois's *De medicina anime*, which is also found accompanying a bestiary, although in this case a B-Is version, deals with the art of medicine in healing both the body and the soul.²²⁸ But like much of Hugh's writings, it is an allegorical work intended for a monastic audience. In this particular case, physical health as described by the standard system of humours and correspondences, is intimately connected to both spiritual health and correct monastic behaviour. For example, Hugh links the four physical humours (*sanguis, cholera rubra, cholera nigra, phlegma*) to four spiritual humours (*dulcedo contemplationis, amaritudo de recordatione peccati, tristitia de perpetracione, compositio mentis*).²²⁹

In his prologue Hugh claims:

Not only do they keep the soul safe, if these things are closely investigated, but they also bring health to the human body... Since in the gospels one reads about leprosy, paralysis, fevers, and many other things, which were named, were cured miraculously by the Lord. I do not believe that was done only for the health of the body, but also for the edification of the behaviour, and the health of the soul, and in certain other books you find written things about oil, ointments, and salves, about which I inquired using the holy Fathers, and which are to be understood spiritually.²³⁰

In Hugh's treatise, we learn that headache is caused by arrogance and excessive ambition and thus the treatment for headaches is to anoint the head with oil of violets, because the violet 'is a humble herb, which grows from the earth... for the oil of humility calms the arrogance of the mind. Though beware your head is not anointed with the oil of sin. The oil of sin is delight in flattery.'²³¹ One of Hugh's treatments does not involve any sort of medical ingredients at all: vertigo – pain at the top of the

Allegory and Late Medieval Surgical Texts', in Baudouin van den Abeele (ed.) *Bestiaires médiévaux. Nouvelles perspectives sur les manuscrits et les traditions textuelles* (Leuven-la-Neuve, 2005), pp. 201-212.

²²⁸ This text is found in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 8526.43, ff. 116r-126v. The manuscript also contains a B-Is bestiary and the Aviary. See J.P. Migne, (ed.), 'De medicina animae' in *PL* 176:1183-1201 for the Latin text.

²²⁹ Müller, 'Humoralpathologie', p. 84. Hugh's tables of correspondances are not reproduced in the *PL* text.

²³⁰ See text M of Appendix 4 for the Latin text.

²³¹ '...est humilis herba, quae dum de terra nascitur ... Oleum igitur humilitatis sedabit superbiam mentis. Cave tamen ne oleum peccatoris impinguet caput tuum. Oleum peccatoris est blandimentum adulationis' *PL* 176, Col. 1199D.

head which sometimes causes dizziness and the feeling that one's head is splitting, can be caused by 'hair-splitting' on theological issues – the best cure for this then, is to just keep quiet.²³²

The *Quotiescumque* chapter, mentioned above, does not describe any animals at all. In the Second Family it usually comes directly after the Dog chapter and is usually untitled, although it has been referred to in some manuscripts as a '*sermo*' or '*de tribus legatis*'. It deals with the ways in which a sinner seeks reconciliation with God – the '*tribus legatis*' refer to the three spiritual guides he should seek to aid with this. But this chapter also highlights the similarities between spiritual and physical health.

Just as remedies are necessary for the sick person for the healing of that sickness, thus a remedy is necessary for the sinful soul, by which the sickness of his soul is healed. Now the remedy is made from four things: that is, a weeping heart, true confession, true penitence, and righteous works. This remedy is appropriate for healing the soul's sicknesses, because when the soul is anointed with it, immediately it is cured...²³³

Hugh's text, and indeed the Second Family bestiary itself, were composed in the twelfth century. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries were the high point of the bestiary's popularity as a religious text. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, there were still Second Family bestiaries being produced but these appear, at least in the case of later medieval English and French manuscripts described in Chapter 1, to have been intended for private owners rather than monastic ones, created for personal interest and edification.²³⁴ Perhaps further east the Second Family bestiary was popular as a different sort of text at this time. The Salvatorburg manuscript may tie into the popularity of encyclopaedic works in late medieval Germany. To give one example, there are over 100 surviving manuscripts each of Thomas of Cantimpré's encyclopaedia *De natura rerum* and Konrad von Megenberg's German version of it. The *De natura rerum* is much more comprehensive than the bestiary, while still providing moral and allegorical lessons, and is easier to navigate since the books are arranged both hierarchically and alphabetically. As it was written for the express use of preachers and other ecclesiastics, perhaps it was thought that a bestiary was less useful in this area.

²³² See text N of Appendix 4 for the Latin text.

²³³ See text O of Appendix 4 for the Latin text.

²³⁴ See the discussion on pp. 32-34.

Given the links between spiritual and physical health, the term ‘*Medicinalia*’ at the front of the manuscript may refer to these concepts. This manuscript could be a sort of guide to all aspects of health with the bestiary providing the animal information, and a variety of sources used for the rest. There are no indications that the bestiary is to be distinguished from the other texts and the whole manuscript has the appearance of a continuous work.²³⁵ As an encyclopaedia of spiritual and physical medicine, any medicinal knowledge presented here would not have been practically applied by a physician or apothecary.

In contrast to this, the second bestiary to be discussed is part of a manuscript whose contents, discussed below, indicate that it may have been owned by an apothecary. The manuscript dates from the early fifteenth century and is currently in the University Library in Augsburg, MS Cod.II.1.2^o 109, although it can be linked to a private owner in Munich, perhaps originally. The bestiary itself appears to be a copy of that in the Salvatorburg manuscript, due to the similarities in the illustrations, although those in the Augsburg manuscript are cruder and are not exact copies. Shared motifs include the portrayal of the panther as a spotted long-necked horse-like creature whose sweet breath appears to be flames (f. 130r); the ibex which in the Salvatorburg manuscript is very clearly being chased by a dog whereas in the Augsburg manuscript it is somewhat difficult to tell whether the creature running up the mountain is a dog or the ibex itself, although in both manuscripts the ibex is leaping headfirst down the mountain (f.133r); the satyr holding a nail-shaped club (f.134v); the crocodile portrayed as a wolf-like creature biting a man’s arm (although in the Augsburg manuscript the latter half of the creature is hidden in the water – perhaps to make it easier for the artist) (f.136v); the use of two foxes in the fox illustration, one sitting on its hind legs at the left of the illustration and the other lying on its back (f.137v),²³⁶ the depiction of the

²³⁵ The entire manuscript is written in the same hand, all of the rubrics and capitals appear to have been done by one scribe, and all of the illustrations appear to have been done by one artist. There are no titles to distinguish the bestiary from any of the other texts in the manuscript, and no *explicit*s or *incipit*s. The table of contents in n. 215 above lists only the different topics treated, it does not give titles to any part of the manuscript.

²³⁶ This is likely to be the same fox at different moments in time, portrayed in both positions to emphasise that it is definitely alive although feigning death. See Hassig, *Medieval Bestiaries*, pp. 11-12 for a discussion on the representation of the passage of time in bestiary illustrations.

sheepfold as a square frame in the wolf illustration (f.138r), and the dragon beneath the peredixion tree, devouring a bird flying straight down into its mouth (f. 152v).²³⁷

The texts found with the Augsburg bestiary are of a pharmacological and practical nature. There seem to be two separate manuscripts in the book, although as the binding looks to be fifteenth century, they were together either originally or at an early date. The first group of texts includes a copy of the *Synonyma apothecariorum* – the Latin-German-Arabic lexicon of pharmaceutical materials (including herbs, metals, minerals, spices, and animals) that was the standard lexical work used by apothecaries in early-fifteenth-century Germany and may indicate that this manuscript was owned by an apothecary.²³⁸ There is also an index to this text, a list of remedies, in German, and a note (f. 59r) that records a visit from Anzinus, son of the Munich apothecary George Tömlinger. The visit is helpfully dated Monday, 6th of June 1407, at the eighth hour before noon. The note also includes locations of the planets within the zodiac at that time, necessary for casting a horoscope, which was vital for a correct diagnosis and treatment.²³⁹ After these texts there is a ‘Registry’ of topics for the rest of the texts in the manuscripts and according to this, the manuscript originally included at least 40 folios after the end of the bestiary (which ends incomplete in the Viper chapter). According to the Registry, the bestiary here did not originally include the chapters on fish, trees, or the human body that come at the end of the complete Second Family text, including that found in the Salvatorburg manuscript.

Before the bestiary, there is a copy of the *De herba vettonica* and the *Herbarius* of Apuleius Platonius. Judging from the list of contents, the bestiary appears to have been followed immediately by two works on the medicinal uses of animal parts, the

²³⁷ It is, of course, possible that the illustrations stem from a common source but this seems unlikely since the illustrations between the two German manuscripts are much more similar to one another than to those in the other Second Family manuscripts. Clark has suggested that the Salvatorburg bestiary is related textually and iconographically to the bestiary in Douai (BM MS 711); the differences in the illustrations are those which I have identified as similarities between the Augsburg and Salvatorburg manuscripts. Clark, *Second-Family*, p. 238.

²³⁸ Robert Damme, *Das Stralsunder Vokabular. Edition und Untersuchung einer Mittelniederdeutsch-Lateinischen Vokabularhandschrift des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne, 1988), pp. 54-56.

²³⁹ ‘Nota quod Anzine filius Georgius Tömlinger de Monacho venit ad me die lune vi Iunii hora octava ante meridiem anno domini 1407. Sol in Genimi 23 gradibus venus in gemini 14 gradibus mercurius in gemini 28 gradibus, luna in gemini 28 gradibus, saturnus in piscis 29 gradibus, Iupiter in tauris 10 gradibus mars in aries 16 gradibus ascendens 12 gradibus leonis hora martis satis Iovis’ f.59r. The 1420 Munich Apothecaries’ price list for medicine mentions a ‘Jörg Tömlinger.’ Wolfgang Wegner, ‘Sigismund Gotzkircher’, in Werner Gerabek (ed.) *Enzyklopädie Medizingeschichte* (Berlin, 2005), p. 506.

anonymous ‘*De taxone liber*’ and Sextus Placitus’ ‘*Liber medicinae ex animalibus*’.²⁴⁰ The *De taxone*, as the name implies, deals only with the medicinal uses of the badger and is said to be from Idpartus, king of the Egyptians, written for the emperor Octavian Augustus.²⁴¹ In addition to describing the uses of the parts of the badger, it also includes information on the correct method of collecting said parts, including the prayers or incantations that are to be said whilst doing this. The badger text is short, consisting of 73-96 lines in the printed edition, but the ‘*Liber medicinae ex animalibus*’ is a more substantial text.

Attributed to Sextus Placitus, a Roman physician who was active ca. 370 AD, this text covers the medicinal properties of parts from a variety of animals, birds, and occasionally humans.²⁴² The majority of these creatures are also found in the Second Family bestiary, and in some cases there are similarities between the two texts. For example, as mentioned earlier, the bestiary says that the tongue of a puppy is beneficial for internal injuries. The Placitus text also states this, although here there are more specific instructions given: ‘The first-born puppy, before it opens its eyes, [is] killed, cleaned (presumably gutted), preserved (pickled or embalmed), boiled and eaten, you will not suffer internal pain at any time.’²⁴³ The *caladrius* is not mentioned in this work, unsurprisingly, and nowhere is dung from any bird mentioned as a treatment for eye ailments, although a hawk boiled in oil of lilies, or an eagle’s bile mixed with Athenian honey, or a vulture’s bile mixed with horehound are supposed to be useful.²⁴⁴

The Placitus text is followed by another herbal text, judging from the entries in the Registry. The combination of herbal texts (apart from the bestiary) found in the Augsburg manuscript in addition to the very presence of the Registry and the types of animals referred to in the Placitus text, indicates that the Augsburg manuscript contains

²⁴⁰ See Ernest Howald and Henry Sigerist (eds.), *Antonii Musae De herba vettonica liber, Psuedoapulei Herbarius, Anonymi De taxone liber, Sexti Placiti Liber medicinae ex animalibus etc.* (Leipzig, 1927) for a printed edition of these accompanying texts.

²⁴¹ Howald and Sigerist, *Psuedoapulei Herbarius*, p. 229.

²⁴² In the order found in Howald and Sigerist’s edition, they are the stag, fox, hare, wild goat, female goat, ram, boar, wolf, dog, lion, bull, elephant, bear, ass, mule, horse, ‘*puer et virgo*’, cat, dormouse, weasel, mouse, eagle, vulture, hawk, crane, partridge, raven, cock, hen, dove, goose, and swallow. The section on humans includes help with conception, and the ingredients are those that can be collected without killing the donor, such as hair, urine, and faeces. *Ibid.*, pp. 274-276.

²⁴³ ‘*Catellus primum natus, antequam oculos aperiat, occisus, expurgatus, conditus et decoctus et comestus, omni tempore intestinorum dolorem non patieris*’ *Ibid.*, p. 260.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 278-280.

a copy of the β -version of a compendium of herbals known as the *Herbarius*.²⁴⁵ This means that the herbal text after the Sextus Placitus text would have been the *Ex herbis femininis*.²⁴⁶ The *Herbarius* compendium was one of the two most popular herbals before the thirteenth century, but I have not found mention of any copies of it that include a bestiary of any version.²⁴⁷ And given that this manuscript with all the herbals and bestiary, is bound with the first one that contains the *Synonyma* and list of remedies in German, one might well ask why a bestiary is included with what appear to be non-religious and rather practical texts.

For the Registry not only lists the names of animals and herbs, but also those topics which would be useful to someone practising medicine. There are references to the signs of a rabid dog and to the different qualities of one's complexion. Cures highlighted include those for a flux of blood, bladder stone, fevers, coughs, and dysentery, as well as cures for more generic problems of the stomach, teeth, ears, eyes, and head. There are also references to recipes for different types of treatments, e.g. 'confectiones' and 'unguentum' and 'antidotum' and 'electuarium' (including one 'electuarium karoli regis'), some of which are referenced according to their main ingredients such as aloe or myrrh, or the intended results, such as 'purgatoria' (ff.60r-64v).

However, the *Herbarius* compendium is not as practical as it appears. The Registry is part of an earlier version and therefore was not composed by the scribe of this manuscript. And by the fifteenth century, the pharmaceutical usefulness of the *Herbarius* texts had long been superseded by others. The influence of Arabic medical treatises, some of which are also herbals, meant a new focus on dietetics and the maintenance of personal health, i.e. prevention rather than cures. In addition, medicine as a profession was becoming increasingly theoretical and cures based on one simple were no longer sufficient. The very information presented in the *Herbarius* compilation was not that which was required by the late medieval medical theory that depended on a

²⁴⁵ The *Herbarius*- β version contains the five texts found in the Augsburg manuscript: the *De herba vettonica*, the β -text of Apuleius' herbal (also, somewhat confusingly, referred to in the literature as the *Herbarius*), the *De taxone liber*, and the β -version of Placitus' *Liber medicinae ex animalibus*. Collins, *Medieval Herbals*, pp. 154-158; 166-167.

²⁴⁶ It is unclear as to whether this title refers to female herbs, or herbs that are used to treat female ailments.

²⁴⁷ A ninth-century *Liber medicinae* contains the explicit '*Finit bodanicus incipit liber bestiarum*' that refers to the Placitus text. *Ibid.*, p. 183.

much more in-depth knowledge of the properties of simples. Each simple is a combination of two of the four properties (wet, dry, cold, hot) and each property has one of four degrees of intensity. The qualities of each simple are relative to an individual's complexion, and these qualities also vary when the simples are combined. In addition, one must take into account the horoscope of the patient. Since this must be done separately for each individual symptom, some late medieval cures have more than one hundred ingredients and of course, one may question whether such complex cures were actually used or whether they were instead exercises in medical theory.²⁴⁸

Indeed, if the *Herbarius* compilation was ever used in a practical manner, and there are conflicting opinions about this, it was in the early Middle Ages when the majority of manuscripts were produced. Out of sixty surviving manuscripts, fourteen survive from the ninth century. The *Herbarius* appears to have undergone something of a revival in eleventh-century England where it was translated into Old English.²⁴⁹ After the twelfth century, copies of the *Herbarius* appear to have been created for bibliophiles and educated nobility, people interested in the topic but not medical practitioners.²⁵⁰

Conclusions about the purpose of the Augsburg manuscript are necessarily vague. The manuscript is a mixture of works both useful to the fifteenth-century apothecary and those which were either outdated, in the case of the herbals, or not associated with pharmacology at all, in the case of the bestiary. Perhaps it was created as a reference work, or to preserve texts, or simply out of personal interest. No definitive answer can be given, although the last seems the most likely, given the likely apothecary owner and the unique combination of texts.

The case studies presented on those manuscripts linked to preaching and those linked to health, both physical and spiritual, should inspire caution in attempts to assign a specific purpose or audience to any version of the bestiary, but especially to the Second Family for which a 'typical' manuscript does not exist. That these manuscripts presented show such disparate physical characteristics whilst often containing copies of the same texts shows the wide variety of bestiary users. This becomes even more apparent when considering bestiaries that are either non-English in origin, a significant

²⁴⁸ John M. Riddle, 'Theory and Practice in Medieval Medicine', *Viator* 5 (1974), pp. 172-174.

²⁴⁹ See Hubert Jan de Vriend, *The Old English Herbarium and Medicina de quadrupedia*. *Early English Text Society* o.s. 286 (London, 1984).

²⁵⁰ Collins, *Medieval Herbals*, pp. 307-310.

number, or that were produced outside of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. As has been said before regarding bestiaries, but which bears repeating, they are a group of individual manuscripts belonging to a genre created by modern historians.²⁵¹ And, as these two examples show, it is sometimes difficult to fit medieval manuscripts into modern genres.

In Part One of the thesis I have taken a wider look at the bestiary, in terms of both its geographical distribution and its users. I have shown that although the bestiary was not uniformly popular across Europe, it appears to have generated specific ‘pockets’ of interest, whether in Paris, Northern France and Flanders, or further east, as discussed in Chapter 1. I have also shown that neither the bestiary nor individual Families appear to have had a single intended use. The allegorical descriptions of animals and the natural world were applicable, and evidently of interest, to a variety of audiences, both monastic and private. And since the same bestiary Family or version could be put to different uses, it is the physical characteristics of the manuscripts themselves that provide information about these uses and audiences. In Part Two, I examine the early development of the bestiary from the *Physiologus* into the First and Second Families. A detailed comparison of the texts allows me to show that those manuscripts which are textually the most similar, also tend to have similar provenances and physical characteristics. Thus, the results in Part One and Part Two confirm one another.

²⁵¹ Baxter, *Users*, pp. 212-213.

Part Two: The Early Development of the Bestiary Text

Chapter 1. Introduction to the First Family Manuscripts

My discussion of the manuscripts and their relationships to one another is structured according to the Families system, as this has formed the basis of all bestiary studies since the mid-twentieth century. As described in the Introduction, the earliest bestiary scholarship was often more concerned with linking the animal imagery found in church architecture to a literary source summarised as ‘the bestiary’ than with the manuscripts or texts themselves. Indeed, the terms ‘bestiary’ and ‘*Physiologus*’ were used interchangeably. There were transcriptions of specific manuscripts and bestiary versions made in the nineteenth century but no real classification of manuscripts or texts.²⁵² It was not until 1928 that a comprehensive account of English Latin bestiary manuscripts was made by M.R. James, no doubt aided by his manuscript research during his creation of catalogues. His facsimile of CUL MS Ii.4.26 for the Roxburghe Club included a description of all the English manuscripts he was able to find.²⁵³ James also classified the manuscripts, based on their textual similarities, as belonging to one of four Families. This system proved to be extremely influential and although the list of known manuscripts has increased and his Families have been modified, they have never been completely discarded.

James limited his study to the thirty-four English Latin bestiaries he found in English libraries because the bestiary ‘seems to have assumed its standard form (or *a* standard form) in England’ and he only knew of two English bestiaries abroad. One was in America and the other, dismissed as ‘not important’ was (and still is) in Copenhagen.²⁵⁴ James did take note of four ‘foreign’ bestiaries found in English libraries; they are mentioned but not analysed to the same degree as the English ones. Even though James believed that the bestiary was most valued for its illustrations and

²⁵² These include the Old English *Physiologus* (Albert Stanburrough Cook and James Hall Pitman (eds. and trans.), *The Old English Physiologus: Text and Prose Translation Yale Studies in English* 63 (New Haven, 1921)) ; Theobald’s metrical Latin *Physiologus* (Rendell, *Metrical Bestiary*); and the *Bestiaires* of Gervaise (Paul Meyer, ‘Le *Bestiaire* de Gervaise’ *Romania* 1 (1872), pp. 420-442); Guillaume le Clerc (Max Friedrich Mann (ed.), ‘Der Bestiare Divin des Guillaume le Clerc’, *Französische Studien* Band VI, Heft 2 (1888), pp. 1-106, including a transcription of BL Royal 2.C.xii); and Philippe de Thaon (Thomas Wright, *Popular Treatises on Science Written During the Middle Ages, in Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and English* (London, 1841).

²⁵³ James, *Ms. Ii 4.26*, pp. 1-2.

²⁵⁴ James does not specify which American manuscript this might be, but the one in Copenhagen is MS Gl. kgl. 1633 4^o, discussed in Chapter 1 of Part One.

without them it ‘could [not have] gained or kept any sort of popularity,’ he classified manuscripts on the basis of differences in text: chapter order, additions and their sources, and omissions.²⁵⁵ He also noted links between manuscripts within the Families and any details of provenance and ownership.

There were no modifications to James’ system until Florence McCulloch’s *Medieval Latin and French Bestiaries* was published in 1960. She believed that James’ division into Families was ‘the clearest way in which to indicate the variations and growth’ of the *Physiologus* but subdivided the First Family so that iconographically similar manuscripts were grouped together.²⁵⁶ McCulloch also added fifteen bestiaries to James’ list, indicated which manuscripts are found with the Aviary, and organised the other versions: the Latin metrical *Physiologus* of Theobaldus, the DC *Physiologus*, and the French vernacular *bestiaires* of Philippe de Thaon, Gervaise, Guillaume le Clerc, and Pierre de Beauvais.²⁵⁷ Although the vernacular texts are translations of the original Latin texts, none of the vernacular texts in any language is thought to have had significant influence on the manuscripts in the Four Families or display any of the familial characteristics to a great degree.²⁵⁸ Therefore they have never been integrated into the system.

Since McCulloch’s publication, there have been quite a few additions to the lists of James and McCulloch, some of which have been placed in a Family and some of which are not easily categorised. Many of these manuscripts had been missed because they are unillustrated or located in Eastern European libraries and thus were difficult to access. Many were discovered in the search for Aviary manuscripts, a text that has only been seriously studied in the last 30 years.²⁵⁹ Lists of bestiary manuscripts have been published in *Beasts and Birds of the Middle Ages*, *Bestiaries and Their Users*, Clark’s edition of the Second Family, and van den Abeele’s work on the Aviary.²⁶⁰ A fairly complete list of all versions is found on the website www.bestiary.ca (accessed

²⁵⁵ James, *Ms. Ii 4.26*, pp. 1-2.

²⁵⁶ McCulloch, *Latin and French*, p. 25.

²⁵⁷ Conversely, there was no real English vernacular equivalent to the French *bestiaires*, although there was an translation of the *Physiologus* into Old English (see n. 252).

²⁵⁸ McCulloch, *Latin and French*, p. 45.

²⁵⁹ The Aviary is found in the *PL* as part of *De bestiis* and Clark’s edition of it was only published in 1992.

²⁶⁰ Clark and McMunn, *Beasts and Birds*, pp. 197-203; Baxter, *Users*, pp. 147-148; Clark, *Second-Family*, pp. 223-252; van den Abeele, ‘nouveaux manuscrits’ pp. 264-267.

24.1.12), although there are omissions, notably those recently discovered manuscripts listed by van den Abeele and Clark.

James' First Family consisted of those manuscripts whose text was closest to that of the B *Physiologus* and he took Bodl. MS Laud. misc. 247 to be 'the most representative copy'.²⁶¹ The other manuscripts that he groups with Laud as having 'a text either quite or nearly identical' to it are BL MSS Royal 2.C.xii and Stowe 1067, and Bodl. MSS Bodley 602, and Douce 167. Corpus Christi College Library, MS 22 is listed amongst James' other First Family manuscripts but he does not appear to have noticed its similarity to Stowe 1067. The manuscripts in the First Family show a relatively limited number of chapters that roughly follow the *Physiologus* order beginning with *leo* and *antalops*, while any interpolations and additions are taken only from the *Etymologiae*. There is no classification of creatures in the manner seen in later Families, although, as will be discussed, the birds and beasts are separated in MSS Stowe 1067 and Corpus Christi 22. James also noted five other texts which he summarily dismissed from analysis because they are not English.²⁶² One of these, BL MS Sloane 278 was reclassified by McCulloch as containing the *Dicta Chrysostomi* version of the *Physiologus*.²⁶³ Two more of James' dismissed texts which contain the H version of the First Family, which was developed in France, are Book II of *De bestiis et aliis rebus* and Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College MS 100. The bestiary in Sidney Sussex is simply a copy of the H version, while the source text for Book II of *De bestiis* was an H manuscript.²⁶⁴ Finally, James also includes two French manuscripts which will be discussed in greater detail below, as they belong to the main version of the First Family text.

McCulloch subdivided James' First Family into three smaller groups, added some manuscripts and removed others, including Book II of *De bestiis* which she instead used as the basis for the H version. The earliest occurring sub-family is called the 'B-Is' version because the texts follow the order and content of the B *Physiologus*

²⁶¹ James, *Ms.Ii.4.26*, p. 7.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 9-13.

²⁶³ See McCulloch, *Latin and French*, pp. 41-44 for a discussion of this version.

²⁶⁴ Clark has tentatively identified the source for Book II of *De bestiis* as BnF MS lat. 14429, found in the 1514 catalogue of Saint-Victor. Clark, 'Four Latin Bestiaries', pp. 57-58. Issues surrounding *De bestiis* will be discussed in Chapters 6 and 7 of Part Two.

but with additions from the *Etymologiae* in all but seven chapters.²⁶⁵ McCulloch's B-Is version includes James' six English manuscripts listed above and two of his foreign ones, Getty Research Institute MSS Ludwig XV 3 and Ludwig XV 4.²⁶⁶ McCulloch mentions only briefly the unillustrated manuscripts Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS Cod. Palat. lat. 1074 and Tours, BM MS 312. She does not include them in her lists, but these are now classified as B-Is manuscripts. Therefore, this is a total of ten B-Is manuscripts. Clark and McMunn's Appendix in *Beasts and Birds of the Middle Ages* is missing MSS Stowe 1067, Royal 2.C.xii, and Tours 312 but does list the other seven manuscripts.²⁶⁷ Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 8536-43 was added in Clark's edition of the *Aviary* and BnF MS Nouv. Acq. lat. 873 was added in Baxter's *Bestiaries and Their Users in the Middle Ages* for a total of twelve manuscripts.²⁶⁸ In 2003 van den Abeele published a list of thirty-one new manuscripts that contain the *Aviary*, and this list contained two new B-Is manuscripts, BL MS Cotton Vit. D. 1 and New Haven, Yale Beinecke Library MS 851.²⁶⁹ Clark's 2006 Edition of the Second Family lists all of the above B-Is manuscripts, plus Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 10,106.²⁷⁰ This makes a total of fifteen B-Is manuscripts.

There have been some attempts to further refine the B-Is manuscripts' classification, or to at least take note of similarities between the manuscripts, but these have been based on fairly broad criteria such as chapter order and number, the type of illustrations present, and occasionally country of origin. The main challenges to McCulloch's modifications to James' First Family have come from Baxter in his *Bestiaries and Their Users in the Middle Ages*. He believed that her categories are 'unhelpful' and perhaps even 'regressive,' as they do not take into account the differences between family members noted in James' analysis.²⁷¹ Baxter was not arguing against grouping related manuscripts together. Rather, he was calling for this grouping, at least in the First Family manuscripts, to take more careful account of detailed manuscript changes.

²⁶⁵ These seven chapters are on the *Antalops, Lapides Igniferi, Serra, Caladrius, Peridexion, Amos, and Mermecolion*, none of which is found in the *Etymologiae*.

²⁶⁶ MSS Ludwig XV 3 and Ludwig XV 4 are listed as Dyson Perrins MS 26 and Sion College L 40.2/L 28, respectively, in James, *Ms.Ii.4.26*, p. 11 and McCulloch *Latin and French*, p. 30.

²⁶⁷ Clark and McMunn, *Beasts and Birds*, p. 197.

²⁶⁸ Clark, *Aviary*, pp. 272-273; Baxter, *Users*, p. 88.

²⁶⁹ van den Abeele, 'nouveaux manuscrits' pp. 258-259.

²⁷⁰ Clark, *Second-Family*, p. 11.

²⁷¹ Baxter, *Users*, pp. 13-14.

For example, both James and McCulloch stated that Laud 247 and Stowe 1067 contained nearly identical bestiary texts while Baxter denied this and argued that the two bestiary texts are considerably different. Laud 247 contains the same chapters in the same order found in the *Physiologus*, with additions from Isidore to all but seven of them. In contrast, the chapters in Stowe 1067 are rearranged so that all the beasts are grouped together, two double chapters are separated, and there are new chapters added from Isidore. Stowe 1067 is an especially significant manuscript because it shows the process of ‘structural and textural experimentation’ that created the bestiary from the *Physiologus*. The chapters in the first quire contain entries composed from several sources but chapters in the second quire instead follow the text of Laud 247 and the second scribe even went back to the first quire and inserted into the margins any information from Laud 247 that is missing.²⁷²

There is one surviving continental bestiary from the tenth century, Vatican MS Cod. Palat. lat. 1074. Although the exact provenance of this manuscript is not known, the fact that the text is indeed the same as that found in Laud 247 adds to the likelihood that the B-Is Laud-type text was developed on the Continent and was later brought to England.²⁷³ Unfortunately, the secondary literature is divided as to whether the same text is in the two manuscripts. According to Baxter the text is ‘identical’ to that of Laud 247, while McCulloch describes the manuscript as ‘the entire *Physiologus* with its fixed passages from Isidore’ rather than labelling it a B-Is bestiary, and then states it has other Isidore chapters added at the end.²⁷⁴ Clark describes the Vatican manuscript as a *Physiologus* with Isidore excerpts added at the end. This leads her to suggest that the bestiary, ‘as distinct from a *Physiologus*’ is English in origin.²⁷⁵

However, the results of my research show that much of the early development of the B-Is bestiary may have occurred on the Continent before the text came to England. The first record of a *bestiarium* in England dates from the late tenth century. When Peterborough Abbey was rebuilt and re-founded in 966-970, it was under the direction

²⁷² See *Ibid.*, pp. 91-102 for a discussion of these matters.

²⁷³ The manuscript has been described as ‘westromanisch’ and Bernard Bischoff (through written communication to Walz, referenced in the catalogue) has suggested that it may be ‘katalanisch’. Reasons for this are not given, although the adding/dropping of the letter h at the beginning of certain words is described as ‘Romanismen.’ Dorteia Walz, *Katalog der Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg. Band III: Die historischen und philosophischen Handschriften der Codices Palatini Latini in der Vatikanischen Bibliothek (Cod. Pal. Lat. 921-1078)*, (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1999), 255.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 83; McCulloch, *Latin and French*, p. 29.

²⁷⁵ Clark, *Second-Family*, p. 11 (referencing McCulloch).

of St Aethelwold. Among the books he gave was a *Liber bestiarum*. There are no indications as to what text this was, but it is likely either a *Physiologus* or a B-Is bestiary.²⁷⁶ The Bern Burgerbibliothek has 3 copies of the *Physiologus* from the eighth – ninth centuries, MSS 233 and 318 (*Physiologus* B and C respectively). MS 318 has been linked to Fleury both through an earlier owner and through the similarities of its illustrations to the Reims group of illuminators. Aethelwold also had links to Fleury, so it is not impossible that the *Liber bestiarum* he gave to Peterborough was made there.²⁷⁷ It is important to note that I am not arguing that MS 1074 contains either the original B-Is text, nor that MS 1074 was an exemplar for Aethelwold's *Liber bestiarum*. However, the probable Continental origin of the earliest surviving copy of the earliest bestiary text, and evidence of the gift of a *Liber bestiarum* from a Continental monastery to an English one, does support the hypothesis that the earliest bestiary text was developed on the Continent rather than in England.

After carrying out a codicological study of fourteen of the B-Is manuscripts and collating the bestiary text found in each one, I have placed them into four groups of related or similar B-Is texts, although I have not always attempted to assign exact exemplar or copy status.²⁷⁸ These groups are based on the text and its structure, provenance, and illustrations. The first group (Chapter 2 of Part Two) contains English Laud-type manuscripts, the second (Chapter 3 of Part Two) is based on the texts found in Stowe and CC22 (both English manuscripts), the third (Chapter 4 of Part Two) consists of those manuscripts that are *sui generis* and perhaps French, and the fourth group (Chapter 5 of Part Two) contains French luxury Laud-type manuscripts that are found with the Aviary.

²⁷⁶ According to Baxter, Aethelwold's bestiary as 'it almost certainly contained additions from Isidore (otherwise it would have been called a *Physiologus*). In those respects, it probably resembled Vat. Pal. Lat. 1074.' Baxter, *Users*, p. 176. Lapidge is more cautious in his description of it as 'presumably a copy of a redaction of the Latin *Physiologus*'. Michael Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford, 2006), p. 138.

²⁷⁷ Baxter, *Users*, p. 168.

²⁷⁸ I was unable to examine Beinecke Library MS 851, which appears to be a complete copy of a Stowe-type text found with an Aviary and Second Family excerpts. Clark, *Second-Family*, pp. 11 and 253. In addition, I relied on partial digital reproductions for MSS Ludwig XV 3 and 4. <http://www.getty.edu/art/gettyguide/artObjectDetails?artobj=1696&handle=book&pg=1> (accessed 19.1.12); <http://www.getty.edu/art/gettyguide/artObjectDetails?artobj=1697&handle=book&pg=1> (accessed 19.1.12).

B-Is Groups²⁷⁹**English Laud-type manuscripts:**

[Br1]	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale. MS 10, 106	<i>s. xiii</i> ¹
[R]	London, British Library. MS Royal 2.C.xii	<i>s. xiii</i> ⁱⁿ
[B]	Oxford, Bodleian Library. MS Bodley 602	<i>s. xiii</i> ¹
[L]	Oxford, Bodl.. MS Laud. misc. 247	<i>s. xii</i> ¹
[NA]	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France. MS Nouv. Acq. lat. 873	<i>s. xii</i> ²

English S/CC-type manuscripts:

[CC22]	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library. MS 22	<i>s. xii</i> ²
[S]	London, British Library. MS Stowe 1067	<i>s. xii</i> ¹

***Sui generis* manuscripts:**

[D]	Oxford, Bodleian Library. MS Douce 167	<i>s. xiii</i> ⁱⁿ
[T]	Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale. MS 312	1416
[PL]	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. MS Cod. Palat. lat. 1074	<i>s. x</i>

French Laud-type manuscripts:

[Br8]	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale. MS 8536-43	<i>s. xiii</i> ^{med}
[CV]	London, British Library. MS Cotton Vit.D.1	<i>s. xiii</i> ²
[L3]	Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute MS Ludwig XV 3	<i>s. xiii</i> ²
[L4]	Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute MS Ludwig XV 4	1277

²⁷⁹ Sources for the dates of each manuscript are given in Appendix 1.

Chapter 2. English Laud-type Manuscripts

[Br1]	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale. MS 10, 106	<i>s. xiii</i> ¹
[R]	London, British Library. MS Royal 2.C.xii	<i>s. xiii</i> ⁱⁿ
[B]	Oxford, Bodleian Library. MS Bodley 602	<i>s. xiii</i> ^l
[L]	Oxford, Bodleian Library. MS Laud. misc. 247	<i>s. xii</i> ^l
[NA]	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France. MS Nouv. Acq. lat. 873	<i>s. xii</i> ²

2.1 A Description of the Manuscripts and Their Provenances

Detailed textual analysis of the Laud-type manuscripts is limited to that found in Baxter's *Bestiaries and Their Users in the Middle Ages*. His group of First Family B-Is texts based around the Laud text includes L, B, D, and R.²⁸⁰ I have not discussed D with the English-Laud manuscripts because although the text is often like the Laud-type, it contains an added chapter on the wolf and also shows smaller textual similarities with the French B-Is manuscripts. I have also included Br1 which is not listed in Baxter, as well as NA, so that my resulting group of manuscripts consists of L, B, R, Br1, and NA.

[L] Oxford, Bodl.. MS Laud. misc. 247 *s. xii*^l

L has generally been taken as the representative First Family/B-Is manuscript following the work of James. It is the earliest surviving Latin English bestiary and textual analysis shows that it is a fairly good copy with fewer individual variations than the other manuscripts. Therefore I have designated this group of manuscripts as Laud-type since it is the best known example of the genre but it should be remembered that none of the other manuscripts were copied directly from L. The provenance of L is uncertain; James was 'inclined' to link it with Christchurch Canterbury because of 'the aspect of the writing' and it was later owned by William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor of Oxford University.²⁸¹ Medieval quire marks and tables of contents indicate that the manuscript is likely in its original composition, meaning that the bestiary was probably judged to be similar to, in some way, the other works in the manuscript. With the exception of some extracts from Augustine, these other works are mainly histories, including those of the Vandals, the Lombards, and King Apollonius of Tyre, as well as texts relating to Alexander the Great, and Einhard's Life of Charlemagne.

²⁸⁰ Baxter, *Users*, p. 87.

²⁸¹ James, *Ms.Ii.4.26*, p. 7; Laud's signature '*Liber Guilielmi Laud Archiepi' Cantuari' Cancellarii Universitatis Oxon'*. 1633' is on f. 2r.

[NA] Paris, BnF. MS Nouv. Acq. lat. 873

s. xii²

NA also contains some of the same accompanying texts as L; both manuscripts include Alexander the Great's letter to Aristotle, while NA's other texts also include verses on Alexander and perhaps the Life of Alexander. The overall impression of NA is that its contents were collected for individual use according to one person's interests, and was written by a number of scribes. The manuscript is in poor condition and shows signs of heavy use through the stained margins and repaired edges, but there is little glossing. The parchment is also of poor quality, it is uneven, wrinkled, stained throughout, and has many holes. There are multiple hands and ruling schemes but the manuscript appears to be in its original composition as the scripts are all protogothic and contemporary to one another, the first folio is noticeably more worn and stained than the rest, and after the final work one finds the inscription '*FINITE IN CHRISTI NOMINE*' (f. 201v). More significantly, the 1491-7 catalogue of the Benedictine Abbey of St Augustine's in Canterbury includes this manuscript, with the same general contents in the same order.²⁸²

Unlike L and its preponderance of historical texts, NA as a whole is a miscellany of works relating to astrology and medicine (especially blood-letting), but also includes the bestiary, a lapidary, marvels occurring in Britain, texts relating to Alexander the Great, and texts on the Mass. The (likely) original owner of NA was Adam, a sub-prior of St Augustine's, Canterbury. At his death, all of the manuscripts in his possession went to St Augustine's with '*ade supprioris*' written in them.²⁸³ Although there are no indications that Adam was involved in the production of the manuscript, it is possible that he commissioned such a manuscript. The individual works in NA have been dated to 1160-1180, and as Adam was acting as chamberlain in St Augustine's by 1200, the manuscript book could easily have been created under his direction. As chamberlain, Adam was responsible for the brothers' provision of clothing, bedding, and baths, including the bleeding. And NA not only contains works on bleeding, but also on beneficial and harmful days and months, the properties of days and months (especially

²⁸² B. Barker-Benfield, *St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury. 3 Vols.* (London, 2008), pp. 808-811.

