MEDIEVAL FRENCH BESTIARIES

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

MEDIEVAL FRENCH BESTIARIES

being a Thesis submitted for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the University of Hull

by

Elizabeth Lindsey, B.A.

December 1976

CONTENTS

CHAPTER — PAGE

Acknowledgements..... v

PART ONE — THE TRADITION

One : Introduction..... 1

Two : The Manuscripts..... 17

PART TWO — THE ANIMALS

One : The Choice of Animals..... 72

Two : The Animals Compared..... 97

Three : Conclusions..... 261

PART THREE — EVOLUTION

One : The Influence of the Bestiaries..... 295

Two : The Bestiaries and Symbolism..... 347

Three : The Readership of the Bestiaries..... 402

Four : The Illustration of the Manuscripts..... 449

Five : The Style of the Bestiaries..... 486

Afterword..... 515

Bibliography..... 517

Appendix A : The Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais..528
(from ms. B.N.F.fr. 834)

Appendix B: Sermons of Maurice de Sully.....586

PAGE

NUMBERING

AS ORIGINAL

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to express my gratitude to the many people who have helped me in the preparation of this thesis; especially to the Bibliothèque Nationale for supplying microfilms of various manuscripts, and to the Photographic Section of the University Library, Hull, who processed the miniatures; also the Graphic Department who drew up the Tables.

I should like to thank too the Librarians at the British Museum for help with certain enquiries and the Librarians of the Fitzwilliam Library in Cambridge who were knd enough to send me a manuscript's description I had been unable to find.

I must here express my indebtedness to the work Medieval Latin and French Bestiaries by F. McCulloch, which shed much light on many points, and to Symbolism in Medieval Thought by H. Flanders-Dunbar.

My thanks must also go to Robert Dean, who helped, tirelessly, with proof-reading.

But special thanks must go to Professor C.E. Pickford, of the University of Hull, for his constant help, advice and encouragement. Without his guidance, this thesis would never have been written.

PART I

THE TRADITION

THE PREDECESSORS OF THE FRENCH BESTIARIES

The French Bestiaries of the X11th and X111th centuries marked the culmination of at least two traditions of Beast Legend. The Medieval Bestiaries show clearly the influence of both the Greek Physiologus tradition, the direct ancestor of the Bestiaries, and of the Classical traditions which we have received via Pliny and Solinus. (1)

As the subject of the identity and form of the Greek Physiologus has been broached on many occasions without a definitive solution being propounded, we will limit our study here to a definition and then to a brief survey of the current theories on the Greek Physiologus and its possible antecedents, and of the Latin versions. (2)

The Greek Physiologus, at least in the forms in which it is known today, is a work of symbolic nature, which poses, and tries to answer, the question: 'what can be learned about human existence from the world of nature?'. The Physiologus contained approximately 50 sections, the number varying only very slightly from manuscript to manuscript, each of which contained a physical description of a bird, animal or stone, followed by a religious interpretation of the subject, based either on the nature of the subject viewed as a whole, or a more detailed one based on the different attributes contained in the physical description.

---

(1) For a fuller account, see F. McCulloch: Medieval Latin and French Bestiaries (University of North Carolina: Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures. N.33 Chapel Hill 1962) Pp. 17-34 especially.

For individual, often conflicting views, see:

Sbordonne, F.: Ricerche sulle fonti e sulla composizione del Physiologus Greco Naples 1936

Carmody, F.J. : Physiologus Latinus Versio 'Y'in University of Carolina Publications in Classical Philology Vol. 12 N.7 1941

Later versions of the Greek Physiologus altered this basic work in two ways; firstly, by adding new subject matter, and secondly, and more drastically, by omitting the moralising factors, and reducing a symbolic work to a work on natural phenomena.

It is generally held that the Physiologus in the version we have today, or at least, a very similar version, came into being in the third or fourth centuries A.D. By the end of the Fourth century, its influence had spread sufficiently for Ruffinus (1) to be able to quote from it without having to explain who or what he meant by 'Physiologus'. This, although frustrating for modern researchers, does indicate that the Physiologus tradition was by then started, even developed and known to the point that not only was it used for quotation, but also the reader was expected to understand and recognise the nature of the source.

In the Decretum Gelasianum of 494 A.D., the Physiologus is described as:

'Liber Physiologus ab hereticis conscriptus'

and comdemned. This is proof not only that the book was widely known, but also that it was considered of sufficient importance to have an adverse influence on its public.

---

(1) continued from previous page

Hommel, F. : Die Aethiopische Uebersetzung des Physiologus Leipzic 1877

Wellmann, E. : Der Physiologus: Eine Religionsgeschichlicht-Naturwissenschaftliche Untersuchung. In: Philologus - Supplementband XX11 (1930) P. 1 - 116

Perry, B.E. : Physiologus: in Real-Encyclopaedie der classischen Altumwissenschaft. Ed. Pauly-Wissowa xxxix Halband 1941

(2) continued from previous page

A study of the Latin Bestiaries forms chapter 2 of F. McCulloch's work. (see above: note 1)

(1) F. McCulloch: Op. Cit. p. 19

The accusation levelled against the Physiologus and its author was one of Gnosticism, one which even by today's standards could almost be seen as justifiable. Thus we see that over a period of approximately 150 - 200 years, the work known, like its author, as the Physiologus was compiled in almost its present form, and gained success, even notoriety, in the world of Greek Christian theology. But two problems remain: if the dates of the compilation of the Physiologus are possible to determine, its place of origin and its direct antecendents still pose an unsolved problem.

The most common theory proposed on the subject of the birth-place of the Physiologus is that it originated in Alexandria, that crossroads of learning in the early centuries of the Christian era. Hommel (1) especially is in favour of this theory, basing much of his evidence on the provenance of the animals included in the Physiologus. He points out that many of the beasts come from Ethiopia or Egypt - for example, the crocodile and 'Hydre', the Ethiopian Ants mentioned in many of the Bestiaries, and above all, the Ibis, sacred in ancient Egypt. Is it purely by chance that the habits and interpretation given to this bird by the Physiologus are detestable, or could it be that this section in the Physiologus is a direct attempt to discredit a religion well known in the area where the Physiologus was written?

This theory is tenable, but can be countered in the same terms. When Heliopolis is mentioned in connection with the Phoenix, are we immediately to assume that the Heliopolis concerned is the town of that name in Egypt? Is it not possible that the town referred to is the present town of Balbek in what was formerly known as Phoenicia?

---

(1) Hommel, F. : Op. Cit. P. xv, xvi

And assuming that this were so, would the legend of the Phoenix then be Phoenician instead of Egyptian, as it is frequently claimed to be? With the trade links of the Ancient World, the places of origin of a legend are more difficult to determine than would at first seem to be the case. Are we to assume that, because the legends of the Elephant and the Aptalon mention 'Paradis' and the Euphrates, that the birth-place of both these legends is situate in the valley of the Euphrates?

That the origin of the Physiologus is the region of Alexandria however is still a very probable hypothesis. But this must be looked at in the light not only of the Egyptian elements, but also of those from other geographical locations. Having shown how misleading it can be to base assumptions of the place of origin of the work on the habitat of certain animals, we must see what explanation it is possible to attach to a work which contains descriptions of beasts from so many different countries.

And it is in the nature of Alexandrine culture that we can see the explanation. Only a culture as cosmopolitan, as varied and as rich as the one to be found in Alexandria at that time could have produced a work in which strands from different legends, different civilisations are combined. The Greek civilisation as such was too pure to admit of so hybrid a work, the Jewish too narrow in religious outlook. So, on the grounds that a varied society only could have produced such a work, Alexandria seems the likely birthplace of the Physiologus.

Nor was the influence of Alexandria so transient that the above reasons could not be valid if the Physiologus as we know it was based

on an earlier work on animals, birds and stones such as the one by Bolos of Mendes. Wellmann (1) suggests that Bolos of Mendes based his work on Democritus, and on oral tradition, which shows Jewish influence, as well as that of other Greek writers, such as Heredotus and Aristotle. A plethora of sources indeed! And one which points once more to a mixed culture as being the birthplace of the Physiologus.

A more easily proven theory which places Alexandria as the source of the Physiologus lies in the nature of the Physiologus and of its philosophy itself.

The Physiologus is a work of theology based on the symbolic interpretation of natural phenomena. The nature of theological study at that time was dominated by the need to interpret the more obscure passages of the Scriptures by means of searching behind the literal exposition to find what was considered to be the hidden truth.

This search for a hidden truth was considered essential because of the seemingly irreconcilable natures of the Old and New Testaments. For example, how could the new Testament God, who ordered one to turn the other cheek be reconciled with the Old Testament God who ordained 'an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth.'? The theory widely held at the time was that God's Word was infallible, even when it contradicted itself. Therefore, the contradiction must be only apparent, and due to the imperfect nature of the human mind: there could be no contradiction in the mind of a perfect God, therefore all apparent contradictions met and were resolved in Him. So, faced with the perfect nature of God and the irreconcilable nature of some passages of

---

(1) Wellmann : Op. Cit. passim.

Scripture, the Church Fathers sought behind the Letter of the Law to find its true meaning, revealed only through diligent search and divine inspiration.