²⁸³ Baxter, *Users*, pp. 197-199. In addition to medicine and natural philosophy, his manuscripts are concerned with preaching and the care of souls, none of the manuscripts with his name in them are legal or theological texts.

with regard to death), and physical signs of approaching death.²⁸⁴ There are also similarities between this manuscript and another in Adam's possession labelled in the catalogue as '*Collecciones eiusdem [i.e. Ade supprioris]*' that contained, among others, a *tractatus de naturis bestiarum*, a *computus*, a text on physiognomy, and a lapidary.²⁸⁵ However, the '*eiusdem*' may refer to the fact that the collection was in Adam's possession and not that it was 'his' in the sense that he was the creator or organiser of it.

[Br1] Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale. MS 10, 106

s. *xiii*¹

Br1's text is more similar to NA and L than to RC and B, although it also has many of its own single word variants. It is also later than NA and L, dating between 1200-1250. This manuscript too, is likely in its original composition, judging from the thirteenth-century table of contents on the first folio. Unlike NA and L, the other works found in this manuscript appear to be of a more theological or monastic character as they include Hugh of Saint-Victor's work on the instruction of novices, Hugh's tract on the twelve abuses of the cloister, a short tract on the four virtues of prudence, justices, fortitude, and temperance.

The only clues to the manuscript's early provenance are a series of readers' (?) names and a will in a hand from the second half of the fourteenth century (f. 127v). The readers' names (Thomas Hore, Willelmus Hankedonn, Thomas Raddan, Iohannis Thethant, Walterus Waythant, and Rogerus Heye) have not been identified but could have belonged to brothers in a monastery. The will, that of the *miles* John de Esse, was made in 1366. It states that he leaves twenty pounds to his son and heir John for *reperandis domibus*, and to his younger son Thomas he leaves six marks, six oxen, six cows, and one hundred sheep. He also leaves twelve marks to the prior and convent of Launceston in Cornwall. The last 1.5 lines of the will appear to have been deliberately erased and are not legible.²⁸⁶

²⁸⁴ For example, '*Prognostica mortuorum. Si homo habet tumorem in face. vel dolorem in capite sine tusse. et sinistre manum sepe ad pectus miserit. et nares assione scalpserint; morietur* (f. 198r); '*Mense aprili sanguinem minuere bonum et potionem accipere. carnes recentes edere. et a radicibus abstinere. solutionem accipere. calidum usitare beconicam et pimpinellam bibere. si ita factum fuerit bene tibi erit. et rasanum comede. Eodem mense si tonitrua audita fuerint locundum et fructiferum denunciat annum. Sed etiam iniquorum hominum mortem prenuntiant*' (f. 199r).

²⁸⁵ Baxter, *Users*, p. 216.

²⁸⁶ '*In dei nomine amen. Anno domini M^{mo} CCC^{mo} sexagesimo sexto. Ego Iohannis de esse miles ^{mentis is eo comparos} condo testamentum meum in hunc modum. In primis lego animam meam deo et beato marie et corpus meum ad sepeliendum in sumterio calixti. Item lego Iohanni filio meo et heredi xx li^a pro domibus reperandis. Item lego Thomo filio minori vi marcas et vi boves et sex vaccas et centum oves. Item lego priori et conventium lancestoun xii marcas*' (f.127v).

The will helps to localise this manuscript to the southwest of England, specifically Exeter in Devon and/or Launceston in Cornwall. It may have been at Launceston Priory, and the will was written or copied into the manuscript as a way of recording John's gift. Unfortunately, the cartulary of Launceston does not record any other gifts given by John or any other member of the de Esse family. Exeter is the site of the lands belonging to the de Esse family, and Exeter cathedral owned at least one bestiary in the Middle Ages. There are two surviving book-lists from the Cathedral of St Peter in Exeter, one dated 1327 and the other dated 1506, that list a bestiary. Br1 cannot be the manuscript in the 1506 inventory because its *secundo folio* does not match that in the catalogue. The 1327 list only describes the manuscript as '*Liber bestiarum et alii plures in uno volumine: De tribu naturis...*'²⁸⁷ The 1327 description could plausibly refer to Br1 because B-Is bestiaries often use the phrase '*De tribu naturis [leonis]*,' the opening words in the B-Is Lion chapter, to refer to the Lion chapter in the bestiary's table of contents. And Br1 does begin with such a table of contents and contains 'very many other things' along with the bestiary. However, the *secundo folio* of the 1506 inventory, if the bestiary in this manuscript happens to be at the start, also must refer to a B-Is bestiary because the word listed (*Dicuntur*) is found several times in the first two chapters of the B-Is text, but not in the other bestiary versions.

The bestiary in the 1327 inventory is placed among the *Libri Istoriarium*, and the other works listed in the section also make it unlikely that Br1 would have been placed with them. These include the histories of Josephus, Hegesippus, Sidonius, Eusebius, and Orosius, along with Pliny's *Natural History* and Solinus.²⁸⁸ The other works in Br1 deal rather with theology and the monastic life. And, as mentioned, it appears that the Brussels manuscript survives in its medieval form. Therefore, it is probable that both of these catalogues refer to the same manuscript that is not Br1 but still a B-Is bestiary. It is interesting, however, that the other works in the *Libri Istoriarium* are similar to those found with the bestiaries in NA and Laud. Whether or not the manuscript can be definitively localised to either Launceston or Exeter, it provides evidence of interest in the B-Is bestiary in southwest England.

²⁸⁷ Baxter, *Users*, p. 219.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 186-187.

[B] Oxford, Bodl.. MS Bodley 602 *s. xiii^l*

The next two manuscripts, B and R, share some similarities, but as with the other three, they are not copied from one another. B is somewhat unlike the other four manuscripts in that the bestiary is followed by an Aviary, perhaps the only surviving English example of this combination.²⁸⁹ It is not known what other texts may have been present with the bestiary/Aviary since the current manuscript is a collection of unrelated texts. The manuscript existed in this form as early as 1604 when it was donated to Oxford University by Sir George More, along with £40 and other manuscripts. The sixteenth-century owners' inscriptions indicate the book was at the Augustinian priory of Newark near Guildford, formerly known as the priory of Aldbury in the parish of Send.²⁹⁰ Nigel Morgan states that the illustrations, which will be discussed more fully below, are done in a manner that is a 'freer more robust version of the London drawing styles' and that it therefore may have been produced near London.²⁹¹

[R] London, British Library. MS Royal 2.C.xii *s. xiiiⁱⁿ*

R is unillustrated and is much different in format from the other four manuscripts. The manuscript is significantly heavier and larger in size – the others are small enough to be easily portable and as has been shown, often show signs of personal owners or have readers' signatures. Like the others, it appears to be in the original form. The other works are a Commentary on the Song of Songs and Isidore's *Quaestiones in vetus testamentum*. The same thirteenth-century hand that wrote the glosses on the Commentary wrote a table of contents at the bottom of the first folio that corresponds to the current contents.²⁹² This manuscript, although clearly not a luxury copy, is of good quality. Despite its large size (251mm by 396mm) there are no uneven leaves and the parchment is not stiff or yellowed. It seems to have been intended for a monastic audience and gives the impression of a useful reference book as it is rather

²⁸⁹ A group of Second Family manuscripts incorporate Aviary chapters into the birds section, and there are manuscripts with Aviary and bestiary excerpts, but there do not seem to be any other complete English Aviaries, with or without a bestiary. Clark, *Aviary*, pp. 73-85.

²⁹⁰ 'Iste liber pertinet domino Iohannem Rosse chanonico de Newerke iuxta Guldeford' (f. 1v); 'Iohannes Rosse chanicus de Newerke et curatus de Weyle est possessor huius libri.'; *Memorandum quod dominus Johannes Rosse habuit hunc librum ex deliberacione confratris nostri domini Willelmi Thecher canonici de Newerke viz ... [Oct 6 1538]. hiis testibus confratre nostro domino Richardo Woode, Karolo Balye, et Benedicto Barslayd.* f. 13v. Bodleian Summary Catalogue no. 2393.

²⁹¹ Nigel Morgan, *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles. Vol. 4: Early Gothic Manuscripts [I] 1190-1250* (London, 1982), p. 102.

²⁹² 'In hoc volumine continentur cantica cant'. *Ysidorus super Genesim. exod. levit. nm. Deuteronom. Iudic. Iosue. Regum. Item de naturis animalium.* (f. 1r).

heavy and cumbersome to carry about. There are no illustrations or elaborate capitals, but the page headings in the Commentaries and the table of contents preceding the bestiary aid in navigation through the text. On the first folio there is a fourteenth-century *ex libris* from the Benedictine Abbey of St Peter at Gloucester.²⁹³ Both Casley's catalogue and the binding state that the manuscript belonged to Thomas de Bred. [i.e. Bredonel, Abbot of Gloucester (1224-1228)] and if this is the case, then he may have been the original owner.²⁹⁴ Unfortunately, any inscription confirming this has been cut off in binding; the upper margin is much smaller than the outer and inner margins. There are no readers' names in the manuscript, as in B and Br1.

The manuscripts discussed in this chapter are all English and all of their known or inferred provenances indicate they were made or used in the south of England. It does not appear that any of these manuscripts were copied from one another, although they may be loosely divided into two groups of L, Br1, NA, and R, B (the evidence for this will be discussed in greater detail further below.) One potential explanation for the lack of exemplar/copy relationship between these manuscripts is that there was a common exemplar(s) for all the manuscripts kept at a location known to be a centre of bestiary use and/or production. There are certain houses whose records indicate multiple copies were present, although it is not always possible to tell from the records whether these were what we would term 'the bestiary' or if they were copies of the *Physiologus* or some other animal text. Canterbury (9 books), Meaux (6 books), Peterborough (5 books), and Dover (3 books) could all have been centres of bestiary production for other monastic houses.²⁹⁵ The manuscripts' physical formats and contents are varied, although all have links to monastic institutions. Textual analysis will show that the bestiary texts in the manuscripts discussed in this chapter appear to have been copied from an earlier, more complete text rather than from one another. This, therefore, in addition to their disparate provenances may indicate that the scribes turned to such an exemplar, rather than to any of the later copies of it discussed above.

²⁹³ '*liber monasterii sancti Petri Gloucestre*' (f.1r).

²⁹⁴ Reference to Casley's catalogue is found in the British Library Catalogue description of the manuscript. <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/manuscripts/INDX0095.ASP?Type=D> (accessed 19.1.12)

²⁹⁵ Baxter, *Users*, p. 171.

2.2 Textual Variants Between the Manuscripts

In this section I describe what I judge to be the significant unique and shared readings in the texts of Br1, R, B, L, and NA. Appendix 5 contains my transcriptions of the relevant Latin passages with indications of which words are omitted, added, rearranged, or duplicated. The base text used was the collation of the texts in Br1, R, B, L, and NA. That is, I am showing instances where these texts vary from one another. I have not designated any of them as a base text because I cannot show that any one of these manuscripts were copied from any of the others.

Each of the texts contains individual variations in case-ending and word order, as well as instances of eyeskip resulting in *saut du même au même* and dittography. I have highlighted the most significant of these to show that it is unlikely that any of these manuscripts were directly copied from another one. There are no manuscripts without at least one example that is unique to that manuscript, with the exception of L. L does contain multiple-word omissions but these are always shared with at least one other text (although there are no texts with which L shares *every* example). The longest and therefore potentially most significant of these omissions and additions can generally be attributed to eyeskip on the part of the copyist meaning they cannot be used with certainty as an indicator of manuscript copying because it is possible that more than one scribe could repeat the error independently. These sorts of errors occur most frequently in NA which contains fifteen unique occurrences and four that are shared with one or more other manuscripts. Br1 and B have the fewest after L, each has one individual omission that may not have been caused by eyeskip (2a and 3a), and B has one that likely was (3b). R contains five instances of individual multiple-word omission and at least four of these could have been caused by eyeskip (4a, b, d, e). Textual analysis has revealed that L, Br1, and NA are closer to one another, and B and R are closer to one another than to the other three. These are not discrete groups, however, as all of these manuscripts have variations in common with members of the other group. And the large number of individual differences in each manuscript preclude direct copying. It therefore appears that there is at least one missing manuscript that may have been the source of at least one of these texts.

The existence of a missing, more complete manuscript is also indicated by the fact that three of the omissions, two in the Hoopoe and one in the Ibis chapters, are also

seen in the *Physiologus* text. In the Hoopoe chapter B and NA (6b) include the phrase that the chicks lick the eyes of their parents ‘*liniunt oculos parentum suorum*’ to renew them. This idea is originally found in the Y/B *Physiologus*, CC22, as well as select French B-Is manuscripts (Br8, CV, L4 – so the luxury B-Is with the Aviary). In the same chapter, Br1 and NA (6d) include the phrase ‘*cum sint rationabiles*’ to emphasise the rationality of humans in comparison to the irrationality of birds. This is also included in the French manuscript T (and CV and Br8, although here it is added into another phrase), and has been paraphrased into CC. In the Ibex (bird) chapter B and NA (6c) include the phrase ‘*Luna si non retexerit cornua sua non lucet.*’ The moon does not shine if it has not revealed its horns. This likely refers to the phases of the moon and is one of the examples given to exhort the man of God to protect himself with the sign of the cross. This specific example is also seen in the Y/B *Physiologus*, the French manuscript T, and has been paraphrased into CC22. Since these phrases are shared by manuscripts that were not copied from one another, and are seen in both English and French B-Is texts, the *Physiologus*, and CC22, it seems likely that they were not added independently to each text in which they are found. These phrases were part of the original *Physiologus* text and, in those texts where they are missing, may have been omitted due to eyeskip by the copyist.

2.3 Corrections Made to English B-Is Texts

Appendix 6 contains a table showing corrections made to English B-Is manuscripts. I have included readings for both the original (where legible) and corrected text, as well as any instances of shared witnesses to either reading. The changes from an incorrect Latin word to a correct one are likely to be corrections of errors, rather than instances of textual variants. However, I have included these in the table to show whether any other manuscript contains the same original errors, and to show whether any manuscript contains a much higher number of errors in its text. If the original text is not an error, then the corrected text may be a variant. If either the original or corrected reading is shared between multiple manuscripts this may indicate a shared source.

None of these multiple-word omissions appears to have been corrected by the insertion of text, although in NA several errors caused by dittography are corrected through the use of subpunction (5c, 5d, 5f, 5j). However, single-word variations in the

manuscripts frequently were corrected. The manuscripts with by far the greatest number of these is R (256), then NA (76), L (38), B (22), and Br1 (11). None of B's or Br1's corrections are marginal compared to nineteen of L's and five of NA's. L's corrections are occasionally marginal but there are no *signes-de-renvoi*, making it more difficult to ascertain exactly where they are intended to be. R's corrections are found with equal frequency added in the margin with *signes-de-renvoi* to guide the reader to the right correction and written over erasures of the original text. Many of the corrections are to the case ending, and there are also around eight instances where a word split over two lines has had the ending re-written on the previous line so the word is not split. This does not occur to every split word, nor to only single or multiple syllable words. This might indicate that R was used for reading out loud, as having a single-syllable word divided over two lines would cause breaks in the reader's pronunciation.

Since the number of corrections in the manuscript varies to such a great extent, I compared them to the edited text to see if any of the corrections indicated that a specific manuscript was used to correct another. Out of L's thirty-eight corrections, eighteen are made to errors that are unique to the manuscript and are changed to reflect the usual text (i.e., none of the other manuscripts contain the same initial error as L and none of the other manuscripts contain a variation in what L's text is changed *to*). Only four corrections change L from the usual text to its own variation. There does not seem to be any pattern as to what sorts of changes were made in the margin and in the text. In the cases where L's original wording is shared with other manuscripts, three of these are changed *from* the usual text to a variant found in both English and French manuscripts (although not any of the group CV, L3, L4). For the remaining thirteen, L is generally changed from a text closer to NA and Br1, to one that is closer to B, R, and occasionally to Br8 or T. Unfortunately, there do not seem to be many manuscripts that L is definitely not related to, with the exception of L3, L4, and CV.

When Br1 is corrected, it is usually from individual errors to reflect the usual text; but when its original text is closer to another manuscript, it is either L, NA, or T. Most of NA's corrections are from individual errors to the usual text, and when NA's original variation is shared with another manuscript, it is either L, D, T, or Br1 and it is changed to the usual text – but this occurs only three times (one of these is an original

error that is shared between L and D). On six occasions NA is changed from one individual variation to another. The large number of corrections makes it difficult to spot similarities in both original text and correction, but it seems that there is no link between NA and the groups of CV, L3, L4, and R, B.

Most of B's corrections are again from individual variations to the usual text. When either the original text or correction is found in another manuscript, B is never changed to be like L or NA, and only once like Br1 (although there are other manuscripts showing this text). B's corrections usually result in a closer reading to T, D, Br8, and the other French manuscripts, although on one occasion the corrected text is definitely *not* the same as that found in CV, D, or T). Over half of R's corrections (about 163) are changes from an individual variation to the usual text, a further twenty-nine are *from* the usual text to an individual variation, and fourteen are from one individual variation to another. The large number of corrections makes it difficult to spot patterns in similarities in both original text and correction, as there initial similarities between R and every other B-Is manuscript, as well as similarities in corrections between R and every other manuscript (this refers to instances where R is changed from or to a text that is particular to another B-Is manuscript or group of manuscripts). Therefore, all these corrections seem to indicate once again that L, Br1, and NA are one sub-group and B, R are another. As well, B at least seems to be closer than the others to the French manuscripts.

It may be significant in terms of manuscript audience and use that neither L, R, nor B show instances where a Biblical quotation has been abbreviated to only the first letter(s) of the words or '*et cetera*' (except one instance of '*et cetera*' in B). This practice occurs many times in Br1 and occasionally in NA, indicating that the reader was assumed to know the quotation. Interestingly, there is one instance in NA where such an abbreviated verse has been partially expanded.²⁹⁶ Abbreviations in R are limited to short, commonly used words which may also indicate it was used for reading aloud.

2.4 Capitula Lists and Split Chapters

Appendix 7 shows the chapter orders of the English Laud-type manuscripts according to the lists found at the beginning of each text or the chapter order if such a

²⁹⁶ In the Panther chapter a quotation from Psalms shows expansions of the words *eloquia*, *mel*, *ori*, and *te*.

list is missing. ‘Split chapters’ are those chapters which originally described more than one animal, such as the weasel with the asp, the panther with the dragon, or the onocentaur with the siren. As described below, in some manuscripts these chapters have been split, so that each animal becomes the subject of its own chapter.

One of the features of the Laud-type B-Is text is the table of contents at the start and this again shows L and Br1 to be closer to one another and B and R to be closer to one another. NA does not include a table of contents, which may or may not be related to the fact that the chapter order is changed. Chapter order in NA is altered from that of L and Baxter discusses this as evidence of a move towards ‘classification in terms of the animals themselves’ and not just ‘inaccuracy in copying.’

Baxter noted that there is a rearrangement in chapter order after chapter 21 on *Onager et simia*. He claims that the rearrangement is purposeful as it makes some attempt, using Isidore’s categories, to separate out the *bestiae* from the *aves*, *pisces*, and *serpentes*.²⁹⁷ The chapters on the Stag, Elephant, and Amos have been moved up to immediately follow the Panther chapter. The *Fulica* chapter has been moved to follow the Weasel, and the Asp has been moved to the very end. The intervening chapters have been kept in the same order. Baxter has proposed that this is because after chapter 21 the scribe grouped all the beast chapters together according to the classification scheme in Isidore’s *Etymologiae*. It is unclear as to why this was begun only after chapter 21, and why the scribe did not attempt to group the birds together as well. It may be that the Dragon chapter was intended to go at the end of the work along with the chapter on the Asp, as both are serpents, and there is enough room on folio 57r to have included it, but for some reason it was omitted.

L and Br1 both contain the title ‘*Incipiunt Capitula Libri Bestiarum*’. B does not have a title and R has the title ‘*Incipit liber de natura. quorundum animalium et lapidum et quid significetur per eam.*’ There are also similarities between Br1 and L’s titles for the Antelope, *Serra*, *Caladrius*, and Peredixion Tree, and those of B and R. However, there are also links between the two pairs (L, Br1, and B share the same title for the Beaver chapter) as well as differences among all four (such as in the title of the *Mermecolion* chapter). L and R are similar in that both finish their tables of contents with the statement ‘*Sunt omnes .xxx.vi expliciunt capitula.*’, although it has been

²⁹⁷ Baxter, *Users*, p. 88.

modified in R to say thirty-seven chapters instead of thirty-six. And there are actually thirty-seven chapters in the table of contents, although the number of chapters in the text is debatable, as will be seen further below. Since only R numbers the chapters, it may be that the original included the statement about the number of chapters but did not number the chapters themselves, so the error was not noticed until one of the later scribes did put in chapter numbers. This indicates that the table of contents may not have been ‘checked over’ by the scribes to see how closely it corresponded with the text itself.

And indeed, the table of contents does not correspond exactly with the text. This is due to the existence of the *Physiologus*’ double chapters and of chapters that discuss two animals under one title/heading.²⁹⁸ The *Physiologus*’ double chapters treat the siren and onocentaur, onager and ape, and weasel and asp. *Physiologus* chapters that discuss more than one animal under one heading are the Panther (panther and *draco*) and Hydrus (*hydrus* and crocodile) chapters. In the Laud-type tables of contents the only double-chapter title left is for the Siren and Onocentaur chapter. In the text itself it seems clear that the Siren and Onocentaur texts were still intended to be treated as one entry; the two creatures are illustrated next to one another and the chapter rubric mentions both of them. The Ape and Onager are listed as separate chapters and treated as separate entries in the text, despite Baxter’s listing of this as one chapter.²⁹⁹

There is no separate chapter title for the Asp information in the table of contents, although it seems to be treated as a separate chapter in the text. L and B begin the Asp chapter with a separate illustration of the animal after the Weasel text, and L’s rubric for the illustration is ‘*Aspis et quare sic vocatur.*’ R has no illustration but the rubric after the weasel text is ‘*De aspide et quare sic vocatur .xxix.*’ so the scribe has seen fit to give the Asp its own chapter number, even if it is not listed in the table of contents.³⁰⁰ Br1 also has a rubric with just the animal’s name, and in NA, the Asp text has been moved to the end of the work. The *Draco* text, as noted above, may originally have been meant to appear at the end of the asp material, since both are serpents and the Asp

²⁹⁸ See Ibid., pp. 35-57 for the importance of the double chapter in the *Physiologus*.

²⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 91.

³⁰⁰ By the time R gets to the end of the text, the final chapter is labelled as 39. This is because of the addition of the Asp, and also because the chapter numbers skip from 26 to 28.

chapter ends halfway through the recto side of a folio and there would have been room for the additional text.

It is a bit harder to tell whether the Dragon is considered to be a separate chapter from the Panther. Both L and Br1 have the rubric ‘*De dracone*’ before the text (which consists of the *Etymologiae* addition to the *Physiologus*’ Panther chapter, but it does not have its own illustration in L.³⁰¹ There is an illustration of the dragon alone in B, but it comes at the end of the entire chapter on them both, instead of between the texts on the two animals. R does not number this chapter nor provide a rubric heading, although there is the marginal gloss ‘*Dracone*’ where the Dragon text begins. It may be that the Asp and Dragon were given separate rubrics/titles in the text as a way of indicating that it also deals with these animals without necessitating a change in the (already copied?) table of contents.

In addition to differences between the tables of contents and text in the number of chapters, the names of animals in the text are sometimes different from those in the table of contents. This is seen in the Antelope, *Caladrius*, Goat, Whale, Peredixion Tree, and *Mermecolion* chapters where the creatures are referred to as the *autalops*, *caladrius*, *caprea*, *aspidoc(h)elone*, *arbore peredixion*, and *mermecolion* in the text or rubrics. As mentioned above, NA does not have a table of contents or chapter titles, so the scribe has modified the opening of the Antelope chapter to include the name of the animal (‘*Est animal quod attulaps vocatur acerrimum nimis...*’ instead of ‘*Est animal acerrimum nimis*’ following the chapter heading) as it is not usually mentioned here in the English text.³⁰²

2.5 Rubrics

Appendix 8 contains a table of the rubrics, glosses, and text headings found in the English Laud-type manuscripts. Rubrics are used in L, R, and Br1 as chapter titles, indicators of the sections taken from the *Etymologiae*, and occasionally to indicate when an animal has more than one ‘*virtus*’ or ‘*natura*.’ NA is also unillustrated and there are no rubric titles for each animal or rubrics to indicate the sections taken from the *Etymologiae*. New chapters are indicated by coloured capitals, in red, green, blue, or

³⁰¹ Baxter, *Users*, p. 92.

³⁰² The name for the antelope seems to have caused confusion amongst the scribes of many manuscripts. It is called the ‘*attulaps*’ in NA, the *acolopus/aconlopus* in the French B-Is manuscripts, or in the case of T, the ‘*acerimmo*.’

yellow. B does not contain any rubrics, but there are spaces left in the text where the *Etymologiae* rubric was presumably meant to be filled in. In general, the chapter titles in L and R are longer and more descriptive than those in Br1; these rubrics appears to be originally related to the illustrations as in L and then retained in R but not Br1. The rubric titles in L are often related to the illustration or to the important ‘point’ about the animal. Many of the rubrics for the portrait-type illustrations are simple and list the creature’s name. Examples of this are the *serra* portrayed with outstretched wings and eating fish rather than racing a boat, behaviour which is the source of the creature’s moralisation, the *nicticorax*, the siren (portrayed without musical instruments or mirror) and onocentaur, and the hyena, portrayed without a corpse.

However, many of the rubrics for the more complex illustrations are related to the creature’s behaviour which is allegorically interpreted. This is seen in the illustrations of the fox, unicorn, hydrus, goat, panther, whale, stag, peredixion tree, and elephant. The fox pretends to be dead and is surrounded by birds (*‘De vulpe et quam dolose capit aves’*), the unicorn lays its head in the lap of the maiden and a hunter stabs it (*‘Rinoceros et quomodo capiatur’*), the hydrus’ head bursts from the body of the crocodile that is still swallowing it (*‘Hidruss et quomodo deglutit eum corcodillus’*), the goat feeds on bushes growing out of a hillside (*‘Caprea et ubi pascitur’*), the panther stands in front of a group of animals and the dragon flees into a hole (*‘Pantera et quomodo fugit serpens ab ea’*), a boat has landed on the whale’s back and a sailor hammers a spike into it whilst the whale swallows fish (*‘Cetus. et quomodo decipiantur ab eo’* – this can refer to the deceit of both the sailors and the little fish), the stag kills a serpent (*‘Cervus. et quomodo extrahit serpentem de foramine’*), a serpent lurks at the base of a tree with doves in it (*‘Serpens. et qua arte conatur decipere Columbas’*). There are two elephant illustrations, one of the male and female with the mandrake plants (*‘elephanti masculus et femina et quomodo convenient postquam comederint de fructu arborum que dicitur mandr’*), and the other of the female giving birth in the water whilst the male guards her from the dragon (*‘Ubi pariat et quomodo insidiatur ei serpens’*).

Although R is unillustrated, it has kept L’s descriptive rubrics for some chapters (Fire Stones, Owl, Ants, Unicorn, Whale, Weasel, Asp, Stag, Dove, and Peredixion Tree) and simplified them for others (Pelican, Hoopoe, Siren and *Onocentaur*, Ibis, Fox,

Hydrus, Goat, Panther, Partridge, Elephant, and Amos). The title rubrics in Br1 are much simpler and limited to the animal's name.

2.6 Glosses

Appendix 8 contains a table of the rubrics, glosses, and text headings found in the English Laud-type manuscripts. R is the most extensively glossed manuscript, both in the bestiary and in the Old Testament Commentaries that accompany it. Many of the glosses in the Commentaries are longer and have been lined; they likely come from another explanatory text. The glosses for the bestiary are much shorter and are used to indicate sections in the text or to briefly summarise the moralisation. There are two main glosses found in the bestiary: '*adaptatio*' in red ink, in a small neat script with flourishes around it, and the '*nota*' symbol in a large and untidy hand. However, the terms '*moraliter*' and '*figura*' are also found in the margins. The majority of the longer bestiary glosses highlight or elaborate on the allegorical sections of the text. For example, '*unum cornu. unitas filii cum patre*' is found beside the section of the chapter that states that the unicorn has a single horn to symbolise the unity of the Father and Son. Glosses indicate the various colours of the dove, allowing one to easily find a specific colour and its symbolism. R also contains diacritical lines, which may indicate that it was read aloud.

In Br1, there are two medieval (late thirteenth - early fourteenth-century) glosses on folio 8r under the Hyena and *Hydrus* chapters. The first relates to the belief that a stone called the 'hyena' would allow one to predict the future, and the second to the '*incarnatio salvatoris*' which the hydrus symbolises.³⁰³ Although the bestiary text on the hyena stone makes no judgements about the propriety of using the stone, the gloss links predictions of the future to '*falsis christianis*' and '*hominibus inconstantibus*'. This may indicate that the text was read or heard by novices who might not have known that attempting to predict the future was dubious at best.³⁰⁴ Unfortunately, there are no more glosses in the text to provide further clues about the users of the manuscript. NA contains no glosses that are not corrections to the text, and B's glosses are fifteenth century at the earliest (and most of these are readers' or owners' signatures.) L's, when

³⁰³ '*pro falsis christianis et hominibus inconstantibus et viis et gestis et qualiter predicant futura ...*'; '*pro incarnatione salvatoris*' (f. 7v)

³⁰⁴ See Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, pp. 85-91 for a discussion on divination by various means.

not corrections, are usually repetitions of the rubrics but it is not known if these were done as guides to the rubricator.

In this chapter I have described the English texts of the Laud-type B-Is and proposed users and owners through an analysis of such features as the other works found with the bestiary, and the presence or absence of glosses. Through an examination of the differences and similarities between the texts, I have shown that although it is unlikely that any of these manuscripts was the exemplar for any of the others, they are all still closely related and form a coherent group. In the next chapter I analyse just two manuscripts that show the earliest reordering of the Laud-type chapter order and the earliest rearrangement of the text itself, beyond the addition of *Etymologiae* extracts and the splitting of chapters.

Chapter 3. English Stowe-type Manuscripts

[CC22] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library. MS 22 s. xii²
 [S] London, British Library. MS Stowe 1067 s. xii¹

3.1 A Description of the Manuscripts and Their Provenances

CC22 and S contain a text that is based on the Laud-type text but shows considerable differences in chapter order and content.³⁰⁵ James included both S and CC22 in his First Family, although he evidently did not realise that the text in S is closer to CC22 than to L. S is listed among those manuscripts with ‘a text either quite or nearly identical’ to L, while CC22 is a member of ‘a small group [of manuscripts] which may be dismissed quite shortly.’³⁰⁶ This latter group is composed of manuscripts which McCulloch reclassified as belonging to separate bestiary versions (e.g. French B-Is, H, DC, Transitional). McCulloch did separate S and CC22 from her other B-Is bestiaries on the basis of a rearranged chapter order and added chapters on ‘*Lupus*, *Canis*, *Ibex*, *Noctua* (with *Nicticorax*), and *Cocodrillus* (separated from *Hydrus*)’ but did not go into detail about the textual differences between S, CC22 and the Laud-type B-Is manuscripts.³⁰⁷ Clark’s description of the differences between S, CC22 and the Laud-type text is similarly brief: ‘Stowe 1067 sometimes paraphrases the *Physiologus*-B text, sometimes uses it with variants, and often quotes Isidore at the beginning of chapters. Chapter order in the Laud and Stowe manuscripts differs, and the latter adds a few new chapters.’³⁰⁸ It is unclear whether Clark is suggesting that the Stowe and Laud-type texts were developed independently from the *Physiologus*-B, Isidore’s *Etymologiae*, and other sources, or that S and CC22 used a Laud-type text as a source since the Laud-type text is essentially the *Physiologus* B with selections from the *Etymologiae* added to the ends of most chapters.

[S] London, British Library. MS Stowe 1067 s. xii¹

S dates from the first half of the twelfth century and contains only the bestiary in sixteen folios. It is a scruffy-looking manuscript of poor quality parchment (that in quire two is of worse quality and more uneven size than quire one), and the illustrations

³⁰⁵ There may be a third copy of the S/CC22 text found in New Haven, Yale University Beinecke Library MS 851. According to Clark, this English manuscript is a mid-thirteenth century collection of bestiary and Aviary excerpts. Folios 8-13v contain the S/CC22 text from the hedgehog to the peredixion tree. Because CC22 ends (I think purposefully) after the peredixion tree, this may be evidence that Beinecke MS 851 is a copy of the CC22 text, if not a copy of CC22 itself. Clark, *Second-Family*, p. 253.

³⁰⁶ James, *Ms.Ii.4.26*, pp. 9-11.

³⁰⁷ McCulloch, *Latin and French*, p. 30.

³⁰⁸ Clark, *Second-Family*, p. 10.

are much cruder than those in L, although of a similar style. James linked S to Christ Church, Canterbury, on the basis of the script and illustrations but beyond this, nothing is known of the manuscript's provenance until the nineteenth century.³⁰⁹ It is not even known if the bestiary ever travelled as part of a larger manuscript book or was always alone. The first quire in S is illustrated and shows a rearrangement of the Laud-type bestiary (both in chapter order and text within the chapter), while the scribe of the second quire has simply copied the remaining Laud-type chapters. The scribe of the second quire was evidently not satisfied with the modified text of the first quire, as he has gone back and inserted into the margins some of the sections omitted from the Laud-type text. This was first noticed by Baxter, although he does not mention that this only occurs in three chapters even though there are large sections cut from many of the Laud-type chapters.³¹⁰ It has been hypothesised that S was an 'experimental' manuscript, i.e., it was the original site of these changes to the text, partly due to the quality of parchment and illustrations.³¹¹ Whilst the fact that S is the earliest extant manuscript to show these changes, it is debatable whether this manuscript, specifically the first quire, contains the original modified Laud-type text. As will be discussed further in this chapter, S (and occasionally CC22) shows greater textual similarities with certain French bestiary versions and manuscripts than with the English Laud-type manuscripts. Therefore, it appears that this modified Stowe-type text may have been developed on the Continent and although S has been identified as having an English provenance, its exemplar was not any of the surviving English B-Is manuscripts.

[CC22] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library. MS 22

*s. xii*²

CC22 was written slightly later than S, probably 1150-1175. The illustrations are much more skilfully done than those in S and the manuscript as a whole is of a much higher quality. While it does not appear to have been copied directly from S, it shows the same chapter order and textual rearrangement within the chapters found in the first quire of S. And like S, there are no early provenance marks in the manuscript,

³⁰⁹ James, *Ms.Ii.4.26*, p. 10.

³¹⁰ Baxter, *Users*, p. 93. Clark erroneously links these additions to the *Hexameron*, 'Like Stowe 1067, BnF lat. 2495B is glossed in some of its margins with passages from St. Ambrose, *Hexameron*, Bk. 6.' Clark, *Second-Family*, n. 40, p. 11.

³¹¹ Baxter, *Users*, pp. 99-100. The crocodile is a 'reworking' of the crocodile found in the *hydrus* illustration, the margin beside the dragon illustration shows evidence of a dragon traced in hardpoint, and the *nycticorax* is shown by two birds, one owl-like and the other hawk-like. The illustrated *Physiologus* A (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 10074) shows the owl as a hawk-like bird, while the other illustrated Laud-type manuscripts show it as owl-like.

although the other contents in the manuscript book suggest a monastic audience.³¹² The other works found with CC22 are all by Isidore of Seville and include a copy of the *Etymologiae*, *Synonima*, and the short text ‘On the Holy Places of Jerusalem.’ The bestiary is incomplete at the start and begins near the end of the Fox chapter. Based on the chapter order of S, the missing chapters are the Lion, Antelope, Onocentaur, and Hedgehog. There are approximately 1200 words in these entries in S, and this corresponds to about four columns, or one folio, of CC22’s style and size of text. As well, the missing folio corresponds to that missing from the quire just before the bestiary. The last chapter in CC22 is the *Peredixion*, and the chapters on Amos, *Adamans*, and *Mermecolion* are missing. The quire structure indicates that these omissions were deliberate as there are no folios missing from the quire and the last folio in the quire is not ruled on the back. In addition, the illustration of the *peredixion* tree is much larger than the others and appears meant to complete the work.

3.2 Changes to Chapter Order and the Quire Structure of S

The first table in Appendix 9 compares the chapter orders in S, CC22, and L to show how the text in S and CC22 has been rearranged. One of the ways in which McCulloch distinguished the texts found in CC22 and S from the earlier English Laud-type manuscripts was through the addition of new chapters and a rearrangement in the chapter order at the beginning of the text.³¹³ The new chapter order in S and CC22 is the result of the separation and ‘isolation’ of specific animals at the beginning of the text. According to Baxter, it is because they are the animals classified by the *Etymologiae* as ‘*bestiae*,’ although this classification is not strictly followed because the dragon is classified as a serpent, the crocodile as a fish, and the weasel as a ‘small animal.’ The Dragon and Crocodile chapters likely come after the Panther and *Hydrus* because those are the chapters from which they are respectively derived.³¹⁴ Additionally, there are slight variations in the order of six beasts. The Laud-type order of Hyena, *Hydrus* (including the Crocodile), Wild Goat, Onager, Ape has been changed to *Hydrus*, Crocodile, Hyena, Onager, Ape and Wild Goat in both S and CC22. In any case, the creator of this new chapter order did not apply the *Etymologiae*’s classification

³¹² The manuscript was given to the College in 1575 as part of Matthew Parker’s library and was described as its current state by Thomas James’ in 1600, ‘*Etymologiae Isidori, In hoc libro continentur effigies animalium, piscium, et aliorum.*’ Thomas James, *Ecloga Oxonia-cantabrigiensis*, (1600), p. 80.

³¹³ McCulloch, *Latin and French*, p. 30.

³¹⁴ Baxter, *Users*, pp. 92-93.

to the rest of the chapters; the birds, fish, stones, and insects are not grouped together but follow the order of the Laud-type text.

As mentioned above, S is composed of two quires that contain different texts. Appendix 9 contains tables that compare the chapter order in S, CC22, and L, and shows exactly how the text in S has been rearranged. Quire one in S ends partway through the Hoopoe chapter and quire two does not complete the text but skips straight to the next chapter on the ant. Quire two is not missing any text in the remaining chapters but the order of the two centre bifolia is mixed up. For some reason, the folios on bifolia 11-14 and 12-13 follow one another, so the folio order in S according to the order of the text is 9, 10, 12, 13, 11, 14, 15, 16. This is shown in diagram form in Appendix 9. Unfortunately, none of the other surviving Laud-type manuscripts contain breaks in the text in the same places that S does. Baxter claims that quire one and quire two ‘existed separately for some time’ due to the fact that quire two is much cleaner than quire one.³¹⁵ This would only make sense if these two quires were originally part of two separate texts. However, it seems to be the case that the second quire was written specifically to complete the text in the first, as the scribe does not repeat any of the animals found in quire one, although for some reason he does not continue with the Hoopoe chapter that breaks off incompletely on f. 8v. Quire two has evidently not been completed – not all of the capitals are filled in and there are still empty spaces left for the illustrations. All in all, S is quite messy, incomplete, and a major error such as the wrong folio order has not been corrected. The text in CC22 is generally the same as that of S’s first quire, but the rest of the chapters have also been rearranged and altered in the same manner.³¹⁶ However, there are multiple small variations between CC22 and S which demonstrate that CC22 is not a copy of S.

3.3 New and Split Chapters

McCulloch distinguishes S and CC22 from the other B-Is manuscripts by the presence of ‘new articles on *Lupus*, *Canis*, *Ibex*, *Noctua* (with *Nicticorax*), and *Cocodrillus* (separated from *Hydrus*).’³¹⁷ However, these changes could be argued to have begun in the English Laud-type texts, as described above. Baxter corrects McCulloch’s list of new chapters by substituting ‘*draco*’ for ‘*noctua*’ and also notes that

³¹⁵ Baxter, *Users*, p. 93.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 93-95.

³¹⁷ McCulloch, *Latin and French*, p. 30.

the Dragon text has been taken from the Panther chapter.³¹⁸ There are two double chapters on the Siren and Onocentaur, and on the Weasel and Asp; another feature of CC22 and S as shown in Appendix 9 is that the subjects of these chapters are completely disassociated from one another because they are not paired under the new chapter order. The added Crocodile chapter in S and CC22 comes right after the *Hydrus* chapter, which also discusses the crocodile, so it no doubt seemed a sensible place to put the new chapter. Strictly speaking, however, the Crocodile and Dragon chapters could be regarded as elaborations on those sections of the *Hydrus* and Panther chapters which, respectively, deal with them. There is actually no new material from the *Etymologiae* added to the Owl chapter in CC22 and S. The scribe has simply moved the *Etymologiae* extracts to the front of the chapter (one of the common ways in which the text is altered in these two manuscripts as shown in Appendix 10) and rearranged it to give the bird's primary name as *Noctua* and secondary name as *Nicticorax*, rather than the other way around as is done in the Laud-type bestiaries.³¹⁹

The Wolf, Dog, and Ibex chapters are genuinely new and unrelated to any other animal found in the Laud-type text. These new chapters do not appear to have been copied from any single source but may contain extracts from the *Etymologiae*, Ambrose's *Hexameron*, Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job*, Pliny's Natural History, and Solinus' *Collectanea rerum mirabilium*. A comparison of the S and CC22 texts and the relevant passages in these works is found in Appendix 10. S is the first English manuscript with these chapters and, according to Baxter, they were added in from 'elsewhere.'³²⁰ However, the presence of the Dog and Wolf chapter in Tours, BM MS 312 (hereafter referred to as T) raises some interesting questions about their origin and may indicate the existence of another Laud-type version. As McCulloch noted, the chapter order in T is exactly that found in the short version of Pierre de Beauvais' *Bestiare*.³²¹ T itself will be discussed in greater detail in the next section but it seems likely that it is a copy of the Latin text which was Pierre de Beauvais' source.³²² The

³¹⁸ Baxter, *Users*, p. 92.

³¹⁹ That is, in the Laud-type text the *Etymologiae* extract reads, '*Nicticorax ipsa est et noctua*' as it does in the *Etymologiae* itself. This is also seen in L and R's rubrics, '*Nicticorax que et noctua dicitur*.' S/CC22 have rearranged the text to say '*Noctua avis est ... dicitur etiam nicticorax*.'

³²⁰ Baxter, *Users*, p. 93.

³²¹ McCulloch, *Latin and French*, p. 67.

³²² In his prologue, Pierre states that the text is a translation from Latin '*En cest livre translater de latin en romans*.' McCulloch, *Latin and French*, p. 65.

chapter order in T follows that of the Laud-type B-Is text, with the omission of the *Margarita* chapter and the addition of the Wolf and Dog chapters at the end. The texts of the Dog and Wolf chapters in S and T show many similarities that are not found in either CC22 or D, but S (or indeed a Stowe-type text) was not the model for T. This is shown in Appendices 11 and 12 which list the shared readings between S and CC22 and the English and French Laud-type B-Is manuscripts.

Therefore, I would propose a new hypothesis about the creation of S: the exemplar for S was a French copy of the Laud-type text with the Dog and Wolf chapters added at the end.³²³ However, as the diagram in Appendix 3 shows, the question still remains as to whether S truly is as ‘experimental’ as Baxter claims. That is, is S a reworking of a hypothetical Continental Laud-type text (shown in the upper hatched box in Appendix 3) that contained the Ibex, Dog, and Wolf chapters? This same base text (although not necessarily the same manuscript) was then translated into the vernacular by Pierre de Beauvais sometime before 1218. Or had this reworking of a Laud-type text occurred prior to S (shown in the lower hatched box in Appendix 3), meaning that S is rather a copy? The source of the second quire in S is closer to the English Laud-type texts that do not have the Dog, Wolf, or Ibex. Interestingly, an examination of the Dog and Wolf chapters shows that they are more similar in structure to the original Laud-type chapters (this is discussed in Part Three, which examines and compares the texts of each chapter in detail), which supports my hypothesis that they were added to a Laud-type text.

3.4 Modifications Made to the Laud-Type Text

Some of the changes made to the text in S and CC22 have been briefly described in the secondary literature, but this has not been done in great detail nor have the changes to the whole text been studied. For example, Clark’s description of the text in Stowe is rather brief: ‘Stowe 1067 sometimes paraphrases the *Physiologus-B* text, sometimes uses it with variants, and often quotes Isidore at the beginning of chapters.’³²⁴ This does not take CC22 into account, nor does it take into account that the Stowe-type text uses the Laud-type text and not the *Physiologus* as a base. Baxter

³²³ The existence of this hypothetical text is made more probable by the omission of the *Margarita* chapter from all of the French Laud-type texts (discussed in Chapter 5 below), and by the reference to *Physiologus* as a source in the Wolf chapter.

³²⁴ Clark, *Second-Family*, p. 10.

goes into greater detail regarding textual changes but only for the first chapter on the Lion, and the changes that he describes are not always applied uniformly across the text.³²⁵

In S and CC22, there are several major types of changes made to the Laud-type text, as shown in Appendix 10: the rearrangement of text, often with the *Etymologiae* extracts moved to the beginning; the omission of material, usually Biblical quotations; the addition of material, including new chapters; and alterations to the animal's symbolism. The text in S and CC22 has not been extensively re-worded; many sections of it follow the Laud-type text word-for-word, or have slightly rearranged the wording but not changed the words themselves. Sections that have been re-worded are often those where the information itself has been changed or condensed. Because the Laud-type text is often retained, it is possible to determine whether any of the Laud-type texts could have been a model for S or CC22. As mentioned earlier, CC22 was not copied from S as there are many instances where individual word differences in CC22 are closer to those in the other Laud-type texts than to S. Overall, however, the text in CC22 shows greater variation from the Laud-type model than the text in S, with a greater number of changes to case endings and word order. As shown in Appendices 11 and 23, both CC22 and the first quire of S show more similarities to French Laud-type manuscripts than to the English ones, although in the Wolf and Dog chapters, CC22 and D occasionally share similarities where S and Tours share similarities. The second quire of S is textually closer to the English Laud-type manuscripts, especially to R and B.

The resulting Stowe-type text is easier to understand and more applicable to a non-monastic audience, and to a reader rather than a listener. This is noticeable in the fact that the text is generally more compact and focused. It is less repetitive, 'flows' better, does not address itself to the audience via the second person, and contains far fewer Biblical quotations than the Laud-type text. Most of the references to the *Physiologus* as a source have been removed, along with instances where 'Amen' was placed after invocations to the Trinity. Baxter has proposed that the *Physiologus* text

³²⁵ Baxter, *Users*, pp. 96-99. For example, Baxter highlights how the *Etymologiae* extracts have been 'integrated' with the *Physiologus* text. This is true for the Lion, but is not the case for other chapters such as the Pelican, in which the *Etymologiae* material has merely been moved to the beginning of the chapter, rather than the end.

could have been intended as a ‘series of short sermons.’³²⁶ The repetitions of key phrases and ideas would help the audience to remember what was heard, and the ‘lists’ of Biblical quotations require biblical and theological knowledge to explain their pertinence to the subject. These lists may have been ‘prompts’ or opportunities for more complex allegorical explanations beyond what is simply written. Many of the allegories in *S* have been changed to focus on practical religious application rather than theological or spiritual. In addition, all phrases linking one chapter to the next have been removed, and those chapters that dealt with more than one animal have been split into two chapters. These changes are described in greater detail in Part Three. Those manuscripts described in Chapters 2 and 3 are those which are usually found in analyses of B-Is bestiaries. In Chapters 4 and 5, I examine those manuscripts that do not fit into the previous groups, whether because of textual variations, date, or provenance.

³²⁶ Baxter, ‘Learning from Nature: Lessons in Virtue and Vice in the *Physiologus* and Bestiaries’, p. 30.

Chapter 4. *Sui generis* Manuscripts

[D]	Oxford, Bodl.. MS Douce 167	<i>s. xiiiⁱⁿ</i>
[T]	Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale. MS 312	1416
[PL]	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. MS Cod. Palat. lat. 1074	<i>s. x</i>

4.1 [PL] Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. MS Cod. Palat. lat. 1074 *s. x*

I include PL in the group of *sui generis* manuscripts primarily because of its text, but also because its provenance and early date of production preclude it from a place in the other groups of manuscripts. Although its text is of the Laud-type, the manuscript is not English in origin. And while its text is not identical to that of the luxury French Laud-type manuscripts, whose features are described below in Chapter 5, PL does share more similarities in word choice with the French Laud-type manuscripts than with the English ones. This is shown in Appendices 13 and 14, which show shared readings between PL and the English and French Laud-type manuscripts. PL is the earliest known copy of the Laud-type text and the similarity of it to other such manuscripts was recognised as early as 1911.³²⁷ At this time, the text (in all its versions) was still referred to as a ‘*Physiologus*’ since this was before the work of James and others that highlighted the differences between the *Physiologus* and the bestiary. However, it must be noted that the Laud-type text in PL has the explicit (f. 21v): ‘*Explicit Liber Bene Physiologus Arguit*’, highlighting again the difficulty of classifying texts. McCulloch states that PL is the ‘oldest manuscript’ that shows the additions from the *Etymologiae* at the end of the B *Physiologus* chapters. There are also some (seemingly) random extracts from the *Etymologiae* on the *margarita*, *psitacus*, *ercine*, and *coturnix* after the bestiary’s explicit. These extracts have been expanded and this process perhaps ‘shows how the large Second Family bestiary could first have been composed.’³²⁸ Nikolaus Henkel also calls PL the earliest known bestiary of the B-Is version, and dates it to the tenth century.³²⁹

Unfortunately, the provenance of PL is not known earlier than the sixteenth century title that links it to the University of Heidelberg library, but it has also been linked to the Schloßbibliothek of Otto Henry, the Elector Palatine (1502-1559) who

³²⁷ According to Lütke, the text in Vatican 1074 is that found in R as transcribed by Mann. W. Lütke ‘Zum armenischen und lateinischen *Physiologus*’, *Huscharzan Festschrift*, (Vienna, 1911), p. 220. Baxter uses Laud 247 as his exemplar of the B-Is text and only states that PL is ‘identical’ to Laud 247. Baxter, *Users*, p. 83.

³²⁸ McCulloch, *Latin and French*, n. 29, p. 29.

³²⁹ Henkel, *Studien*, p. 28.

combined the University's libraries in the sixteenth century to form the Bibliotheca Palatina.³³⁰ After the Thirty Years War, the majority of the library was sent to Gregory XV and was incorporated into the Vatican Library. PL is clearly not English in origin. It was likely written in Western Europe, perhaps in the region of Catalonia, and certain characteristics of spelling, especially the addition/deletion of 'h' from the beginning of words, are identified as '*Romanismen*,' peculiarities that result from contact with a Romance language.³³¹ This would seem to indicate that the manuscript was written in a place where an early Romance language was spoken.

Textually, PL shows similarities to both the English and French Laud-type manuscripts. although this is more often true in the case of the French manuscripts. For example, the table of contents at the beginning of the bestiary is very similar to those found in the English Laud-type manuscripts.³³² However, there are also numerous individual variations found in PL which are not found in any of the other B-Is texts, whether French or English, which makes it unlikely that PL is a direct source for any of these manuscripts. In addition, while the variations in PL are usually shared by the French manuscripts, this is not always the case and there are instances where PL shares a variant with the English manuscripts, rather than the French ones.

In Carmody's edition of the B *Physiologus*, he groups together the manuscripts Bern, Burgerbibliothek MS lat. 233 (B) and Bodl. MS Auct T.II.23 (Z). These are two of the three known remaining B *Physiologus* manuscripts.³³³ A comparison of the other B-Is manuscripts with his edition demonstrates that Z contains many individual variations, and the B-Is texts are most often (although not always) closest to B rather than Z. When there are differences between French and English B-Is texts, it is more often the case (again, not always) that the French B-Is texts are closer to the original B text. There are many instances where PL is closer to the other B-Is texts rather than to B, indicating that although PL is much earlier than the other B-Is texts, it is not an exact copy of either the B or Z manuscripts, and although PL does not seem to have been the source for the rest of the B-Is texts, it still shows some intermediary features. That the

³³⁰ Walz, *Katalog*, p. 255.

³³¹ Ibid. Examples of this include '*haromata*' for '*aromata*', '*circho*' for '*circo*', '*hodoribus*' for '*odoribus*', and '*omo*' for '*homo*.'

³³² Cf. the order on the French Manuscripts order page and the *capitula* lists in Appendix 7.

³³³ Carmody, *Versio B*, p. 10. The other *Physiologus* B manuscript, Montecassino MS 323, has not been edited but is noted by Baxter, *Users*, p. 29.

B/Z text is often closer to the French B-Is manuscripts also supports my hypothesis that the B-Is text was developed on the Continent and then travelled to England.

4.2 [D] Oxford, Bodl.. MS Douce 167

s. xiiiⁱⁿ

This manuscript contains the Laud-type B-Is text but also includes the Wolf chapter added at the end. This is the same Wolf chapter that is found in S, T, CC22, and the H family discussed below in Chapter 6. The provenance of D prior to the late eighteenth century is unknown, at which time it belonged to a Thomas Sharpe (1770-1841) of Coventry, before it was passed to Francis Douce (1757-1834).³³⁴ There are not a large number of individual variations within D's text and it shares many variants with the group of French luxury bestiaries (Br8, CV, L3, L4) and with T, as shown in Appendices 12 and 14. Rarely are variants shared with the English B-Is manuscripts. However, not every variant found in the French manuscripts is found in D, including words missing from the French manuscript that are found in D (and vice versa), and this means that D was not copied from any of these manuscripts. D also shows similarities to CC22, S, and T, the other three B-Is manuscripts that contain the Wolf chapter.³³⁵

It appears that the final folio (12) was added to replace lost text as it continues on from where 11v ends with no break in the *Mermecolion* chapter, which is then truncated and ends rather abruptly. This is followed by the Wolf chapter and it is not clear why the Dog chapter was not added as well; there would have been enough room left on the folio to include it. It is also unknown as to when or why this replacement folio was added, although the script is of a similar date to that of the first eleven folios. Unlike the case with S, the text on the added folio in D does not appear to be from a differently provenanced source text as the remainder of the *Mermecolion* and the Wolf chapters are not noticeably closer than the rest of the chapters to any of the other manuscripts. In the Wolf chapter, D often shares more variants with CC22 than with S or T, but there are occasions where D/S share one variant and CC/T share another. It is difficult to fit D into either group of the English B-Is or French B-Is, as it shows similarities with both groups. There are no rubrics or glosses in D, and no list of

³³⁴ There is an inscription on the front flyleaf which reads 'Philippe de Than an Anglo Norman Poet ^{about} wrote a Poem entitled 'Le Bestiare which he dedicated to Adelaide de Louvain who was married to Henry V in 1121- It is a treatise on beasts, birds, precious stones accumulated from a Latin essay called Bestiarus, a MS copy of which still remains in the library of Mr. Douce.' and below this in a different hand 'This is Mr Sharpe of Coventry's work, of whom I had this MS in exchange. F.D.'

³³⁵ See the 'D' columns in Appendices 12 and 14. I include D with the French manuscripts because it is not immediately obvious that it is an English manuscript.

capitula to compare to those in other manuscripts. Baxter includes D in his list of English bestiaries³³⁶ but McCulloch notes the similarities in chapters between D, S, CC22, T, and Pierre de Beauvais' *Bestiaire*.³³⁷ Therefore, it does seem that D's exemplar was closer to the French version of the B-Is text. D may be a much later copy (albeit an imperfect one) of the hypothetical Continental B-Is text, as seen in the upper hatched box in Appendix 3, in which the Dog, Wolf, and Ibex chapters were added at the end.

4.3 [T] Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale. MS 312

1416

T, although unillustrated, is not a poor quality manuscript. The majority of the text is written on paper but the outer and inner bifolia of every quire are parchment, presumably to lessen the chances of leaves being lost from weak points caused by stitching. The manuscript is unillustrated but there is decorative foliage painted around some capitals, including the use of gold highlights, and between some sections of text. The manuscript is unfinished, as the red highlighting on the roman numeral foliation is not complete, and there are blank spaces left between sections of text. The decorative foliage remains in various stages of completion throughout the manuscript; some of the ink outlines have not been filled in and elsewhere the leaves have been painted green but further ink details and blue flowers have not been added.

The majority of works in the manuscript are homilies and other texts useful to preachers and those involved in pastoral care. They include the homilies by Gregory the Great, translated into French; the works of Jean Gerson dealing with venial and mortal sins; and the second and third parts of Gerson's *Opusculum tripartitum*, '*De arte moriendi*' and '*De confessione*.'³³⁸ According to numerous inscriptions in the manuscript, the various texts were owned by Mathelin Laurens, a priest and vicar in the Church of St Martin of Tours, who was from Chinon (spelled Cahynone in the manuscript). The entire manuscript appears to have been copied by '*Stephanus de Villamoina*,' a cleric of St Martin's. The completion dates at the ends of the texts are either 1416 or 1426. This is the only manuscript in which he is named as copyist,

³³⁶ Baxter gives no evidence for this provenance but presumably it is because he states that the text 'follows Laud closely...' Baxter, *Users*, p. 88.

³³⁷ McCulloch, *Latin and French*, n. 72, p. 67.

³³⁸ The full title of the *Opusculum* is '*la Mendicité spirituelle, le Triparti, le Dialogue spirituel, la médecine de l'âme, l'Examen de conscience et la confession, l'Art de bien vivre et de bien mourir, l'A.B.C. des gens simples, parlement secret de l'homme contemplatif à son âme, Vision*.'

although Laurens is listed as the owner of another manuscript, a '*Légendaire*' for use in the Church at Tours, copied by Johannes Chancelet in 1418.³³⁹

Very little has been written about this manuscript. The fact that the chapter order in both T and Pierre's *Bestiaire* is exactly the same, including the 'rather uncommon' final sequence of Amos, *Adamas*, Wolf, and Dog chapters, was initially noted by McCulloch but this has not been further explored by scholars of the Latin bestiary.³⁴⁰ The *Bestiaire* by Pierre de Beauvais is found in both a long and a short version, and it is the short one which is related to the text in T.³⁴¹ Various authors have put forward hypotheses as to whether the long or the short version was written first, and this has implications for the study of T. In his edition, Charles Cahier proposed that the short version with thirty-eight chapters was only a reshuffling of the long version 'made with the intention to throw out anything that was not linked to the earlier Latin text.'³⁴² However, it stands to reason that if the short version follows the chapter order of the *Physiologus* and the order of the long version follows no known order, the shorter version would have been composed first. In addition, textual analysis also indicates that the short version was written first.³⁴³

Meyer, writing in the early twentieth century, believed that Pierre translated the short version from a manuscript 'analogous' to BL MS Royal 2.C.xii (manuscript R discussed above).³⁴⁴ Mermier later compared the text of R with that of the short version

³³⁹ *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements: T.37:1*, (Paris, 1900), pp. 113-114.

³⁴⁰ McCulloch, *Latin and French*, n. 72, p. 67. For example, Baker mentions McCulloch's findings in his edition of Pierre's *Bestiaire* (long version) but the similarity between T and the *Bestiaire* is usually used as evidence that the short version of the *Bestiaire* was created before the long version. Craig Baker, (ed.), *Le Bestiaire: Version longue attribuée à Pierre de Beauvais*, (Paris, 2010), p. 9-20.

³⁴¹ The earliest scholar to make known his works was Charles Cahier, who referred to him in 1847 as '*Pierre le Picard*' since the oldest manuscript of the *Bestiaire* is written in the Picard dialect. In 1892 Gaston Paris referred to him as '*Pierre de Beauvais*' and this is the name used today. See McCulloch, *Latin and French*, pp. 62-69; Guy Mermier, 'De Pierre de Beauvais et particulièrement de son bestiaire: vers une solution des problèmes', *Romanische Forschungen* 78:2/3 (1966), pp. 338-371; Craig Baker, 'De la paternité de la version longue du *Bestiaire*, attribuée à Pierre de Beauvais', in Baudouin van den Abeele (ed.) *Bestiaires médiévaux. Nouvelles perspectives sur les manuscrits et les traditions textuelles* (Leuven-la-Neuve, 2005), pp. 1-29 for information on Pierre de Beauvais and his writing.

³⁴² Cahier quoted in Guy Mermier, 'vers un solution', p. 354.

³⁴³ The dedication found at the start of the short version either refers to Count Robert II of Dreux or his brother Philippe de Dreux, bishop of Beauvais. Since both of these men died within a year of each other, the short version was likely written before 1218 when Robert died. The earliest date for the composition of the long version is 1246, when one of the sources for the long version (the *Image du monde*) was first available. Baker, 'paternité', pp. 6-9.

³⁴⁴ Paul Meyer, 'Les Bestiaires', *Histoire littéraire de la France* XXXIV (1914), p 357. It might be that Meyer specifically mentions R as this manuscript was available by that time via Mann's 1888 edition.

and noted that the *Mermecolion* text found in chapter thirty-seven does not match Pierre's version, and the Wolf and Dog chapters are not found in R. He also points out that the *Mermecolion* chapter is not found in either of the French versions of the *Bestiaire*, although it is in R, while the Dog and Wolf chapters are not found in R but are in both French versions.³⁴⁵ He takes this to mean that these variations were made by Pierre; Pierre wished to introduce two chapters (the Wolf and Dog) that are 'étrangers' to the *Physiologus*. However, it is unclear whether Mermier thinks that Pierre actually wrote these chapters himself or copied them from somewhere else.³⁴⁶ Baker identifies the Dog and Wolf chapters as coming from Book II of *De bestiis*, which corresponds to the H version of the bestiary.³⁴⁷ Baker also notes that McCulloch identified these chapters in T but does not specify that T contains the B-Is version and not H.³⁴⁸

It is unlikely that Pierre copied his Dog and Wolf chapters from the H version for several reasons. The first is that the H version manuscripts all date from after 1230. It is of course possible that there could be a missing earlier text but this seems unlikely. Even if the H version had been available to Pierre, there are differences in chapter order and content of chapters and there is no apparent reason for Pierre to rearrange the H chapters to follow the B-Is order. As well, the Dog and Wolf chapters appear in the much earlier B-Is manuscripts S and CC22. Therefore, it seems likely that there was in France a copy of the B-Is text that had the Dog and Wolf chapters added, as shown in Appendix 3. The reasons for Pierre's exclusion of the *Mermecolion* chapter, if it indeed was in his exemplar, are not clear.

The presence, or lack thereof, of textual variations found in the French Latin bestiaries that are not found in the English text also supports my hypothesis that the Dog and Wolf chapters were developed in France rather than England. A comparison of the original text of the *Bestiaire* shows that there are indeed similarities between the short version and the French manuscripts of the B-Is text. These similarities are shown in Appendix 15. This is a broad-based comparison only, and it must be born in mind that Pierre did not translate the whole of the Latin text literally, he occasionally paraphrased and omitted parts of the text.³⁴⁹ And it does seem that a number of these similarities are

³⁴⁵ Mermier, 'vers un solution', pp. 357-358.

³⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 370.

³⁴⁷ *De bestiis* is in *PL* 177:9-164.

³⁴⁸ Baker, 'paternité', p. 15.

³⁴⁹ See Baker, 'paternité' for a more detailed description of Pierre's methods.

only found between Tours and Pierre. There are also many differences between T and Pierre, but these are usually of the type where the text in T has omitted something that is in the rest of the B-Is manuscripts and in Pierre, therefore making it impossible to judge whether these were omitted purposefully in T or whether they were simply not in T's source text. In particular, there are certain words and phrases found only in T and Pierre, or only in the French B-Is and Pierre, which make it likely that T is a copy (albeit with many changes) of an earlier Latin B-Is version that existed in France and included the Dog and Wolf chapters.³⁵⁰ Since Pierre did not translate any of the excerpts from the *Etymologiae*, one might ask whether he had copied a text of the *Physiologus* rather than the B-Is bestiary. However, since none of the shared variations found between Pierre and any of the French bestiaries were found in any *Physiologus* versions this does not seem likely.³⁵¹

Knowledge of whether Pierre had access to a *Physiologus* text would shed light on the question of his sources. Unfortunately, not much is known about Pierre's life; as Mermier points out, as is so often the case, we know the text better than the author.³⁵² According to Max L. Berkey, 'On balance, Pierre's identity remains unknown; I have unearthed no plausible reference to him in the published annals of Beauvais, civil or ecclesiastic, in the records of the monasteries concerned with the saints whose *Lives* he translated, or in the extant biographic information dealing with his patrons.'³⁵³ Omont's published medieval library catalogues from the cathedral of Beauvais do not list any bestiaries, *Bestiaires*, or *Physiologus* manuscripts. The only items found which could have been of use are copies of the *Etymologiae* (nos. 30, 63) and the *Moralia in Job* (nos. 48, 119, 134), but these are hardly unexpected finds in a cathedral library.³⁵⁴ And there do not seem to be any from libraries of the region around Beauvais.³⁵⁵ It does not seem therefore possible to demonstrate either the presence of a bestiary or *Physiologus*

³⁵⁰ There do not seem to be any clues about when the Ibex chapter was added to any version.

³⁵¹ Note that this comparison was made using Carmody's 1939 edition of the B *Physiologus*. I have not personally examined any *Physiologus* manuscripts.

³⁵² Mermier, 'vers un solution', p. 338.

³⁵³ Max L. Berkey, 'Pierre de Beauvais: An Introduction to His Works', *Romance Philology* 18:4 (1965), p. 392.

³⁵⁴ Henri Auguste Omont, 'Recherches sur la bibliothèque de l'Église Cathédrale de Beauvais', *Extrait des Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* t.40 (1914), pp. 21, 23, 25, 32-33.

³⁵⁵ Two of Pierre's works, the *Vie de Saint Germer* and the *Oeuvre quotidienne* may have been written for the monks of the Abbaye Saint-Germer-de-Fly/Abbaye de Flay. St Germer is one of the patron saints of Beauvais and the Bishop of Beauvais, Philip de Dreux, was 'especially generous' to the monks of Flay. Berkey, 'Introduction', p. 392.

in Beauvais around the time of Pierre. However, textual analysis of T, D, Pierre's *Bestiaire*, and the *Physiologus* texts seems to indicate that there did exist a French B-Is text with the Wolf and Dog chapters added at the end, a copy of which made its way to England to be changed by scribes into S and CC22, and which was translated by Pierre before 1217, and which was also copied in the fifteenth century at Tours. The existence of the Wolf and Dog chapters in the H bestiary, a version which only existed in France, also supports this.

Chapter 5. French Laud-type Manuscripts

[Br8]	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale. MS 8536-43	<i>s. xiii^{med}</i>
[CV]	London, British Library. MS Cotton Vit.D.1	<i>s. xiii²</i>
[L3]	Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute MS Ludwig XV 3	<i>s. xiii²</i>
[L4]	Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute MS Ludwig XV 4	1277

These manuscripts have been grouped together because of the similarities in textual variations, date, and provenance.³⁵⁶ I will discuss these broad areas rather than each manuscript in turn because I did not have access to the entire bestiary text in L3, L4, and CV and therefore cannot do the same level of textual analysis that I was able to do on the other B-Is manuscripts.³⁵⁷ However, the analysis I was able to carry out still demonstrates how closely related these manuscripts are.

5.1 Textual Variants Between the Manuscripts

The texts found in these four manuscripts contains many shared variants that are not found in either the other English or French B-Is texts, although it must be noted that these four do also share variants with the other French B-Is texts, i.e. D, T, and occasionally PL, making the existence of a separate French B-Is text likely. L3 and L4 appear to be the closest to one another; the burned state of CV means a complete textual analysis is impossible but the text does seem to be very close to L3 and L4, although not closer to them than they are to each other. Br8 is the earliest text, dating from ca. 1250

³⁵⁶ See Chapter 1 of Part One for a discussion of potential users and audiences.

³⁵⁷ I was able to examine CV, but was only able to decipher fragments of the text as the manuscript has been very badly damaged by the fire in the Ashburn House. According to Thomas Smith's 1696 catalogue, the original 148 folios contained the following: 1. *Missa multum devota de nomine Jesu*; 2. *Liber de quibusdam volucris et animalibus, quae divina Scriptura annumerat, cum mysticis expositionibus, et cum eorundem picturis.* (fragments survive); 3. *Picturae monstrorum, quae finguntur esse in India, aliisque exteris regionibus.* (fragments survive); 4. *Liber hieroglyphicus sive emblematicus, continens varias rerum repraesentationes, cum illarum morali expositione; veteri lingua Gallicana.* (fragments survive); 5. *Versus eadem lingua conditi de quibusdam moralibus argumentis.* fragments (survive); 6. *Narrationes quaedam de Monachis, praesertim Aegyptiacis: h.e. de dictis, moribus, et vita eorum, Gallice.* (fragments survive); 7. *Elucidarium, sive dialogus inter magistrum et discipulum, in quo obscuritas diversarum rerum Theologicarum elucidatur.* (fragments survive); 8. *Libellus Petri Blesensis, Bathoniensis Archidiaconi, de transfiguratione Domini, ad Atebatensem Episcopum*; 9. *Eiusdem homilia de conversione B. Pauli*; 10. *Eiusdem libellus de vita B. Jobi, sive expositio in caput primum, secundum, et ultimum illius libri, ad R. Henricum II*; C.G.C. Tite, (ed.), *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library, 1696* (Cambridge, 1984); facsimile of Thomas Smith, *Catalogue librorum manuscriptorum bibliothecae cottonianae* (Oxford, 1696), p. 90. The nineteenth-century paper flyleaf states: 'Vitellius D.I. Portions of art. 2.3.4.5.6. and 7. of the original MS as described in Smith Catalogue 1696 and the Report after the fire of 1731. [signed] April 1881.' It was at this time that the remaining fragments were inlaid into thick paper and rebound when the manuscripts damaged by the fire were restored. Unfortunately, the folios have been bound in the wrong order and with the *recto* and *verso* sides reversed. I have, however, identified folios 14 and 15 as containing the text of the *Liber de pastoribus et ovibus* (see n. 87).

and although it is not likely the source of the others, it is closer textually to them than to T.

There are shared similarities in the rubrics of these manuscripts that are not found in the English B-Is texts and it seems unlikely that these similarities would have arisen by chance. Note that as I did not have access to the entire bestiary text found in L3, L4, and CV, sometimes I do not know whether these similarities are shared by all of these manuscripts. However, a comparison of the French Laud-type rubrics listed in Appendix 16 with the English rubrics listed in Appendix 8 show that the Antelope, *Lapides igniferi*, *Serra*, Onocentaur, Ibis, Fox, Unicorn, *Hydrus*, Whale, Dove, Peredixion Tree, Amos, and *Adamans* chapters all contain rubrics that differ significantly between the French and English manuscripts. This is with the exception that occasionally, Br1 is closer to the French text than to R and L, which often share more elaborate rubrics. This does not necessarily mean that Br1 is either French or copied from a French manuscript, it likely rather indicates that the rubrics found in the French manuscripts are either older or closer to a common ancestor than those in R and L, and that R and L show variations to that common ancestor.

One of the characteristics of Br8 (and occasionally but not always in L3, L4, and CV when I have the text to compare) is the rather large amount of text omitted from both the original *Physiologus* text and the additions from the *Etymologiae* in several chapters. For example, there are two pieces of text removed from the Stag chapter. The first is seen in both Br8 and L4 and is the section which compares the mountains to the apostles and prophets, and the stags to faithful men, and the quotation from Psalms 120.1. The second is seen in Br8, L3, and L4 and is the section which describes how stags are able to swim across rivers without overexerting themselves.³⁵⁸ In the case of the Dove chapter, Br8 has omitted the entire extract from the *Etymologiae*, although the text is still found in L4 and CV.³⁵⁹ The final section of the Peredixion Tree chapter dealing with the dangers of drinking too much and the potential of being devoured by

³⁵⁸ *‘Montes apostolos dicit et prophetas. cervos homines fideles. qui per apostolos et prophetas et sacerdotes perveniunt ad agnitionem christi. sicut scriptum est. in psalmo. Levavi oculos meos ad montes. unde veniet auxilium michi.’; ‘Si quando immensa flumina vel maria transnatant. capita clunibus pre cedentium superponunt sibique invicem famulantes. nullum laborem ponderis sentiunt.’*

³⁵⁹ I am unable to include L3 as I did not have the text for this section.

the devil has been omitted in Br8, L3, L4, and CV.³⁶⁰ The majority of the Panther chapter is omitted in Br8, L3, and L4; the information from the *Etymologiae* on the dragon has been retained although not that on the panther. Most of the Elephant chapter has been omitted from Br8, L3, L4, and CV. Finally, Br8, CV, L3, L4, and T are also all missing the entire *Mermecolion* chapter.

It is unclear as to why these large amounts of text are missing since the information omitted does not seem to follow any patterns. Since several of the larger omissions are towards the end of the text, it may have been due to the need to save space, perhaps not enough space was originally allocated (although the amount of text missing from the Panther and Elephant chapters makes this unlikely). Because the amount of missing text varies widely, it is unlikely that it is due to folios being skipped accidentally. This group of manuscripts appears to be a 'separate branch' of the B-Is family and the fact that S and CC22 are closer to these manuscripts than to the English B-Is likely indicates a common ancestor.

5.2 Dates and Provenances

Br8 is the earliest of this group of manuscripts, by approximately thirty years. It was produced ca. 1250, whereas the other three date from 1270-1280. In terms of location, all of these manuscripts were made in Northern France/Flanders. Br8 may be linked to Lierre which today is in the province of Antwerp; this unfortunately does not apply to the actual bestiary but rather to the accompanying manuscripts bound with it. Br8 is composed of the Aviary/bestiary/*De medicina anime* in one hand bound with other (religious) works in multiple earlier and later hands.³⁶¹ The original provenance of the Aviary/bestiary/*De medicina anime* trio is unknown. There is an inscription at the end of the *Hystoria Britonum*, the first work in the manuscript coming just before the Aviary, indicating that it was given by a Master Martin of Lyra to a Bernardine monastery and anyone who steals it will be excommunicated.³⁶² The Cistercian abbey

³⁶⁰ 'Et alibi Qui habitare facit unanimes in domo. Cave ergo quantum potes. ne extra hanc domum foris inveniatis. et comprehendat te ille draco serpens antiquus et devoret te sicut iudam. qui mox ut exivit foris a domino et fratribus suis apostolis; statim a diabolo devoratus est et periit.'

³⁶¹ The contents of Br8 are: 'Hystoria Britonum,' Nennius; Aviary; bestiary; 'De medicina anime,' Hugh of Fouilloy; 'Passio sancte Theodosie virginis'; 'Passio beate Barbare virginis'; 'Sermo domini Odonis Cantuarie monachi in honore sancte crucis,' Odo of Canterbury.

³⁶² 'Hunc librum dedit magister Martinus de Lyra domui loci sancti Bernardi. Retribuat illi Deus vitam aeternam. Amen. Quicumque eum abstulerit vel aliquid ab eo defraudaverit, noverit se esse excommunicatum. Nec remittetur peccatum donec restituatur ablatum. Anima magistri Martini

of St Bernard was founded at Lierre in 1243, before moving to Hemiksem in 1246. While it is not certain that this abbey was the ‘*domui loci sancti Bernardi*’ mentioned, it is not unlikely that Martin would have wanted to give the book either to his own religious house, or to one in his locale. Because the inscription is not dated in the literature, it is not known if the book was given in the mid-thirteenth century when the religious house was founded and moved, or at some point after this. Of course, it is also not known at what point the *Aviary/bestiary/De medecina anime* were bound with the other works but there is a later shelf-mark ‘N.MS. 16’ and the *ex-libris* of the Bollandists.

Clark places Br8 in her ‘Heiligenkreuz’ group of *Aviary* manuscripts, the source text of which is assumed to be ‘closer than any other copy to the original.’³⁶³ There are no other manuscripts in this group which contain a *bestiary*, and that Br8 alone, from the French B-Is manuscripts, is found with this group of *Aviary* manuscripts accords with the fact that the other *bestiary* texts in the group are closer to one another than to Br8. Clark puts L3 and L4 in her ‘Ter Duinen’ *Aviary* group although she does not think they (i.e. with respect to the the *Aviary* texts) were copied from her source text, Bruges, Grootseminarie MS 89/54, due to textual variations, despite iconographic similarities.³⁶⁴ Two defining characteristics of this group of French B-Is manuscripts are that these are the first luxury copies of the *Aviary*, and that most of the members of this group contain the *Aviary* plus other works by Hugh of Fouilloy, in particular the rather rare work entitled *De pastoribus et ovibus*.³⁶⁵ L3 and L4 are the only members of the Ter Duinen group that include a Latin *bestiary*. CV may be mentioned as a potential member of this group, but I have not compared the remaining *Aviary* text with Clark’s edition so I cannot make an accurate judgement either way. Unfortunately, not much is known about the early provenance of L3, L4, or CV.

The earliest known owner of L4 is Duke Humfrey of Gloucester (1391-1447), as evidenced in an inscription visible under ultraviolet light ‘*Ce livre est A moy Humfrey*

supradicti de Lira datoris huius pulcherrime historiae per misericordiam Dei requiescat in pace. Amen.’ (f.72v).

³⁶³ Clark, *Aviary*, p. 41.

³⁶⁴ The Ter Duinen *Aviary* group is named after the Cistercian Abbey of Ter Duinen in what is now the province of West Flanders in Belgium, where the source manuscript originated. *Ibid.*, pp. 61-63.