The influence of this form of Scriptural elucidation spread, and the world of nature was an obviously fruitful field of interpretation, especially as many animals, the pelican, the turtledove, the lion and the stag, to name but a few, are mentioned in the Bible. There are many more found in the Septuagint, the Greek translation of the first seven books of the Bible, and perhaps it is valid to point out that the Septuagint version, already translated into Latin, was the most well-known version at the time of the compilation of the Physiologus, and was indeed possibly under much discussion during the fourth century, because of the new translation being prepared by St. Jérôme. It is therefore quite probable that the early Physiologus was seen as a work of classification and clarification involving many animals found in the Septuagint.

Once again, therefore, thanks to the influence of Origen and other Christian fathers, Alexandria would seem to lay claim to the merit of being the source of the Physiologus.

A further point to be taken into consideration in a discussion of the sources of the Physiologus is the role played in Christian theology by the other religions, some like the Classical deities, in decline, others, like the Muslim and Jewish beliefs, still flourishing. It must be remembered, as C. S. Lewis points out the The Discarded Image,(1) that the Christian religion was not during the fourth Century fully established, and was still seeking to iron out

---

(1) C. S. Lewis: The Discarded Image Chapter 4 passim

anomalies and clarify its teaching. It was in direct opposition, in many cases, to firmly established views and customs, and was in need of some bonds to attach itself firmly to the cultures in which it found itself.

To adapt a work, such as the ones by Bolos of Mendes, or Democritus would be to build firmly on a basis already laid; such works, already in public view, would offer an entry into the minds of non-Christian philosophers who might otherwise find the new religion too alien for easy comprehension.

It is for this reason that I feel that the Greek Physiologus was based on a non-Christian work which resembled it more closely than the rather vague sources hitherto mentioned. Evidence, in the form of a known, pre-Christian text, is missing. However, there is an early Latin text, containing Physiologus-type descriptions, but without allegorical interpretation. This is known as the Glossary of Ansileubus. It is obviously written during the Christian era and can lay no claim to being the original from which the rest were taken, but its lack of interpretative attributes singles it out from the other early Latin Works.

Its author quotes the Physiologus, certainly, but whether he had before him a copy of the moralised Physiologus, and was consciously omitting the Christian interpretations, or whether he was using a copy of the Physiologus, which claimed Physiologus as its title, but which had never been moralised, and which could have been a descendant of a pre-Christian text is a point which must be taken into consideration.

It seems possible that there might have been a Physiologus-type

text in existence, basing its choice on the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, in which all Biblical animals found in the Bestiaries are contained.

Indeed, it seems to me that the original form of the Physiologus was non-moralised, and the purpose it served was the one I have indicated: a hand-book of less common animals, which contained a physical description and some of the habits the animal was supposed to have. However, not all the animals included are Biblical animals, and this seems to point to concern or interest in animals connected with different schools of thought which is another argument in favour of a pre-Christian basis for the Physiologus.

We must now look at the animals which are included in the various versions of the Physiologus. The oldest extant manuscript contains 49 heads. Some of these are duplicates; there are two chapters on the Diamond as well as one on the Magnet, a stone later incorporated into the Diamond, two on the wild ass (Onager), in one of which it is included with the Ape (Simia). The standard Greek Physiologus contents are as follows, and, for reasons of easy comparison, I include in the same table the contents of one of the older Latin translations, Versio 'Y', as edited by F. J. Carmody. (1)

---

(1) F. J. Carmody: Physiologus Latinus Versio 'Y'

Animal	Latin Physiologus	Greek Physiologus
Agate (and Pearl)	23	44
Amos/fig Tree	28	48
Ant	14	12
Ant-Lion (Formicaleün)	33	20
Antelope (Aptalon)	2	36
Ape and Wild Ass (Onager)	11,25	45,9
Asp	-	-
Beaver	35	23
Charadrius (Caladrius)	5	3
Coot (Fullica)	27	47
Crow	39	27
Diamond	24,46	32,42
Doves	47	35
Eagle	8	6
Elephant	20	43
Fox	18	15
Frog	43	29
Goat	21	41
Hedgehog	16	14
Hoopoe	10	8
Hydrus/Ichneumon	37,38	25,26
Hyena	36	24
Ibis	17	40
Indian Stone	26	46
Lion	1	1
Lizard	-	2
Magnet	45	38
Onocentaurus (and Siren)	15	13
Ostrich	-	49
Owl	7	5
Panther	29	16
Paradixion Tree	19	34
Partridge	31	18
Pearl (and Agate)	23	44
Pelican	6	4
Phoenix	9	7
Salamander	44	31
Sawfish (Serra)	4	39
Siren (and Onocentaurus)	15	13
Snakes	13	11
Swallow	41	33
Stag	42	30
Terrobolen	3	37
Turtledove	40	28
Unicorn	34	22
Viper	12	10
Vulture	32	19
Weasel	-	21
Whale (Aspidochelone)	30	17
Wild Ass ((Onager) and Ape)	11,25	45,9

At first sight, therefore, it seems that the Bestiaries are the direct, linear descendants of the Greek Physiologus, because of the obvious similarity of content, that is, from the point of view of the animals contained. However, when one looks at the content of the individual sections, one finds that the Bestiaries provide evidence of the introduction of non-Physiologus, animal legend; material found in the larger, later Latin Bestiaria, such as the Books 11 and 111 of De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus by Honoré de St. Victor which dates from the late 11th Century. Much of the material found in De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus is derived, directly or indirectly, from Classical sources. Attributes from Aristotle come via Pliny, who in turn is transmitted with other additions via Isidore of Seville and Solinus. These, again, are not linear connections; rather, it is a tracing of influence, not of direct descent. However, it is none the less true to say that Honoré de St. Victor is aware of the work of Isidore of Seville (1) which dates from the 7th Century, and directly or indirectly of that of Pliny. (2) In the section on the Partridge in 'De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus', Honoré de St. Victor quotes Isidore of Seville directly over the etymology of the name; and there are very many sections which show a remarkable similarity between the two texts. Thus we see that, although the Greek Physiologus and its early Latin translations certainly had influence in the compiling of the Medieval Bestiaries, especially in the choice of animals, the attributes and the moral interpretations were expanded by means of material from other, non-Physiologus sources.

---

(1) Isidore of Seville: Etymologiae (ed. W.M. Lindsay) for S.C.B.O.

(2) Pliny: Naturalis Historia (ed. H. Rackham;).

It now remains to consider briefly the Latin Versions of the Physiologus, the earliest of which show their close links with the Greek by transcribing the Greek names for the animals, and certain Greek words, a habit which died hard, as even in the late French Bestiary of Guillaume Leclerc, we find the Greek names for certain animals, and Philippe de Thaün, writing a century earlier, gives or indicates the Greek names or their derivation for no less than 11 animals.

There were several early Latin versions, of which two have been edited, the 'Y' Version, edited by F. J. Carmody (1) and the 'B' Version, edited by Carmody also (2), and by Cahier (3). The other early version, A and C. All these early Latin Physiologus Texts show, at the same time, sufficient similarity to be certain of an ultimate single source, that is, they all derive ultimately from the Greek Physiologus, and sufficient differences to show that they are not translations of the same Greek manuscript. This again shows that the Greek tradition was sufficiently strong and widespread for several distinct, but related versions to exist.

The next stage in the development of the Latin Physiologus was the version that F. McCulloch (4) has aptly termed the B-Is Version. This is an adaptation of Versio 'B' with inclusions from Isidore of Seville. It is from this version that the French Bestiaries eventually emerged.(5) However, they are not direct translations as inconsistencies of content, both of animals included and of material in the individual sections betray the influence of other sources,

---

(1) F. J. Carmody: Physiologus Latinus: Versio 'Y'

(2) F.J. Carmody: Physiologus Latinus: Versio 'B' Paris 1939

(3) C. Cahier: Mélanges d'Histoire, d'Archaéologie et de Littérature

(4) F. McCulloch: Op. Cit. P.28 - 30

(5) F. McCulloch: Op. Cit. P.45 - 47

such as De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus.

The Latin Bestiary tradition at this point separated from the Medieval French one, in that the French Bestiaries followed more closely the tradition of the Physiologi, whereas the Latin Bestiaries established themselves as a different, much more extensive type of work, and until the tradition died out, towards the close of the XVth Century, continued to expand and absorb more non-Bestiary material, until they resembled the huge 'Speculum' type works, an encyclopaedia of knowledge covering not just animal legend, but venturing into the realms of geography and cosmic philosophy.

It can be seen from the number of extant manuscripts, of versions, and the dates of manuscripts, that the Latin Bestiary and its inflated successors were popular far longer than the French Bestiaries. However, it is possible that this popularity was artificially prolonged by the inclusions of the non-Physiologus material from other, possibly more popular sources.

As we can see from Table 1 chapter 1, and from Table 2 chapter 2, the content of the purer Physiologus tradition seems to change little between the earliest extant copy and the X111th century Bestiaries of Pierre de Beauvais and Guillaume Leclerc. Certain chapters, usually weak or obscure in their symbolism have disappeared, chapters like the one on the swallow, which in the Latin Versio 'Y' is little more than a Biblical quotation; others, where duplication occurs, in that there is more than one chapter on a certain beast or stone, have been combined and rationalised. Of the 44 individual sections in the Greek Physiologus, 35 remain in Pierre de Beauvais, Ms. 834

and 34 in the Bestiaire by Guillaume Leclerc; of the missing chapters, several can be accounted for by assimilation and combination. Of those which have disappeared, the stones and the most common animals are those which have suffered most.