³⁶⁵ See Chapter 1 of Part One for a description of this text.

duc de Gloucestre Comte de Pembrokshire.³⁶⁶ It may be that Humfrey came into possession of the book through his wife Jacqueline of Bavaria and Countess of Hainaut (the modern province of Hainaut borders West Flanders), either directly from her or during his 1424 military campaign to recapture her lands.³⁶⁷ This does not necessarily mean that the manuscript was originally written for a royal, secular audience though, despite the high quality of the manuscript. Many of the bestiary illustrations in L3 incorporate *fleur-de-lys* and castles in the background patterns. Since these were the heraldic charges of Blanche of Castile, scholars have used this as support for royal patronage for the first Cistercian owners. Therefore, potential monastic houses might be Royaumont, an abbey built by Blanche and her son Louis IX, or Lys or Maubuisson, Cistercian houses founded by Blanche.³⁶⁸

However, L3 has also been linked to northern France because in the *Aviary*'s illustration of the Cedar, which is often depicted as a stylised tree with a figure in the centre, the figure in L3 is labelled as '*Comes Teobaldus*' or Count Thibault.³⁶⁹ The figure of Thibault may be 'a reflection on the fundamental model for the [Ter Duinen] group and another testimony to that model's early date and importance in the tradition.'³⁷⁰ This is because the author of the *Aviary*, Hugh de Fouillois, may have written the *Aviary* during his time as prior of St Nicholas de Regny. This house was a dependency of St Laurent au Bois/St Laurent d'Heilly which was founded by an endowment from Count Thibault of Heilly.³⁷¹ Art historians have linked the illustrations in L4 to those found in other luxury manuscripts connected to St Omer in the medieval diocese of Thérouanne (in what is now the Pas-de-Calais department in France).³⁷² Therefore, L3 and L4 both show connections to both Flanders and Northern France, in terms of potential patrons, audiences and places of production. Although the

³⁶⁶ Clark, *Aviary*, p. 292.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

³⁶⁸ Clark cites H.P. Kraus, *In Retrospect: A Catalogue of 100 Outstanding Manuscripts...* (New York, 1978) and Patricia D. Stirnemann, 'Les bibliothèques princières et privées aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles', in *Histoire des bibliothèques médiévales du VI^e siècle à 1530*, (Paris, 1989), pp. 173-191. *Ibid.*, p. 291.

³⁶⁹ Paris MS lat. 2495B, which contains an H bestiary, also has 'Count Thibault' depicted in the cedar. See <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/bestiary/comment/34r.hti> for a summary of other figures found in the centre of the cedar. Also see Geddes, 'Observations', pp. 69-72 for the various interpretations of the woman in some cedars identified as the Virgin, *Ecclesia*, or Wisdom, and for the importance of this figure is the use of the *Aviary* as a teaching text.

³⁷⁰ Clark, *Aviary*, p. 70.

³⁷¹ The endowment is recorded in a cartulary of 1168. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

³⁷² *Ibid.*, n.1, p. 70.

current state of CV means there is no information about its provenance in the manuscript itself, the similarities between it, L3, and L4 mean that it either used one of these manuscripts as a source or that all three (and perhaps Br8) had a common source.

Chapter 6. H Manuscripts

This Chapter is also more brief in its description of individual manuscripts than Chapters 2 and 3; the H manuscripts are closer to being a separate ‘branch’ on the *stemma* of B-Is manuscripts and therefore probably had less of an impact on later bestiary development. This developmental ‘dead-end’ is shown in Appendix 3. There are at least two sub-groups of H manuscripts, the first of which contains the most well-known examples that are French and date from the mid-to-late thirteenth century. The members of the second originate further east, in Germany, Poland, and Bohemia, and date from the mid-thirteenth to the fifteenth century.³⁷³ This Chapter focuses on the French manuscripts because they are relevant to the earliest bestiary development.

6.1 The H Text

The H text is always found accompanying the Aviary, and two or four B-Is chapters are placed between the two works.³⁷⁴ All of the French examples, with the exception of Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 1029, discussed in Chapter 2 of Part One, are illustrated but none of the non-French examples contain illustrations. As shown in Appendix 17, the chapter order in H is different to that found in either the Laud or Stowe-type B-Is texts, although it includes chapters that are found in the Stowe-type but not the B-Is (Dog, Wolf, Ibex) and vice-versa (*Mermecolion*, *Adamas*). The H text also contains chapters on the viper and lizard (*lacerta*), which are not found in any other First Family bestiary version but are included in the DC *Physiologus* and the related so-called ‘Hofer’ bestiary.³⁷⁵ In addition, all of the chapters on birds with the exception of the Pelican and ‘*Caradrius*’, along with those on the Peredixion Tree and Amos, have been omitted. This could have resulted if the H bestiary was created as a companion text for the Aviary, however, there is no definite proof that this was the case.³⁷⁶ The H version follows the chapter order of S for the first thirteen chapters (with

³⁷³ See Chapter 1 of Part One.

³⁷⁴ The Ibis and *Fulica* are always found here, while the dove and *peredixion* tree are added in the case of BnF MSS lat. 2595A, lat. 2495B, and Chalon-sur-Saône MS 14.

³⁷⁵ See Willene B. Clark, ‘The Aviary-Bestiary at the Houghton Library, Harvard’, in Willene B. Clark and Meredith T. McMunn (ed.) *Beasts and Birds of the Middle Ages: The Bestiary and Its Legacy* (Philadelphia, 1989), pp. 26-52 for a description of the manuscript; and Samuel A. Ives and Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, *An English 13th Century Bestiary: A New Discovery in the Technique of Medieval Illumination* (New York, 1942) for an analysis of the text.

³⁷⁶ This was first suggested by Francis J Carmody, ‘*De bestiis et aliis rebus* and the Latin *Physiologus*’, *Speculum* (1938), p. 155. Charles de Clerq, ‘La nature et le sens du *De avibus* d’Hugues de Fouillois’, *Miscellanea Mediaevalia* 7 (1970), pp. 279-302, suggests that the H text is by Hugh de Fouillois but there

the exception of S's Beaver-*Hydrus*-Crocodile trio changed to *Hydrus*-Crocodile-Beaver in the H version). However, the remainder of the chapters do not seem to follow any discernable pattern; they are not arranged according to animal type and do not follow the chapter order of any other bestiary, including the DC *Physiologus* or the Hofer bestiary.

In Clark's editions of both the Aviary and Second Family texts, she makes several assumptions about the H family text that must be re-examined in the light of new research. Whilst I agree with Clark's assertion that the H family is 'almost certainly Parisian in origin',³⁷⁷ her claim that all known copies are French is no longer applicable due to the recent discovery of new H family manuscripts.³⁷⁸ In addition, Clark's suggestion that the H text is based on a B-Is bestiary of the type found in CC22, due to the presence of material from Isidore of Seville, needs to be revised.³⁷⁹ A comparison of the H text to possible sources shows that it appears to draw from several, including the Stowe-type text (distinguished here from that found in CC22), the French B-Is Laud-type text, the DC *Physiologus*, and the *Etymologiae*. However, it is the Stowe-type text and the DC *Physiologus* that appear to have been the main sources. The links between the DC *Physiologus* and the H family (as found in *De bestiis*, which will be analysed in greater detail in Chapter 6.3) were first recognised by Carmody, and then later expanded upon by Ives and Lehmann-Haupt, and McCulloch.³⁸⁰

6.2 The DC *Physiologus* and the 'Hofer' Bestiary

A brief discussion of the DC *Physiologus* and the Hofer bestiary is necessary, as these texts have played almost no role in bestiary scholarship yet may have been quite influential.³⁸¹ Henkel summarises a good deal of the earlier work on the DC-

is no evidence to support this and seems unlikely, given Hugh's death ca. 1172 and the first appearance of the H text in the second quarter of the thirteenth century.

³⁷⁷ Clark, *Aviary*, p. 53.

³⁷⁸ Clark, *Second-Family*, p. 11.

³⁷⁹ Clark, *Aviary*, n. 1, p. 52 and *Second-Family*, n. 43, p. 11.

³⁸⁰ For Carmody, see n. 365. Ives and Lehmann-Haupt, *New Discovery*, pp. 14-15 and McCulloch, *Latin and French*, pp. 42-43.

³⁸¹ For example, London BL MS Add. 22041, is described in Clark's Second Family Catalogue as containing Aviary extracts and '40 Second-family complete or excerpted chapters, and three *Physiologus*-B chapters ... chapter order is *sui generis*'. Clark, *Second-Family*, p. 252. This is not entirely true, as eighteen of these chapters are taken from the DC *Physiologus* (as printed in Wilhelm), and follow his order (chapters 1-18, Lion – Hedgehog). The remainder of the extracts are taken from *Physiologus* B, the Laud-type B-Is text, or the Second Family. Therefore the DC *Physiologus* may have been more widespread than has been previously thought.

Physiologus, so-called because of its attribution to John Chrysostom.³⁸² However, there are also two manuscripts of the Y *Physiologus* that also refer to Chrysostom as author, making him a popular choice of author in order to increase the authority and prestige of anonymous texts.³⁸³ Despite its likely creation in France, the majority of the approximately thirty manuscripts from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries are from Germany or Austria.³⁸⁴ The chapter order in DC shows that all of the *Physiologus* chapters on plants and stones (including the Peredixion Tree, Fig-tree, Agate-stone, *Mermecolion*, *Adamant*, Indian-stone, and Magnet chapters) have been removed, but it also includes the Viper and Lizard chapters mentioned above.³⁸⁵ Wilhelm's early-twentieth century *stemma* of DC manuscripts is divided into two distinct groups and a comparison of the H text with his edition shows that it is closer to the second group which he calls the 'younger' DC *Physiologus* since it is presumed to be further away textually from the original.³⁸⁶

In 1942 Ives and Lehmann-Haupt published a study on the Hofer manuscript which contains a series of bestiary and Aviary illustrations without text, the Aviary, B-Is chapters on the dove and peredixion tree, and a series of chapters from the H bestiary and DC *Physiologus*.³⁸⁷ Because the illustrations are found in separate quires from the text, on much thicker parchment, it seems that the text and illustrations existed separately until at least the fifteenth century, the date of the current binding.³⁸⁸ While Ives and Lehmann-Haupt's description of the illustrations as a model book are generally accepted, the exact relationship between the text and illustrations remains unclear.³⁸⁹ Ives and Lehmann-Haupt were convinced that both the illustrations and text were intended to be models, which explains why the illustrations do not fit into the spaces left for them in the text.³⁹⁰ Clark accepts this hypothesis as well.³⁹¹ However, the actual

³⁸² Henkel, *Studien*, pp. 29-34.

³⁸³ *Ibid.*, n. 42, p. 29.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

³⁸⁵ Henkel attributes this to the rise of vernacular herbals and lapidaries as separate works, pointing to their existence in DC manuscripts, or to the addition of the missing *Physiologus* stone chapters in a separate section at the end of the text. *Ibid.*, n. 53, p. 31.

³⁸⁶ Wilhelm, 'Physiologus', p. 15. There are seven manuscripts in the 'younger' group, dating from the twelfth-fourteenth centuries. Henkel compares Wilhelm's *stemma* with that of Sbordone, in which the manuscripts are divided somewhat differently but with similar results. Henkel, *Studien*, pp. 32-33.

³⁸⁷ See Ives and Lehmann-Haupt, *New Discovery*, pp. 8-13 for a description of the manuscript.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

³⁹¹ Clark, 'Aviary-Bestiary', pp. 29-30.

use of this manuscript as a model does not seem to have been very widespread. Ives and Lehmann-Haupt's assumption that it would have been easy for the 'numerous copies' of the text to disappear 'into the home and perhaps the schoolroom and the private library rather than into monastic and ecclesiastical libraries' is dependent on their description of the manuscript as 'a secular work of strong appeal to lay readers,' which has not been proven.³⁹² There is only one other manuscript with the same selection of chapters in this order, St Petersburg, National Library of Russia MS lat. Q.v.III.i.³⁹³

The existence of the Hofer and St Petersburg manuscripts demonstrates the close relationship between the H and DC texts, but, Ives and Lehmann-Haupt draw several erroneous conclusions about this relationship. Therefore, a comparison of their resultant *stemma* with mine in Appendix 3 shows that the two are, in some senses, similar, but opposite to one another.³⁹⁴ Their assertion is that the H text in *De bestiis* is perhaps much older than the Aviary, originally contained more bird chapters, and was remodelled to travel with the Aviary text. The H/*De bestiis*, Hofer, and DC texts all form separate branches from a hypothetical ancestor Q, and since the Hofer text appears to take material from both the DC and *De bestiis*, it may '[approximate] the lost Q in a clearer way than any other known manuscript.'³⁹⁵

As I have not had a chance to examine the Hofer or St Petersburg manuscripts and am dependent upon the published studies of the manuscripts, I am unable to say which chapters are dependent on which source(s). Clark mentions the B-Is bestiary as a source of this text because of the *Fulica*, Ibis, Dove, and Peredixion Tree chapters found between the bestiary and Aviary but as mentioned above, the presence of these chapters between the Aviary and bestiary is one of the characteristics of the H text. She also uses the presence of the *Adamant* and *Mermecolion* stones as evidence that the B *Physiologus* was used as a source, and also lists the Second Family but does not specify chapters.³⁹⁶ At the very least, it seems likely that the Hofer/St Petersburg bestiary text

³⁹² Ives and Lehmann-Haupt, *New Discovery*, p. 45.

³⁹³ For a description see Clark, 'Aviary-Bestiary', pp. 32-35. Some of the illustrations are replicated in Xenia Muratova, *The Medieval Bestiary* (Moscow, 1984).

³⁹⁴ Ives, and Lehmann Haupt, *New Discovery*, pp. 14-19. Their stemma is on p. 14.

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

³⁹⁶ Clark, 'Aviary-Bestiary', p. 28.

was created from multiple sources, perhaps primarily the H and/or DC texts given their inclusion of the Viper and Lizard chapters.

6.3 *De bestiis et aliis rebus* and the H Bestiary

I now come to the collection known as *De bestiis et aliis rebus*, which has caused much confusion amongst bestiary scholars. First identified in James' 1928 study, it is mentioned in almost every major work on the bestiary, despite the fact that it is a sixteenth-century collection of texts from different manuscripts, edited to create the impression of a single work.³⁹⁷ The text of *De bestiis* is split into four Books: Book I is a copy of Hugh of Fouillois's Aviary, Books II and III are bestiaries or excerpts thereof, and Book IV is a glossary. What James did not recognise because of his focus on English manuscripts and the simple lack of bestiary scholarship at the time was that Books I and II come from the French Aviary/H bestiary manuscript tradition and Books III and IV from the French Second Family bestiary/lapidary/glossary tradition.³⁹⁸

De bestiis has often been cited and analysed as if it were a text taken from a specific manuscript or manuscripts.³⁹⁹ For example, in Francis J Carmody's 1938 '*De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus* and the Latin *Physiologus*' the author recognised that different versions of the bestiary (which he refers to as the *Physiologus*) were used for Books II and III but believed that these came from a single manuscript. Thus, he called *De Bestiis* 'one of the more authentic and complete collections of chapters from the Latin *Physiologus*,' compared its chapter order and text to other bestiary and *Physiologus* manuscripts, and used these results to propose relationships between the manuscripts.⁴⁰⁰ Carmody also noticed the close similarities between *De bestiis* and the DC text (as found in BnF MS lat. 2780).⁴⁰¹ McCulloch refers to the H text as, 'H – Book II of Pseudo-Hugh of Saint Victor and the Aviarium.'⁴⁰² It is sometimes unclear whether McCulloch is referring to the text as found in the various books of *De bestiis*, or the text as found in the manuscript sources of it. For example, when discussing the fact that most of the bird chapters are not found in the H bestiary, she refers to Carmody's

³⁹⁷ 'The Bestiary printed with the works of Hugo de S. Victore. This has been made into a work in three Books. Book I is the Aviarium, Book II a Bestiary in 31 chapters, beginning Leo, Antula, and having additions from Isidore, Book III is another Bestiary, of the Second Family.' James, 1928, p.11.

³⁹⁸ Clark, 'Four Latin Bestiaries,' pp. 51-52.

³⁹⁹ Henkel also makes this error but it does not affect his conclusions because his work focuses on the *Physiologus*, not the texts derived from it. Henkel, *Studien*, p. 24.

⁴⁰⁰ Carmody, '*De bestiis*' p.158.

⁴⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 153-154.

⁴⁰² McCulloch, *Latin and French*, p. 30.

conclusion that ‘the compiler of Book II had Book I before him and consciously avoided duplicating the birds in Book II that he had treated in I.’⁴⁰³ It may well have been the case that the H family bestiary was created to accompany the Aviary and that is why the only bird chapters in it are the Pelican and Caladrius (apart from the bird chapters inserted between the Aviary and bestiary), but referring to *De bestiis* instead of its source texts reinforces the view that it is its own text. Hassig’s 1995 *Medieval Bestiaries: Text, Image, Ideology*, which looks at the way certain individual animals were treated in twenty-eight English manuscripts, includes *De bestiis*. She describes it as ‘a particularly popular twelfth- and thirteenth-century collection of material’ and commented on its supposed influence on other bestiary manuscripts.⁴⁰⁴

The problem with these authors’ use of *De Bestiis* is that Migne’s text was not a transcription of a single manuscript; he used the text of one of the printed books created in the sixteenth century by the Augustinian canons at the Abbey of Saint-Victor in Paris from manuscripts in their library. This book is part of the *Opera omnia*, which was meant to be a collection of the works of the twelfth-century scholar Hugh of Saint-Victor, but includes texts that were falsely attributed to him.⁴⁰⁵ The search for a single manuscript containing these four texts has therefore proved fruitless, but Clark has recently identified manuscripts that are possible sources for *De bestiis*.⁴⁰⁶ This is a rather tentative proposal because the extensive editing and correcting done by the canons to the manuscripts means that they do not correspond exactly to any known manuscript. The canons expressly state this at the start of each volume of the *Opera omnia*: ‘From manuscripts of works which are kept in the Victorine library, accurately corrected and emended...’⁴⁰⁷ Because *De bestiis* is not based on just a single manuscript but is a composite work created well after the Middle Ages, Clark argues that it is more useful as an example of early-sixteenth-century editorial practices rather than a source for medieval bestiary studies. Despite the fact that the composite nature

⁴⁰³ Ibid., p. 31.

⁴⁰⁴ Hassig, *Medieval Bestiaries*, p. 7. For example, Hassig states that CC22 ‘follows’ the text of *De Bestiis*, and BL MS Add. 11283 ‘combines’ its text with others, even though both of these manuscripts are earlier than *De Bestiis*. Ibid., p. 170.

⁴⁰⁵ Clark highlights the quotation on the title pages of the volumes of the 1526 edition which states ‘*Ex manuscriptis eiusdem operibus quae in bibliotheca victorina servantur accurate castigata et emendata...*’ The canons attributed the first two works in *De bestiis* to Hugh of Fouillois, although they do not give any reason for this: ‘*Hugonem de Folieto, ut videtur, auctorem agnoscunt.*’ Clark, ‘Four Latin Bestiaries’, n. 2 and 3, p. 49.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid., pp. 49-69.

⁴⁰⁷ See n. 405 above for the Latin text.

of *De bestiis* has been recognised for nearly one hundred years, it is still relied upon as a source of bestiary texts rather than the individual bestiary manuscripts themselves. This, therefore, still leads to problems in textual criticism, as will be seen in the next Chapter on the Transitional bestiary version. However, to sum up this Chapter on the H bestiary, it appears to have relied heavily, though not exclusively, on the Stowe-type text (although not CC22) and the DC *Physiologus*, with additions from the usual suspects, the Laud-type B-Is and the *Etymologiae*. In the next and final Chapter of Part Two, I re-examine the complicated relationship between the First Family Transitional version and the Second Family texts.

Chapter 7. Transitional and Second Family Manuscripts

7.1 Transitional Manuscripts and Chapter Arrangements

There are four well-known English Transitional manuscripts:

[RC] *London, British Library. MS Royal 12.C.xix	<i>s. xiiiⁱⁿ</i>
[N] #*Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute. MS 447	<i>s. xiii²</i>
[M] #*New York, Pierpont Morgan Library. MS 81	<i>s. xii^{ex}</i>
[P] *St Petersburg, National Library of Russia. MS Q.v.V.1	<i>s. xii^{ex}</i>

The primary feature that scholars use to identify Transitional bestiaries is the division of the text into two parts, the first of which shows similarities to the B-Is Laud-Type text and the second to those Second Family chapters which are not found in the B-Is manuscripts.⁴⁰⁸ According to Clark, ‘the first is essentially a B-Is text of the Laud type, the Second and much longer part has chapters for animals that are also in the Second Family bestiary, sometimes with texts as in the latter.’⁴⁰⁹ Such a description is somewhat misleading as textual analysis will demonstrate that the structure of the Transitional manuscripts mentioned here is more complicated and more akin to that of the Second Family, with its divisions into different types of animals. The chapter order of the Transitional manuscripts does seem to imply a natural break between the Ostrich and Tiger chapters since those Beast chapters up to the Ostrich chapter are all also found in the B-Is (or *Physiologus*, depending on which source they are said to follow). Those that immediately follow it are only found in the Second Family.⁴¹⁰ But it is also true that the chapters in the sections on Birds and Fish are also divided into those that are found in the B-Is and those that are only in the Second Family; the chapters on Serpents are not so neatly divided. Therefore it seems that a more accurate description would be to state that in the Transitional manuscripts, the animals are divided first according to type (Beasts, Birds, Fish, Serpents, Worms, Humans, Trees) and the chapters within the larger divisions are usually divided according to their source.⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁸ This was first described by McCulloch, *Latin and French*, p. 33.

⁴⁰⁹ Clark, *Second-Family*, p. 11.

⁴¹⁰ See Appendix 18.

⁴¹¹ These are the same divisions found in the Second Family, although the Second Family places Fish after Worms, and the Beasts are further grouped into Wild Beasts, Domestic Animals, and Small Animals. According to White, these divisions in the Transitional manuscripts are based on the divisions found in the *Etymologiae*. This is broadly true, but it should be noted that the Second Family chapter order follows that of the *Etymologiae* more closely. White, *Northumberland*, p. 8.

There are also five lesser-known English manuscripts that have been classified as Transitional.⁴¹² Two of these, which I do not discuss further, are ‘marginal bestiaries,’ so-called because they contain a series of animal illustrations that follow a bestiary order but are found in the margins of a Psalter.⁴¹³ Three others are relevant to my analysis of the relationship between the Transitional and Second Family manuscripts:

[GC] *Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College Library. MS 384/604	<i>s. xiii^{ex}</i>
[TR] *Cambridge, Trinity College Library. MS R.14.9 ⁴¹⁴	<i>s. xiii²</i>
[V] London, British Library. MS Cotton Vesp.E.10 ⁴¹⁵	<i>s. xiii^{ex} - s. xivⁱⁿ</i>

GC was previously classified as a Second Family manuscript but Clark places it amongst the Transitional manuscripts in her Second Family edition because the chapter order is Transitional, rather than Second Family. However, Clark also describes the order in GC as ‘eccentric.’ This is not strictly true, because, as shown in Appendix 18, the order in GC shows similarities in chapter order to both P and V.⁴¹⁶ However, I have

⁴¹² Clark, *Second-Family*, p. 260.

⁴¹³ The marginal bestiaries are Munich, Staatsbibliothek MS gall. 16 (1300-1310) and BL MS Royal 2.B.vii (1310-1320). The Munich text is more commonly known as the ‘Isabella Psalter’ and is digitised at <http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0005/bsb00056556/images/> (accessed 22.1.12). The Royal manuscript is known as the ‘Queen Mary Psalter’ and images of it are available at <http://prodigi.bl.uk/illcat/record.asp?MSID=6467&CollID=16&NStart=20207> (accessed 22.1.12). See Debra Hassig, ‘Marginal Bestiaries’, in L.A.J. Houwen (ed.) *Animals and the Symbolic in Mediaeval Art and Literature. Mediaevalia Groningana 20* (Groningen, 1997), pp. 171-188 for an analysis of marginal bestiaries.

⁴¹⁴ The chapter order in TC is clearly divided between an initial Laud-type B-Is and a Second Family text, except for the Ass and Monoceros chapters found in the first half. The order here is different to that in the other Transitional texts; a comparison to its potential sources is beyond the scope of this thesis but such an exercise would determine whether the manuscript contains the chapters as found in the Transitional text, or in the presumed B-Is and Second Family sources. Interestingly, some of the illustrations in TC show similarities with those in the H version, e.g. the wolf biting its front foot in punishment for stepping on a branch. Clark describes this scene as characteristic of the Transitional text but this is not true; this scene is not found in any of the other manuscripts identified as Transitional. Clark, *Second-Family*, p. 49.

⁴¹⁵ This is, to date, the only known example of an unillustrated Transitional text. The manuscript is briefly mentioned in Clark, *Second-Family*, n. 47, p. 12, but has received scant attention elsewhere.

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.* Shared characteristics between all P, V, and GC include the omission of prefatory material and *Megacosmos* extracts; the Dragon and Asp follow the Panther and Weasel respectively; the Stork chapter is found after the Parrot rather than after the Quail. Shared characteristics between V and GC include the omission of the Leucrota and Eagle chapters, the placement of the Boar with the Domestic Animals; after the Bees chapter, the GC text skips V’s ‘Adam naming the animals’ chapter and goes to the Amos, *De Avibus III*, *Serra*, *Aspidochelone*, and Eagle chapters before the B-Is Birds section; placement of the Swan chapter after the Peredixion Tree; the omission of the entire separate section on Fish and the opening Dragon chapter in the Serpents section; and shares the exact order of chapters in the Serpents section. Unfortunately the GC manuscript also appears to be missing those folios containing the Aulalops – Onager chapters; the Tiger, Pard, Lynx, and Griffin chapters; part of the Elephant chapter; part of the Asp chapter, the *Dipsa*, Haem/Asp, and the beginning of the Salamander chapter. GC ends with the complete chapter on the Nature of Serpents (rather than V’s truncated version) and the section on Worms which is not in V or P, indicating that the compiler likely had access to another Transitional manuscript.

not carried out a sufficiently detailed textual comparison between the three to be able to ascertain the exact relationships between the three. It is likely though, that either V or the GC manuscript copied a P-type text. This brief description of the Transitional manuscripts highlights the complexity of the relationships between the Transitional and Second Family texts. Therefore, I will describe in some detail the current theories regarding this before explaining the results of my own research.

7.2 Current Theories Regarding Transitional and Second Family Manuscripts

The ‘Transitional’ label was first used by McCulloch because she thought the manuscripts shared characteristics of both the First and Second-Families. The foremost research questions naturally arising from such a description are 1) Which of the First Family texts (if any) were used as sources for the Transitional text, and 2) What is the relationship between the Transitional and Second Families? According to McCulloch the first twenty-four to forty chapters follow the order and text of L or S while the remaining ones ‘continue with sections taken from Isidore’s *Etymologiae*.’⁴¹⁷ More recently, researchers have taken pains to stress that the term ‘Transitional’ is not entirely accurate (although still used) because of the implied progression from the First to the Second Family. According to Baxter, McCulloch’s ‘seductive model of development ... relies on the assumption that the ...[Transitional manuscripts] preceded the Second Family textually.’ When a model of development is based on a transition (for want of a better word) from one model to another, then one must explain the differences between the two models and how you arrive at one from the other.’⁴¹⁸ Strictly speaking, McCulloch’s description of the Transitional group seems to refer to a transition *from* the original B-Is text to something different, rather than a transition *to* the Second Family. However, as the ‘something different’ that the B-Is text becomes shows such similarities to the Second Family, it is not surprising that the term ‘Transitional’ is interpreted to mean an intermediary step on the way to the Second Family.⁴¹⁹

The illustrations, however, are completely different from those in the other Transitional manuscripts. Their style and the flat use of colour (especially with the blocks of different colours used on the Panther and various Serpents) is more similar to French bestiaries. This may be another example of the evident independence between text and illustrations, discussed below, and it certainly highlights the need for further research.

⁴¹⁷ McCulloch, *Latin and French*, pp. 33-34.

⁴¹⁸ Baxter, *Users*, p. 105.

⁴¹⁹ Clark’s statement that the Transitional group comes between the First and Second Families ‘but not necessarily in a developmental sequence’ acknowledges this. Clark, *Second-Family*, p. 48.

Clark claims that the compiler of the Transitional version used a Laud-type text on the basis of an examination of chapter material.⁴²⁰ Baxter also did not see McCulloch's Transitional Group as representing an intermediary stage in a linear progression between the First and Second Families. Instead, he focused on the textual consistency within the group at a time when other bestiary types underwent 'considerable reorganisation.' Contrary to Clark, Baxter claims that the chapter order and text show that most of these manuscripts were derived from a model akin to S and not L.⁴²¹ White's description of the sources for the Northumberland Bestiary (also Transitional) is not particularly clear but like Baxter she seems to think that the Transitional text is closer to an Stowe-type B-Is than a Laud-type.⁴²² Other sources referred to are the B and Y *Physiologus*, Hrabanus Maurus' *De rerum naturis*, and *De bestiis*; potential problems with these will be examined below.⁴²³ That scholars have claimed such a variety of sources for the Transitional versions indicates the need for continuing research into this area and for the basis of these arguments to be re-evaluated.

As mentioned above, McCulloch did not make any assumptions about whether the Transitional text was a source for the Second Family or about relationships between the Transitional manuscripts, but current opinions vary depending on what date one assigns to the earliest appearance of both texts. Muratova's conclusion, after a study of both the illustrations and text, was that the two versions, the chapters of which became a '*véritable conglomérat de citations*', were created roughly simultaneously.⁴²⁴ She did not make any definitive conclusions regarding the primacy of either version because of her hypothesis that they were created from shared and unique sources, in different (although perhaps geographically close) centres, in the same intellectual environment.⁴²⁵ Muratova's proposal that P is the earliest Transitional manuscript from around 1180, followed closely by M in 1187, therefore means that the Second Family would have

⁴²⁰ Clark, *Second-Family*, 12.

⁴²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 102-105.

⁴²² White, *Northumberland*, p. 11.

⁴²³ Xenia Muratova, 'Aspects de la transmission textuelle et picturale des manuscrits des bestiaires anglais à la fin du XII^e et au début du XIII^e siècle' in *Comprendre et maîtriser la nature au Moyen Age: Mélanges d'histoire des sciences offerts à Guy Beaujouan* (Geneva, 1994), p. 583 and White, *Northumberland*, pp. 8 and 11.

⁴²⁴ Muratova, 'Aspects', p. 583.

⁴²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 587.

been developed around 1180 as well.⁴²⁶ This would mean that MS Add. 11283, also dated 1180, could potentially be the first Second Family manuscript.

Clark believed that the Second Family text was developed around the mid-twelfth century, although this is based on circumstantial evidence rather than surviving manuscripts, since there are no surviving Second Family manuscripts that are older than Add. 11283. She explains the duplication of chapters between the Second and Transitional texts through the use of a shared model, although she makes no judgement as to whether this model is the mid-twelfth-century Second Family text she alludes to or even which chapters might be from this model.⁴²⁷ Clark also dates P to around the same time as M, although she believed that M is the older manuscript and that the Second Family influenced its composition.⁴²⁸ But Clark also admits that the shared chapters between the two versions show ‘no consistent pattern’ so it is not possible to prove that one version copied the other.⁴²⁹

Baxter accepts that P was written earlier than M but does not think it was the first bestiary ‘of this type’ to be produced.⁴³⁰ It is not clear whether he refers to the P-type text rather than M, or if he is referring more generically to the mixture of B-Is chapters and Second Family-type chapters. Unlike Muratova and Clark, Baxter was of the opinion that the BL MS Add. 11283 text used the P text as a source, rather than M or separate other sources.⁴³¹ (Although his earlier statement is that as the shared chapters in Transitional and Second Family texts were separately derived from common sources, so there was not a common source for the two versions).⁴³² But he is also quick to point out that the Second Family chapter order is not helpful in assigning

⁴²⁶ Xenia Muratova, ‘Les Manuscrits-frères: un aspect particulier de la production des bestiaires enluminés en Angleterre à la fin du XII^e siècle’, in Xavier Barral i Altet (ed.) *Artistes, artisans et production artistique au Moyen Age, III. Fabrication et consommation de l'oeuvre. Actes du Colloque International de Rennes* (Paris, 1990), p. 76.

⁴²⁷ ‘Part II ... contains a few mammals, but mostly birds, serpents, worms, and fishes, some from the B-Isidore, others from Isidore’s *Etymologiae*, Saint Ambrose, Solinus, and very probably a model shared with the Second-family version.’ Clark, *Second-Family*, p. 48. This is somewhat ambiguous, since the chapters duplicated between the two versions are those from the *Etymologiae*, Ambrose’s *Hexameron*, and Solinus’ *Collectanea*, so presumably those chapters would be the ones in the shared model.

⁴²⁸ ‘The overall impression ... is that the compiler was hesitant to abandon his B-Isidore base entirely, but having perhaps encountered a Second-family text with its clear organisation, sought to enhance his new bestiary along similar, although less fully systematic lines.’ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁰ Baxter, *Users*, p. 100.

⁴³¹ Baxter, *Users*, p. 132.

⁴³² *Ibid.*, p. 105.

source/copy status to the Transitional and Second Family texts.⁴³³ White does not discuss the relationship between the Transitional and Second Family texts in her edition of N.

Unfortunately, it is also difficult to ascertain primacy amongst the Transitional manuscripts themselves. There are few consistencies in the relationships between them. As mentioned above, opinions vary as to whether P or M was written first. Muratova's study of P and M led her to label them as '*manuscripts-frères*' because of their similarities in illustrations.⁴³⁴ While she ascribes the similarities in illustrations to the use of a common model, Muratova also uses the differences in text between the two manuscripts as evidence that neither of the manuscripts copied one another but was created independently from the same sources. This leads to an emphasis on the non-reliance of the illustrations on the text; the same cycle of illustrations was used for different textual versions.⁴³⁵ Baxter clarified the relationships between the Transitional manuscripts by pointing out that 'P seems to stand on its own' textually while RC, M, N are all closer to one another.⁴³⁶ RC is a direct copy of M,⁴³⁷ but apart from this in terms of illustrations, M is closer to P and N is closer to RC.⁴³⁸ So it seems that Muratova's comments about the relative independence of the illustrations from the text are borne out.

It may be most likely that P is either the first, or the earliest surviving, Transitional manuscript, M copied either P's illustrations or else the source used by P; RC is quite close to being an exact copy of M's text and illustrations; and N copied RC's illustrations, if not the text. The textual situation is somewhat further complicated by the fact that the text of L is closer to that of the Second Family as exemplified by BL MS Add. 11283, while that of N shares many variations with the text of such manuscripts as Bodl. MS Ashmole 1511 and Oxford, St John's College Library MS 61. In addition, the illustrations of N show similarities with MS Ashmole 1511 and the Aberdeen Bestiary. All of these findings demonstrate the close links between the Transitional manuscripts themselves, and between them and the Second Family

⁴³³ Ibid., p. 132.

⁴³⁴ Muratova, '*Manuscripts-frères*', pp. 69-70.

⁴³⁵ Ibid., pp. 77-78.

⁴³⁶ Baxter, *Users*, p. 114.

⁴³⁷ Ibid., p. 111.

⁴³⁸ Ibid., p. 124.

manuscripts.⁴³⁹ Perhaps another reason for the confusion between various scholars' conclusions is the difference between discussing relationships between versions and those between specific surviving manuscripts. Most, as mentioned above, are happy to conclude that the surviving manuscripts are not the first examples of the text and while this is certainly possible, it throws up uncertainties about the relationship between the two versions when conclusions based on the study of existing manuscripts do not match those based on the existence of earlier manuscripts we no longer have. I have already alluded to those texts that have been said to be sources for the Transitional and Second Family versions, I will now analyse in greater detail the possibilities that these texts were indeed sources.⁴⁴⁰ The results of my analysis are summarised in table-form Appendix 18, where I compare the chapter orders of the Transitional manuscripts with the Second Family, *Etymologiae*, and Laud- and Stowe-type B-Is texts. I also indicate where the text in the Transitional manuscripts corresponds to these sources. Part Three contains more detailed explanations of the sources used for those Transitional chapters which are also found in the B-Is texts.

7.3 Possible Sources: The *Physiologus* + The *Etymologiae* or a B-Is Text?

A certain amount of confusion between these two options is not surprising since the B-Is text is a combination of the *Physiologus* and *Etymologiae* texts, but there are still enough textual differences between them to make it possible to discern which source was used. Muratova and White have been the strongest proponents for the use of the *Physiologus* and *Etymologiae* as separate sources. According to Muratova, *Physiologus* 'matériel' was used, from the B version for the Antelope, Unicorn, Onager, Siren, Ibis, *Caladrius*, Partridge, and *Lapides igniferi* chapters, and from the Y version for the Elephant, Hoopoe, Ant, Serpent, and Peredixion Tree chapters. The *Physiologus* material in the Transitional chapters on the stag and hedgehog has been replaced by the texts of the *Etymologiae*, Solinus' *Collectanea rerum mirabilium*, Ambrose' *Hexameron*, and others. In addition, passages from the *Hexameron* have been added to the *Physiologus* material included in the Second Family chapters on the elephant, turtledove, and phoenix.⁴⁴¹ Regarding differences between Transitional manuscripts,

⁴³⁹ See Appendix 3. for a diagrammatic representation of the relationships between different Transitional and Second Family manuscripts.

⁴⁴⁰ See Appendix 18. for a list of the sources for each chapter in the different Transitional manuscripts.

⁴⁴¹ Muratova, 'Aspects', pp. 584-586.

Muratova identifies variations between selected chapters in P and M (Lion, Siren, *Serra*) but these are not attributed to either the *Physiologus* or B-Is text. The same sources are listed for each chapter, albeit with several inclusions of ‘*Auteur non identifié*’.⁴⁴²

One of the problems with White’s analysis, and this is seen in her discussion of other types of sources as well, is the ambiguity between texts that share the same information but which are not thought to show an exemplar-copy relationship, and those texts that both share the same information and have an exemplar-copy relationship.⁴⁴³ Therefore, in her edition she references all of the sources that contain specific lore or moralisations but makes no statements about which of these might be the source.⁴⁴⁴ For example, she does not recognise any intermediate steps between the *Physiologus* B text and N.⁴⁴⁵ However, my research reveals that it is the B-Is text that was used in the composition of the Transitional text and not separate *Physiologus* B and Isidore texts.

The importance of this distinction between the two options described above is made clear in White’s confusion over the hedgehog. She claims that ‘the hedgehog (*herinacius*) and porcupine (*ericius*) are distinct creatures in N, though considered the same creature in some texts.’⁴⁴⁶ White does not make clear why she thinks that the two are separate creatures in the Transitional text as there are no distinctions made in the text between both creatures, i.e. there are no text or line breaks, or coloured letters, to indicate a new creature. The text found in the Transitional manuscripts corresponds to that found in the B-Is Laud-type manuscripts; there are sufficient differences between the *Etymologiae* and *Physiologus* texts that are shared by the Laud-type B-Is and the Transitional texts to indicate that the Transitional text was not independently derived

⁴⁴² Muratova, ‘Manuscripts-frères’, p. 77.