Such, then was the state of the tradition when the Medieval writers compiled or translated their Bestiaries. The earliest Greek physiologus texts had given way eventually to Latin, and these Latin works had been expanded with work from many sources. But just how aware were these French writers of the tradition that lay behind them?

They do know that their Bestiaries were derived from 'Physiologus'; they refer to this title often:

"Phisiologes dit que li lyons a trois natures ..." (1)

but they never make it clear - perhaps it is not clear in their own minds - who, or even what, 'Phisiologes' is. Pierre de Beauvais considers that Physiologus is a person, and identifies him as a cleric from Athens, but the identity is so vague as to indicate that Pierre de Beauvais had no real idea who the Physiologus was.

"... selonc le Latin du livre que Phisiologes, uns bons clers d'Athenes, traita ..." (2)

and he attributes the choice of animals to John Chrysostom, Patriarch of Constantinople:

" ... et Jehans Crisostomis en choisi en les natures des bestes et des oisiaus." (3)

Gervaise attributes the compilation of his source Bestiaire to the same person:

---

(1) Pierre de Beauvais: Bestiaire Ms. 834 P. i L. 19

(2) Ibid. P. i L. 9 - 10

(3) Ibid. P. i L. 11 - 12

"Celui qui les bestes descrist
Et qui lor natures escrit
Fu Johanz Boche d'Or nommez
Crisosthomus rest apelez." (1)

Also, the copyists of at least two of the earliest Latin versions, Versio 'Y' and 'Y^2' name John Chrysostom or John of Constantinople as the author of the original version of their work. (2)

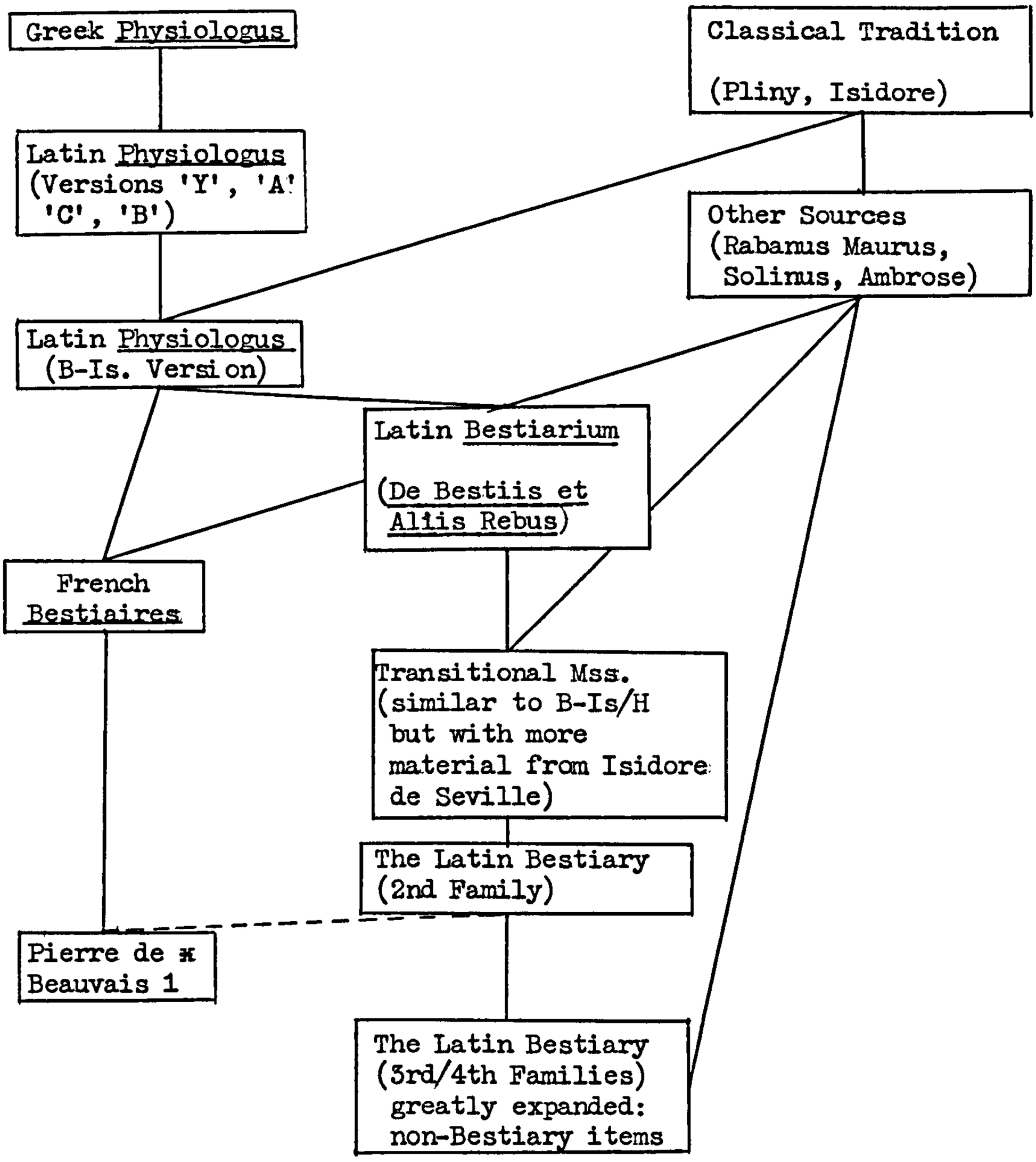
Despite, however, the clear predilection that the Medieval Latin and French authors show for John Chrysostom as their mentor, there is nothing to associate Physiologus with John Chrysostom. Indeed, owing to the celebrity of this Church Father, Patriarch of Constantinople in the 4th Century A.D., is it not likely that Ruffinus, referring to the Physiologus in that same century, would mention such a famous author by name?

So the Physiologus tradition does not run directly from Greek to Medieval French via Latin. Instead, a simplified diagram of the traditions could be as follows:

---

(1) Gervaise: Bestiaire L. 37 - 40

(2) F. McCulloch: Op. Cit. P. 23



* This is a putative placing, as not all the non-Physiologus material in the Long Version of the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais can be explained with reference to Isidore of Seville and the Expanded Latin Bestiaries.

Therefore, it seems that the Medieval writers were as undecided about the source of Latin works they had in front of them as we are. But in an era where accurate naming of source was not important, providing a clerk, who would not carry sufficient weight of learning to feel in the position to claim the work as his own, ascribed it to someone august, few readers would have either the knowledge or the inclination to contradict the ascription.

It is this utter respect for known "auctors" which, as we will see in the next chapter, led the French Medieval writers to transcribe so faithfully their Latin or Greek sources. They may have added certain minor details, again, doubtless taken from a reputable work, but, for the tradition in the Middle Ages to resemble so closely a work already nearly a thousand years old, they like their predecessors, reproduced faithfully their source manuscript to play their part in a tradition which began before Christianity and fell into disuse only with the revival in the Renaissance of that culture which had originally given them birth.

PART 1 CHAPTER 11

THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION

Part 111 Chapter 111 will attempt to analyse the Medieval role of the Bestiaries by referring to the volumes of manuscripts in which the Bestiaries were bound, and by studying the identities of the patrons who commissioned certain types of manuscripts, to see if the Middle Ages had a less restricted view of the contents of the Bestiaries than the one we subscribe to today.

This chapter, therefore, gives an analytical list of the volumes in which Bestiaries are found. As there is no intention to classify the manuscripts into any particular categories at this stage, the manuscripts are arranged merely by library. This departs but slightly from the order established by R. Reinsch [1] for the manuscripts of the Bestiaire de Guillaume Leclerc, and by F. McCulloch [2] for those containing the Bestiaries of Philippe de Thaün and Pierre de Beauvais.

(A) The Manuscripts of the Bestiaire de Philippe de Thaün

(1) BRITISH MUSEUM: COTTON NERO A $\overline{V}$

A volume of 119 folios, 13 x 18 cm. this manuscript is written on parchment. The volume appears to consist of two manuscripts bound together at an early date, but not when originally copied. Folios 1 - 82v seem to be copied in the same hand, and are written with one column in the middle of the page, 24 lines to

---

(1) The Bestiaire de Guillaume Leclerc ed. R. Reinsch. P. 13 -31

(2) F. McCulloch: op. cit. P. 57 - 58

/2

the page. The initial letter of every line is separated from the rest of the word it belongs to. Folios 83r - 119v (there is a blank folio between folios 82 and 83) are in a later hand and written in long lines. These folios are annotated in a hand of the same period as the one in which the text is copied: it is possibly the same hand. The quality of the parchment is not consistent throughout. The manuscript is not dated in any section, but is, according to the catalogue, from the X111th Century.

The manuscript is not illustrated, apart from several preliminary sketches in folios 41r - 82v (the Bestiary); spaces have been left for this work to be carried out at a later stage. There is no marginal illustration, except for several doodles in folios 83r - 119v; these mostly take the form of hands pointing to parts of the text or to marginal notes. There are red and blue capitals in folios 1 - 82v, and red capitals in folios 83r - 119v. Folios 41r - 82v contain rubrics.

This manuscript, or at least folios 1 - 82v were formerly the property of the Abbey of Holmcoltran in Cumbria. This is attested to by an inscription on folio 82v which reads as follows:

"liber sc(ienc)e Marie de Holmcoltran."