⁴⁴³ It is, of course, possible for one text to have been paraphrased or to otherwise influence the composition of another. However, in cases where the wording is clearly more similar between two texts, I take that to mean that the two are more likely to have an exemplar-copy relationship even if the same information is found in other texts.

⁴⁴⁴ This is seen in her inclusion of Theobald’s *Physiologus* text in the notes to her edition of N because it was the ‘most popular’ of the metrical versions, even though she also acknowledges that it was most widely used in Central and Southern Europe. White, *Northumberland*, n. 30., p. 5. Theobald’s text does not seem to have been popular in England. Conversely, White does not include reference to the DC version of the *Physiologus* because it ‘was not popular in England.’ *Ibid.*, n. 40, p. 8.

⁴⁴⁵ ‘As there is no intermediate stage extant, these manuscripts (i.e. the *Physiologus* manuscripts) may be considered the direct parents of the twelfth-century bestiary. Consequently, I have cited the published Bern 318 in the notes, where there are correlations with N.’ White, *Northumberland*, p. 5. Additionally, ‘the English-Latin bestiary of the twelfth and thirteenth century derives from the Latin *Physiologus*, versio B, in thirty-six chapters.’ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, n. 22, p. 153.

from separate sources. In addition, the Hedgehog chapter in the Second Family also uses the title ‘*De ericio.*’ In the *Etymologiae*, the animal *ericius* (12.3.7) is clearly a hedgehog and is found in the section on Small Animals. Isidore also has a chapter on the porcupine, but it is called the *histris* (*Etymologiae* 12.2.35) and is found in the section on Beasts. It does not seem that *ericius* was ever the word for porcupine, as even in Thomas of Cantimpré’s Encyclopaedia, chapter 39 on the hedgehog is entitled ‘*Erinacius vel ericius*’ and chapter 52 on the porcupine is entitled ‘*Istris vel porcus spinosus.*’⁴⁴⁷ I was unable to find any chapters in the Transitional text that were textually closer to the *Physiologus* B, Y, or the *Etymologiae* than they were to a B-Is version or the Second Family version. Therefore, the next question is whether the B-Is text used was of a Laud-type or Stowe-type.

7.4 Possible Sources: A Laud-type or Stowe-type B-Is Text?

It is largely Clark and Baxter who disagree on which sort of B-Is text the Transitional version was based upon, and this refers to both the order and content of the chapters. According to Baxter, the Transitional version is ‘textually dependent’ on the Stowe-type, while Clark states that the mammals follow ‘more or less’ the Laud-type order.⁴⁴⁸ Unfortunately, the Transitional text shows some similarities in both order and chapter content to both the Stowe-type and Laud-type texts, so it may be that both of these types of B-Is texts were consulted. Appendix 18 compares the chapter order of the Transitional text with the Laud- and Stowe-type texts and shows which Transitional chapters are more similar to the Laud- or Stowe-type texts, and which share similarities with both. In the matter of chapter order, the first seven chapters in the Transitional text do not *exactly* follow the order of the Stowe-type text, Baxter claimed they do.⁴⁴⁹ However, after this, there are several clusters of chapters that are more similar in order to the Laud-type text. This comparison is somewhat complicated by the fact that in the Transitional manuscripts the B-Is Birds have been moved to the Birds section. As described in 4.2 above, the Birds in the Stowe-type text have been moved to the end of the manuscript although the order of them has not been altered. The Transitional manuscripts retain this order of Birds, apart from the Eagle which has been moved from between the Owl and Phoenix, to the head of the Birds section. Therefore, the order of

⁴⁴⁷ Boese, *Thomas Cantimpratensis*, p. 101

⁴⁴⁸ Baxter, *Users*, p. 105; Clark, *Second-Family*, p. 48.

⁴⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

the Bird chapters is the same in both the Laud and Stowe-type texts; this cannot be used to distinguish between the two potential sources.

Even the very wording of the Transitional chapters originating in a B-Is text often shows similarities to both the Stowe- and Laud-type.⁴⁵⁰ And the situation is further complicated by the fact that P's text is often closer to other texts, whether they are Second Family, Laud-type, or Stowe-type B-Is. There are several instances where the text in P (and V) is closer to one version of the chapter and N, RC, and M are closer to another version of the chapter. For example, as seen in Appendix 18, the Wolf chapter in P is closer to the Stowe text and the texts in N, RC, and M are closer to the Second Family text. And P's chapter on the eagle is the same as that in the Second Family, while the Eagle chapter in M and RC (the folios with this chapter on it are missing from the N manuscript) contains similarities to both the Laud and Stowe-type B-Is texts. Baxter used the Lion chapter as evidence of the dependence of the Transitional text on the Stowe-type text, but the Antelope chapter immediately following it is taken from the Laud-type text.⁴⁵¹ Clark identified a manuscript with the same text as CC22 (but not S) as the likely source for the Wolf chapter in the Second Family while the Second Family Eagle chapter uses sources beside the B-Is text.⁴⁵² A possible solution to these complex exemplar-source relationships is that the compiler of the Transitional texts used both the Laud and Stowe-type texts as exemplars. Neither the chapter order nor the contents of the Transitional family text are exact copies of the Laud or Stowe-type of B-Is text.

7.5 Possible Sources: *De bestiis et aliis rebus* or H?

I have already discussed the unreliability of *De bestiis* as a representation of a manuscript source in the section on the H bestiary, but it has also been linked to the Transitional manuscripts. Muratova did acknowledge that *De bestiis* is a collection of texts from various sources but thought it could still be treated as a single text due to the possibility that, during the compilation of the sources, an unknown author 'developed' their moralisations.⁴⁵³ Because of this, she refers to it in her description of the use of *Physiologus* B material in the Transitional texts. Muratova notes similarities between

⁴⁵⁰ See Part Three for a chapter-by-chapter description of this.

⁴⁵¹ Baxter, *Users*, pp. 108-109.

⁴⁵² Clark, *Second-Family*, pp. 142-145 (Wolf), 166-167 (Eagle).

⁴⁵³ Muratova, 'Aspects', p. 581.

what she called ‘H II’, i.e. the *De bestiis* text, in the Lion, Ape, Fox, Panther, Wild Goat, and Whale chapters; these are all chapters whose texts are similar to those found in the Second Family, and for whom Clark identified CC22 as a source for the text. The chapters for which Muratova noted significant differences between ‘H II’ and the Transitional text, such as Beaver and Ostrich, are those which I have identified as containing the Laud-type B-Is text.⁴⁵⁴ Once again, it is the case that where similarities exist between *De bestiis* and the Transitional text, it is because both of these relied on the same sources, and where there are differences it is due to their reliance on different sources.

White does not mention a Stowe-type B-Is text as a potential source for the Transitional text, but rather has proposed that the Transitional text is a combination of the H and Second Family bestiaries.⁴⁵⁵ She discounts Clark’s assertion that the texts in *De bestiis* have been so greatly edited that it is difficult or impossible to be sure of their manuscript sources.⁴⁵⁶ White’s use of *De bestiis* is problematic because she treats it in the same manner as a manuscript text and refers to it as being of the twelfth and thirteenth century; it is not clear whether she means that this particular combination of texts was found in that period or whether the separate texts of which it consists are from that period.⁴⁵⁷ White’s theory is that N follows the H bestiary version from *De bestiis* Book 2, from the Lion to the *Lapides igniferi*, and that ‘The variations within the chapters and in their order are minor.’⁴⁵⁸ However, the order of the B-Is chapters in N is closer to that of S (a version of which was likely used by H) than to H, which would make more sense as a source since there are no copies of the H bestiary in England.

The combination of Second and First Family texts may be one reason that White focuses on *De bestiis* as a source for the Transitional text. She also mentions several

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 584.

⁴⁵⁵ ‘A useful comparison text, *De bestiis* underscores the distinct characters of the H and the second family bestiaries, which are uniquely combined in N.’ White, *Northumberland*, p. 11.

⁴⁵⁶ White claims there are only ‘two instances’ where *De bestiis* differed from the manuscripts, but I was able to find several additions or changed chapters after even a brief comparison of *De bestiis* with H manuscripts: there is extra text added at the end of the Hedgehog chapter, at the end of the Ape chapter, at the beginning and end of the Viper chapter, the end of the Panther chapter, the Asp chapter is longer and quite different, the *Caladrius* chapter is different, the Siren and Onocentaur chapter has been split, the *Adamant* chapter has extra text added, and the end of the Whale chapter is different. Ibid., pp. 11-12.

⁴⁵⁷ Additionally, White describes book III as a ‘twelfth-century English-Latin second family bestiary’ and does not make it clear whether she refers to it as English because the Second Family was developed in England, or because the manuscript used for its text was English. Ibid., p. 11.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid.

Transitional chapters that are not found in the *Physiologus* B (Crocodile, Ibex, Dog, Wolf, Viper, Lizard, and Dragon) but are found in H. However, as explained previously in Chapters 3.3 and 6.1, these appear originally in the Stowe-type text, with the exception of the Viper and Lizard chapters, and the H text for these chapters is not the same as that which is found in the Transitional text.⁴⁵⁹ As *De bestiis* is clearly a much later production, and the Transitional text for the First Family chapters is closer to other sources, the *De bestiis* text cannot be used as a source for the Transitional Family. The Second Family chapters in *De bestiis* follow the Second Family order, as expected, while the analogous chapters in the Transitional manuscripts are in their own order. Thus, White's thesis that *De bestiis* is a 'useful comparison text' is flawed. There are no manuscript examples of this exact text, and using it as such leads her to erroneously suppose that the N text results from a combination of H and the Second Family texts.⁴⁶⁰ This highlights the question of the exact relationship between the Transitional and Second Family texts, and necessitates a comparison of the structure of the two versions.

7.6 Structure of the Transitional Text

Appendix 18 contains a list of the chapters found in the Transitional manuscripts, in comparison with the chapters found in the Second Family, Laud- and Stowe-type B-Is, and *Etymologiae*. One of the hallmarks of the Transitional text is the prefatory material at the beginning, taken from several sources, including the Genesis text and Honorius of Autun's *Imago Mundi*. However, this prefatory material is not identical in each Transitional manuscript. In particular, P is missing the Honorius extracts on the creation of the world; it is unclear whether these texts were originally part of the manuscript and have since gone missing, or if they were never there. V contains no prefatory material at all. The prefatory material found at the beginning of the Transitional texts seems to be divided according to source, beginning with the Honorius extracts, followed by those from Genesis and the *Etymologiae*, and finishing with anonymous exhortatory texts. This separation of texts according to source is seen throughout the Transitional version.

There are certain Second Family manuscripts that also contain Genesis extracts at the beginning, although none also contain the Honorius texts. It may be significant that those Second Family manuscripts that show the greatest similarity to the

⁴⁵⁹ See the relevant chapters in Part Three.

⁴⁶⁰ White, *Northumberland*, p. 12.

Transitional texts include these extracts. The *Etymologiae* extracts are not taken from continuous sections or topics, and in the Second Family manuscripts they are not found at the beginning of the text but are found later, either just before the Domestic Animals or among the Birds. The mini-sermon beginning ‘*Quotiescumque...*’ is found in both the Second Family and Transitional Manuscripts. The Transitional manuscripts include another paragraph beginning ‘*Ergo agite nunc fratres*’ that is not in the P manuscript or in the Second Family. This is, therefore, an example of the closeness of P to some Second Family manuscripts.

The Transitional text then contains a series of chapters on Wild Beasts and Domestic Animals. The first forty-nine of these are those that are found in the First Family as well as the Second.⁴⁶¹ These chapters are all the Beast chapters, including *Lapides igniferi*, from the B-Is texts. The Bird chapters, including the Peredixion Tree and Amos chapters, have all been moved to the birds section. As discussed in Chapter 7.4 above, most of the Transitional chapters show similarities with both Laud and Stowe-type texts, although some of these also show similarities with Second Family texts. However, these are for those chapters where the Second Family text has used the B-Is text. This is similar to the situation with the H text in that the Birds have largely been removed, and this may be one reason why White tries to link the H text with the Transitional text. Such a similarity in chapter arrangement is probably down to two separate instances of the same process; it is not inconceivable that more than one author or organiser would consider separating the Beasts and Birds, especially if, in the case of *De bestiis* and H, the Aviary text is also present.

As seen in Appendix 18, there do not seem to be any patterns regarding which chapters follow which sources. There are differences between P and the other Transitional manuscripts, and P is generally closer to the B-Is source than M, RC, N. In some, but not all, of those manuscripts where M, RC, N are closer to the Second Family text, P (and V) are closer to the B-Is text. It is also generally the case that P is closer to the Second Family text than M, RC, or N in those cases where the two versions show shared texts. For example, P contains the separate Dragon chapter immediately after the Panther, whereas in M, RC, N and the Second Family the Dragon chapter has instead been included with the other Serpent chapters (V does not have a separate Dragon

⁴⁶¹ Note that due to differences in chapter divisions, White counts fifty-nine chapters on beasts. White, *Northumberland*, pp. 28-29.

chapter). In M, RC, and N the Asp has also been moved to the Serpents section instead of appearing directly after the Weasel as in the B-Is text.

After these chapters originating in the B-Is texts, the Transitional manuscripts then contain a series of beast chapters that are not in the B-Is texts, but are also in the Second Family manuscripts. As mentioned above, because there are multiple instances where the Second Family and Transitional manuscripts share variations that are not in their sources, it is likely that one of these two versions copied the other. It should be noted that in the Second family, the division between wild and domestic creatures, according to classification system found in the *Etymologiae*, is followed more rigorously⁴⁶².

Two series of Bird chapters follow the Beasts. The first series in the Transitional manuscripts begins with the Eagle chapter, which is taken from the B-Is texts. This is then followed by approximately twenty-one chapters that contain the same texts as those in the Second Family. These are all Birds (albeit including the Bat, Bee, and a chapter on Eggs) that are not found in the B-Is text. This is followed by a series of Bird chapters which are found in both the B-Is texts and the Second Family. Interestingly, those Second Family chapters for those birds that are found in both the Second Family and the Transitional are taken from a different B-Is or *Physiologus* source.⁴⁶³ Once again, the Second Family and Transitional manuscripts contain the same text for those chapters that are not found in the B-Is text, but the B-Is texts taken from different sources. The Transitional text also places the Amos and Peredixion Tree chapters with the rest of the B-Is chapters, while the Second Family text does not include the Amos chapter and places the Peredixion Tree after the Dove, where it occurs in the B-Is text.

The next three sections on Serpents, Worms, and Fish are found in that order in both the *Etymologiae* and the Second Family, but the Transitional order is Fish, Serpents, and Worms. In the case of the Fish chapters, the Second Family seems to be based largely on the order found in the *Etymologiae*, beginning with the initial Introductory section, although it does not contain all of the fish found in the *Etymologiae*. The Transitional text begins with the *Sar*, presumably because it is

⁴⁶² For example, the Boar is found amongst the domestic animals and the Leucrota is found amongst the wild animals.

⁴⁶³ Cf. the Hoopoe and Phoenix chapters in Appendix 18.

conflated with *Serra*. The *Aspidochelone* and *Cetus* chapters are also placed at the beginning of the Transitional Fish section, perhaps because these are the largest fish or because they come from the B-Is type source.⁴⁶⁴ It should be noted that the Transitional text includes some Isidore extracts that are not found in the Second Family.⁴⁶⁵ There are several significant variations in P's section on Fish. A chapter on the Sea Pigs is included at the beginning, and this is not found in the other Transitional manuscripts. The *Aspidochelone* is taken from a different source, and the text in the rather long chapter on Various Kinds of Fish, taken from Ambrose's *Hexameron*, is both incomplete and rearranged. This is shown in Appendix 19, where I compare the structure of the Various Kinds of Fish chapters in P and the Second Family. This last variation makes it unlikely that any of the Second Family manuscripts used P as a source, unless the error was recognised and rectified.⁴⁶⁶

The section on Serpents varies between the Transitional manuscripts more so than the other sections. As shown in Appendix 18, it contains repetitions of texts and does not appear to be particularly well-planned whereas the chapters in the Second Family follow the Isidorean order quite closely. The chapters found only in the B-Is texts have not been grouped together as in the other sections. For example, the Transitional text contains a unique chapter that begins with a repeat of the *Etymologiae* text on the *Haemorrois* serpent that is joined to the CC22-type Asp chapter. Both the *Scitalis* and Lizard chapters, composed entirely of extracts from the *Etymologiae*, are repeated in the Transitional version, although the second Lizard chapter is missing part of the text.⁴⁶⁷ The Transitional and Second Families contain the same chapters on the *Hydrus*, *Hydra*, and Crocodile. However, these are part of the same chapter in the Second Family while the Transitional text is divided so that one chapter describes the *Hydrus* and *Hydra* and the second describes the enmity between the hydrus and crocodile.

⁴⁶⁴ The same rationale may be seen in the Serpents section below where the Second Family begins with the Introduction to Serpents taken from the *Etymologiae*, while the Transitional begins with the Dragon which is the greatest serpent and whose text is also taken from the B-Is CC22-type text.

⁴⁶⁵ Isidore 12.6.4-6, and a section on Waters (13.12.1-4, 13.13.1-8).

⁴⁶⁶ Clark's edition does not contain a critical text of the serpents, worms, or fish sections. It is not known whether there are any Second Family manuscripts that also contain this mixed-up version of the chapter as the comparisons necessary to determine this are beyond the scope of this thesis. However, she does not mention these variations in her catalogue of Second Family manuscripts.

⁴⁶⁷ The first Lizard chapter contains *Etymologiae* 12.4.34-35 and the second, 12.4.34.

Neither P nor V contain the remainder of the chapters on Worms, Trees, or Humans. In both the Transitional and Second Family these sections consist entirely of extracts from the *Etymologiae*, and both the Transitional and Second Family share the same reordering of text and some of the same omissions. The Transitional text places the text on Humans before that on Trees, whereas this order is reversed in the Second Family. There are instances where the Transitional and Second Family share variations from the *Etymologiae*, and there are instances where either the Transitional or Second Family share variations with the *Etymologiae*, variations that are not found in the other type of bestiary. Thus, it is difficult to use this as evidence of the primacy of either version. It is clear, however, that these sections were not independently derived from the *Etymologiae* because of the number of shared omissions and because of the addition of shared small additions of several words that are not in Isidore. Appendix 20 contains a comparison of the Second Family and Transitional texts on Worms, Trees, and Humans with their source text, the *Etymologiae*. This comparison demonstrates that both the Second Family and Transitional texts show unique and shared readings with the *Etymologiae* texts.

7.7 Is It Possible to Determine Primacy?

As described above, much of the recent research on the Transitional bestiaries has included attempts at establishing the primacy of either the Transitional or the Second Family text. Has my research added anything to the arguments made for either side? As I will demonstrate, my textual analysis shows that the relationship between the Transitional and Second Family texts appears to be reciprocal in nature. That is, the Transitional text influenced the Second Family text, and the Second Family text influenced the Transitional text. This is shown in Appendix 3,⁴⁶⁸ where the earliest Transitional text, which I have labelled the ‘St-Petersburg-type’ because it was first seen in P, influenced both the later Transitional texts (labelled Morgan-type after M), and those Second Family texts which I have labelled ‘Additional-type’ after the earliest Second Family manuscript, BL MS Add. 11283. In turn, the Additional-type text also influenced the Morgan-type text, and both of these influenced what I call the Ashmole-

⁴⁶⁸ The dates given for the Second Family ‘types’ in Appendix 3 refer to the dates of MSS Add. 11283 and Asmole 1511, rather than to the range of dates for surviving manuscripts of these types. This is because my argument deals with when these ‘types’ first appeared, rather than their later copies. In her catalogue of Second Family manuscripts, Clark makes some attempt to classify them according to their textual relationship. Clark, *Second-Family*, pp. 223-253.

type Second Family text after Bodl. MS Ashmole 1511.⁴⁶⁹ Appendix 21 contains a list of unique and shared readings in the Transitional and Second Family manuscripts that supports the above relationships between the various ‘types’ of Transitional and Second Family manuscripts. Thus, the relationship between the Transitional and Second Family texts is complex and reciprocal, rather than one-way. In the rest of this section I will highlight the textual evidence that supports this proposed relationship.

I will begin with a discussion of the chapter orders in the Transitional and Second Family texts, shown in Appendix 18. If one looks at the evidence gained from an examination of the chapter orders, it can generally be said that while the chapter order in the Second Family follows that in the *Etymologiae*, the chapter order of the Transitional text is based on the order of the B-Is texts (perhaps both the Laud and Stowe-type orders), groups the B-Is chapters together, and places the largest and most impressive member of each type of creature at the beginning of that section. Thus, the Second Family text appears more coherent and organised than that of the Transitional version. Such an analysis may be problematic, as the existence of multiple high-quality Transitional manuscripts indicates that the text was clearly used, although the unnecessary duplication of chapters still remains. In addition, the Transitional text often contains multiple texts on the same animal but from different sources.

The question remains whether this supports a Transitional version that was used by the Second Family compiler; whether it supports a Second Family version that was used by the Transitional compiler; or whether the non-B-Is chapters were taken from an independent source common to both the Transitional and Second Family. The dates of the remaining manuscripts are too similar to establish a clear primacy from this alone as both the earliest Second and Transitional manuscripts date from the late twelfth century.⁴⁷⁰ However, given the closeness of the dates for P and M, and since P shows more similarity to the Second Family text than M, RC, and N in those chapters that are shared between the two versions, I take this as evidence that P contains an earlier version of the Transitional text than M, RC, and N, particularly because these variations are instances where M, RC, and N are missing text that is present in P and the Second

⁴⁶⁹ The Ashmole type also includes extracts from Hugh of Fouillois’s *Aviary*.

⁴⁷⁰ It appears that the Second Family manuscripts that are closest to the Transitional ones are Oxford, St John’s College Library MS 61 and Bodl. MS Ashmole 1511. St John’s 61 has been dated to 1210-1230 and Ashmole 1511 has been dated to 1200-1210. P has been dated to 1175-1185, and BL MS Add. 11283 to is 1160-1180.

Family. In other words, it seems more likely that text from P would be omitted in M (RC and N are much later than M, as mentioned earlier) than that text would be added to M to make P. I am also assuming that the Second Family was composed at roughly the same time as the Transitional as there are too many unknowns involved in positing its creation in the mid-twelfth century, as Clark does.⁴⁷¹

I will first consider the possibility that those chapters in the Transitional and Second Family manuscripts that are not also found in the B-Is text were taken from a single, common source. Since it is not known if the Transitional and Second Family manuscripts we have are the earliest examples of either of these texts, we do not know if the chapters existed in an earlier manuscript, or whether this is their first appearance.⁴⁷² It is unlikely that they were originally part of another, independent work since the majority of the chapters referred to are not found in the B-Is text and the compiler seems to have taken reasonable care not to duplicate any of the chapters, indicating he planned them to complement the B-Is chapters.⁴⁷³ As well, there are no surviving copies of such a text that is not part of a bestiary. Therefore I think it likely that the non-B-Is chapters were first compiled in either the Transitional or Second Family text.

One way to determine whether the Transitional or Second Family came first is to determine the similarity of them to other texts, either the sources or each other. This is due to the theory that the text that is more similar to the sources will be the original one. This is not an inviolable rule, but its debatability is rather moot since both the Transitional and Second Family texts have shared and unique readings; there is no consistency in their relationship with the sources. Single-word variations between the Second Family and Transitional manuscripts and their sources are listed in Appendix 21, while Appendix 20 contains a comparison of the Second Family and Transitional chapters on Worms, Humans, and Trees to the source text in the *Etymologiae*. Interestingly, the most significant variations between the two versions is in the final sections on the Trees and Human Body. The Transitional text contains much longer extracts on Trees and shorter extracts on the Human Body, whilst the situation in the

⁴⁷¹ Clark, *Second Family*, p. 48.

⁴⁷² However, it is likely that P is not the earliest example of that text since it is closer to the Second Family text, yet contains significant copying errors in the Fish section that do not seem to be duplicated in the Second Family.

⁴⁷³ The only exception seems to be the Partridge which is found in two chapters in both the Transitional and Second Family.

Second Family is the opposite. But this contrast is only seen in M, RC, and N, since P (and V) do not contain any extracts on Humans or Trees. However, P's text also contains sections of individual chapters that are present in the Second Family (or B-Is text) but not in M, RC, or N.⁴⁷⁴

One potential solution to this is the theory that the P text was indeed written before either the Second Family or other Transitional manuscripts. Such a composition then influenced the Second Family compiler, who created a new arrangement of the chapters according to the order found in the *Etymologiae*, using alternate sources (albeit with similar information) for the B-Is chapters (although it was not specifically the P manuscript that was used here). The fact that M, RC, and N have more single variations in common with specific Second Family texts (along with prefatory similarities), and because they also have extracts on Trees and Humans added at the end, indicates that their compilers were influenced by the Second Family text, as well as by the earlier Transitional one. Clark has also proposed this, although in the context of M as the oldest Transitional manuscript.⁴⁷⁵ My proposed sequence of events takes greater account of the individual Transitional manuscripts' peculiarities and may be more in keeping with the evident complexity of the relationships between the two versions.

One further result is that the Transitional texts may indeed be viewed as a 'branch of the Second Family.'⁴⁷⁶ This is because of the similarity between the structures of the two versions. As Clark highlights, the majority of chapters in the Second Family are taken from other sources, making it a compilation rather than an original text. As with the Transitional text, the Second Family text may also be divided into those chapters that are found in the B-Is and *Physiologus* texts and those that are not. However, the B-Is order has been abandoned in favour of that of the *Etymologiae*, and thus the similarities between the Second and Transitional versions are less readily apparent. It may be emphasised here that in both the Transitional and Second Family versions the information in those chapters based on the B-Is texts is rarely exactly the same as that found in the source. Although some of the P chapters are copies of the Laud-type texts, many also show similarities to the wording in both the Laud and

⁴⁷⁴ This is seen in the Lion, Fox, Beaver, *Hydrus*, Siren, Panther, Ant, Ostrich, Basilisc, and *Haem/Asp*. See Part Three for a more detailed description of this.

⁴⁷⁵ Clark, *Second-Family*, p. 48.

⁴⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

Stowe-type texts and the information seems to have been somewhat re-worded and rephrased; this is also seen in the Second Family chapters based on the B-Is and *Physiologus* texts. Those chapters which are based on other sources are composed of large chunks of text which copied largely *verbatim* and placed after one another with minor connecting phrases added.

Thus, my analysis of the Second Family and Transitional texts has shown that the relationship between the two is not a simply a matter of one version copying or modifying the other. A close examination of their texts has shown that the earliest Transitional manuscripts, such as P and V, were influenced by both the Laud-type and Stowe-type of B-Is texts, and perhaps show the first appearance of those chapters analogous between them and the Second Family. The P-type text could have been a source for Transitional manuscripts such as M, RC, and N, and the Additional-type of Second Family text. However, M, RC, and N may also have been influenced by the Additional-type of Second Family text. Both the Morgan-type of Transitional text, and the Additional-type of Second Family text, then influenced the creation of later Second Family text of the Ashmole-type. And while in-depth analysis of Second Family manuscripts is not the primary concern of this thesis, it may be beneficial to give an example of the ways in which assumptions about the development of the bestiary can affect the interpretation of the text and its purpose.

7.8 Second Family Classification

Despite the recent edition of the Second Family, there is still much work to be done, both on the text and the manuscript tradition. In Part One I discussed how this lack of research affects ideas about the use of the Second Family manuscripts, and I will now briefly show how it affects ideas about the Second Family text and its creation. Susan Crane's 2008 article on the Second Family posits that the text 'work[s] out a world view by working out a classification of the world's creatures.'⁴⁷⁷ This classification is based on a taxonomy that is 'distinctly medieval,' and is not based on physical information alone.⁴⁷⁸ Indeed, Crane identifies seven ways that animals may be classified in the Second Family, the first of which is according to the description of creation in Genesis, as creatures of land, sea, or air, as flying or creeping creatures, as

⁴⁷⁷ Crane, 'Taxonomy', p. 6.

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 7. Crane also discusses the arbitrary nature of all taxonomies, and their basis on a specific worldview.

beasts, cattle, or reptiles.⁴⁷⁹ She also states that the animals in each section are generally arranged from larger to smaller, in terms of both physical size and ‘cultural prestige.’⁴⁸⁰

However, Crane does not completely take into account the influence of the *Etymologiae* or the Transitional text, as described above, on the arrangement of the Second Family text. Thus, she describes the stag’s classification as two-fold. It is a beast because that is how the *Physiologus* classifies it, and it is a ‘*quadrupedia*’, i.e. those creatures with four feet that go in herds but which are not wild beasts, because it is found in that section in the *Etymologiae*.⁴⁸¹ The *quadrupedia* are found in the same section of the *Etymologiae* as the domestic animals, the section ‘*de pecoribus et iumentis*,’ although Isidore makes a distinction between the *quadrupedia* and the domestic animals. Crane views this dual classification as an example of ‘the complexities that multiple criteria pose for classification’ but it is difficult to know whether such a difficulty existed in the minds of the bestiary compilers.⁴⁸²

According to Crane, ‘measures such as habitat, good and evil natures, locomotion, prestige, edibility, and so on are difficult to conceive in one articulated system of classification.’⁴⁸³ and therefore describes a system of classification based on multiple criteria. This is true for some animals, but not for all. Many bestiary animals are not described according to all, or even most, of Crane’s seven ways. The ways in which bestiary animals are classified seem to be largely dependent on the sources used by the compiler. For example, those creatures not found in the *Etymologiae* do not have etymological information. Not every animal is moralised; the compiler took his moralisations from pre-existing sources so animals taken only from works such as the *Etymologiae* or Solinus’ *Collectanea*, are not moralised. Not every animal is described in relation to humans, and not every animal’s description involves a display, or not, of *ratio*. In addition, Crane’s classifications are not pertinent to those sections on Trees and Humans, which are found in the majority of Second Family manuscripts. It seems

⁴⁷⁹ The others are according to its usefulness to humans, its metaphoric interpretation, its relationship to other creatures, its habits (whether true or false), its etymology, the amount of *ratio* it may be said to display

⁴⁸⁰ Crane, ‘Taxonomy’, pp 16-21.

⁴⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁴⁸² After all, the Isidore text mentions the ‘*dammae*’ along with the *cervi* and *onagri*. *Dammae* are described in Isidore but are not mentioned in the bestiary. This raises the question of whether the compiler found it necessary to link what was in Isidore’s introductory texts to the rest of the bestiary, that is, did he think it significant that deer were in two different categories?

⁴⁸³ Crane, ‘Taxonomy’, p. 21.

more likely that animals in the bestiary follow the loosest of classifications into wild, tame/domestic, and small beasts, birds/flying creatures, serpents, fish, and worms/insects, which most likely came from both Isidore and the Transitional text. Thus, the classification of a stag as a ‘beast’ is not analogous to a description of the *ratio* exhibited when stags help one another cross a river. The presence of information that fits into Crane’s other categories of classification is probably dependent on the sources used, and thus it is difficult to see the Second Family as purposefully creating a classification of creatures, rather than incorporating various information that was already available.

7.9 Conclusions About the Development of the Bestiary

My research into the First Family manuscripts has demonstrated that the relationships between them is much more complex and widespread than is usually represented in the literature. Texts varied in their popularity according to region and date, and surviving manuscripts range from rough to royal. Upon examination of the diagram of bestiary development in Appendix 3, a few points become readily apparent. There are several question marks regarding the development of the Stowe-type text. The first is whether there was a hypothetical Laud-type text with the Ibex, Dog, and Wolf chapters added, and which was then developed into the Stowe-type text, or whether those chapters were added at the point of creation of the Stowe text. The second question is whether this occurred in England or on the Continent. Tied in with this is whether the H version used a Stowe-type text that was developed in France, or whether the Stowe-type text developed in England travelled back to France to be a source for the H family.

It is also apparent that the First Family manuscripts are influential both in England and on the Continent, but they are developed differently in each area. In France, the Laud and Stowe-type texts are not altered to the extent that they are in England. There appear to be a few chapters added initially, the Ibex, Dog, and Wolf, and then the Lizard in the H version, but none of the groups show the wide scale additions and rearrangements to the text that is found in the Second Family and Transitional versions. The Transitional version does not appear to have been present outside of England. But it must be kept in mind that once the Second Family was

developed, it too was quite popular on the Continent, both in illustrated and unillustrated versions.

My description of the development of the bestiary, from the *Physiologus* into the multiple Families and versions has been largely dependent on my analysis of the changes made that resulted in these texts. The evidence provided in the Appendices has generally been in the form of tables. These are useful for highlighting small variations, but it is difficult to get a sense of the overall types of changes made throughout the entire text. Therefore, in the final Part of the thesis, I describe in detail the larger-scale changes made to each chapter in the Laud and S/CC-type B-Is texts, along with the H and Transitional texts. I also provide an analysis of the ways in which these textual changes altered the meaning or interpretation of the animal, and the ways in which they may signal a change in audience. Thus, the information presented in Part Three complements that presented in Parts One and Two.

Part Three: Summary of Textual Changes:

In this final Part I will describe the changes that occurred in the creation of the S, CC22, H, and Transitional texts on a chapter-by-chapter basis in order to provide further evidence for the proposed developmental scheme described in Part Two and summarised in Appendix 3. These texts are highlighted in bold in Appendix 3, where I have provided a diagram to show the developmental relationships between different bestiary versions and Families.

For my analysis of S and CC22, I compared their texts to each other, and to a collation of all of the Laud-type manuscripts, both English and French. Where S and/or CC22 shows particular similarities to any of the Laud-type manuscripts, this is noted in my analysis. As described in Part Two, Chapter 2, S and CC22 do not share the same text in all of their chapters. Therefore, I use S/CC22 to indicate those chapters in which the same text is found in both manuscripts, and S or CC22 to indicate those chapters which are only found in their modified form in one manuscript. The Stowe-type text as found in S and C22 was created from a Laud-type exemplar and Appendix 10 shows the considerable textual rearrangement and rephrasing which often resulted in variations in the way the creature was interpreted. Therefore, the analysis of the S/CC22 chapters is much longer than that of the other versions.

The H and Transitional versions were created largely from existing texts and thus, the analysis of their chapters is focused on which sources were used. In the case of the H version, I use BnF MS lat. 2495B as the source of the H text because it contains the earliest complete copy of the H text. I compare the H text to that found in the DC *Physiologus*, S, CC22, and my collation of the Laud-type manuscripts, again noting where H shares readings with any specific manuscripts. In the case of the Transitional manuscripts, I compared their text to that found in S, CC22, my collation of the Laud-type manuscripts, and the Second Family text as found in Clark's edition. I specify the differences between the St-Petersburg-type (as seen in P and V) and Morgan-type (as seen in RC, N, and M) of Transitional texts where these differences are apparent. This is because, as is seen in Appendix 3, these 'types' had different sources. I have also summarised the information about the sources used in the Transitional text in Appendix 18.

Lion

S/CC22: This chapter is perhaps the most rearranged in S.⁴⁸⁴ The *Etymologiae* extracts in the Laud-type text are taken from the preface to Isidore's introductory section on 'beasts' and from his lion chapter which follows immediately after. They include a definition of 'beast,' a list of what sorts of animals are beasts, and why they have that name. Parts of the *Etymologiae* extracts have been moved to the beginning of the S chapter but others have been omitted from the main text of S. Those omitted segments relating to the definition of 'beasts' have been added in the margin by the scribe of the second quire; none of the missing information from Isidore's lion entry has been added. S has also omitted the *Etymologiae*'s phrase that *leo* is a corrupt term grammatically, as well as the grammatical terms for lioness and dragoness, and the different attributes of the lion that are repeated in the *Physiologus* text. S has also cut out the Laud-type text's opening phrases stating that the lion is the king of the animals, and the quotation from Genesis 49:9. S substitutes *Phisici* for *Physiologus* as the source of information. *Phisici* is plural so it may refer to 'natural philosophers' in general rather than the one specific author of the *Physiologus*. This is the only place in S (or CC22) where another term has been substituted for *Physiologus*.

S has also altered the text so that it states that the lion has four natures, not the usual three. The first nature in the Laud-type text is that the lion walks in the mountains and if it happens that it is followed by hunters, the odour of the hunter reaches it and it uses its tail to cover its tracks wherever it goes so that the hunter cannot find its den and capture it. S has separated this into two separate natures, the first being that the lion likes to walk on mountain peaks and the second relating to the covering of its tracks. The description of S's second nature has been reworded from the Laud-type text and slightly condensed. S states that the lion covers its tracks so that the hunters are not able to follow it, while the Laud-type text specifies that the hunters are not able to follow its tracks and find its den and capture it.

Both S and the Laud-type text describe how the lion allegorically represents Christ who covered up the signs of his deity and became human. The Laud-type text describes this in a much more abstract, theological, and spiritual sense by stating that

⁴⁸⁴ The first five chapters, Lion, Antelope, Onocentaur, Hedgehog, and most of the Fox, are missing from the start of CC22.

through this process Christ disguised himself as an angel with the angels, an archangel with the archangels, a throne with the thrones, and a power with the powers as he descended into the womb of the virgin. These angels are described as not recognising Christ as the Lord (*domino*).⁴⁸⁵ S's text is much more focused on the human nature of Christ and uses Scripture as a source, perhaps because at the time of its composition the Gnostic beliefs found in the Laud-type text were known to be heterodox. S continues with a description of the temptation of Christ in the desert and the revelation of his deity through the Resurrection. This text focuses on human salvation through the actions of Christ as the God-man, rather than focusing on the various levels of angels and their reaction to the Incarnation. However, the Laud-type text has also been added as one of the marginal additions in S, as it has been completely removed from S's main text.

In both the Laud-type text⁴⁸⁶ and S the lion is initially said to have three or four '*naturae*' but when these are then individually described, they are called '*virtus*.' The *Physiologus* text and later bestiary versions only uses '*naturae*.' S does follow the Laud-type text in numbering the lion's habit of sleeping with its eyes open as the second nature, thus S erroneously has two 'second' natures. S also contains the same general information about the lion's second and third natures but uses slightly different phrasing. The extracts from the *Etymologiae* follow the third nature in the Laud-type text, but S instead skips to the end of the *Etymologiae* information and names the last section the lion's fourth nature – that it is merciful and spares the man who prostrates himself before the it. S adds in a unique moralisation that all people who become angered when not hurt and who oppress the innocent ought to consider the lion as a model, since Christian law commands the guilty to be set free.

H: The rubric at the beginning of the bestiary refers to the work as the *Physiologus* and also seems to instruct the reader to compare the lion to earthly rulers.⁴⁸⁷ The H chapter contains the same text as the lion chapter in S but begins with a quotation from the

⁴⁸⁵Michael Curley places these heterodox beliefs about Christ amongst early Christian Gnostic sects, as well as in the second-century tract 'The Ascension of Isaiah.' Michael J. Curley, (trans.), *Physiologus* 2nd ed. (London & Chicago, 2009), pp. 68-69. Scott discounts the association of the *Physiologus* and gnostic beliefs. Scott, 'Date', pp. 436-437.

⁴⁸⁶With the exception of Br8, CV, and R.

⁴⁸⁷'*Incipit liber qui physiologus dicitur. De natura leonis. Parcere subiectis scit nobilis ira leonis. Tu quoque fac simile quisquis dominaris in urbe.*' BnF MS lat. 2495B f. 29v.

Etymologiae (12.2.1-2).⁴⁸⁸ In the Laud-type B-Is text this is found at the beginning of the extracts from Isidore's *Etymologiae*; in S it is found in the marginal additions, and it is also the standard opening for the Second Family text. The other marginal addition in S is not found in the H text.

Transitional: The lion chapter is the same as that found in the Second Family text. Both P and the Second Family text include the phrase '*Fetu primo ... nisibus*' that is not in M, N, or RC. V contains the complete Lion chapter from S, although it shows many small variations or places where the text has been slightly condensed, and the marginal additions present in S are not found.

Antelope

S/CC22: There are no additions from the *Etymologiae* in the Laud-type text and the material has not been rearranged in S, although it has been reworded and modified. The Laud-type text's initial description of the way the animal cuts down trees with its horns and lays them on the ground has been made longer in S through the addition of the information that it does this when it flees through the forest, and makes the trees fall down in hollow spaces in the earth. The account of the way in which the hunter catches the antelope is somewhat condensed in S, but the meaning is not altered. Both S and the Laud-type texts compare the antelope's two horns to the two Testaments, but S has altered the allegorical interpretation. The Laud-type text addresses itself to the man of God who wishes to be sober, chaste and to live spiritually, and the two horns are the two Testaments that are used to banish all corporal vices. This is followed by a list of these vices, and the statement that if these are banished, the angels and all the hosts of heaven will rejoice. The S text is not addressed specifically to the man of God in the second-person, but it rather states that the antelope signifies men with the horns of good deeds and the knowledge of the two Testaments. However, these horns are bound by the vices and pleasures of this world, and the men are thus are slaves to the appetite and enticement. The main text of S also omits the extra admonitions about drunkenness and lust found at the end of the Laud-type text. This missing text has been added to the

⁴⁸⁸ '*Incipit de naturis bestiarum. Bestiarum vocabulum proprie convenit leonibus. pardis. vulpibus. tygribus. lupis. simiis. ursis. et ceteris. que vel ore vel unguibus seviunt. exceptis serpentibus. Bestie autem dicuntur a vi qua seviunt. Fere appellantur eo quod naturali utantur libertate. et desiderio suo ferantur. Sunt enim libere eorum voluntates. et huc atque illuc vagantur. et quo animus duxerit. eo feruntur.*' BnF MS lat. 2495B f. 29v.

margin in S and the only variation is that S states that wine and women make men forsake understanding, while the Laud-type text states that they make men forsake God.

H: The H chapter is a combination of the DC and S text, although it does not contain the complete chapter from either version.⁴⁸⁹ The initial description of the animal and the way it gets tangled in the foliage and killed, is the DC text. This includes calling the animal ‘*autula*’.⁴⁹⁰ There is a longish moralisation in the DC chapter that has been omitted from the H chapter, this may be deliberate or it may be due to eyeskip after the word ‘*occidit*’.⁴⁹¹ The H chapter then includes a sentence warning men of God to avoid wine and women. Although this is found in both the Laud-type and S text, in this case it is closer to the wording in S and is also one of the marginal addition in S. The H chapter then contains the rest of the DC text followed by the moralisation section from the S text.

Transitional: The text is that of the English Laud-type B-Is, although at the end of the chapter ‘*id est denegare*’ has been added; this phrase is not found in the V text.

Onocentaur

S/CC22: In the Laud-type text, the onocentaur is found in a joint chapter with the siren. The Laud-type text begins with *Physiologus* information about the siren and the onocentaur, followed by *Etymologiae* extracts on these two creatures.⁴⁹² The second quire of S contains the entire Laud-type chapter on both animals, whilst the Onocentaur chapter in the first quire of S consists only of modified *Physiologus* information. S’s first quire chapter omits the phrase that the lower parts, i.e. the animal parts, of the onocentaurs have an extremely wild nature, replaces ‘*virtutem*’ with ‘*factum*’, and refers to the ‘*psalmista*’ rather than ‘*propheta david*’. Otherwise, the material is not significantly altered.

⁴⁸⁹ I use the DC text as printed in Wilhelm, ‘Jüngere’, pp. 17-44.

⁴⁹⁰ In all of the H manuscripts the animal is called ‘*autula*’ whereas it is called ‘*autalops*’ in the English B-Is manuscripts and in the French B-Is manuscripts it is called ‘*acolopus*’. It is called ‘*autula*’ in the DC *Physiologus*.

⁴⁹¹ ‘*et ligatum inveniens occidit*. [missing from H: *De qua re et tu qui profitearis abstinenciam confisus cornibus tuis. abscidisti forte detractiones cupiditates libidines idest secularem silvam et pompam diaboli congaudent tibi angelice virtutes. Duo cornua duo sunt testamenta sed noli ludere cum vino in quo est luxuria ne te obliges et incidas in muscipulam diaboli qui te videns obseptum vitio occidit.*.]’

⁴⁹² The Siren and Onocentaur are found in chapters thirty and thirty-nine, respectively, of the *Etymologiae* Book 11 (On Humans and Portents). Isidore distinguishes between the onocentaur, which is part ass and part human, and the hippocentaur, which is part horse and part human.

H: In the H text the double chapter on the Siren and Onocentaur has been split, and the Siren chapter appears much later in the work. The text in H is that of the Onocentaur chapter found in the first quire of S, where it appears separately from the Siren. It is not the same text as the Onocentaur chapter that is found in S quire two, which is the same as that found in the Laud-type manuscripts. The text in the DC *Physiologus* is more similar in structure and word choice to the Laud-type because it still has the Siren/Onocentaur double chapter.

Transitional: The Onocentaur text is separated from the Siren text, and contains the S text. The only difference is that the ending ‘*comparatus est ... illis.*’ has been deleted and in V, ‘*non intellexit ... illis*’ has been replaced by ‘*et cetera.*’

Hedgehog

S/CC22: S does not rearrange the chapter at all and cuts out most of the *Etymologiae* extracts that are a repeat of the *Physiologus*’ lore about the way the hedgehog collects fruit by rolling on it. The only information retained from the *Etymologiae* extracts is the account of the way the hedgehog rolls itself into a ball to protect itself from its enemies. S also condenses the chapter somewhat and removes the reference to the Song of Songs quotation (although the quotation itself is still present), as well as the explanatory note that the *Physiologus* discusses the nature of animals and connects it to the understanding of Scripture. The allegorical comparison of the hedgehog to the devil is retained. S has also added in the information that a cooked hedgehog is useful as a medicine, which is not related to any of the other information in the chapter and for which I am unable to find a source.

H: The H text is the same as that found in S, not the Laud-type manuscripts. There are no significant differences between H and S, apart from where H uses ‘*hominem*’ instead of ‘*nominem*’ in S. In this case, H appears to have the correct reading as ‘*nominem*’ does not make sense in the sentence.⁴⁹³

Transitional: The text here is the same as that found in the Laud-type B-Is, not in the Stowe-type, H, or Second Family.

Fox

S/CC22: The text is condensed in S and the etymological description of the animal’s name has been moved from the *Etymologiae* extracts at the end of the Laud-type

⁴⁹³ ‘*ut si quando senserit hominem contra omnes insidias protegit se suis spinis.*’

text, to the beginning of the chapter. Isidore's account of the way the fox catches birds has been omitted, presumably because this is a repetition of information found in the *Physiologus* section of the Laud-type text. Like the Laud-type text, S begins with a description of the fox feigning death, but this is slightly condensed. The Laud-type text's allegorical comparison of the fox to the devil is also found in S but the list of diabolical works taken from Matthew 15:19, threats about the results of living carnally, and the quotation from Luke 13:32 referring to foxes and their holes have all been omitted in S.⁴⁹⁴ Only the end of this chapter is found in CC22, but the text present is that which is also found in S.

H: The H text is that found in S/CC22 and not the Laud-type text. H shares variants with both S and CC22. In the reference to Song of Songs, both H and S read '*canticis*' where CC22 reads '*canticus*' but H and CC22 read '*vineas*' where S reads '*eas*.' The DC text is quite different from the B-Is and the S/CC22 text.

Transitional: The text from '*Vulpes*' to '*manducet*' is that of the Second Family or S, although it is slightly closer to the Second Family text. After *manducet*, it contains the Laud-type B-Is text although P is closer to the original than the others as they have omitted '*et volvit se super eam*' (although this may be an eyeskip error). In White's edition, she again confuses the B-Is text with separate B *Physiologus* and Isidore extracts. She states that P contains two entries on the Fox, when P (and V) actually have the Transitional opening up to '*manducet*' that is closer to the Second Family text but then contains the remainder of the B-Is Laud type text.⁴⁹⁵ It is the other Transitional manuscripts that have cut off this last part section, '*Bene itaque ... devorat*.' This omitted section includes the entirety of the extracts from the *Etymologiae* and it may be that the later copyists did not want to duplicate the material, as in the S and Second Family text the *Etymologiae* extracts have been moved to the beginning of the chapter. In other chapters, P seems to be closer to the original B-Is text than the other manuscripts, so it makes sense that it would have more of the original B-Is chapter. P does not appear to have taken its information directly from the *Etymologiae* because there are subtle differences in case endings and small additions

⁴⁹⁴ In contrast, this quotation is found in the Second Family text and many of the fox illustrations in Second Family manuscripts depict foxes in their holes. Hassig highlights, however, the fact that only three Second Family manuscripts with the illustration of foxes in holes contain the related biblical quotation. Hassig, *Medieval Bestiaries*, p. 63.

⁴⁹⁵ White, *Northumberland*, n. 29, p. 153.

that it shares with the Laud-type text. The beginning of the Transitional chapter appears to have been changed so that it reads more like that of the Stowe-type text.

Unicorn

S/CC22: S/CC22 have not rearranged the material, but it has been condensed. The initial reference to the *Physiologus* has been removed, along with the statement that the unicorn is a small animal. S/CC22 have added in the phrase that at the sight of the virgin in the forest, the unicorn lays aside all of its ferocity. This may be because S/CC22 state that no one can capture the animal by force and the Laud-type text merely states that no one can capture it, without giving a reason. S/CC22 have combined the quotations from Psalm 28.6 and Psalm 91.11, removed the quotation from Deuteronomy 33.17, the allegorical comparison of the fierceness of Christ to that of the unicorn and his descent into the womb of the virgin, and the *Etymologiae* extracts in their entirety. It is possible that the etymological information was not included because it would have been a repeat of what is already in the *Physiologus* section of the Laud-type text, and the scribe or composer was satisfied with the way in which the *Physiologus* described the unicorn's capture. Some of the aspects of the *Etymologiae*'s description have thus been added to the S/CC22 description of the capture, such as the mention of it laying aside its ferocity.

H: The H text appears to take material from S/CC22 and Laud-type texts. As in S/CC22, the *Etymologiae* material at the end of the chapter is missing. There are certain phrases found in H that are only found in either the Laud-type or the S/CC22 texts, but not in both. The H chapter appears to have been based on the S/CC22 chapter but with some information added in from the Laud-type. This includes the reference to the *Physiologus* at the beginning of the chapter, as well as part of the allegory.

Transitional: This contains the Laud-type B-Is text, and is generally closer to the English Laud-types than the French.

Beaver

S/CC22: This chapter is extensively condensed in S/CC22, but has not been rearranged. S/CC22 have included '*fiber*' as an alternative name for the beaver, and this term has likely been taken from the *Etymologiae* extracts. The Laud-type text states that the beaver is exceedingly gentle '*mansuetus nimis*' and this has been changed to '*nimis acer ingenio*' in S/CC22, perhaps because the animal's cunning is described further in the

chapter and its gentleness is not. S/CC22 retain the reference to the *Physiologus*, and the description of the way the beaver avoids being captured by hunters, but this has been condensed and made less repetitive.

The allegorical comparison of the beaver to those who wish to live chastely following the commands of God is also retained in S/CC22, but shortened through the omission of biblical quotations from Psalm 17.38 and Romans 13.7. S/CC22 have also cut out the phrase that refers to the works of the flesh as the ‘*tributum diaboli*,’ perhaps because this is an echo of the omitted Romans quotation which advises one to render tribute to those to whom it is due. The list of the Fruits of the Spirit, taken from 1 Timothy 6.11, has been much condensed in S/CC22. Among the omitted ‘Fruits’ are chastity (somewhat surprising given the emphasis of the chapter), as well as a list of ‘good works’ (again, somewhat surprising given S/CC22’s usual emphasis on practical religion). S/CC22 have also omitted most of the *Etymologiae* extracts which repeat information already found in the *Physiologus* section of the Laud-type text.

H: The H text appears to take material from the S/CC22 and DC text. In particular, the first sentence contains both the alternate name for the beaver, ‘*fiber*’ from S/CC22 and the description of it as gentle from H. Because the H text is missing the quotations from the *Etymologiae* at the end of the B-Is text, it is likely that the information that is common to both the B-Is and DC was taken from DC. The H text overall appears to be like S structurally and some additions from the DC text. H is usually closer to S, but not always. and is closer to S usually than to CC22, but not always. H’s moralisation of the beaver is not taken from S/CC22 or B-Is, but rather is the same as that found in the DC *Physiologus* and the Second Family text.⁴⁹⁶ This emphasises a chaste life and the necessity of severing sins of both the heart and body in order to live chastely. The remainder of the moralisation has been taken from the DC *Physiologus* but the H text then ends with the S/CC22 information that the etymology of the beaver’s name.

Transitional: The chapter is taken from B-Is Laud-type and is closer to the English Laud-type B-Is texts. P uses ‘*invenit*’ rather than ‘*habet*,’ in common with B, NA, L, PL, B, and Z. The Vulgate and the French B-Is use ‘*habet*.’

⁴⁹⁶ ‘*Sic sine dubio sic omnes qui caste volunt in christo vivere. secent a se omnia vitia cordis et corporis. et profitant in faciem diaboli et vivant in christo.*’

Hydrus and Crocodile

S/CC22: In the Laud-type text, these two animals are dealt with in a single chapter. The information on the crocodile is at the end of the *Hydrus* chapter, presumably because the majority of the chapter deals with the enmity between the two. In the *Etymologiae*, the *hydrus* is classified as a serpent and the crocodile as a fish, and therefore the two chapters are not adjacent. The entry on the *hydrus* mentions three serpents with similar names, although a different word for ‘snake’ is used for each of the three (*colubra*, *serpens*, and *draco*). The *enhydris* is a *colubra* living in the water and it is so-called because the Greeks call water *ydros*. The *hydros* is an aquatic *serpens* whose bite causes men to swell up (this swelling is called *boa*) and the cure for this is the dung of an ox. The *hydra* was a many-headed *draco* from the Lerna swamp that grew three heads each time one head was cut off. However, Isidore confirms that this is just a story, and the *hydra* from the Hercules legend is actually a water fountain that spouted new outlets whenever one was blocked. The method by which the *hydrus* kills the crocodile is also found in the *Etymologiae*, attributed to another creature called the *enhydros*.⁴⁹⁷ It is a little animal that lives in the water, especially in the Nile river. When it sees a sleeping crocodile, it rolls in the mud and goes through the crocodile’s open mouth down to its stomach, and kills it by tearing its insides.⁴⁹⁸ The composer of the *Physiologus* section of the Laud-type text has thus combined all of these creatures into a single *hydrus*, and this is carried over into S/CC22.

The Laud-type text has been extensively rearranged and split in S/CC22. The opening statement about the *hydrus* living in the Nile river is retained, but S/CC22 then omit the reference to the *Physiologus*. The *Etymologiae* extracts on the *hydrus* alone have been moved to the start of the chapter, and S/CC22 have added a phrase stating that Hercules wished to kill the many-headed *hydra*; this is not found in Isidore or the Laud-type texts. In S/CC22 this is followed with the section from the Laud-type text on the way in which the *hydrus* kills the crocodile, and the allegorical comparison of the crocodile to Hell and the *hydrus* to Christ. The quotations from Matthew 27.52 and I Corinthians 15.54-55 have been omitted.

⁴⁹⁷ This is classified as a beast, one of Isidore’s ‘Small Animals’ and it follows the hedgehog in the order of text.

⁴⁹⁸ Pliny states that the *ichneumon* is the creature that kills the crocodile (*Natural History*, Book 8, 37-38). Isidore does not link this behaviour to the *ichneumon*, even though it does come directly after the *enhydros* in the *Etymologiae*.

In the Laud-type text, the information on the crocodile as an individual creature is found with the *Etymologiae* extracts at the end of the chapter in the same way that the dragon information is added to the end of the panther chapter. Isidore discusses the crocodile in two chapters of his section on fish, and both of these are reproduced in the Laud-type text.

Information not found in the *Etymologiae* is interspersed with the second Isidorean chapter. The statement that the crocodile will eat a man if it is able to overcome him and it weeps afterwards follows the information that the crocodile rests in the water at night and in the mud during the day. This is followed by the last part of the second *Etymologiae* chapter on the Crocodile: the statement that it alone out of all the animals only moves its upper jaw. The Laud-type text then explains how crocodile dung is used as a facial ointment by prostitutes and supports this with a quotation from Horace's Epodes XII. The beginning of the second *Etymologiae* chapter on the Crocodile is then inserted and the Laud-type text finishes with a reiteration of the fact that the *hydrus* exits the crocodile alive. None of this information about the crocodile is moralised in the Laud-type text. The compiler(s) of the Laud-type text may not have thought this necessary as the crocodile had already been said to represent death and Hell.

S/CC22 have moved the *Etymologiae* extracts from the end of the Laud-type text to a new chapter and added a new moralisation that only relates to the crocodile. The information about the crocodile eating a human if it gets the chance has been reworded, and only CC22 does not include the phrase '*et semper eum plorat*' as found in S and the Laud-type text. The quotation from Horace relating to the crocodile dung ointment, and the remainder of the chapter have been omitted in S/CC22. S/CC22 moves directly from the use of crocodile dung by prostitutes into an allegorical comparison of this to the hypocrite, lust, and avarice. And although S/CC22 have omitted a straight reiteration of Isidore's second Crocodile chapter, some of the missing attributes, (i.e. that the crocodile stays by day on the land and by night in the water, and that it only moves its upper jaw) are allegorised.

Hydrus (H)

The H text is the same as that found in S/CC22 but is usually closer to S than to CC22. On the few occasions where it is closer to CC22, the variants in S may be due to copyist

errors. There are no significant changes to the S/CC22 text in H, apart from the substitution of *'naturam'* for *'carnem'* so that it reads that Christ took on human nature, rather than human flesh. The DC *Physiologus* uses the terms *'nostra mortali carne'* or *'nostra mortalitate.'*

Crocodile (H)

The H text is the same as that in S/CC22 in which the crocodile has been separated from the *hydrus*; in the Laud-type manuscripts the crocodile is only mentioned as part of the *Hydrus* chapter. The H text is closer to S than CC22, apart from a few occasions which may be due to copying errors. The only significant change made to the S/CC22 text is where H substitutes *'mulieres'* for *'meretrices'* in the description of prostitutes using crocodile dung to look younger. The crocodile's symbolism of hypocrisy is thus linked to all women, rather than to prostitutes alone. This is the second chapter in which the need to avoid women is expanded from what it is in the Laud-type or S/CC22.

Transitional:

In this version the *hydrus* as the creature that crawls down the throat of the crocodile has been separated from the creature with the many heads from mythology, and the information on the crocodile is found with the latter. The first chapter on the *hydrus*, which is illustrated by the creature bursting out of the crocodile's body, contains the Laud-type text that is the same as that found in the B *Physiologus*. P again appears closer to the original text as it also has the final quotation from 1 Corinthians 15.54-55 that is not found in M, RC, or N but is also found in V, *'et alibi abs orta ... aculeus tuus.'*

White has separated the *Hydra* chapter from the Crocodile information in her edition, but they do not seem to be separated in the manuscripts as there are no separate initials, line breaks, or illustrations for the crocodile in P, RC, or V. The *Hydra* chapter is taken from the *Etymologiae* extracts in the Laud-type text, not from the original Isidore text, and P is again closer to the Laud-type original. The beginning of the *Hydra* chapter in M, RC, N, and P manuscripts appears to be closer to the *Etymologiae*'s description of the creature, but the V text contains the B-Is Laud-type text for the *hydra*.

In the case of the crocodile, White notes differences between the two accounts in M but does not mention that the second one on f. 69r seems to come from the Second Family text and the earlier one from the Laud-type text. The section on the crocodile

takes the first half (the physical description) from the Laud-Type and is closer to the English manuscripts. The second half (the moralisation) is taken from the Stowe-type text and although it is also found in the Second Family and H, it is more likely that it came from a Stowe-type. This is because the Second Family shares similarities with CC22 as opposed to S, and the H text was present in France rather than England. The Transitional manuscripts (except V) also have, in the Serpents section, the Second Family chapter (which itself comes from the CC22 text) on the *Hydrus* and *Hydra*, although here White has separated it into *Hydrus* and *Hydra*, and *Hydrus* and Crocodile chapters, although they appear to be one chapter in the manuscripts.

Hyena

S/CC22: This chapter is condensed and modified but not rearranged, most likely because the *Etymologiae* extracts do not repeat any of the previous information found in the *Physiologus* section of the Laud-type text. S/CC22 have cut out the opening information that ‘hyena’ is the Greek name and ‘*belua*’ is the Latin name, and just retain the name hyena. The biblical command that it is not to be eaten because it is an unclean animal (cf. Deuteronomy 14.8; Leviticus 11.27), the quotation from Jeremiah regarding the hyena’s cave (Jeremiah 12.9), and the reference to the *Physiologus* have also been omitted from S/CC22. Instead, S/CC22 have added in the information that the hyena lives in the graves of the dead and feeds on corpses.⁴⁹⁹ S/CC22 do retain the Laud-type lore that the hyena can change its sex and thus is an unclean animal, although there is no reference to Old Testament food laws. S/CC22 have also added in information from Solinus relating to the hyena’s habit of imitating a man’s voice in order to eat those who are fooled by it.⁵⁰⁰

The Laud-type text’s allegorical comparison of the hyena to the Jews and to the synagogue is kept in S/CC22, but S/CC22 have added in a quotation from Jeremiah 12.8.⁵⁰¹ Both the Laud-type text and S/CC22 also texts compare the hyena to those who are slaves to lust and greed and are thus examples of the ‘double-minded man’ (James

⁴⁹⁹ The source of this may be Pliny, *Natural History* 8.44 or Solinus, *Collectanea*, 27.24. This information is also found in certain Laud-type texts: D, Br8, and L4, and in these texts this is the reason given the explain why the hyena is not to be eaten.

⁵⁰⁰ Solinus, *Collectanea*, 27.23.

⁵⁰¹ This quotation may have been from a pre-Vulgate Latin Bible, as the quotation here states ‘My inheritance has been made to me like a hyena’s cave’, while the text of the Vulgate is ‘My inheritance is become to me like a lion in the wood.’

1.8), although this is somewhat condensed in S/CC22 through the omission of the Ephesians 5.5 quotation that eagerness for money is the root of all evil.

The *Etymologiae* extracts relate to the ‘hyena-stone’ rather than the animal itself, and are followed in S/CC22 by Solinus’ information on the stone. According to the *Etymologiae*, Isidore, the stone is found in the animal’s eye, while Solinus states that it is found in the belly of the hyena’s cubs.⁵⁰²

H: The H chapter is that found in S/CC22, and the text is usually closer to S than to CC22. There are no significant changes made to the text. Henkel highlights that in the DC Hyena chapter, there is a quotation from the book of Jeremiah that is attributed to Isaiah, in the Laud-type B-Is manuscripts it is correctly attributed to Jeremiah. However, in the H text, only ‘*propheta*’ is used, perhaps because the author did not want to chose between the two sources?

Transitional: This contains a shortened version of the Second Family text, made so through the deletion of some, but not all, quotations from Solinus. A quotation from the Laud-type text has been added near the beginning, ‘*et ideo est immundum animal*’ and the Second Family opening has been replaced with the Laud-type quotation on the Law prohibiting eating of hyenas because they are unclean animals ‘*De qua lex ... immundum est.*’ There are similarities with the CC22-type text as this also quotes from Solinus, and the CC22-type text was combined with Solinus to form the Second Family text.⁵⁰³ However, the wording in the Transitional texts is that of the Second Family, not CC22. There are several minor variations in P and V that are found in the B-Is Laud type, while the text in the other Transitional manuscripts contains the variations found in the Second Family/CC22 text.

The P and V texts are somewhat different as they follow the B-Is Laud-type text from the beginning of the chapter ‘*Est animal quod grece ...vero femina,*’ but instead of providing information on the unclean status of the animal, as is found in the other Transitional manuscripts, the statement from the Stowe/CC22 text about the hyena living around tombs and eating corpses is used, ‘*et iam in sepulcris ... vescens.*’ The V text then includes information from Solinus about the hyena imitating human voices that is found in the Stowe/CC22 text but not in the B-Is Laud type or in the Second Family type. The V text then follows the Transitional text found in P (i.e. the Laud-type

⁵⁰² Solinus, *Collectanea*, 27.25.

⁵⁰³ Clark, *Second-Family*, n. 71, p. 131.

text) until the end of the Isidore extracts, where another quotation from Solinus that is also found in the Stowe-type texts only is found. However, the text in the V manuscript contains variations found in both Stowe and CC22. This last quotation in the V manuscript ‘*Verumtamen ... dicitur*’ is also found in the P manuscript, although White does not mention this, and it takes the place of the ending ‘*Verum hyena ... pronuntiaverunt*’ that is found in the Second Family and the other Transitional manuscripts. It is P and V that are closer to the B-Is sources and the other Transitional manuscripts that are closer to the Second Family text.

Onager

S/CC22: This chapter has not been extensively altered in S/CC22. Most of the *Etymologiae* extracts have been moved to the beginning, although the etymology of the Greek name has been omitted and the statement that Africa has many onager has been moved to the end of the S/CC22 chapter. This makes the end of the chapter sound abrupt, as this sentence does not naturally follow on from the allegorical material that precedes it. S/CC22 have kept the information about the onager signalling the equinox in the month of March, but have omitted the information that the month of March is also the month of Famenoth (in the Egyptian calendar), and the reference to the apostle Peter. The comparison of the onager to the devil is also kept but the reference to the faith of the patriarchs and prophets has been changed to the faith of the just.

H: The H text is taken from S/CC22 rather than the Laud-type. It is usually closer to S than to CC22; the few instances where it is closer to CC22 may be due to copying errors in S. However, there are also several examples in which the text is closer to Laud-type than to S/CC22. For example, the mention of Famenoth as the same month as March is only found in the Laud-type text. The H text has also changed the date the onager brays from the 25th to the 21st and clarifies that this is also the 12 Kal. Apr.

Transitional: This text is the Laud-type, with more similarities to the English Laud-type than with the French. The text in P is not significantly different in this chapter.

Ape

S/CC22: S/CC22 have moved and modified the connecting phrase from the Laud-type text that introduces the ape with ‘similarly,’ and links it morally to the preceding chapter on the onager. This may have been done to emphasise the treatment of the ape in a separate chapter from the onager. The *Etymologiae* extracts have been moved to

the beginning of the chapter, and modified. The opening statement on the etymology of the Greek word for ape has been moved to the very end of the chapter. S/CC22 open with Isidore's explanation that the Latin name for the ape is because there is a likeness of human reason in it. Isidore makes it clear that the reasoning of apes only *appears* to be similar to that of humans, but is not actually equal. This negation has been cut out in the S/CC22 text. S/CC22 do keep Isidore's lore that the ape rejoices at the new moon but is sad at the mid and waning moon, but omit the information that it carries the young that it loves while the neglected one has to cling to the mother. This may be because this characteristic of the ape is described in greater detail further down in the chapter. The lore relating to the ape's unequal love for its young is found in many classical authors, particularly in one of Aesop's fables, which may have been the source used by S/CC22.⁵⁰⁴

The distinguishing features of several different kinds of apes are described in the *Etymologiae* extracts, but several of these are omitted or merged in S/CC22. The description of the *sfinge*'s hair and prominent breasts, and the satyr's habit of gesticulating are both omitted, while the rest of the descriptions of the satyrs (having a pointed face) and *callitricēs* (in aspect unlike all the others, with a pointed face (changed from prominent) and long beard and wide tail) have been added to the description of the *canocephali*, perhaps because these dog-headed creatures were familiar through travel writing and the descriptions of fabulous races.⁵⁰⁵ S/CC22 retain the Laud-type text's allegorical comparison to the devil, but omit some of the repetitions, and refers to the source of the quotation from 2 Thessalonians 2.8 as the 'apostle' rather than 'Paul, the herald of truth.'

H: The H text is taken from S/CC22, and is much closer to S than to CC22. There are no significant changes made to the S text.

Transitional: The text is the same as that in the Second Family. Although White has included both the ape and the satyr in her chapter seventeen, in the manuscripts they appear to be separate chapters with separate illustrations, as they are in the Second Family. It is only in the Laud and CC22/Stowe-type chapters the satyr and ape are part

⁵⁰⁴ Temple, *Fables*, p. 227.

⁵⁰⁵ See, for example, Rudolf Wittkower's 'Marco Polo and the Pictorial Tradition of the Marvels of the East' in Joan-Pau Rubiés (ed.) *Medieval Ethnographies. European Perceptions of the World Beyond The Expansion of Latin Europe, 1000-1500* 9 (Farnham, 2009), pp. 175-207 for a discussion of the way that preconceptions gained from literature influenced travel writing.

of the same chapter. The Satyr chapter is also the same as the Second Family one. P does contain the Laud-type text, but with the satyr information is still in a separate chapter, while the V text contains the Laud-type text without a distinction for the Satyr.

Wild Goat

S/CC22: The Laud-type text's Greek etymology of the animal's name has been removed, along with the reference to the *Physiologus*, the description of the animal's love of high mountains, and its sharp eyesight. These have been replaced with sections from the *Etymologiae* extracts that repeat the same information. S/CC22 have retained the Laud-type text's comparison of the goat to Christ and condense it slightly. The reference to the giving of alms as an example of Christ's 'food' has been cut from S/CC22, which is slightly unexpected given S/CC22's usual emphasis on the more applicable allegorical comparisons. The comparison between the valleys of the goat's habitat and the Church is also retained in S/CC22, and condensed. The reference to Psalm 137 has been replaced by '*alibi*' and the biblical quotation of Christ's reference to Judas has been changed from Luke 22.48 to Matthew 26.46. The concluding reference to the *Physiologus* speaking well of the goat has also been omitted.

H: The H text begins with the etymological information from S/CC22, and is closer to S than to CC22. The H text then consists of the entire DC text apart from the first sentence.

Transitional: The Transitional text begins with the Laud-type text for what White calls V.15.1, in which it is closer to the English manuscripts than to the French ones. For V.15.2, the text is that of the Second Family text, apart from P and V which follow the Laud-type text in its entirety. The final section on the animal, what White labels as V.15.3, and Clark has as a separate chapter, is the same as that in the Second Family, although the ending of it '*sicut enim dictamus ... ignoscit*' has been omitted.

Panther

S/CC22: This chapter has not been rearranged beyond one sentence from the *Etymologiae* extracts, dealing with the Greek etymology of the animal's name, that has been moved from the end to near the beginning of the chapter. Large sections of the Laud-type text have been omitted and some sections are slightly reworded or condensed. For example, the Laud-type description of the panther as '*speciosum*' has

been changed to '*spatiosum*.' This is most likely an error, as '*spatiosum*' does not naturally follow the description of the panther as a vari-coloured animal.

After slightly condensing the description of the way in which the panther's sweet breath attracts all the other animals with the exception of the dragon, S/CC22 keep the Laud-type text's comparison of the panther with Christ. However, this comparison has been much simplified and shortened. S/CC22 have omitted the alternative definition of *panthera* as '*omnia capiens*' and the quotations from Ephesians 4.9 and Psalms 67.19 that reinforce this allegorical interpretation. Instead, S/CC22 skip straight to the summarising statement that Christ rescued humans from the devil's captivity and adds in the clarification that this is done through the Incarnation. The next section relating how one is then joined to Christ is also simplified in S/CC22, which only states that Christ joins us to him as sons '*sociavit nos sibi in filios*' and then adds in part of the earlier omitted quotations from Ephesians and Psalms. This replaces the Laud-type text's quotation of Hosea 5.14 and the way this prophesies the calling of both Jews and Gentiles.

In the next section the vari-coloured appearance of the panther is explained allegorically as referring to various attributes of Christ. The foremost description of Christ is as the wisdom of God '*dei sapientia*', an allusion to Wisdom 7.22. S/CC22 retain this, but cut out several of the other listed attributes: '*sanctus ... subtilis, mobilis, certus, incontaminatus ... amans bonum ... qui nichil boni vetat fieri ... omnia faciens, mobilior sapientia, et reliqua.*' Following this list is a more detailed explanation, taken from I Corinthians 1.23-24, that the wisdom of Christ is foolishness to those not called, but the power and wisdom of God to those who are. This is also omitted in S/CC22.

S/CC22 retain the Laud-type text's comparison of the panther's beautiful appearance with the description of Christ as found in Psalms 44.3, and that of the panther's gentleness with Christ's as found in Isaiah 62:11.⁵⁰⁶ The allegorical interpretation of the panther's sleep and awakening as Christ's death, descent into Hell, and resurrection has been shortened and reworded in S/CC22, and the Biblical quotations tacked onto the end of the Laud-type version have been omitted (John 16.33, John 17.12, John 20.17, John 14.18, Matthew 18.20). The allegorical interpretation of the sweetness of the panther's breath is treated in the same manner; the allegory itself is

⁵⁰⁶ The use of '*speciosus*' here makes it likely that '*spatiosus*' as mentioned earlier was an error.

shortened and made less repetitive, and the ‘extraneous’ material following the allegory is omitted. In this case, the verses that are omitted are those used to further explain exactly what the ‘*Odor unguentorum tuorum super omnia aromata*’ is that is quoted from the Song of Songs. S/CC22 do retain the quotation from Song of Songs 1.3 and the explanation that those whose spirits have been reborn through baptism, and who follow the commands of Christ, who will be introduced ‘*introducatur*’ into the Heavenly City. This explanation of the verse is rather more applicable in encouraging baptism and a specific way of living, and this may be why the further references to the Heavenly City, quoted from Psalms, are omitted in S/CC22. The concluding reference to the *Physiologus* is also omitted.

As mentioned above, the *Etymologiae* extracts have not been moved to the start of the S/CC22 chapter, perhaps because the entry only briefly deals with those behaviours and characteristics of the panther that are allegorised, and this has been omitted from the extracts in S/CC22. S/CC22 have kept Isidore’s more detailed description of the panther’s appearance and the explanation of why the panther only gives birth very rarely. S/CC22’s substitution of ‘*audiunt*’ for ‘*odiunt*’ and ‘*finibus*’ for ‘*sedibus*’ are likely errors.

H: The H text is a mixture of the DC panther chapter and some S/CC22 and Laud-type material. The H chapter begins with the first section of the DC text, ‘*Est et animal quod dicitur panthera ... dedit dona hominibus.*’ After this, the DC text then has an etymological statement about the meaning of the word panther, perhaps taken from the *Etymologiae*. The H text has added to this some of the Etymological extracts from the Laud-type text. The H text then includes the rest of the panther chapter from DC, followed by the remainder of the *Etymologiae* extracts found in S/CC22 and the Laud-type texts. The H text shares unique variants that are found in both S/CC22 and the Laud-type texts.

Transitional: The M, N, and RC texts are a mixture of the CC22 type and Laud-type texts, and end with the panther extracts from the *Etymologiae*. Their text is not exactly analogous to that in the Second Family, and the Second Family may be closer to the Laud-type text than these Transitional manuscripts. The P, however, text is longer and much closer to the Laud-type text in terms of information included and individual word choice. Section V.18.1 of P, as divided according to White’s edition, is taken straight

from the Laud-type text but the M, N, RC text shows similarities to both the Laud-type and S/CC22 text, although is closer to CC22 than to S. In V.18.2-3, the P text has a much longer extract from the Laud-type text at the beginning, and the M, N, RC text is closer to that of the S/CC22 text. V.18.4 is composed of the Isidorean extracts found at the end of the Laud-type chapter.

Dragon

S/CC22: The chapter is composed of the *Etymologiae* extracts on the dragon, moved from the end of the Laud-type Panther text to a separate chapter with its own moralisation added. The dragon information from the *Etymologiae* was presumably added to the panther chapter because the dragon was said to be the natural enemy of the panther. It should be noted that, as per Isidore's description, the dragon is the largest serpent on the earth, not the beast of current fantasy. Throughout the Middle Ages, pictorial representations of the dragon and other serpents often included any combination of legs, wings, and ears, making it likely that representations of this sort were due to artistic convention and not the belief that snakes had legs and ears.

S/CC22 have retained all of the *Etymologiae* extracts on the dragon, with some slight rewording and one major change. The Laud-type text and the *Etymologiae* both state that the dragon's venom is in its tail rather than its teeth, while S/CC22 have changed this to the venom being in its tongue, rather than its teeth. In the CC22 illustration there is a face on the end of the dragon's tail, and thus the venom is in both the tongue and the tail.

The dragon is allegorically compared to the devil and the dragon's physical characteristics as listed in the text are each allegorised. This process is also seen in the wolf and dog chapters. The dragon is said to stir up the air and make it shine, just as the devil makes himself appear as an angel of light to deceive foolish men. It has a crest because the devil is the king of pride. The presence of the dragon's venom in its tongue signifies that the devil, having lost his power, now deceives with his words. The dragon lurks around the paths that elephants take so as to bind their legs and suffocate them, just as the devil follows proud men and binds them with the knots of sin, damning them to Hell.

The dragon is moralised in both the *Hexameron* and *Moralia in Job*. In the *Hexameron*, Ambrose mentions the dragon's attempts to kill the elephant but this is not

explained allegorically.⁵⁰⁷ In his *Moralia in Job*, Gregory speaks about both the dragon's tail and venom, but this is done in connection with the dragon in Revelations. He also discusses the dragon and its breath as a symbol of men swollen with wicked pride (Jeremiah 14.6). S/CC22's allegorical comparisons are not unlike these, but they are not a direct copy.

H: The H text appears to be a composite of both the Laud-type and S/CC22 texts. As in S/CC22, the information on the dragon has been separated from the end of the Panther chapter and made into its own chapter. The H text is structurally the same as the S/CC22 text, in which the first half of the text is the dragon information from the end of the Laud-type Panther chapter, and the second half is a new allegorical interpretation of the dragon. In the first half of the chapter, the H text usually follows the S/CC22 text rather than the Laud-type text, although there are some instances where the Laud-type information has been included in addition to that from S/CC22. As well, where S and CC22 differ, the H text usually follows S. Apart from the addition of '*sive animantium*' to the beginning sentence, there are no significant changes made to either the Laud-type or S/CC22 texts in H.