The volume is bound in brown leather and bears a gold crest on the binding, front and back. The same crest is to be found on the inside of the cover at each end. On the old folio 1 (the folios have been renumbered) there is a Latin index in a hand of a much later date.

Content	Author	Folio
Li Cumpoz	Philippe de Thaün	1 - 41

Content	Author	Folio
Li Bestiaires	Philippe de Thaün	41 - 82
Life of Thomas à Becket	Herebertum de Bosham	83 - 119

(2) OXFORD : MERTON COLLEGE 249

A volume of 186 folios, 275 x 190 mms., it is written on vellum, with two columns of 37 lines to the page. The manuscript is not dated, but the catalogue gives the date of copying as the X111th century. The manuscript was copied in England. It is written in several different hands, which even change within a work; the quality of the text is inconsistent: the beginning of the Bestiary, folios 1 - 10, is very faulty as far as line 205, but after that, the text is more carefully copied. (1)

Folios 1 - 10 (the Bestiary) are illustrated with 49 miniatures, not very well executed, and mostly drawn in ink. Latin rubrics are done in black ink, like the rest of the text, but initials are coloured in red and blue. The text of the Bestiary is written as prose, but there are capitals to indicate the beginning of every other line.

Also at the beginning of the Bestiary there are 24 lines intercalated after the prologue; these are written in a different hand from the prologue and are addressed to Alienor of Aquitaine, wife of Henry II, although the poem itself is addressed to Aaliz, first wife of Henry II.

---

(1) E. Walberg: Op. Cit. P.vw - viii

14

Coxe, who catalogued Merton College Library manuscripts in 1852 ascribes the manuscript to the bequest of:

"Will. Reed, Ep. Cicestr. quem emit a ven. patre Tho. Tryllek, Ep. Roffensi." (1)

Contents	Author	Folio
Bestiaire Moralise in Old French	Philippe de Thaün	1 - 10
Moral sentences in verse	Anon	11 - 12
De Miseria humanae conditione	Innocent III	12 - 29
De Summa Trinitate et Fide Catholica	Innocent III	29 - 45
Letter: from 'Valerii sive Valeriani' to Rufinus: "ne duceret uxorem"	'Valerius'	45 - 48
Tract or Sermon of St. Zacharia in 8 parts	Anon	49 - 51
De Officio Missae	Innocent III	52 - 75
A calendar		76 - 79
De Pastorali Cura (Book II)	St. Gregory the Great	80 - 116
Expositions of various psalms in Old French (incomplete)	Anon	117 - 142

(1) F. M. Powicke : The Medieval Books of Merton College Oxford: Clarendon Press 1931 P. 178 - 9

Contents	Author	Folio
Liber: de Officio Sacerdotum et Curatorum	Anon	142 - 175
Sermo: de Dilatione Sermonum	Frater Ricardus	175 - 180
Sermon: Abraham Tetendit Tabernaculum suum	Anon	181 - 183
De Excelso misit ignem in ossibus meis	Anon	183 - 186

(3) COPENHAGEN : GREAT ROYAL LIBRARY : FORMER ROYAL COLLECTION 3466 (1)

A volume of 51 folios, 170 x 100 mms., with two end papers; written on vellum with 24 lines to the page. The manuscript is not dated, but is thought to belong to the late X111th or early X1Vth century, and is copied in the Francien dialect.

The manuscript contains only the Bestiary, which starts on Folio 3 (this not including the end papers), and is incomplete, ending on Folio 51r during the article on the "Cetus".

The manuscript is illustrated with miniatures, which are not very well executed.

The rubics are done in red and capitals in red and blue.

The original owners are not positively known, but later owners are indicated on the manuscript: at the beginning of the manuscript is the following inscription, written in a hand later than that of the text:

---

(1) For this information see E. Walberg, Op. Cit. Pages V111 - 1X

"Ex. Lib. Martini a Campis."

indicating that the book belonged at one stage to the monastery of St. Martin des Champs in Paris. The volume was later bought by a Frederik Rostgaard, during one of his voyages to France at the end of the XV11th century; he is known to have been in Paris in 1697.(1) The manuscript came into the possession of the Copenhagen Royal Library with the Collection of Count Christian Danneskjold. (2)

Contents	Author	Folio
Bestiaire	Philippe de Thaün	3 - 51r

(B) The Manuscript of the Bestiaire de Gervaise

(1) LONDON BRITISH MUSEUM : ADDITIONAL 28260

A volume of 101 folios, 4.5" x 6.25", this manuscript is written on vellum, in long lines (folios 3 - 33v) or in one column in the centre of the page (folios 35 - 101), with 23 lines to the page. The manuscript is not dated, but is of the X111th century, according to the catalogue. The writing is neat and clear; folios 84 - 101 are in a similar hand to that of folios 35 - 83, and folios 3 - 33 show a similar consistency.

The illustration in folios 84 - 101 (the Bestiary) consists of primitive sketches of animals, executed in ink, with no attempt at colouring.

---

(1) See Abrahams: "Description des Mss. Français du Moyen Âge de la Bibliothèque Royale de Copenhague". (Copenhagen 1844)

(2) See Bibliotheca Danneschioldiana N. 111, P. 407 (Hafnia, 1732) both quoted by . Walberg, Op. Cit. Pp.vii- ix

This illustration ceases at folio 93, and, from then on, three-line spaces are left for the rest of the illustration which was to have been carried out at a later date. There is no marginal illustration, except for a few doodles; folios 33 - 101 contain decoration and capitals executed in red.

The only indication of previous ownership is to be found both on folio 2v and on folio 3r, where the following Latin inscription is to be found:

"Joh(ann)is devantoris alias Sapientis."

There are further notes and inscriptions on folio 2, but none of these reveal an owner's identity. The manuscript was formerly covered in worked leather and wooden boards, catalogued as being of the XVth century, of which a part remains. On both the front and back cover of the book is a crest.

Contents	Author	Folio
Les Quatre Ages de l'Homme	Philippe de Navarre	3 - 33
Li Lucidaire	St. Anselm	35 - 83
Li Livres des Bestes	Gervaise	84 - 101
INSERTIONS		
Fragment of a Latin Grammar Treatise	Anon	1
Aurora: (part of the history of Bel and the Dragon)	Petrus de Riga	101

(C) The Manuscripts of the Bestiaire of Guillaume Leclerc

(1) PARIS : BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE : FONDS FRANÇAIS 14969

A volume of 85 folios, 220 x 148 mms. written in long lines in the centre of the page. The manuscript is on parchment and is bound in red leather. It is not dated, but is considered to belong to the end of the X111th century, (1) and of Anglo-Norman origin. The writing in folios 73 - 85 is smaller and more ornate than that in Folios 1 - 72, but it is very similar and of the same period. Folios 1 - 72v (the Bestiary) are illustrated with miniatures and have ornamented capitals in red and blue. Folios 73 - 85 (the Lapidary) are not illustrated, but space has been left for this work to be carried out later. There is no marginal illustration except for single, short scrolls extending from the capitals. The miniatures are not elaborate, and the artist is more successful on form than on colouring, but they are accurate representations of the text they illustrate.

No indication is given of original ownership, but the binding bears the French Royal coat of arms. On the fly-leaf is found a Latin inscription in a later hand, and a primitive sketch of a woman. This manuscript was missing when L. Pannier wrote his work: Lapidaires Français, (2) but is referred to by J. Evans and P. Studer in Anglo-Norman Lapidaries. (3)

---

(1) Dated by M. P. Meyer: an article. in Romania, Vol. XXXV111 P. 53 - 57

(2) L. Pannier: Lapidaires Français

(3) J. Evans and P. Studer: Anglo-Norman Lapidaries p. 4.

Contents	Author	Folio
Bestiaires - poème	Guillaume Leclerc	1 - 72v
Lapidaires	Marbode	73 - 85

(2) PARIS : BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE : FONDS FRANÇAIS : 2168

A volume of 242 folios, written on different types of vellum; all folios are of the same size, with two columns to the page. The manuscript contains a large variety of works, copied in many different hands - the writing changes part-way through certain works. R. Reinsch (1) describes it as copied in the Picard dialect, and it is ascribed in the catalogue to the late X111th century. Folios 189 - 209 (the Bestiary) are in a similar hand to that of B.N.F.F. 14964, although the latter is considered to be an earlier manuscript. There are no miniatures: the capitals, though coloured red, are executed without ornament.

The manuscript is well worn, though not damaged in any way, but the original order of the contents has been altered; Bourdillon (2) has established the original order in his introduction to his facsimile of Aucassin et Nicholete.

There are no indications of original ownership; B. Woledge (3) states that the manuscript was acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale towards the end of the XV11th century or the beginning of the XV111th.