Transitional: In the M, RC, N and P manuscripts, the Dragon chapter appears later in the section on Serpents that is closer to the Second Family texts. The V manuscript contains the same text that is in the Laud-type manuscripts, but adds a unique sentence at the end: '*quia quisquis criminum vinculo in retibus moritur.*'

Stag

S/CC22: The stag chapter has been extensively rearranged and shortened. The opening quotation from Psalms 41.2 has been omitted, along with the reference to the *Physiologus* and the lore about the way the stag kills the serpent. This may have been omitted to avoid repetition, as the *Etymologiae* also tells how stags will extract a serpent from its cave with their breath and eat it to renew their health. S/CC22 begins the chapter with the *Etymologiae* extracts, and adds in a statement that the stag lives 900 years.⁵⁰⁸ S/CC22 have also omitted the statement that the serpent is the enemy of the

⁵⁰⁷ '*draco elephantem ligat, cujus ruina mors victoris est. Et ideo summa vi utrimque certatur; ille ut pedem alliget, in quo casus victi sibi nocere non possit; iste ne posteriore extremus pede, aut calle capiatur angusto, ubi vel ipse se non queat retorquere, et draconem gravi proterere vestigio, vel sequentis elephantis auxilium non habere.*' Ambrose, *Hexaameron* (PL 14, col. 1072D).

⁵⁰⁸ The source of this lore is uncertain, as Classical information on the longevity of the stag restricts their life span to 100 years. Solinus, *Collectanea* (19.9-13, 15, 18).

stag, thus losing part of the stag/dragon dichotomy as a symbol of good/evil.⁵⁰⁹ The rest of the *Etymologiae* extracts are somewhat reworded in S/CC22 but the lore remains the same. S/CC22 then add in the information that the bone from a stag's heart, and its tears, are useful for troubles of the heart when mixed in a drink.⁵¹⁰

The allegorical comparison of the stag to Christ is kept in S/CC22, but shortened a great deal. The biblical quotations recounting the story of Christ sending the demons into a herd of pigs (Matthew 8.29, Mark 5.7, 9-11, Matthew 8.31-32, 2 Thessalonians 2.8) are omitted. Instead, S/CC22 allegorises the way that a stag kills the serpent, as described in the both the *Physiologus* and *Etymologiae* sections of the Laud-type text, even though S/CC22 have earlier omitted some of the traits that are now allegorised. Thus, the stag dragging the serpent out of the cave and crushing its head underfoot (as described in the *Physiologus* section) represents Christ dragging the devil from all people and crushing the devil's head with the foot of virtue. The stag that then eats the venom of the snake and is not harmed but instead renewed (as described in the *Etymologiae* section) also represents Christ, who through his death revives one's sinful nature.

The final allegory that compares the stag to faithful men, and the apostles and prophets to the mountains mentioned in Psalm 121.1 has been rearranged and reworded to make the link more explicit. In the Laud-type text, the apostles, prophets, and priests are those mountains over which the stag, or faithful men, must travel to reach the knowledge of Christ. Psalm 121.1 is then quoted. This allegory is less than straightforward; how does one 'travel' over the apostles, prophets, and priests? The author of S/CC22 clarifies it by first quoting the verse from Psalms, then stating that the mountains are the apostles and prophets, and one's 'help' from these 'mountains' comes through prayers to them for intercession on our behalf.

H: The H chapter is taken from S/CC22, and is much closer to S than to CC22. After the end of the S chapter there is another section added which describes two types of stags. This is a copy of the DC chapter on the stag, apart from the first sentence.

⁵⁰⁹ The structure and importance of the *Physiologus* pairing of animals is discussed in Baxter, *Users*, pp. 35-37. See also Brigitte Resl, (ed.), *A Cultural History of Animals in the Medieval Age* (New York, 2009), p. 37 for a discussion of animal representation of the battle between good and evil.

⁵¹⁰ Pliny, *Natural History* (28.77) discusses the use of a small bone, 'ossicula,' found in the stag's heart in order to aid in conception, but not for the rather generic 'troubles of the heart.'

Transitional: The text section that White labels as V.24.1 is similar to Stowe/CC22 and the beginning of the Second Family, as the Second Family likely used parts of the Stowe/CC22 text. However, although the Transitional text follows the Stowe/CC22 structure and layout, it is occasionally closer in word choice to the Second Family text. V.24.2 contains the moralisation that is taken from the Stowe/CC22 chapter, and it shows similarities to both S and CC22. This moralisation is not found in the Second Family text, and the texts of P and V are the same as those in M, N, and RC.

Elephant

S/CC22: This chapter is rearranged and condensed to make it less repetitive, as much of the information found in the *Physiologus* section of the Laud-type text is also repeated in the *Etymologiae* extracts found at the end of the chapter. The extracts from the *Etymologiae* account for approximately one-third of the Laud-type text and consist of entries on the elephant and on the mandrake plant, as this is named in the *Physiologus* as the plant which elephants must eat in order to mate. S/CC22 keep the Laud-type text's opening sentence introducing the animal but adds in that this animal is called the elephant 'in Greek'. This leads into the *Etymologiae* extracts that have been moved to the beginning of the chapter, and the Latin definition of the Greek word 'elaphio.' The *Etymologiae* extracts relating to the elephant have been slightly condensed, and the copyist has mistakenly turned either 'In eis' or 'ligneis' into 'igneis' when discussing the practice of placing wooden towers on the backs of elephants. Some information has been omitted, such as the clarification that the wooden towers are used by the Persians and Indians, the elephant's fear of mice, the two-year length of an elephant's pregnancy, and the elephant's 300-year lifespan. S/CC22 have also omitted the *Etymologiae*'s account of the elephant giving birth in the water or forest to avoid the dragon, and the entire section on the mandrake, presumably because this information is also found in the *Physiologus* section of the Laud-type text. The *Etymologiae* extracts on the elephant finish with the statement that elephants used to be found in India and Africa, but now only come from India. S states that elephants only come from India, but CC22 has changed this to state that they only come from Africa. S/CC22 then add in a section taken detailing the way that elephants eat and drink with their trunks, never lie down when they sleep, and the way that hunters take advantage of this latter characteristic to catch the elephant.

The text then continues with a condensed form of the Laud-type text's description of the elephant's reproduction. S/CC22 have cut out the reference to the *Physiologus* and also the statement that the elephant has a great deal of discernment '*magnum intellectum*', but kept the second part of this sentence that states the elephant has no innate desire for bearing young. However, the scribe(s) of S/CC22 have mistakenly joined '*se minime*' so that it reads '*semine*' and thus the idea that the elephant is naturally chaste has been lost. Further on, when S/CC22 describe how the female elephant seduces the male into eating the mandrake, which is necessary for them to mate, the phrase '*ille persuasus*' describing the male elephant is omitted, perhaps because it already states that the female seduced '*seducit*' the male into eating the mandrake. Some of the repetitive elements in the description of the female giving birth in the water to avoid the dragon have also been cut; these would have helped a listening audience remember the tale but are unnecessary in a read text. And as seen in other chapters (e.g. the stag) S/CC22 cuts out the statement that the elephant is the enemy of another creature, the serpent.

S/CC22 retain the Laud-type texts comparison of the male and female elephants to Adam and Eve, and the swamp where the elephants give birth to '*hunc mundum.*' However, some of the biblical quotations and theological explanations have been condensed or omitted. For example, the descriptions of Adam and Eve as being 'surrounded by the glory of God, before transgression' and knowing '...neither the pleasure of desire' have been lost. The quotation of Psalms 39.2-3 has been shortened to just the latter half of verse 2 and verse 3, and part of the quotation from Matthew 6.9 regarding the Lord's Prayer, as well as the phrase stating that Christ descended from the lap of the Father have been omitted. S/CC22 have also omitted the explanation that links these quotations from Psalms and Matthew.

There then follows an allegorical explanation of the fact that the odour of burned elephant skin and bones will drive out snakes and venomous reptiles. S/CC22 retain the first part of this and the assertion that nothing of the enemy will be found in those who purify their hearts with the words and commands of God, but omit the latter half that reinforces this by describing how any harmful spirit, evil thought, or disgusting thing will flee and vanish from them.

H: The H text consists of two sections, the first of which contains the elephant chapter from the DC *Physiologus*. There is then a rubric, ‘*Item de eodem,*’ and it appears that in this section the writer has begun the elephant chapter again from the start of the S/CC22 text but has also used the Laud-type text and the *Etymologiae* as a reference.⁵¹¹ This section consists of the *Etymologiae* extracts on the elephant, an insertion on the way sleeping elephants are captured, extracts from S/CC22, and finally the *Etymologiae* extracts on the mandrake. Therefore it is not a copy of any one source, but an amalgamation of several. There is also a forty-three-word insertion, from S/CC22, about the way that elephants give birth in a swamp with the male guarding the female from the dragon. This may be an error as it is not related to the text either before or after it (i.e. it is not from the *Etymologiae*), and is a repeat of part of what was said in the first section on elephants. H then includes a description about the way elephants sleep and are captured. The source of this may be the Y *Physiologus* or perhaps the Second Family chapter on elephants.⁵¹² The H text is not identical to the account in either of these sources and in particular omits the tale, common to both, of the fallen elephant (humanity) which cannot be rescued by the twelve large elephants (the twelve tribes of Israel, i.e. Judaism). It can only be rescued by the little elephant (Christ) which is small enough to crawl under the larger beast and lift it up.

After the insertion relating the way that sleeping elephants are captured, there appears to be a rewording of the account of the elephant’s use of the mandrake in conception and the way that the male and female elephants symbolise Adam and Eve. There is no new information added but much of the allegory with its quotations from Psalms has been omitted. This is followed by the description of the uses of elephant bones and skin. This appears to broadly follow the S/CC22 text but there are some word choices from the Laud-type text. There are no changes to the meaning of the information presented. The Elephant chapter ends with the Laud-type *Etymologiae* extracts on the mandrake, which are not in the S/CC22 text. It appears that the writer of H had a copy of the *Etymologiae* at hand to correct some of the errors in the Laud-type text and to make the H text closer to that of the *Etymologiae*. In the Laud-type text, the

⁵¹¹ This could mean ‘from the same,’ referring to the source text, or ‘concerning the same,’ referring to the topic of elephants. I am taking it to mean the latter.

⁵¹² This particular habit of elephants has been ‘known’ since the Classical period, and is found in the writings of Julius Caesar, *Commentaries on the Gallic and Civil Wars* (6.27); Pliny, *Natural History* (8.1-13); Ambrose, *Hexameron* 6.5.

mandrake is said to have ‘*mala sua violenta*’; this is an error that must have appeared in the very first Laud-type text and been copied since. All of the B-Is manuscripts, both English and French in origin, contain this variation, but according to both the *Etymologiae* text and the H family text, the mandrake has ‘*suave olentia*.’ This error in the B-Is texts may have been due to an auditory, rather than a visual, error. H has changed the B-Is ‘*prophete*’ to ‘*poete*,’ which is what is in the *Etymologiae*. Both Isidore and H include the fact that the mandrake bark is given to those who are about to undergo surgery⁵¹³ but in the Laud-type text this has been changed so that it is given for a variety of illnesses, and the mandrake is carefully gathered after thirty years for the treatment of many illnesses⁵¹⁴.

Transitional: The text here appears to be quite composite, showing similarities to the Second Family, as well as the S/CC22 and Laud-types. In addition, the text shows variations that are shared with both S and CC22.. The texts in P and V are more similar to the Laud-type sources, but again, there do not appear to be any patterns governing which source is followed.

Wolf

S/CC22: The Wolf chapter is not found in the *Physiologus* or Laud-type texts and the structure of the chapter demonstrates this. It is found in a few other B-Is bestiaries though: S and CC22, D, T, and the Hofer bestiary discussed in Chapter 7.2 of Part Two. There are multiple small differences between the S and CC22 text but the only information that is unique to any of these manuscripts is S’s sentence that the *Physiologus* describes this animal as ‘*mortifera*’.⁵¹⁵ It is a composite chapter that utilises many sources and discusses multiple ‘natures’ of the wolf in a rather disjointed fashion. This is in contrast both to the original Laud-type text and to those modifications S/CC22 make to it. As has (and will be) shown, the other chapters focus on fewer characteristics of each animal (often only one) and when multiple ‘natures’ are mentioned, each new one is usually prefaced as such and separately moralised before continuing with the next.⁵¹⁶

⁵¹³ ‘*hiis quorum corpus propter curam secandum est.*’ Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 17.9.30 and the H text.

⁵¹⁴ ‘*propter varias infirmitates. Corpus eorum post triginta annos caute colligitur ad multas infirmitates medendas.*’

⁵¹⁵ This description of the animal is also found in T.

⁵¹⁶ See, for example, the Lion and Ant chapters.

The chapter begins with an etymological description of the animal's name. Wolves are so-called from their rapacity, and because of this, prostitutes are also called wolves. This seems to have been a common classical comparison.⁵¹⁷ The etymological information is then followed by details of the wolf's physiology. Its strength is in its mouth or breast but it is weakest in the loins 'renibus'; it is not able to turn its neck around backwards;⁵¹⁸ and it is said to sometimes live from its prey, sometimes from the earth, sometimes/never from the wind.⁵¹⁹

The physiological information is followed by details on the generation of wolves. They only give birth to cubs in the month of May when it thunders, and the wolf is so cunning that it does not search for prey near its den but only far away. This leads into a more detailed description of how a wolf hunts. If it needs to hunt at night, it goes back and forth to the sheepfold like a tame dog, and lest by chance the dogs smell its scent on the wind and wake the shepherds, it walks against the wind and if a branch or anything breaking beneath its feet makes a sound it punishes its feet with a sharp bite. Its eyes shine in the dark like lanterns. The wolf's only characteristic that is specified as a 'natura' is that, if it sees a man before the man sees it, the wolf takes away the man's voice. Finally, the author cites Solinus by name as the source for the statement that a wolf carries a patch of hair in the tip of its tail that induces love.⁵²⁰ Therefore, the wolf plucks the hair out if it fears that it will be captured.

This descriptive section is then followed by allegorical comparisons of the wolf that are prefaced by more than the usual 'ita' or 'significat,' indicating that the wolf

⁵¹⁷ William de Montibus also compares prostitutes to wolves in his *Similitudinarium* but he is probably too late to have been a source for these manuscripts. 'Meretrix: Meretrices ab oscenitatis et odoris ac rapacitatis similitudine lupus vocamus...' Clark, *Second-Family*, n. 122, p. 142.

⁵¹⁸ This may be related to Aristotle's description of the structure of the neck in Book IV of his *De partibus animalium*, '...while the neck, again, exists for the sake of the windpipe. For it acts as a defence to this and to the oesophagus, encircling them and keeping them from injury. In all other animals this neck is flexible and contains several vertebrae; but in wolves and lions it contains only a single bone. For the object of nature was to give these animals an organ which should be serviceable in the way of strength, rather than one that should be useful for any of the other purposes to which necks are subservient.' William Ogle (ed.), *Aristotle. De partibus animalium* (Oxford, 1912), M4v-M5r.

<http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/etcbib/toccer-new2?id=AriPaan.xml&images=images/modeng&data=/texts/english/modeng/parsed&tag=public&part=teiHeader> (accessed 23.1.12)

⁵¹⁹ S and T use 'nonnumquam' while the rest of the manuscripts with this text use 'numquam.' This lore about the wolf living from the earth is also found in Book 8 of Aristotle's *Historia animalium*, '...it is stated of the wolf, but of no other animal, that in extremity of hunger it will eat a certain kind of earth.' D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, *Aristotle. Historia animalium* (Oxford, 1910), Y8r.

⁵²⁰ Solinus, *Collectanea* (2.36) 'Caudae animalis huius uillus amatorius inest perexiguus, quem spontiuo damno abicit, cum capi metuit; nec habet potentiam, nisi uiuenti detrahatur.'

should be understood spiritually and allegorically.⁵²¹ The wolf is compared to the devil for multiple reasons: because it always regards the human race with ill will and circles the sheepfolds of the Church's faithful to destroy and afflict their souls; because it only gives birth in the month of May when it first thunders and therefore signifies the devil thrown from heaven at the first sign of pride; because the wolf's strength is in its forelimbs and not its hind limbs, it is like the devil who was initially an angel of light in heaven but is now made apostate; its eyes shine in the dark because the works of the devil appear beautiful and healthy to blind and foolish men; it feeds its cubs on prey captured far from the den because the devil nurtures with worldly goods those he is certain will endure the punishment of Hell with him, and he constantly pursues those who withdraw from him with good works; and because the wolf can only turn its head by turning its whole body it signifies the devil who is never turned towards the correction of penitence. None of these allegorical comparisons is found in such potential sources such as Ambrose's *Hexameron* or Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job*.

The rest of the chapter is a rather long allegorical explanation of the wolf's ability to take away a man's voice, a trait mentioned earlier in the chapter. It asks what should be done for such a man since he cannot cry for help to those a long way off. Instead, he removes his clothes and tramples them underfoot, and takes two stones in his hands and strikes them against one another. This causes the wolf to lose the power of its boldness and flee, and the man is then made free by his own '*ingenio*,' just as he was '*in principio*,' presumably before The Fall. The wolf can be understood allegorically as the devil, the man as all of humanity and his clothes as sin, the stones are the apostles, other holy men, or Christ. This allegory is rather straightforward. Through the removal of sin and the power of the apostles, holy men, or Christ, one is able to repel the devil. The stones are also symbolically explained in greater detail and here the author of S/CC22 uses the Laud-type text's method of referring to Bible verses that are only tenuously related with the topic. These include Zacharias 9.16, Romans 9.33, and Ezekiel 40.2-3.

Finally, the chapter ends with a more applicable explanation of the wolf that can be used as a reminder of the usefulness of baptism and prayer. It is through baptism that the '*veterem hominem cum actibus suis*', i.e. one's clothing, is removed, and it is

⁵²¹ '*Spiritualiter autem hoc intelligendum est atque ad superiorem sensum allegorice est dicendum.*' S/CC22 text.

through prayer that one attracts the intercession of the saints, i.e. through the striking of the stones. Then one is able to obtain pardon for sin and avoid being swallowed up by Cerberus.⁵²² The author of S/CC22 alludes to this notion of being swallowed or devoured by Cerberus through the use of ‘*sorbeat*’ or ‘*obsorbeat*.’ In addition, this is the only chapter that refers to Cerberus, so it might have been judged as an especially appropriate image in a chapter on the wolf.

This chapter appears to have been constructed from a variety of sources. Solinus is mentioned by name, there are a few instances where the information is similar to that found in Aristotle’s writings on animals (although this text was written before Michael Scotus’ thirteenth-century translation of Aristotle into Latin), and it is likely that the *Etymologiae* was also used as a source. The *Physiologus* is mentioned by name in S even though this chapter is not found in either the Laud-type text or in any of the *Physiologus* versions.⁵²³ It may be that the author of S added it in for the sake of continuity with the rest of the text, although in several other chapters reference to the *Physiologus* has been removed. It should be noted that this sentence referring to the *Physiologus* is also found in the wolf chapter of T, a text that is a later copy of Pierre’s Latin exemplar. An allegorical explanation of the wolf’s theft of the man’s voice is found in Ambrose’s *Hexameron* and although there are some similarities, the allegory in S/CC22 is much more developed than it is in the *Hexameron*.⁵²⁴

H: The H text usually follows S rather than than CC22, although some word choices are closer to CC22. There are some minor changes made to the text in H: where S/CC22 refer to ‘*beato iob*’ H merely has ‘*bono*’, and where S/CC22 refer to the prophets, H

⁵²² Cerberus, the three-headed dog who guards the gates of the Underworld, was a popular symbol of death and devouring, and the author of this chapter may have used Isidore’s description from the *Etymologiae* (11.3.33) as a source: ‘... *Cerberum inferorum canem tria capita habentem, significantes per eum tres aetates per quas mors hominem devorat, id est infantiam, iuventutem et senectutem. Quem quidam ideo dictum Cerberum putant quasi κρεοβόρος, id est carnem vorans.*’ Isidore’s etymology is derived from Servius’ late-fourth-century commentary on the works of Virgil, in which he also associates Cerberus with the earth ‘*nam Cerberus terra est, id est consumptrix omnium corporum.*’ John J. Savage, ‘The Medieval Tradition of Cerberus’, *Traditio* VII (1949-1951), p. 106.

⁵²³ See McCulloch’s lists of *Physiologus* chapters. McCulloch, *Latin and French*, pp. 26-27, 43.

⁵²⁴ ‘*Lupus si prior hominem viderit, vocem eripit, et despicit eum tamquam victor vocis ablatae. Idem si se praevisum senserit, deponit ferociam, non potest currere. 27. Ergo ferae norunt expetere ea quae sibi prosint; tu ignoras, o homo, remedia tua! Tu nescis quomodo virtutem eripias adversario, ut te tamquam praeventus lupus effugere non possit, ut oculo tuae mentis ejus perfidiam deprehendas, et prior cursum verborum ejus impedias, impudentiam ejus et acumen disputationis obtundas. Quod si te ille praevenierit, vocem tibi aufert: et si obmutueris, solve amictum tuum, ut sermonem resolves. Et si in te insurrexerit lupus, petram cape, et fugit. Petra tua Christus est. Si ad Christum confugas, fugit lupus, nec terrere te poterit. Hanc petram quaesivit Petrus, cum titubaret in fluctibus, et invenit; quia dexteram amplexus est Christi.*’ Ambrose, *Hexameron* (PL 14, col. 0252A-0252C).

uses ‘*philosophis.*’ In addition H adds a quotation from the *Etymologiae* near the beginning of the chapter.⁵²⁵ Part of this text from the *Etymologiae* is also found in a shorter form in the Second Family text.

Transitional: The M, N, and RC manuscripts contain the same text that is found in the Second Family, with the exception that the *Etymologiae* extracts at the end are shortened and rearranged. In this case the Second Family text is closer to the original in the *Etymologiae*. The P text is generally closer to the Stowe/CC22 text, which was the source for the Second Family text, although P does include a sentence that is also only found in the Second Family. P also shares variations found in both Stowe and CC22.

Dog

S/CC22: Like the Wolf chapter, the chapter on the Dog is not found in the Laud-type texts or the *Physiologus*. The chapter begins by describing different types of dogs based on their usefulness to humans – guard dogs, tracking dogs, etc.⁵²⁶ This is followed by two accounts demonstrating the relationship between dogs and humans.⁵²⁷ The first describes how a king, captured by his enemies, was rescued by his dogs who escorted him through the crowd of foes. The second describes how a dog identified his master’s killer out of a group of people. Both of these tales are also found in Pliny’s Natural History (Book 8, 61.1) and Solinus’ *Collectanea* (15. 8-9), but they have been simplified considerably in the S/CC22 versions. These accounts are followed by a series of disjointed sentences listing different attributes of dogs, in the same manner as the information is listed in the wolf chapter. A wound is healed when a dog’s tongue licks it, dogs live a moderate life, a puppy bound to a person heals internal wounds,⁵²⁸ and a dog’s nature is to return to its own vomit and eat it.⁵²⁹ S/CC22 then summarise Aesop’s fable about the dog and its reflection.⁵³⁰

⁵²⁵ ‘*Alii autem lupos vocitatos aiunt. quasi leo pes. eo quod quasi leoni virtus sit illi ita in pedibus. unde et quicquid pede presserit non vivit. Rapax autem bestia et cruores appetens. De quo rustici aiunt vocem hominem perdere; si eum lupo prior viderit. Unde et subito tacenti dicitur. lupo est in fabula. Certe si se previsum senserit; deponit ferocitatis audaciam. Lupi toto anno non amplius quam dies duodecim coeunt.*’ *Etymologiae* 12.2.23-24.

⁵²⁶ Clark notes the similarities between this information and that found in Columella *De re rustica* (V)II, 12.2-3 and Varro *De re rustica* II, 9.2. Clark, *Second-Family*, n. 134, p. 145.

⁵²⁷ This is summed up in the phrase ‘*Vivere quoque non posse fertur sine homine.*’ Such a concept is also found in the *Etymologiae* (12.2.26), although worded differently there.

⁵²⁸ In the Second Family text, ‘*ligatus*’ has been replaced by ‘*lingua,*’ to indicate that it is the puppy’s tongue that heals internal wounds. See n. 215.

⁵²⁹ Cf. Proverbs 26.11 and 2 Peter 2.22.

⁵³⁰ Olivia and Robert Temple, *Fables*, p. 137.

These attributes are then explained allegorically, again in a disjointed manner. Dogs are compared to preachers who, through their admonishments, drive off the devil so that he is unable to carry off the souls of Christians. A dog's tongue is like the corrections of a priest, which cleanse the wounds of sinners that are laid bare in confession. A dog heals internal wounds, and here it becomes clear that '*ligatus*' found earlier in the chapter is likely an error, in the same manner that secrets of the heart are purified by the works and sermons of teachers. These comparisons are akin to those, for example, found in Jerome's commentary on the story of Lazarus as found in Luke, as well as Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job*, and show how widespread the symbolism was in the Middle Ages.⁵³¹

A dog is temperate and therefore, he who strives for wisdom ought to avoid drunkenness in everything because there is no quicker way for the devil to possess a Christian than through his *voraci gula*. A dog returning to its vomit signifies those who, after confession, return to their wrong-doing. Aesop's dog that dropped its meat into the river signifies those foolish people who desire an unknown thing and thus forfeit what they already have. Indeed, the moral at the end of the states, '*This fable applies to the covetous.*'⁵³²

The likely sources of this chapter, then, are not unexpected. They include the *Etymologiae*, the works of Pliny Solinus, Aesop, the Bible, and perhaps Gregory the Great, St Jerome, Columella, and Varro. It seems that the *Hexameron* was not used as a source, as Ambrose discusses at length the dog who accompanied the angel Raphael, the sagacity of dogs (although Ambrose makes clear that it only *resembles* human reason), and their gratitude to men, shown by their willingness to defend their master's possessions and even identify their master's murderer, should he be killed.⁵³³

⁵³¹ '*Vulneribus plenus, id est, peccatis: ... canes, doctores, qui per linguam vulnera sanant.*' Jerome, *In evangelium secundum lucam* (PL 30 Col. 0575A). '*Quis est grex sanctae Ecclesiae, nisi multitudo fidelium? Vel qui alii hujus gregis canes vocantur, nisi doctores sancti, qui eorumdem fidelium custodes exstiterunt? Qui dum pro Domino suo diurnis nocturnisque vigiliis intenti clama verunt, magnos, ut ita dixerim, latratus praedicationis dederunt. De quibus eidem Ecclesiae per Psalmistam dicitur: Lingua canum tuorum ex inimicis ab ipso. Nonnulli quippe ab idolorum cultibus revocati, facti sunt praedicatores Dei. Lingua ergo canum Ecclesiae ex inimicis prodit, quia conversos gentiles Dominus etiam praedicatores facit. Unde Judaeorum tarditas, qui pro Deo loqui noluerunt, increpante propheta, reprehenditur, qui ait: Canes muti, non valentes latrare.*' Gregory the Great, *Moralia in iob* (PL 76, Col. 0145C-0146A).

⁵³² Olivia and Robert Temple, *Fables*, p. 137.

⁵³³ Clark notes the similarities between the *Hexameron* and the Dog chapter(s) found in the Second Family bestiary. Clark, *Second-Family*, pp. 145-148.

H: The H text is closer to S than to CC22, except where S appears to have copyist errors. There are no significant differences between the H and S texts except for the deletion of ‘*nam in insaturitate panis sodoma periit.*’

Transitional: All of the Transitional manuscripts have the same text, and it shares unique variations found in both the Second Family and the Stowe/CC22-type texts.

Ibex

S/CC22: This animal is not found in either the *Physiologus* or the Laud-type texts and the source appears to be either the *Etymologiae* or Gregory the Great’s *Moralia in Job*.⁵³⁴ It is unclear which of these was the source because the text in S/CC22 is not significantly closer to either of them. The chapter is short and the only feature of the animal that is listed and moralised is its two horns, which are so strong that if the ibex falls from mountain, its horns will support its weight and it will not be injured. These horns represent the knowledge of the Old and New Testaments, which learned men ‘*eruditos homines*’ use to solve problems and accomplish good works.

H: The H text is closer to S than CC22, except in cases where S seems to have a copying error. There are no significant changes made to the S/CC22 text.

Transitional: The Transitional manuscripts are closer to S, while the Second Family manuscripts are closer CC22. There are only minor variations between P,V and the other Transitional manuscripts.

Lapides Igniferi

S/CC22: The Laud-type text contains no *Etymologiae* extracts and the chapter has not been rearranged in S/CC22. However, it has been modified. Both the Laud-type text and S/CC22 remind one that holy men will be attacked, although only Laud specifies that ‘angels of Satan’ will be the attackers, and that they attack ‘chaste women’ as well as ‘holy men.’ In the final admonitions, both texts remind the reader to guard his heart with godly teachings. However, the Laud-type text states this is necessary because sin began from the love of women and still rages in the sons of disobedience at the present time.⁵³⁵ S/CC22 does not mention Adam or Original Sin, but cautions that the love of women, and the works of the devil, will be a hindrance. Unlike other chapters, here

⁵³⁴ Clark, *Second-Family*, n. 67, p. 131. The ibex is also found in Pliny, *Natural History*, (8.79) but in this case the animal is described as using its horns as counterweights to allow it to leap more nimbly.

⁵³⁵ ‘*Nam amor feminarum. quarum peccatum ab initio cepit id est ab Adam usque nunc; in filios inobedientie debachatur.*’

S/CC22 has retained the instances where the Laud-type text is addressed to the second-person, although it has changed ‘*vos homines dei*’ to ‘*vos homines*,’ perhaps to include a non-monastic audience. Again, the modifications made by S/CC22 make the text less theologically complex and perhaps easier to understand by a wider audience.

H: The H text follows that of S, except where S has copyist errors and then it follows the CC22 text. There are minor changes made to the moralisation in the H text. In the S text this chapter is addressed to ‘*vos homines qui vitam geritis*’ whereas H has changed this to ‘*vos homines dei vitam geritis miseram.*’ In addition, a sentence has been added after the description of the temptation of Eve and Susanna and their differing responses to that temptation. ‘Therefore do not wish to be safe nor to rely on the past but desire chastity.’⁵³⁶ This is addressed to the second person plural and contains more of a personal command than is found in the other bestiary versions.

Transitional: The text is a combination of the Stowe-type (sometimes closer to CC22 but usually to S) and the Laud type of B-Is manuscripts. The Transitional text shares variations with both of these types. P and V only have one addition of text from the B-Is type, and it is only three words after Ioseph, ‘*ambo per mulieres.*’

Viper

S/CC22: This chapter is not in S/CC22.

H: This chapter is not found in any of the Laud-type manuscripts, S/CC22, or indeed the B *Physiologus*. It is, however, found in the DC, Y and A versions of the *Physiologus*.⁵³⁷ The H text is the same as that in the DC *Physiologus*.

Transitional: The Viper chapter in the Transitional manuscripts contains the same text as that found in the Second Family. The Transitional and Second Family texts do not contain the DC *Physiologus* text.

Serra

S/CC22: There are no excerpts from the *Etymologiae* added to the *Physiologus* material and the text has not been rearranged or greatly modified. S/CC22 slightly condenses the material, but the only pieces of information that are omitted are those that state that the waves drag the exhausted *serra* back to its home in the depths, and the Biblical quotation at the end that those who persevere until the end will be saved (Matthew

⁵³⁶ ‘*Ideo nolite securi esse. nec confidere in preterita castitate velitis.*’

⁵³⁷ See McCulloch, *Latin and French*, p. 26 for list of chapters in Y and A, and Carmody ‘Versio Y’ for an edition of the Y text.

24.13). These omissions do not alter the meaning of the text, but the Biblical quotation may have been removed in order to simplify the text, since there is no character in the tale about the *serra* that corresponds to ‘those who persevere.’

H: The H text follows that found in S/CC22 and is usually closer to S than to C. The H text is closer to the Laud-type text in word choice on one occasion, when H and the Laud-type text use ‘*iustorum*’ and S/CC22 use ‘*victorum*.’ The opening rubric in some of the H manuscripts refers to the *serra* as a ‘*volatili*’ which may be why the creature is illustrated with a bird’s head and wings in these cases.⁵³⁸

Transitional: The Transitional manuscripts contain the same text as that found in the Second Family, which shows similarities to CC22 and *Physiologus* B.

Caladrius

S/CC22: Because there are no excerpts from the *Etymologiae* added to the *Physiologus* material, the Laud-type text has not been rearranged in S/CC22, although it has been shortened and made less repetitive. S/CC22 have omitted the beginning quotation from Deuteronomy 14.18 mandating that the *caladrius* is not to be eaten, along with reference to the *Physiologus* and the statement that it has no black parts, presumably because the text has already stated that the bird is entirely white. S/CC22 have also cut the sentence stating that the *caladrius* knows if a sick person will live or die; this sentence is a bit repetitive because the attribute is further explained later in the chapter. However, if one were reading the text out loud then it would be useful to summarise the bird’s main characteristics before describing them in greater detail. S/CC22 add in the detail that if the *caladrius* knows a man is going to die, it turns its head from him and withdraws, while the Laud-type text merely states that it turns its head from him. If the man is going to live, the *caladrius* in the Laud-type text holds out its face to him and ‘*assumit*’ his illness, while the *caladrius* in S/CC22 stretches out its head over his face and ‘*aufert*’ his illness. The verb used in the Laud-type text has the sense of the *caladrius* assuming the illness itself, or taking the illness upon itself, while the verb in S/CC22 seems to focus on the fact that the bird just removes the illness.

Both the Laud-type text and S/CC22 compare the *caladrius* to Christ, but the Laud-type text describes him as ‘*candidus*’ and S/CC22 use ‘*albus*’. Both of these terms can mean ‘white’ but *candidus* ‘denotes a glistening, dazzling white’ and has

⁵³⁸ See BnF MS lat. 2495B, f. 38r.

connotations ‘of moral worth.’⁵³⁹ S/CC22 may have chosen to use *albus* to make a stronger link to the description of the *caladrius* as *albus* at the beginning of the chapter. S/CC22 have omitted the Laud-type text’s quotation from John 14.30 about the prince of this world finding no sin in Christ, and have instead stated that Christ has no blackness of sin. This is essentially the same information but communicated in a simpler manner. Both the Laud-type text and S/CC22 then compare the *caladrius* either facing or turning away from the man to Christ turning from the Jews to the Gentiles. The Laud-type text ends with a lengthy explanation of the appropriateness of an unclean bird representing Christ, and uses the lion, eagle, and serpent as other examples of this as these are unclean animals which have also been used to represent Christ in the Bible. This is not found in S/CC22; S/CC22 rather rephrase the ending of the passage in the Laud-type text that states that it is possible for an animal to be both a positive and negative example. Again, this simplifies the material from an explanation of how a sinless being can be represented by an unclean animal, to a focus on the fact that an animal can be understood both positively and negatively.

H: The H chapter is the same as that in the DC text.

Transitional: All of the manuscripts contain the B-Is text, following the structure of the Laud-type text with some Stowe-type word choices and phrases.

Pelican

S/CC22: In S/CC22, the information from the *Etymologiae* has been moved to the beginning of the chapter and condensed. The lore about the death and revival of the young has been omitted as this is explained in greater detail in the *Physiologus* information. Also cut is the fact that the pelican lives in solitude, presumably because the Laud-type’s opening quotation from Psalm 102.7, that speaks of the pelican in its solitude. has not been included in S/CC22, as well as the final sentence on the Latin meaning of the Greek name for the bird, ‘*honocrotalon*.’

However, the *Physiologus* material has been condensed and reworded rather than shortened through the removal of large sections of text. S/CC22 also contain some changes that result in a different meaning. CC22 does not include the fact in both S and the Laud-type text that the adults are *irati* after their young strike them. When introducing the moralisation, S/CC22 make it more explicit that the pelican signifies

⁵³⁹ Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, (Oxford, 1927), p. 81.

Christ through the use of *'significat,'* while the Laud-type text just uses *'ita et.'* Both the Laud-type text and S/CC22 include the quotation from Isaiah 1.2 about the Lord's children spurning him, but with different emphasis. The Laud-type text describes these children as those that the Lord *'genui et enutrivi,'* however, the *Physiologus* text and S/CC22 use *'genui et exaltavi.'* Since the Vulgate uses *'enutrivi et exaltavi,'* the S/CC22 text may have been altered to be closer in meaning to it. Further on, the Laud-type texts state that God made us so that we might exist *'ut essemus'* but S/CC22 changes this to say that God made us so that we might serve him *'ut ei serviremus.'* This reasoning is perhaps easier for a lay audience to understand. The Laud-type text quotes Romans 1.25 when it states that we strike Christ in the face when we serve the creature rather than the creator⁵⁴⁰ but S/CC22 changes this to say that we strike him [Christ] in the face because abandoning him, we spurn him.⁵⁴¹ Again, this may have been to make the text available to a lay audience. The author of the S/CC22 text has also cut out both instances where the Laud-type text mentions *'vitam eternam'* as something that is given to us along with *'salutem nostram'* and *'remissionem peccatorum.'*

H: The H chapter follows that of S/CC22 and is closer to S than to CC22. It is occasionally closer in word choice to CC22, but not often.

Transitional: All of the manuscripts contain the Laud-type text.

Owl

S/CC22: The *Etymologiae* information added at the end of the Laud-type text is only a single sentence stating that the *nicticorax* is the same bird as the *noctua*, and it is a light-fearing bird which cannot bear to see the sun. S/CC22 have switched the two names of the bird and refer to it as the *noctua*, which is clarified as the same as the *nicticorax* or *corvis noctis*. The Laud-type texts do not include this etymological clarification of *nicticorax* and instead use *noctua*. S/CC22 have omitted the Laud-type opening quotation from Psalms 102.6 as well as the statement from Leviticus 14.15 that this is an unclean bird, but has kept the Laud-type use of the owl as a figure of the Jewish people.

The text in S/CC22 has also redefined the Jews' rejection of Christ. Whereas the Laud-type text states that the Jews *'valued darkness more than the light [Christ]'*, the

⁵⁴⁰ *'servientes in conspectu eius creature non creatori'*

⁵⁴¹ *'quia eum relinquentes sprevimus'*

S/CC22 text states that ‘spurning him [Christ], who was the true light, they [the Jews] embraced the darkness, that is, the devil.’ This is a much more negative portrayal of the Jews and more explicitly links them with the devil. The next section describes the Gentiles, which the Laud-type text concludes with a quote from Psalms 17.45, before giving a final quotation about the Jews from Psalm 17.46. The S/CC22 text also contains a section on the Gentiles, but expands the quotation from Luke 1 and Matthew 4 to emphasise Christ’s illumination of the Gentiles in contrast to the Jew’s darkness.

H: This chapter is not in the H manuscripts.

Transitional: The chapter follows the structure of the B-Is Laud type chapter but contains some word choices and phrasing from the Stowe-type texts.

Eagle

S/CC22: The Laud-type text has been modified and rearranged in S/CC22, so that the *Etymologiae* extracts are at the beginning of the chapter instead of the end. The entire *Etymologiae* extracts have been retained with the exception of the statement about the eagle diving into the water from on high to catch fish. This usually comes right after the information that the eagle’s eyesight is so good that it is able to see fish swimming in the sea or rivers while it is high in the air ‘*super ethera elevatur.*’ The author of the S/CC22 text may have just wanted to focus on the bird’s sight rather than including information about its eating habits as well.

In addition, the Laud-type text contains information about what happens to those chicks who can and cannot look into the sun. Those who can are deemed worthy and kept so that they can reproduce, and those who cannot are rejected as unworthy. CC22 omits the information about the worthy chicks but keeps that about the unworthy, while S’s text is closer to the Laud-type text. S/CC22 omit the initial quote from Psalms 103.5, about renewing one’s youth like that of the eagle, and have also condensed the lore about the eagle’s physical renewal. The Laud-type text includes the explanation that the eagle flies up into the sky as far as the region of the sun where its old wings and the dimness of its eyes are burned away and then it is renewed when it dives into a fountain, while CC22/S only state that it flies up into the sky and then dives down into a fountain. S/CC22 have also condensed the moralisation that compares the eagle’s renewal to that found in the ‘*spiritualem fontem domini.*’

Both the Laud-type text and S/CC22 state that one must be renewed by water and the Holy Spirit to enter the kingdom of Heaven, but S/CC22 have cut out the sentence that specifically mentions baptism.⁵⁴² This sentence is addressed to a second-person audience, and S/CC22 have omitted other second-person addresses as well. Instead of beginning the allegory with ‘*Ergo et tu homo*’ as is in the Laud-type text, S/CC22 use ‘*audiat homo.*’ It is unclear whether this is referring to the man as a listener or if it is exhorting him to pay attention to what comes next. The Laud-type text also states that the man who approaches the fountain of the Lord has had the eyes of his heart blinded, whereas S/CC22 clarify that this blindness is caused by unbelief. Further on, when the Laud-type text mentions that the eyes of the heart are raised to the Lord, S/CC22 again only refer to the eyes. This may have been an attempt to make the text easier to understand, or replace a spiritual metaphor with a more physical action.

H: This chapter is not in the H manuscripts.

Transitional: The eagle chapter in P is the same as that of the Second Family, while that in M and RC shows similarities to the Laud and Stowe/CC22-type.

Phoenix

S/CC22: The S/CC22 text has rearranged the material by moving the *Etymologiae* extracts to the beginning, and has retained almost the whole of these extracts with the exception of the Arabic etymology of the bird’s name. S/CC22 have kept the moralisation that the phoenix represents Christ who has the power to lay down his spirit and take it up again. However, S/CC22 have also cut out the *Physiologus* lore about the bird’s death and resurrection, which accounts for over half of the Laud-type text. Instead, the shorter version of this lore from the *Etymologiae* is used. S/CC22 have also kept the moralisation and remainder of the *Physiologus* material generally intact, but omit the statement in Laud that reminds the reader or listener of this allegorical identification, presumably because this was unnecessary with the new shorter chapter.

H: This chapter is not in the H manuscripts.

Transitional: This chapter does not appear to be the same as either of the Phoenix chapters from the Second Family text, but follows the structure of the Stowe-type text with word variations from the Laud-type texts. What White calls V.25.1 contains the *Etymologiae* extracts on the phoenix, moved to the front of the chapter as occurs in

⁵⁴² ‘*Nisi ergo baptizatus fueris in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti.*’

S/CC22. However, here they show some variations unique to the Laud-type B-Is. After this, the text of the Laud-type allegory (what White calls VI.25.2-3) follows but ends just before the Isidorean texts begin in the Laud-type text, since these have already been moved to the front of the chapter. There are some variations found that are also in the Stowe-type text, but the basic structure is that of the Laud-type B-Is texts.

Hoopoe

S/CC22: The Hoopoe chapter is incomplete in S because it is the last chapter in the first quire and the scribe of the second quire skips to the chapter on ants, rather than completing this one. The chapter in CC22 has been rearranged and shortened. The *Etymologiae* extracts have been moved to the start of the chapter, and the statement that the hoopoe lives in a cave has been removed. As well, CC22 states that a man rubbed with hoopoe's blood will see demons in his sleep, while according to the Laud-type text, the demons will seem to suffocate him. S/CC22 have also added a sentence stating that the natural philosophers say the hoopoe's heart is effective in sorcery; this is not found in the *Etymologiae*.⁵⁴³ CC22 has omitted much of this chapter, including the introductory biblical quotations from Exodus 20.12 and 21.17, as well as the reiteration of the young birds' debt to their parents after such devotion in raising the young. CC22 has also condensed the section on how the young care for their parents, and made it less repetitive.

H: This chapter is not found in H.

Transitional: The section that White calls VI.26.1 contains the Laud-type text, although it has been slightly re-worded and ends just before the *Etymologiae* extracts. VI.26.2 is taken from the beginning of the Stowe-type text.

Lizard

S/CC22: This chapter is not in S/CC22.

H: The H text begins with a quotation from the *Etymologiae* (12.4.34, 38). The second part refers to the *Physiologus* with the usual opening '*Physiologus dicit de eo.*' This chapter is in the Y and DC *Physiologus*, but the text in the H version is that of the DC *Physiologus*. The format of the H chapter is the same as chapters in the other B-Is texts, in which the *Etymologiae* extracts are added to a *Physiologus* chapter. In this case they

⁵⁴³ The hoopoe was widely associated with the practice of magic throughout the Middle Ages. According to one fifteenth-century manual, the hoopoe 'has great power for necromancers and invokers of demons.' Kieckhefer, *Magic*, p. 162.

are added to the start of the chapter, which is more akin to the organisation seen in S/CC22, rather than in the Laud-type texts.

Transitional: The text is the same as that of the Second Family, which is also the same as the text in the *Etymologiae*.

Ants⁵⁴⁴

CC22: CC22 has condensed the information in this chapter, but the order has not been changed. The opening quotation from Proverbs 6.6 advising one to imitate the ant has been omitted, as has the reference to the *Physiologus* as a source. The three natures of the ant as found in CC22 are the same as those in the Laud-type text. CC22 condenses and rephrases parts of the first nature, but still retains the allegorical comparison of the ants to the five wise and foolish virgins (Matthew 25.8). In the second nature, the Laud-type text twice addresses the reader or listener directly as ‘*tu homo dei*’ but CC22 has omitted *tu* both times, perhaps indicating that the text is to be read individually instead of used as an oral teaching text. CC22 condenses the second nature, and has omitted the quotation from Romans 7.14 regarding the spiritual nature of the Law and instructing the man of God to produce spiritual instead of carnal fruits. The third nature has also been condensed. Notably, the command to flee from certain heresies, and the list of these heresies, have been omitted. There is a much longer section in the Laud-type text that details the effects of heresy on the soul, listing specific heresies to be avoided, and explicitly stating that these heresies are of the devil and are enemies of the truth. CC22 merely states that the doctrines of heretics kill the souls of men, so it seems as if the composer of CC22 was not especially worried about either these specific heresies or by heresy in general.

Both the *Etymologiae* and the Laud-type texts state that the gold-digging ants in Ethiopia have the shape ‘*formam*’ of dogs, while CC22 has changed this to the size ‘*modum*’ of dogs. CC22 does not omit any of the information about these ants, or how they are tricked out of their gold, although the Laud-type texts refer to pack-horses ‘*equus*’ while CC22 is not so specific and refers to ‘*iumenta*.’ However, the final section on the *formicaleon* has been condensed. CC22 does not use the name *formicaleon* and omits the information that it hides in the dust so that it can kill ants

⁵⁴⁴ The remainder of the chapters, with the exception of the Weasel and Siren, are found in quire two of S, which contains the Laud-type text. Therefore, the discussion of the modifications refers only to the text in CC22.

passing by. CC22 only states that it is an ant that is called a lion, and is like a lion to ants, while the Laud-type text indicates that the *formicaleon* could also physically be part lion and part ant.

H: The H text is closer to the Laud-type texts than to CC22, and there are no significant differences between the two texts.

Transitional: The chapter is composite. The first nature of the ant appears to be taken from a Laud-type source but with some information from a CC22-type text. P is closer to the Laud-type text in that it includes more of it at the beginning of the chapter. V is even closer to the Laud-type than P is. The second nature is generally similar to that found in the Second Family, but the beginning and end show more similarities to the CC22 and Laud-type texts. In the case of V and P, the text is closer to the B-Is texts and none of it is more similar to the Second Family text. In addition, P and V include a phrase from the CC22 text in the second nature, relating how the ant divides the seeds it gathers in two, while the other Transitional manuscripts stay closer to the Second Family text. In M, RC, and N, the third nature is the same as that found in the Second Family. However, P and V begin with the Laud-type opening and then switch to the same text found in the other Transitional manuscripts.

Siren

CC22: This was originally a double chapter in the Laud-type text, treating the siren and onocentaur. The structure in the Laud-type text is: a) *Physiologus* material on the siren b) *Physiologus* material on the onocentaur c) *Etymologiae* extracts on the siren d) *Etymologiae* extracts on the onocentaur. The compiler of CC22 has separated the two chapters and rearranged the Laud-type information on the siren. All of the *Etymologiae* extracts on the siren have been moved to the beginning of the chapter without any modification. The opening quotation from Isaiah (Cf. Isaiah 13.21; 34.14) found in the Laud-type text has been omitted, and the information following that has been modified. Here, CC22 adds the information that the siren is found in the sea, and specifies that it is ‘from the head’ to the the navel that is part human, although CC22 uses *feminas* instead of *hominis*. CC22 also states that the bottom half of the siren is that of a fish, not a bird as is found in the Laud-type text. However, there is no mention of a half-fish siren in any of the Laud-type manuscripts, or in the *Etymologiae*. The tale of the sailor’s seduction is simplified in CC22 and made less repetitive. Also omitted is the specific

reference to the ‘theatrical’ pleasures of this world, such as ‘tragedies’ and ‘comedies.’ CC22 merely refers to *deliciis*. This may have been because the scribe of CC22 did not think the admonition regarding the theatre was relevant to the audience, or he may have found it too specific and wanted to warn against other worldly pleasures as well.

H: The H text is the same as the Laud-type, although the text in H may have been influenced by that in CC22. For example, H states that the lower half of the sirens have the form of birds or fish, while the Laud-type only mentions birds and CC22 only mentions fish. H also adds in the a reference to fish and scales to the *Etymologiae* extracts that are found at the end of the chapter.

Transitional: The beginning until ‘*avidissime prede*’ is the same as the Second Family text, which is different from both the Laud and CC22-type texts. The final two sentences are modified from the *Etymologiae* extracts. P is closer to the Laud-type text than the other manuscripts. V contains the CC22 chapter in its entirety, although there are minor variations.

Ibis:

CC22: CC22 has extensively rearranged and condensed the Laud-type text, more so than in the other chapters. As usual, the *Etymologiae* extracts are moved to the start of the chapter, and the information that the ibis lives by the Nile river is omitted. CC22 then rearranges the information about the ibis’ eating habits, and omits a large section that expands on its inability to go into deep water where the clean fish live. Both CC22 and the Laud-type text address the reader or listener as a Christian who has already been baptised by water and the Holy Spirit, and include a list of the fruits of the spirit which the Christian is to feed upon. However, the Laud-type list is longer as CC22 resorts to ‘*et cetera*’ after the first five, and omits the Laud-type list of the ‘works of the flesh.’ Aimed at an audience that refuses to enter deeper spiritual waters, these are called ‘carnal and deadly’ foods and likened to the food of the ibis. Only CC22 specifically mentions that since the bird eats corpses, it symbolises men who feed on the *mortiferis operibus*.

The Laud-type text further extends the swimming metaphor by advising the reader or listener learn to swim over the sea, presumably representing the present world, and protect himself with the sign of the cross if he wishes to overcome. It further warns that those who cannot swim spiritually will be shut off from the Kingdom of Heaven.

The Laud-type text then gives examples of things which do not work unless parts of them are extended: the rays of the sun and moon, ships' sails, and the arms of Moses ensuring the victory of the Israelites over the Amalechites. CC22 does not use the swimming metaphor at all, and does not mention ships needing to put up their sails. Instead, CC22 changes the Laud-type analogy to one of flying birds that figure the saints who arrive at the Kingdom of Heaven, and uses it to advising to reader or listener that if he does not protect himself with the sign of the cross and extend the two wings of love, he will not be able to pass through the storms of the present world to Heaven.

H: This chapter is the same as the Laud-type, although was not copied from any of the English manuscripts, and comes before the H bestiary proper begins. It could be argued that this is the actual starting point of the H text, given its source in the bestiary rather than the Aviary, but the opening bestiary rubric is still found at the start of the Lion chapter. The Ibis chapter is not found in the Aviary text, which may be why it was added from the bestiary.

Transitional: The manuscripts contain the Laud-type text, but not in its entirety. It ends at the same place in the text where the Second Family and CC22-type texts stop, but does not contain either of these texts. It should be noted that the Transitional text does not include the statement about the moon extending its rays, which may be due to an eyeskip error, but it does show other similarities with English Laud-type texts.

Fulica

CC22: CC22 does not include any of the *Etymologiae* extracts nor change the order of the material, but the Laud-type text is condensed through the omission of biblical quotations from Psalms 104.17 and Matthew 10.22, 4.4.⁵⁴⁵ The Laud-type text is addressed to '*omnis homo fidelis secundum dei voluntatem conservatur*' while CC22 is addressed to '*omnis fidelis se conservat,*' which may indicate that CC22 is intended to be used before a more diverse audience. Both the Laud-type text and CC22 compare the *fulica* that lives in one place to those who remain in the Church, but only the Laud-type text expands on this by also stating that those who remain until the end are an example of those in the Gospel who persevere to the end and thus are saved.

⁵⁴⁵ The bird is called the *herodii* in the Vulgate and Septuagint. The *Physiologus* Y refers to it as '*herodius id est fulica.*' Carmody, 'Versio Y', p. 101.

H: This chapter is found between the bestiary and Aviary, and contains a B-Is text that is generally closer in word choice to the French B-Is manuscripts.

Transitional:

The text follows that of the Laud-type text with a few variations found in the CC22-type text, although the *Etymologiae* extracts are omitted.

Whale

CC22: CC22 retains the Laud-type text's opening sentence detailing the creature's name in both Latin and Greek, but then inserts some of the *Etymologiae* extracts in place of a sentence stating that the whale's body is so large that it has sand on its back like the seashore. These extracts also mention the whale's size, but add in that such a creature swallowed Jonah, as well as the biblical quotations relating to this (Jonah 2:3). Parts of the *Etymologiae* extracts have been omitted, and the *Physiologus* description used instead. This is seen in the description of the way that sailors are fooled into thinking the whale is an island. However, the account has been somewhat expanded. The Laud-type text merely states that the sailors think the whale is an island because it is covered with sand, as is mentioned at the start of the chapter. However, because CC22 has omitted that sentence, the author describes how the whale stays in one place for so long that sand blows onto its back and bushes grow there, and that is why the sailors mistake it for an island. Both the Laud-type text and CC22 state that the sailors build a fire on the whale's back, but CC22 has omitted the reasoning behind this: the sailors wish to cook their food after the work of landing the ship.⁵⁴⁶ Both texts then describe what the Laud-type text calls the creature's 'second nature' of attracting little fish with its fragrant breath and then eating them. Both compare this to the actions of the devil, but the allegory is taken further in the Laud-type text where the little fish are compared to those who are small in faith. Those who are greater in faith have Christ in their minds and so do not draw near to the devil. CC22 omits these latter comparisons.

H: The H chapter is the same as that found in the Laud-type texts.

Transitional: The section that White labels VII.3.1 contains the opening from the CC22/Second Family-type text, since CC22 was a source for the Second Family Whale

⁵⁴⁶ This particular detail is found in the illustrations from multiple bestiary versions, which often include additional, memorable details such as the use of bellows to fan the flames (BL MS Harley 4751, f. 69r; BnF, MS lat. 14429, f.118r) and sailors drying or warming themselves by the fire (BnF, MS fr. 1951, f. 30r; Bodl. MS Bodley 764, f. 107r; BnF, MS lat. 2495B, f. 46v).

chapter. VII.3.2 is also similar to both the CC22 and Second Family, but is closer to the Second Family. There is an eyeskip in the Transitional text and in the Second family that is not in the CC22/B-Is.⁵⁴⁷ VII.3.3 contains the Second Family text up to the point where it then switches to the Laud-type moralisation, ending just before the *Etymologiae* extracts. The entire chapter in P is that of the Laud-type text.

Weasel

S/CC22: The Weasel and the Asp chapters are no longer contiguous in S and CC22, although in S only the Weasel is in the first quire. The Asp chapter appears in the second quire and so is merely a copy of the Laud-type text. Although the two chapters were originally joined in a single chapter in the *Physiologus*, they only follow one another in the Laud-type text. The general structure of the Laud-type chapter is: a) *Physiologus* text about the weasel with moralisation b) *Physiologus* text about the asp with moralisation c) *Etymologiae* extracts about the weasel d) *Etymologiae* extracts about the asp. The weasel chapter in both S and CC22 consists of the *Etymologiae* extracts about the weasel followed by a condensed and altered version of the Laud-type text. Additionally, the omitted parts from the Laud-type text relating to both the asp and the weasel are inserted into the margin in S.

S/CC22 have cut out the first sentence in the Laud-type text which is a quotation from Leviticus 11.29 forbidding the eating of weasels because they are unclean. Most of the extracts from the *Etymologiae* that are moved to the start of the chapter in S/CC22 remain unchanged, i.e. the etymology of the animal's name, the way it moves its young about, and the two types of weasels defined by where they live. However, the information on the weasel's method of conceiving and giving birth has been altered in S/CC22. According to the Laud-type text (and the earlier *Physiologus*), it conceives through the mouth and gives birth through the ear. The *Etymologiae* extracts assert rather that 'some say' that it conceives through the mouth and gives birth through the ear, but this is false. Whether Isidore thinks that weasels conceive in the normal manner is not clear, but the author of S/CC22 has evidently taken this to mean that some people also say that it conceives through the ear and gives birth through the mouth, as both possibilities are mentioned. S/CC22 then add in a sentence on the weasel's skilfulness

⁵⁴⁷ Clark states that the eyeskip is in the B-Is/CC-type texts but it is not. Clark, *Second-Family*, n. 408, p. 205.

in medicine and its ability to bring its young back to life if they are killed.⁵⁴⁸ Both the Laud-type text and S/CC22 compare the weasel to those who hear the word of God but refuse to obey it, but S/CC22 have changed the reasons for this from mere disobedience, to being caught up in the love of earthly things.

H: The H text is a composite of both the Laud-type and S/CC22, although it is closer to S than to CC22. The opening sentence is that of the Laud-type stating that the weasel is not to be eaten; this is not found in the main text of S/CC22. The H text then follows the S description about the weasel's method of reproduction, but stops when the moralisation in S begins. The moralisation in H is taken from the Laud-type text, and the only change made in the H text is that it adds a phrase specifying that the enchanter is the preacher of the word of God. The H text then concludes with the last sentence of the Laud-type's additions from the *Etymologiae*.

Transitional: The section that White labels V.25.1 consists of the *Etymologiae* extracts on the weasel taken from the Laud-type text. V.25.2 begins with the Laud-type opening, but the final sentence looks like a paraphrase of the same sentence in the CC22-type or Second Family text. V.25.3 is a composite of the CC22 or Second Family type and the Laud-type text as there is information that is only found in each of these that is joined together. However, White has neglected to mention that after the weasel information, P (and V) contain the Laud-type information on the asp. White also describes the illustration of the animal as a weasel with a mouse in its mouth but it is more likely that this is the weasel carrying its young from place to place.⁵⁴⁹

Partridge

CC22: CC22 has omitted most of the Laud-type text in this chapter to avoid repetitions. The *Physiologus* account of the partridge's theft of other bird's eggs has been omitted since it is also found in the *Etymologiae* extracts. The extracts in their entirety, although with some single-word differences, have been moved to the beginning of the chapter. These include the lore, not found in the Laud-type text, that the male partridge is so full of lust that it attempts to mate with other males. Perhaps surprisingly, this trait of the males is not moralised in CC22 at all. The author has instead retained the Laud-type text's comparison of the mother partridge to the devil who also tries to steal men,

⁵⁴⁸ This lore may be related to the belief that weasels are able to heal themselves with the herb rue after they have fought with serpents. Pliny, *Natural History* (8.41).

⁵⁴⁹ White, *Northumberland*, p. 43.

who hear the voice of Christ and are able to fly back to him through faith, using spiritual wings. However, CC22 omits the information that God receives these and shelters them under his wings, and the Mother Church gives them sustenance.

H: This chapter is not in H.

Transitional: There are two Partridge chapters in the Transition manuscripts. The first contains the same text as that in the second Partridge chapter in the Second Family text. Clark identifies the source as Solinus, *Collectanea* (7:29-32).⁵⁵⁰ The second Transitional Partridge chapter follows the Laud-type text to a point, after which it contains the *Etymologiae* extracts on the partridge, with similarities to both the Laud and CC22-type texts, and the entirety of the CC22 chapter.

Asp

CC22: In the Laud-type text, the *Physiologus* information about the asp follows that on the weasel because the asp is also compared to those who hear the word but refuse to obey it. CC22 has combined and rearranged the *Physiologus* information and the *Etymologiae* extracts so that all of the material relating to the asp is in the Asp chapter. Some of the *Etymologiae* extracts are moved to the opening of the chapter, but Isidore's account of the way the asp plugs its ear when it hears the enchanter is omitted because the author of CC22 uses the text from the *Physiologus* to supply this information. The author of the Laud-type text included Isidore's list of different types of asp (*dipsa*, *prialis*, *emorois*, *prester*) but the author of CC22 has omitted most of these names, combined certain characteristics under the name of '*dipsa*,' changed '*emorois*' to '*ex morreis*,' and completely omitted the information on the *emath* and *prester*. In addition, the *Physiologus* lore about the asp and the enchanter is simplified in CC22, and a sentence about the asp having a carbuncle in its forehead is added.⁵⁵¹ Both CC22 and the Laud-type text compare the asp to certain types of men, but only the Laud-type specifies that they are rich men. CC22 adds in a verse that says that only those who renounce everything are able to be disciples and finishes by saying that the men who are like asps blind themselves lest they see heaven and are reminded of the works of the

⁵⁵⁰ Clark, *Second-Family*, n. 288, p. 180.

⁵⁵¹ The term refers to a precious stone. According to the *Etymologiae* (16.14.1), the carbuncle is 'fiery' and shines in the dark. There are twelve kinds, and they come from 'Libya where the Troglodytes live. Apart from the CC22 text, I have not found any other mention of the carbuncle in connection with the asp. Isidore mentions the *dracontis* stone found in the brain of the dragon, but this stone is 'translucent white.' *Etymologiae* (16.14.7).

Lord. This passage is much expanded in the Laud-type text and adds the information that those who do want to hear God, will do so in the Day of Judgement while the others will be cast into the eternal fire. This chapter is only found in this form in CC22 because S contains the Laud-type version, as explained above.

H: This chapter contains only the Asp section from the *Etymologiae* extracts at the end of the Mustela/Asp chapter.

Transitional: The Asp chapter is the same as that found in the Second Family (which is itself taken from the CC22-type text), and contains a description of a variety of types of snakes. V and P contain the Laud-type information on the asp at the end of their Weasel chapters but they also have the Second Family Asp chapter in their serpents section. White's chapter IX.5.10 begins with the *Etymologiae* information on the *haemorrhoids*, but then continues with the CC22 Asp chapter. This composite *Haemorrhoids* chapter show slight variations when compared to the earlier one.

Ostrich

CC22: The chapter has been condensed in CC22, but not rearranged. In addition, the extracts from the *Etymologiae* are not included at all. The scribe of CC22 likely misread or misheard the animal's name in his source, as he has listed the Latin name as '*fruction*' instead of '*strutio*;' he has also retained the Latin name '*assida*' and the Greek name '*stricte camelon*'. Both the initial quotation from the book of Jeremiah 8.7 relating to the ostrich, and the reference to the *Physiologus* statement that the bird is like the vulture (*voluptarium*) are omitted in CC22. CC22 retains the lore that the ostrich sees the star called '*Virgilia*' in the sky and thus knows when to lay its eggs, but omits the quotation from Job 9.9 relating to those stars.⁵⁵² CC22 has cut out much of the repeated information about this star relating to its arrival with the crops blossom in the summer, and instead retains the clarification that the star appears in the month of June. CC22 has also omitted the lore about the ostrich being a naturally forgetful bird.

Some of the moralisations have been condensed and slightly changed as well. The Laud-type text addresses itself to '*homo fidelis*' while CC22 refers to '*tu homo*'. The Laud-type text also quotes several passages from the New Testament related to following what is heavenly instead of what is earthly. CC22 has omitted these and

⁵⁵² *Virgilia* is usually used in the plural *Virgiliae* to refer to the constellation Pleiades. This quotation from Job 9.9 comes from the Septuagint, not the Vulgate. Curley, *Physiologus*, p. 89. The Vulgate text names Arcturus, Orion, and Hyades; the Septuagint text names Pleias, Hesperus, Arcturus.

instead states that God was made man for those who strive for the heavenly prize, and delivers them from the powers of darkness and gathers them into his kingdom of glory.

H: This chapter is not in H.

Transitional: The text is that of the English Laud-type with some similarities to the CC22 text, although the moralisation at the end is shortened and the *Etymologiae* extracts are omitted. However, *Physiologus* B was not used as a model because the text is closer to that of the B-Is manuscripts. There may be an eyeskip error in the V manuscript but otherwise it contains the same text that is in P, which is closer than the other Transitional texts to the original Laud-type source.

Turtledove

CC22: The chapter is slightly rearranged and shortened. Parts of the *Etymologiae* extracts detailing how it is a chaste bird and lives alone in the deserts and mountains have been moved to the start of the chapter, but the rest of the *Etymologiae* information has been omitted. The reference to the *Physiologus* has been retained in CC22, but the initial quotation from Song of Solomon 2.12 has been omitted. CC22 condenses the rest of the lore explaining how the turtledove stays with one mate and does not search for another if the first is taken. The command to ‘*omnes anime fidelium*’ to hear about the great chastity in such a small bird has also been omitted; such a command would be more appropriate for a listening audience. Both the Laud-type text and CC22 compare the turtledove’s faithfulness to its mate to the faithfulness of the Church to Christ, but CC22 has condensed this comparison and omitted a quotation from Psalms 27.4 relating to those who ‘wait for the Lord’. CC22 has also added in the information that Christ was captured and crucified by the Jews, while the Laud-type text only mentions the crucifixion.

H: This chapter is not in H.

Transitional:

This is the Laud-type text including the *Etymologiae* extracts at the end. There are again similarities between the Transitional text and the English Laud-type text, as well as with some French manuscripts but that may be because the French manuscripts contain an earlier form of the B-Is text.

Salamander

CC22: The chapter has been reduced to the first sentence from the Laud-type text, dealing with the Greek and Latin names of the creature, and parts of the *Etymologiae* extracts. The information retained in the *Etymologiae* extracts is a summary of the non-allegorical content of the Laud-type text's *Physiologus* B section. In addition, there are no moralisations or allegorical material in the CC22 chapter.

H: The H text is that of the Laud-type, not CC22. There is only one change made to the allegory. Where the Laud-type text states 'by faith all of the saints put out the power of the flames,' the H manuscripts change this to say, 'we suffer tribulation and we are not distressed, we are killed and we do not die.'⁵⁵³ Like the other changes made in earlier chapters, this makes the allegory more striking and immediate, and relates it to the reader.

Transitional: The text appears to be a re-shuffling of the Laud-type text, includes some information from the *Etymologiae*, and does not follow the order or text found in any other version.

Dove

CC22: The chapter has been rearranged and shortened in CC22 from over 500 words to less than 200. Sections of the extracts from the *Etymologiae* have been moved to the start of the chapter, although certain pieces of information have been omitted, namely that doves are 'comfortable amid large groups of people,' are 'without bile,' and that 'the ancients called them love-birds because they often come to the nest.' CC22 has also omitted the *Etymologiae* entry on the wood pigeon (*palumbes*) found in Laud-type texts.

The Laud-type text begins with a list of the different colours of the dove, finishing with the red dove. There is then a lengthy allegorical comparison of Christ to the red dove, foremost among all the other colours. The Laud-type text then describes the rest of the colours allegorically as well, supported by Biblical quotations, and finishes with another statement that the red dove also symbolises the passion of the Lord. The text in CC22 has been made less repetitive and easier to understand by omitting the initial list of colours and most of the Biblical quotations, and by gathering

⁵⁵³ B-Is: 'Fide omnes sancti extinguunt virtutem ignis'; H: 'Tribulationem patimur et non angustiamur. deicimur et non perimus.'

all of the information about the red dove at the end of the chapter. In addition, some of the significations of the other colours have been altered in a way that makes them more difficult to remember if one were hearing the text rather than reading it. For example, the *aerius* colour signifies the prophet Elijah; the Laud-type text states that he was taken through the sky (*aela*) in a chariot, thus linking the name to the allegorical events. CC22 removes the phrase ‘*per aera*’ and instead adds that it was a chariot of fire. In both the Laud-type text and CC22, the gold-coloured dove signifies the three young men from the book of Daniel, chapter three. However, the Laud-type text states that this is because they refused to worship the golden statue of Nebuchadnezzar, again linking the physical colour and the allegory. CC22 merely refers to the fact that they were praising God whilst in the furnace. Other allegorical comparisons for the ashy, honey-coloured, and *stephanitus* doves are condensed, while the information about the white and red doves is considerably shorter than that in the Laud-type text. CC22 keeps the comparisons of the white dove to John the Baptist and the red dove to the Passion, but the numerous biblical quotations following these have been omitted.

H: This chapter is found before the H text starts, at the end of the Aviary, and contains the Laud-type text.

Transitional: The section that White calls VI.31.1 contains the same text that is found in the Second Family, but this piece of text on the dove is not found in P. Clark was unable to find the Second Family text as in is in a single source.⁵⁵⁴ VI.31.2 contains the first part of the Laud-type text. VI.31.3 and 4 contains the *Etymologiae* extracts on the *columba*, with parts omitted, and the *palumbes*, with text from Pliny and Bernardus Silvestrus’ *Megacosmus* added at the end

Peredixion Tree

CC22: The chapter contains no extracts from the *Etymologiae* and is not rearranged in CC22, although there are several changes and the text has been condensed. The opening sentence linking this chapter to the chapter on doves, which comes before it in both the Laud-type and CC22 texts, has been omitted. The information about the tree’s name and location has also been changed. The Laud-type text states that it is found in parts of India and that ‘*peredixion*’ is the Greek name, before defining this in Latin as ‘*circa dextreram,*’ whereas CC22 has substituted ‘*orientis*’ for ‘*Indie*’ and added in that

⁵⁵⁴ Clark, *Second-Family*, n. 302, p. 184.

the tree is also called the '*mandragora*.'⁵⁵⁵ The lore about the doves hiding in the tree to escape the dragon is also simplified in CC22. The CC22 text still mentions that the dragon is afraid of the tree and its shadow, but omits the information that when the shadow falls to the right the dragon stays to the left, and vice versa. In this way the text of CC22 is much shorter and less repetitive.

The allegorical comparisons in the Laud-type text have also been simplified from '*Nos vero christiani scientes arborem qui est peredixion*' to '*hec arbor significat dominum nostrum ihesum christum*' in CC22. The Laud-type text contains several Biblical quotations scattered throughout this latter half of the chapter, and these are usually placed right after the allegorical information to which they refer. The author of CC22 has condensed all of the 'comparisons,' cut out many of these quotations, and simplified others. For example, both texts state that the tree's shadow signifies the Holy Spirit, but the Laud-type text has also added in a verse related to the Holy Spirit coming over the virgin Mary (Luke 1.35). The Laud-type text also seems to relate more to monastic brothers in a community. CC22 addresses itself to '*homo*' rather than '*homo dei*', and has removed the references to '*nos christiani*' and the exhortations on how to live in a community.

H: This chapter is found before the H text starts, at the end of the Aviary, and contains the B-Is text.

Transitional: White labels this chapter as VI.31.5, i.e. part of the Doves chapter, but in the manuscripts it is a separate chapter with its own illustration. The Transitional manuscripts contain the Laud-type text and the text that White calls VI.31.6 is the end of the Peredixion Tree chapter from the Laud-type text. It should be noted that the Transitional text shares minor textual rearrangement of the Laud-type text with Br1.

Prophet Amos:

CC22: This chapter is not in CC22.

H: This chapter is not in the DC or H manuscripts.

Transitional: The Transitional manuscripts contain the Laud-type B-Is text.

Adamante:

CC22: This chapter is not in CC22.

⁵⁵⁵ Curley notes that Pliny related the lore about a tree driving off dragons, but in this case it is the ash-tree (*bumelia*) and there is no mention of doves. Curley, *Physiologus*, p. 79.

H: This chapter is not in the DC or H manuscripts.

Transitional: This chapter is not in the Transitional manuscripts.

Margarita:

CC22: This chapter is not in CC22.

H: This chapter is not in the DC or H manuscripts.

Transitional: This chapter is not in the Transitional manuscripts.

Conclusions and Future Work:

In this thesis I provide two major contributions to the study of the medieval Latin bestiary. Part One contains a re-evaluation of two popular assumptions about the bestiary: that it was primarily an illustrated text and that it was primarily an English text. Parts Two and Three contain an analysis of the development of the different versions of First Family, in both England and on the Continent.

In each chapter of Part One, I showed that analysis using relatively ignored manuscripts provides a different interpretation of the bestiary than has been found previously. In Chapter 1, I describe Continental bestiary manuscripts and the ways in which the bestiary appears to have spread across Europe; this has not been described in the literature to date. I also highlight how the surviving bestiary manuscripts show that in Europe, specific bestiary versions appear to have been popular at specific times and in specific locations, far more so than was the case in England. In addition, many of these manuscripts, particularly those in Central and Eastern Europe, have not been previously analysed in published sources in any great detail, but are only known from manuscript lists and catalogues. That there are more English manuscripts than Continental ones does not mean that one should ‘write-off’ the non-English manuscripts as either an aberration or sideline. Indeed, my study raises further questions. Why were bestiaries popular on the Continent at such discrete places and times? Are there other animal texts that were more popular than the bestiary? There is much scope for further research into European bestiary manuscripts.

In Chapter 2, I examine the bestiary and sermon texts found in those manuscripts that may have been useful to preachers, and show that the question of the bestiary’s usefulness to preachers cannot be answered by merely searching sermon collections for information that could only have come from the bestiary, the approach taken by Clark.⁵⁵⁶ Clark also focuses on the bestiary as an illustrated text, and therefore uses this as evidence that the bestiary was not useful to preachers, as most collections of sermons and *exempla* were unillustrated. This accords with my results, as all of the bestiary manuscripts I examined were also unillustrated. I also show how White’s description of the Northumberland Bestiary as a preaching tool is problematic.⁵⁵⁷ This

⁵⁵⁶ See p. 35 above.

⁵⁵⁷ See pp. 37-38 above.

chapter ends with a brief description of Peter of Limoges' collection of sermon *exempla* which is based specifically on the H version. This collection and its relationship to the H bestiary has not been analysed by bestiary scholars, even though it provides a concrete example of at least one instance where the bestiary was thought to be useful in creating a source of *exempla*. Thus, my research on the usefulness of the bestiary to preachers has also raised the need for further study in this area.

Finally, in Chapter 3, I examine two related German bestiary manuscripts that, again, have not been the subject of previous study. I show how these two manuscripts may have been associated with medical or herbal texts, texts which are usually not discussed in conjunction with the bestiary. Again, these are manuscripts that have not been studied to any great extent by scholars. In Part One, therefore, I have demonstrated that the bestiary cannot be thought of as a purely, or even usually, English or illustrated text. Unillustrated and/or non-English manuscripts can be used to provide new examples of the uses to which the bestiary was put, and in turn provide a wider and more complete picture of the bestiary.

In Part Two, I provided a detailed examination and comparison of First Family manuscripts in order to show likely patterns of textual development in both time and space. Whilst previous scholars have studied the relationships between certain First Family manuscripts, their analyses have not incorporated both the French and the English manuscripts of each of the different First Family versions, and this has affected their results. For example, Baxter looked at the development of the Stowe-type text but located this development in England because he did not take into account the similarities between the text in BL MS Stowe 1067, the H version, and Tours. BM MS 312. Clark's assumption that Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica MS Cod. Palat. lat. 1074 does not contain the same text that is found in Bodl. MS Laud. misc. 247 led her, also, to place the initial development of the bestiary in England. My results, however, showed that the first developments of the bestiary text from the *Physiologus* occurred on the Continent. Moreover, development of the bestiary text followed separate paths in England and the Continent, although these occasionally intersect as in the case of the Stowe-type text. I have also provided a detailed analysis of the H text and its sources, and a comprehensive explanation of the reciprocal relationship between the Transitional and Second Family texts. The precise textual comparison I have carried out now allows

for a more accurately grounded study of the cultural environment in which these manuscripts were produced.

In Part Three I describe how the sources used in the creation of the Stowe-type, H, and Transitional texts were modified (or not). Again, whilst previous scholars have looked at the sources used in these texts, I have proposed different sources, as is described throughout Part Two. For example, I have found that the H bestiary text depends far more heavily on the DC *Physiologus* than has been previously thought. In addition, this is the first chapter-by-chapter description that compares all of these texts and places them in relation to one another in a single developmental scheme, as seen in Appendix 3. This also allows me to demonstrate patterns in each version, either in source use or modification, and these patterns could be used in future to demonstrate potential users and audiences. For example, many of the allegorical and theological allusions in the Laud-type B-Is are changed to moral and social admonitions.

Although I have discussed the illustrations where they are especially relevant and support my theories relating to the relationships between manuscripts and manuscript use, a detailed study of early bestiary illustrations remains to be done. It cannot be taken for granted that the illustrations did not travel independently of the text, as has been shown in the case of the Transitional manuscripts. There still remain a substantial number of manuscripts which are yet to be transcribed and analysed, particularly those in Eastern Europe and those manuscripts which are *sui generis* and therefore do not fit into the neat categories I have described. This brings me to one of the major challenges to textual analysis of the bestiary. There is no authoritative bestiary text and the proliferation of different versions indicates that medieval authors felt free to modify it at will. There are definite groups of related manuscripts, but there are not necessarily sharp divisions between these. For example, the Transitional text found in St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia MS Q.v.V.1 shows differences in chapter order and content to the other Transitional texts, but it is still more similar to them than to either the B-Is or Second Family texts. It instead fits somewhere between the B-Is and the later Transitional texts.

Naturally, a considerable amount of work awaits. I have both clarified and made more complex our understanding of the medieval bestiary because, although I shed further light on early bestiary development and the relationships between First Family

manuscripts, I also show that great care must be taken in ascribing commonalities of any sort to a group of bestiary manuscripts. This is especially true in the case of the Second Family whose manuscripts are extremely varied.⁵⁵⁸ The large number of Second Family manuscripts makes the creation of a complete edition a monumental task, useful as such a document would be. One may well ask whether such minute examination of every manuscript is necessary or whether it will yield interesting or useful results. However, this thesis has shown that this level of textual analysis does yield results, and increases our understanding of the bestiary and its medieval audiences.

⁵⁵⁸ Indeed, James states that ‘this Second Family shows all sorts of irregularities, which I am quite unable to reduce to order.’ James, *Ms. Ii 4.26*, p. 14.

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