---

(1) R. Reinsch: Op. Cit. : P. 17

(2) F.W. Bourdillon: C'est d'Aucas et de Nicholete: Reproduced in Photofacsimile and Type-transliteration from the unique Ms. in the B.N. : Oxford 1896

(3) B. Woledge : l'Atre Perilleux Pp. 13 - 15

University Library Hull

Contents	Author	Folio
De l'Atre Perillous		1 - 45r
Du Vilain de Farbu		45 - 47
Li Laïs de Eudemadec		47 - 48
Li Laïs de Gugemar		48 - 54
Li Laïs de Lanval		54 - 57
Li Laïs de Narcise		58 - 68
Lj Laïs de Grealent		68 - 69
D'Aucassin et de Nicholete		70 - 80
Li Fabliau (Favliane) d'Infer		80 - 87
Du Segretain Moine		88 - 95
L'Image du Monde	Gautier de Metz	95 - 155
Vie de Charlemagne et comment ala en Espagne		156 - 159
Fables	Marie de France	159 - 186
Des Quinze Signes		186 - 189
Le Bestiaire Divin	Guillaume le Normand	189 - 209
Du Boucher l'Abbeville		209 - 212
Du Tort contre le Tort		212 - 215
Li Lucidaires en Roumans		215 - 239
De la vielle Truand		239 - 242

(3) PARIS : BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE : FONDS FRANÇAIS 25406

A volume of 50 folios, written on parchment. The manuscript is not dated, but is considered to be of the late X111th or early X1Vth centuries. The manuscript is written in several different hands. This volume is in a damaged condition, the parchment is cracking, and, according to R. Reinsch [1], has worm-holes. Folios 1 - 3 (original numbering) are missing, with the result that the Bestiary begins at line 118; the pages have subsequently been renumbered. Some folios are out of their correct sequence until the Fables by Marie de France (folios 31 - 49); lines 350 - 586 are missing from the Bestiary (folios 1 - 30v) because of lost folios.

The manuscript is not illustrated, but spaces for this work to be carried out later have been left as follows: folios 1 - 30 (the Bestiary) before each animal; folios 31 - 49 (the Fables de Marie de France) before each fable. The capitals are subdued in decoration, executed in red or blue with contrasting decoration. There is no planned marginal decoration; the copyists include, however, certain thumbnail sketches of heads, faces or animals, usually based on letters, but sometimes free-standing. One indication of ownership is given at the top of the last folio by the inscription:

"Je sui a frere Joham Cholet."

Further inscriptions are found on folio 1. One of these merely states:

"Incipit"

---

(1) R. Reinsch: Op. Cit. P. 18

the other, in a later hand, reads:

"Bestiaire. Fables d'Aesop, a l'eglise de Paris

N.D. 192"

The title on the binding reads:

"Bestiaire. Fables d'Esope, Horace, Phedrus,

Auenus et autres."

This manuscript is described by H. von Leopold Hervieux in Les Fabulistes Latins [1] and by R. Reinsch. [2]

Contents	Author	Folio
Bestiaire	Guillaume Leclerc	1 - 30v
Fables	Marie de France	31 - 49

(4) PARIS : BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE : FONDS FRANÇAIS 14964

A small volume of 208 folios, written on parchment, with one column in the centre of the page. It is written in the same very clear handwriting throughout. The whole manuscript is illustrated, with the exception of folios 182 - 208 (the Lapidary); folios 118 - 181v (the Bestiary) contain miniatures; folios 1 - 116v (the Mappemonde) contains diagrams. The illustrations are richly executed: in folios 1 - 116v they are often decorated with gold leaf. The capitals at the beginning of each work are very ornate; others, though less ornate, are skilfully and carefully drawn.

A note on the fly-leaf dates the manuscript at 1265, in accordance with the date given at the end of the Mappemonde (on folio 116v). This note is in a later hand, and was possibly written at the end of

---

(1) H. von Léopold Hervieux : Les Fabulistes Latins : Paris 1883 - 4 T.I P. 632

(2) R. Reinsch : Op. Cit. Pp. 18 - 20

the XV1th century or at the beginning of the XV11th. The same note further suggests that the author of the Bestiary section was Guillaume de Guilleville, or, more correctly, Guillaume de Deguilleville. This conjecture is hardly likely to be accurate, as Guillaume de Deguilleville was born circa 1294 and died, in Chaalis, in 1355. The Bestiaire de Guillaume Leclerc can be dated, from internal evidence, at 1210 - 1211. The same note further suggests that the "Raoul" mentioned in the apologia of the Bestiary (lines 4139, 4144, 4149, 4163) is Raoul de Ferriers "en Normandie" known to be living in 1250. As the Bestiary was written in about 1211, it is unlikely, though possible, that Raoul de Ferriers is the Raoul referred to in the Dedication.

The manuscript itself appears to have been little used, but not too well bound, as several pages are creased near the spine.

The former classification of the manuscript gives no indication of the early ownership, but the note on the fly-leaf calls the volume:

"Le Livre de Clergie en Roumans."

Contents	Author	Folio
Mappemonde	Gautier de Metz	1 - 116v
Mappemonde peinte		117 -
Bestiaires	Guillaume Leclerc	118 - 181v
Lapidaires	Marbode (transcribed into verse by Guillaume Leclerc	182 - 208

/14

(5) PARIS : BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE : FONDS FRANÇAIS 1444

A volume of 329 folios, (according to the modern enumeration in Arabic figures; the existence of lacunae is indicated in the discrepencies between this modern numbering and an older index (folios 1 - 6) in Roman numerals.)

The manuscript is not dated, but the writing is considered to be of the late X111th century. It is not written throughout in the same script, but all the hands are of the same period. Folios 240 - 256 (the Bestiary) and folios 257 - 265v (li Bestiaires d'Amour) are copied in the same hand.

The index dates from the time of copying.

There are decorated capitals throughout, but only folios 240 - 256 and 257 - 265v (the two Bestiaries) are illustrated. The capitals and illustrations are far from showy; the capitals are neatly done and not unpleasant, but the actual illustrations are rather weak.

This manuscript is described by C. Segre in his edition of the Bestiaire d'Amour by Richard de Fournival. (1)

Contents	Author	Folio
Index		1 - 6
Le Roman de Sapience	Herman de Valenciennes	7 - 38
Vie de Jesus Christ	Anon	38 - 46
Li Passions Nostre Sires Jhesu Crist et d'Autres Pieces	Berenger	46 - 60
De l'Avenement Anticrist	Anon	60 - 61

---

(1) C. Segre: Li Bestiaire d'Amour di Maistre Richart de Fournival e li Response du Bestiaire (editor): Milan/Naples 1957. P.XL1-XL1V

Contents	Author	Folio
Des XV Signes et del Jour de Jugement et d'Autres Pieces	Berenger	61 - 65
Li Sermons au Puile	Berenger	65 - 66
De l'Assomption Notre Dame	Herman	66 - 71r
L'Orison Nostre Dame	Anon	71 - 75v
Dou Plait de la Sapience et de la Folie	Gerart	75 - 78v
De Phisike (Le Regime du Corps	Aldebrandin de Sienne	78 - 115
De Karlemagne. Le Bon Roi Tr. de la Chronique du Pseudo-Turpin	"Turpin l'Archevesque de Rains"	115 - 126
Li Lignie des Rois de France	Anon	126 - 126v
Li Nombre des Eages des Adan jusqu'a Crist	Anon	126 - 127
D'Eracle l'Empereur	Gautier d'Arras	127 - 153
L'Orison que Dex fist	le Renclus de Moliens	154 - 168
Le Vers de la Mort	Helinant	168 - 170
L'Image de Monde	Gautier de Metz	170 - 218
Li Livres de Karite	Anon	218 - 228
Li Livres Estrais de Philosophie et de Moralite	Alart de Cambrai	228 - 240

Contents	Author	Folio
Li Bestiaire Divin	Guillaume Leclerc	240 - 256
Li Bestiaire d'Amour	Richart de Fournival	257 - 265v
Des V11 Sages de Rome		266 - 279
De Marke, li fil Cathon		279 - 329v

(6) PARIS: BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE: FONDS FRANÇAIS 14970

A slim volume of 48 folios, written on parchment, with two columns to the page, and bound in suede. It is a richly illustrated manuscript, with gilded frames for the miniatures, and gold leafing on the capitals. The miniatures are well executed. Folios 1 - 34 (the Bestiary) alone are illustrated.

The manuscript is not dated, but is considered to belong to the X1Vth century. The volume bears no indications about the identity of the copyist, the illuminator or previous ownership.

The catalogue notes:-

> "on a ajouté à la fin une Mappemonde peinte, qui terminait un exemplaire de l'Image du Monde de Gautier de Metz, laquelle formait primitivement la première partie de ce manuscript."

It would appear, therefore, that this manuscript is a X1Vth century copy of B.N.F.F. 14964 (q.v.)

Contents	Author	Folio
Bestiaires	Guillaume Leclerc	1 - 34
Lapidaires	Marbode (transcribed into French verse by Guillaume Leclerc	34 - 48

12/17

(7) PARIS : BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE : FONDS FRANÇAIS 24428

A large volume, 315 x 220 mms., of 118 folios, written on parchment, with two columns to the page. It is bound in Russian leather and bears the insignia of Louis-Philippe.

The manuscript is not dated, but, according to the catalogue, it belongs to the X111th century. Although the manuscript is written in a great number of different hands, the sheet size remains constant and the hands are all of the same period. Folios 53 - 78 (the Bestiary) and 49 - 52 (the Volucrary) are in the same hand. Folios 53 - 78 (the Bestiary), 1 - 48 (L'Image de Monde) and 89 - 114 (Fables d'Esope) are illustrated.

At the foot of folio 118v, which is slightly mutilated, there is a notice which reads:-

> "Cest livre-ci est a Mestre Nicholas de Lessy, et le m'a lesdit Mestre preste a moy frere Jehan Contusse, gardien des Freres Mineurs de Sens 1412."

Contents	Author	Folio
L'Image du Monde	Gautier de Metz	1 - 48
Li Volucraires	Omons	49 - 52
Li Bestiaire Divin	Guillaume Leclerc	53 - 78
Li Lapidaires	Marbode (transcribed into French verse by Guillaume Leclerc	79 - 88
Fables d'Esope	Marie de France	89 - 114
Instruction pour la confession	Anon	115 - 118

(18.

(8) PARIS : BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE : FONDS FRANÇAIS 25408

A small volume of 123 folios, written on parchment, with two columns to the page. It is written in the same hand throughout, except for sundry notes added in later hands. It is not illustrated, but the capitals are executed in red or green. These are fairly ornate, but not very well drawn. There are rubrics at the head of every chapter, and any Latin quotations are also written in red.

A note on the fly-leaf, referring to folio 106v, (at the end of the Bestiary) dates the manuscript at 1267; according to internal evidence, it was copied in England. However, no indication of the owner's identity is given.

The musical notation for items 12 - 16 is written in the manuscript.

Contents	Author	Folio
Les Enseignements		
Trebor de vivre sagement	Robert de Hô	1 - 24
Le Doctrinal de Cortaisie		25 - 29
La Vie St. Alexie		30 - 38
Le Dialogue de Pere et de Fils		38 - 62
La Flabel de la Mort	Helinand 'a monk from Froidmont'	63 - 67
Le Compot en Français		67 - 70
Le Bestiaire en Français	Guillaume Leclerc	70 - 106v
Oracio ad Dominum Nostrum Jhesum Christum		107 - 108
Oracio de Sancta Maria		108 - 114

Contents	Author	Folio
Femina, dulce matrum, Mentem roburque virile - Latin Satire		114 - 115
De .1111. or rebus que expectuntur in equis		115 - 116
Cantique Latin noté, sur le Déluge		116
Pièce rhythmique sur la médisance		117
Cantique latin en l'honneur de la Sainte Vièrge.		118 - 119
Chanson latin sur le mépris du monde		120
Bel samblant est couverture - chanson française		120v
Recettes medicales etc.		121 - 123

(9) PARIS : BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE : FONDS FRANÇAIS 902

A small volume of 172 folios, made up of two manuscripts originally separate and now sewn together. Folios 1 - 162 are written on parchment. There is some disagreement as to the date of this part of the manuscript: the catalogue places it in the XIVth century; Paulin Paris (1) considered that it belonged to the XIIIth century; C. Cahier (2) even places it as early as the first part of the XIIIth century.

---

(1) P. Paris: Les Manuscrits français Vol. 7. P. 207

(2) C. Cahier: Mélanges d'Archaéologie, d'Histoire et de Littérature Vol. II P. 91

/20

Folios 163 - 172, dating from the XVth century, are written on paper. The earlier section is written in several different hands, but they all belong to the same period.

This manuscript is not illustrated, but the capitals throughout are executed in red.

1st MANUSCRIPT

Contents	Author	Folio
Genesis, Exodus, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, through to Hezekiel IV in French		1 - 96
Récit en prose latine d'une vision arrivée en 1347 aux Cisterciens à Tripoli		96
Le Mystere de la Seinte Resurrection		97 - 98
Le Chastel d'Amour	Robert de Lincoln	99 - 107
Passio besti Georgii militaris et martyris		108 - 116
Vie de Saint Nicholas	Wace	117 - 125
De Sancto Thoma	Frere Benet	129 - 134
Traite sur l'Amour de Dieu		125 - 129
La Passion de L'Enfant de Lincoln	Hugh de Lincoln	135 - 136
Le Bestiaire Divin, la Parole du Besant et celle de la vigne	Guillaume Leclerc	136 - 158
Paraphrase en vers sur le Psaume, Eructavit cor meum fait en honneur de Marie de France (Ps. XLIV)		159 - 162

2nd MANUSCRIPT

Content	Author	Folio
Calendrier MCCLXXXV1 - MV111XV11		163 - 172

(10) PARIS : BIBLIOTHEQUE : FONDS FRANÇAIS 20046

A volume of 40 folios, 220 x 150 mms., it is written on parchment with two columns to the page.

The manuscript is not illustrated, but spaces have been left on folios 1 - 35 (the Bestiary) for this work to be carried out later; some of these spaces have been filled with well-executed preliminary sketches. The capitals are ornamented, red on blue, blue on red, and are quite neatly drawn. There are several sketches, drawn incidentally; these are usually heads or faces.

No indication is given as to the identity of past owners, but the manuscript bears the date 1338 on one of the folios.

Contents	Author	Folio
Bestiaire en vers Français	Guillaume Leclerc	1 - 35
Paraphrase du psaume: Eructavit cor meum en l'honneur de Marie de France	Anon	36 - 40

(11) PARIS : BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE : ROTHSCHILD 1V. 2. 24.

A volume of 170 folios, 228 x 163 mms., written on vellum, with two columns to the page - this not including three modern folios.

Originally this manuscript contained 177 folios; two folios are missing between the present folios 40 and 41; one between 78 and 79, one between folios 159 and 160, one between folios 161 and 162. Barrois, when the manuscript was in his possession had the first three missing folios recopied and the replacements inserted in the relevant places.

The manuscript contains 78 miniatures, richly executed with gold-leaf decoration. There is also a large number of ornamented initals.

The manuscript is not dated, but, according to the catalogue, belongs to the XIVth century.

The history of the manuscript since 1836 is also included in the catalogue: according to Paulin Paris (1) and Francisque Michel (2) it was for sale in Techener's Bookshop, Paris, where it was sold to J. Barrois, and he later sold it to Lord Ashburnham. The Barrois collection of the Ashburnham Library was auctioned in 1901, and this manuscript was bought by J. Rosenthal of Munich. In May 1909 it was again part of a sale: of the library of M. Lucien Delmare, held by the Th. Belin Bookshop in Paris. However, nothing is known about early ownership. (3)

Contents	Author	Folio
Li Roumans de la Rose	Jean de Meun, Guillaume de Lorris, Anon	1 - 138
Fabliau du Moine		138 - 140
Bestiaire	Guillaume Leclerc	140 - 163

(1) Paulin Paris: Bulletin du Bibliophile: 2nd Series No. 7 (1836) Pp. 243 - 248

(2) F. Michel: Laïs Inédits des XII et XIII Siècles Paris, London 1836 P. 85

(3) For the above information, I am indebted to the very full catalogue description: Fonds français: Second supplément. Pp. 114 - 117.

2/23

Contents	Author	Folio
Le Dit de la Tremontaine		156 - 164
Le Lai des .111. Chevaliers		165 - 170

(12) LONDON : BRITISH MUSEUM : EGERTON 613

A volume of 74 folios, it is written on vellum in different hands throughout. As it is a miscellany, of prose and verse, the page layout changes frequently:

1 - 2r :- prose, long lines, 41 lines to the page

verse, 1 column on left of page, 14 lines to the page.

3r - 6v :- long lines, prose, 35 lines to the page.

7r - 12v :- verse, 1 column in the centre of the page, 33 lines to page.

13r - 30r :- prose, long lines, 39 lines to the page.

31r - 58v :- verse, two columns, 39 lines to the page.

59r - 70v :- verse, 1 column, extending whole width of page, 27 lines to the page.

The manuscript is not dated, but according to the catalogue, it belongs to the X111th century. There are several notes added in later hands, and the handwriting on f.1. belongs to the X1Vth century.

The manuscript is in poor condition.

The manuscript is illustrated on folios 31r - 58v (the Bestiary) only; these folios contain pen and ink miniatures; there is no colouring.

There are coloured capitals in certain sections, namely folios 7 - 12r 13r - 30r, 59r - 70v. there, capitals are usually red and green. There

2/24

is only one marginal illustration, and that is an overspill from one of the miniatures.

There is no indication of the identity of the early owners of this manuscript; but it was purchased, according to a note in the manuscript, by Sotheby's in 1836: its previous owner was Wm. Bentham Esq. of Gower Street.

Contents	Author	Folio
Three short religious poems in English in praise of the Virgin Mary	Anon	1 - 2r
Epistle to a lady on the sufferings of Christ	Anon	3v - 6v
Moral poem in Early English		7 - 12v
Sentences from the Fathers		13 - 13v
La Revelacion: (Gospel of Nichodemus)		13 - 21r
La Venjence del mort Nostre Seigneur		21 - 25r
Cum faictment la Saincte Croiz fu trovee al mund de Calvarie par Heleine la Reine (1)		25 - 27
L'Histoire de l'Exultation de la Sainte Cruz		27 - 29
Li Bestiaire de Guillaume Leclerc		31 - 58v
Anglo-Norman moral poem		59 - 64r
Second copy of Item 3: the Moral poem in Early English		64 - 71v

(1) This is the well-known legend about St. Helen, here referred to as 'queen', her rightful title as the mother of Emperor Constantin I.

12/25

Insertions - not catalogued

Contents	Author	Folio
Genealogy of the Virgin Mary		29v
Des Quinze Signes		30r
Insertions and a note in a later hand		30v
Small inclusions late X111th - early X1V century:		71 - 74

(13) LONDON : BRITISH MUSEUM : ROYAL 16 E V111

This manuscript, of 147 folios, written on vellum, but with no page numbers, has been missing since 1879.

The volume is catalogued as belonging to the X111th century, but the binder suggests that it may belong to the X1Vth.

It is written in several different hands, with one column to the page. There are marginal illustrations in the section between folios 2 - 72 (the Bestiary). (1)

Contents	Author	Folio
Bestiaire	Guillaume Leclerc	2 - 72
Missus Gabriel	Anon	72
Le Livre Titus et Vespasianus	Anon	73 - 102
Laetabundus (a Latin drinking song)	Anon	103
Li Livre de Proverbes or Li Chastoiement d'un pere a son fils	Peres Anforse	104 - 129
'Seigneurs, ore entendez a nus' (Christmas carol)	Anon	130

(1) This description of the manuscript is derived from the extant catalogue, and from the description made by F. Michel, and published in Rapports au Ministre: Documents Inédits Paris 1835. P.56.

Contents	Author	Folio
Li Pelerinage de Charlemagne	Anon	131 - 144
Description of England: in Latin prose	Anon	144
French prose almanach	Anon	145

(14) LONDON : BRITISH MUSEUM : COTTON VESPASIAN A V11

A volume of 107 folios, written on parchment, which is not of consistent quality throughout. It is written in several hands, all of the same period, until folios 106 - 107, where there is a X1Vth century addition. All sections of the manuscript are written in two columns to the page, and 38 lines to the page.

The manuscript is not dated, but, according to the catalogue, it belongs to the X111th century. There is no indication given as to the identity of previous owners.

The manuscript is richly illustrated in folios 2 - 33 (the Bestiary), where there are 35 miniatures; and folios 34r - 38r (the Vision of St. Paul) where there are 24. The miniatures are carefully executed and coloured, and there is some gold leafing. The quality, however, is not always consistent. In Folios 39 - 106, (Ipomedon) there are red and blue capitals.

The manuscript itself is in good condition and it has been re-numbered at some time.

Contents	Author	Folio
Bestiaire	Guillaume Leclerc	2 - 33
Vision of St. Paul		34 - 38
Ipomedon	Hugo de Rotelande	39 - 106

Insertions

List of Lords who were present at the signing of the peace with Caletus.	106 - 107
List of lands the English sold in France	107

(15) OXFORD : BODLEIAN LIBRARY : DOUCE 132

A volume, 9.125 ins. x 6.75 ins., written on parchment, with two columns of 35 lines to the page. This book is made up of two manuscripts, originally bound separately, but now sewn together, and the whole manuscript itself forms the second part of a larger manuscript, bound as separate manuscripts by Douce; the first part of this larger manuscript is now catalogued as Douce 137. Items from the present manuscript appear in the index of 137.

Manuscript 132 is written in French, but was probably copied in England; possibly, according to Miss M. K. Pope, (1) by a lawyer in Berkshire. There is no indication about later ownership, except for a XIVth century addition:

"Kalendari libri",

which, Miss Pope suggests, might indicate that the manuscript might have stayed in legal hands. The catalogue states that the manuscript

---

(1) For these and further details see Thomas: The Romance of Horn Ed. M. K. Pope. A.N.T.S. Oxford 1955. Pp. XI - XII.

2/28

came from a house at Edwardstone, then belonging to a Mr. Waring.

The manuscript is not illustrated, but has alternate red and blue initials.

It is written possibly all in one hand, a clear English hand, dating probably from the X111th century. The manuscript is not otherwise dated.

Manuscript One

Contents	Author	Folio
Hic est de Horn, Buono Milite, in French verse	Thomas	1 - 13
Le Chateau d'Amour	Robert Grosseteste	23
Fables de Marie de France (Ysopes)	Marie de France	62

Manuscript Two

Contents	Author	Folio
Bestiaire	Guillaume Leclerc	63 - 85
Medical receipts in Latin		85 - 86

(16) OXFORD : BODLEIAN LIBRARY 912

A volume, 13.125 ins. x 9.25 ins. of 231 folios, which consists of two originally separate volumes, now bound together; Manuscript One has three columns to the page, while Manuscript Two has two.

Both manuscripts, according to the catalogue, belong to the X1Vth

century.

Manuscript One is dated 1306 on folio 228; it is possible that both manuscripts are written in the same hand; but, judging by the span of years embraced by the annals, this is unlikely.

The manuscript is illustrated; folios 1 - 15v (the Bestiary) with 29 miniatures; folios 24 - 228 (the Flores Historiarium) with 9.

There are decorated capitals.

There are no references to the original ownership, but the manuscript bears several early XV111th century marks:

"Hist. Ang. 9"; "8K5"; "a23"; "12.2 & 12.3 & 10". According to the catalogue, the first two appear to be the marks of John, Lord Somers. The volume was sold in the Jekyll sale (February 28th 1738-9). It is first referenced in the Bodleian about 1900.

From folio 57 to the end, Latin distichs occur in the upper margin, characterising the kings from Vortigern, in the same hand as Article 4.

Manuscript One

Contents	Author	Folio
Bestiaire moralise	Guillaume Leclerc	1 - 15
Short rhyming poem on the rules of health		15v
List of contents		16 - 22
7-line stanzas for each king from the Conqueror to Henry V1th	John Lydgate	23
Incipit prologus in librum qui Flores/Flos Historiarium intitulatur	Originally ascribed to Matthew of Westminster	24 - 228

Manuscript Two

Contents	Author	Folio
Abbreviated annals for the years 1307 - 1356		229 - 230

1/2/30

(17) CAMBRIDGE : FITZWILLIAM LIBRARY : J 20

This manuscript of 166 folios, measuring 28.8 x 21 cm., is written throughout in two columns of 36 lines to the page in the verse sections, and in long lines, 38 to the page in the prose items.

According to the catalogue, the manuscript is French, and the date 1323 is found on f. 166, expressed thus:

> "Anno dni millesimo trissentesimo .XIII°. feria quarta post decollationem sancti iohannis baptiste fuit liber iste finite."

However the date on the binding, a French red morocco binding from the nineteenth century, is 1324:

> "Généalogie de la Ste: Vierge: Mss. sur vellin de l'anne 1324."

There is no indication of early ownership, but the manuscript was purchased by the Fitzwilliam Library at the Hamilton sale in 1889.

The manuscript is illustrated with miniatures, most of which are in good condition, and the standard of execution is high. Folios 1-42 (The Genealogy of the Virgin: Poem) contain 42 miniatures, richly executed, with gold leaf work on many. Folios 45b-72b (the Bestiary) contain 36 miniatures, clearly representative of the physical attributes of the text. There is no attempt to portray the moral interpretations. There are further miniatures on folios 74b (in the Tresor de Brunetto Latini), 123a (the Lucidaire), 143a and 144b (the Bestiaire of Bruro Latini), 153a (Prester John's Letter), 156b (Bruno Latini: on the Division of the World), and 162a (Parole de Pourveance.) (1)

---

(1) For this very full description, I am indebted to the Catalogue of the Fitzwilliam Library, Cambridge.

2/31

Contents	Author	Folio
A poem on the Genealogy of the Virgin		1 - 44
A prose extract of the Genealogy of the Virgin		44 - 45
Bestiary in verse	Guillaume Leclerc	45 - 72
Li Livres qui est appelles Tresors	Brunetto Latini	73 -122
Li Lucidaire en François		123 -142
Bestiaire	Brunetto Latini	143 -152
De la Terre d'Inde (Prester John's Letter)	'Prester John'	153 -155
La Division du monde	Brunetto Latini	156 -159
Cest chi de vertu maiement de seurte		160 -161
Parole de Pourveance		162 -166

2/32

(18) CAMBRIDGE : TRINITY COLLEGE : 0.2.14 (1118)

A volume of 107 folios, 8.75 ins. x 6.125 ins., written on vellum. This manuscript comprises two manuscripts, originally bound as individual volumes, but now sewn together. Manuscript One, undated, but considered to belong to the XVth century, is written in single lines, with 39 lines to the page. Manuscript Two, again undated, but in a clear XIIIth century hand, is written with two columns of 33 lines to the page.

There are no illustrations.

Manuscript One

Contents	Author	Folio
Secreta Secretorum	Aristotle	3 - 13

Manuscript Two

Contents	Author	Folio
Sermons	Maurice, Bishop of Paris	13 - 24
Roman des Romans		24 - 32
Bestiaire	Guillaume Leclerc	32 - 66
Sermons		67 - 108 (106)
Account of the dedicating of a church		109
Passage of verse written as prose		109

(19) CAMBRIDGE : FITZWILLIAM LIBRARY : MACLEAN 123

A volume, of 122 folios, 10.375 ins. x 7 ins., written on

/33

parchment with two columns of 31 or 36 lines to the page, until 115, where it continues in single lines to the end (folio 122) and the number of lines to the page varies. The manuscript is bound in old red skin over boards, and has been mended; the clasp has gone.

The manuscript is not dated, but is considered to have been copied in the X111th century, in England. It is written in several different hands. The manuscript is illustrated only on folios 66 - 106 (the Apocalypse), but this section has been badly mutilated, and the 92 or 93 original drawings have been reduced to 17. This section was possibly bound originally as a separate volume.

This manuscript, known as the "Nuneaton Book" does not bear positive identification of the original owners, but some later proprietors are indicated. On Folio 1 is the following inscription:

"Iste liber constat Alicia Sscheynton, et post ea(m) conventu"

indicating that the manuscript either belonged originally to a convent, or passed fairly early into its possession. On folio 8 is found, in red, in a X1Vth or XVth century hand:

"Iste liber constat domine Margarete Sylemon et discipulas suas. Et post mortem suam. Conventu de Noneton."

This seems to indicate that the manuscript was considered a suitable book for conventual use. Again on folio 1 is a X1Vth century note, in pencil, reading:

"Gift of Mrs. Lucy to John Gibson; 8th October 1853"

and finally it is found listed in Mr. B. Quaritch's catalogue under the name of "Nuneaton Codex", with the date Dec. 1893. Folio 113 bears the name of J. Eyton, but this is not dated, nor is it certain that he was in fact an owner.

Contents	Author	Folio
Chasteau d'Amours	Robert Grosseteste	1 - 7r
Prose exposé of the Paternoster		7
Li Gospel Nichodeme	"Chrestien"	10 - 30
Bestiaire	Guillaume Leclerc	30 - 66
Apocalypse: in French and Latin		66 -106
Officio beate Virginis		106 -108
St. Augustin's prayer		109
Exposé of the Paternoster		110 -112
Exposé of old English letters		114
"Poème morale" in Old English		115 -120

(the Officio beate Virginis, folio 106 - 108, has the notation included on a five-line stave).

(20) PHILLIPPS COLLECTION 4156

A volume of 224 folios, 305 x 202 mms., written on vellum, with two columns to the page. It is bound in early XIXth century Russia leather, with the title in gilt on the spine. It is written in black and brown ink in several different, but similar hands.

2/35

The manuscript is not dated, but is considered to belong to the third quarter of the X111th century. It is not illustrated, but the initials are executed in red and blue, with penwork in the contrasting colour. Some of the letters have extended flourishes, some ending in grotesque heads. There is a penwork initial on folio 153 (the beginning of the Bestiary); there is also a penwork margin with a grotesque animal. A X111th century drawing of King Arthur's head is to be found in the margin of folio 189. There are also some rubrics for headings and explicits.

The original owners are not identified, but the manuscript has since belonged to:

a) An English owner in the X1Vth or XVth century, when English glosses of several words were written on various leaves.

b) An English owner in the X1Xth century.

c) Mr. Thorpe

d) Sir Thomas Phillipps

There is also an early XV11th century inscription of Folio 1:

"In chartophyl."

Contents	Author	Folio
La Bible	Herman de Valenciennes	1 - 67
L'Assumpcion Nostre Dame Ste. Marie	Herman de Valenciennes	68 - 74
Disciplina Clericalis	Petrus Alphonsus	75 - 98
Poem on the book of Genesis		98 - 111
Les Enseignements Trebor	Robert de Hô	111 - 129

2/36.

Contents	Author	Folio
Partenopeus de Blois		129 - 131
La Vie de Saint Eustache		131 - 144
Curteis est Deus Que tut crea - verse transcription of the letter from Prester John, to the Emperor Manuel Comnenus	Ascribed to 'Prester John'	145 - 152
Li Bestiaire en françeis	Guillaume Leclerc	153 - 179
Liber Sompniorum et lunarum		180 - 184
Le Voyage du Chevalier Owen au Purgatoire de St. Patrice	Anon	184 - 188
Roman de Brut (l. 1 - 7141)	Wace	189 - 224

(21) LYON : PALAIS DES ARTS: 78

A volume of 58 folios, written on parchment, bound in sheep-skin. According to the catalogue, the manuscript belongs to the X111th century.

The manuscript is illustrated in folios 36 - 58 (the Bestiary) with 30 miniatures; there were originally 31, but one has been cut out. Folios 1 - 35 (the Image du Monde) have coloured initials. There are several lacunae: the last folio of the Image du Monde has been torn out with the first folio of the Bestiary; others occur after folios 3, 19, 25, 40; folio 55 is misplaced, and should follow folio 41. The manuscript has since been renumbered.

2/37

Contents	Author	Folio
Li Livre de Clergie ki on apieles l'Image des Monde en Roumans	Gautier de Metz	1 - 35
Li Bestiaire Divin	Guillaume Leclerc	36 - 58

(22) PARIS : BIBLIOTHEQUE DE L'ARSENAL : 2691

A volume of 95 folios, 282 x 213 mms., written on parchment, with two columns to the page. It is bound in leather.

The manuscript is not dated, but, according to the catalogue, the writing is of the XVth century.

The manuscript is not illustrated, but has initials executed in red and gold.

No indication is found about the original owners, but there are several inscriptions relating to later possessors. On the fly-leaf are the following words:

"A Mlle. Ane de Graville. Achette a Rouen."

and "A Monseigneur d'Urfe."

The manuscript passed into the Arsenal's possession from the library of M. de Paulmy.

Contents	Author	Folio
Index		1 - 2r
Les Secrez des Secrez	Aristote	2 - 25
Livre de Mellibee et de Prudence, sa femme	Albertano de Brescia, translated into French by Renaud de Louhans	26 - 43
Traite contre l'Astrologie et la Divination		44 - 61
Le Bestiaire rymes	Guillaume Leclerc	62 - 95

2/38

(23) THE VATICAN LIBRARY: REGINA: 1628 (1)

This volume of 125 folios, 300 x 260 mm, is written on parchment and is bound in white parchment. There are two columns and 40 lines to each page.

The manuscript is not dated, but is thought to belong to the first half of the XIV th century.

The manuscript is illustrated with miniatures.

It is similar in content to B.N.F.fr. 24429, but Vatican 1628 contains the Bestiaire de Guillaume Leclerc, where as B.N.F. fr. 24429 contains, in its place, a Lapidary.

Contents	Author	Folio
Annals		1 - 4
Le Bestiaire Divin	Guillaume Leclerc	4 - 26
Méditations sur la Vie de Jhesu-Crist		26 - 31
Les Autorités		31 - 35
Les Moralités		35 - 42
Sermons	St. Gregoire	42 - 45
La Convoitise		45
Prologue de la Règle de St. Benoît		45 - 47
Les Méditations		47 - 48
Vers sur la Mort	Helinand	48 - 51

(1) All this information is derived from Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits T.XXX111, 1889. Pt. 2. Pp. 195 - 208

Contents	Author	Folio
Du Bon Ange et Du Mauvais		51 - 54
Les Sept vices et Les Sept vertus		54 - 58
La Conception de Notre-Dame		58 - 69
Les Moralités des Trois Maries		69 - 80
Histoire de Joseph		81 - 92
Les Peines d'Enfer		92 - 96
Chatonet (Les Distiques de Caton)		96 - 102
De l'amour de Dieu pour l'homme		102 - 108
Le Livre de Vertus		108 - 109
Eructavit cor Meum (paraphrase of Ps. XLIV)		117 - 130
Enseignemens		124 - 125
Les Peines d'Enfer		125

12/40

D) The Manuscripts of the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais

Part One : The Long Version

(1) PARIS : BIBLIOTHEQUE DE L'ARSENAL 3516

A volume of 365 folios, 328 x 245 mms., written on parchment. As there are a number of different sections in this manuscript, the page layout also changes frequently, alternating between three and four columns to the page. Certain folios are mutilated or missing.

The manuscript is bound in wild calf skin.

The manuscript is not dated, but, according to the catalogue, the writing belongs to the X111th century.

The volume is illustrated with miniatures on the following folios: 4r, 4v, 5r, 14 (in the Histoires de la Bible), 69v, 73v, 127r, 154v, 198 - 212 (the Bestiary), 217r, 284. There are also red and blue initials and rubrics. The Mappemonde (folios156 -60) has the appropriate diagrams.

No positive identification of earlier owners is to be found in the text, but folio 1 bears the following note:

> Ss. Erkembodon, eveque de Therouanne, Omer eveque de Therouanne.

It would therefore appear that the manuscript was in Artois for some of its existence, and was possibly copied there.

M. J.-C. Payen writes about Arsénal 3516:

> "Un manuscript extrêmement composite et généralement médiocre, très picardisant, et est souvent enluminé, et devait, lui aussi, être destiné à quelque "honnête

2/41

homme" curieux de littérature morale, de sciences naturelles, d'histoire et de Roumans ou Fabliaux édifiants." (1)

Contents	Author	Folio
Calendrier français, with health rules at the end of each month		1
Table des Lettres dominicales		2v
Histoires de la Bible	Herman de Valenciennes	4 - 40r
Histoire de Jesu Christ et de la Vierge Marie		40 - 50r
Le regret que Nostre Dame fist a la Crois		50
De la mort Nostre Dame	Wace	52
Eructavit cor meum		53
De la Madelaine		57
De l'Evangeliste St. Johan		58 - 60
De St. Jake		61 - 63
La Passion St. Johan Baptiste l'apostle		64
De St. Pierre		65
La Passion de St. Pol		66
De St. Andrieu		67 - 68
Li Livres de St. Nicolay	Wace	69 - 73
St. Johan, bouche d'or		73 - 75
De Vespasianus l'emperor ou La venganche Nostre Seignor		76 - 83

---

(1) J.-C. Payen: Le livre de Philosophie et de Moralité. in Romania LXXXV11 (1966)

Contents	Author	Folio
De St. Julien		84 - 95
St. Brandan		96 - 101
St. Gregoire		101 - 107
De Moyses, le Mordriseur		108 - 109
Ste. Taysis		109 - 113
De Marie d'Egypte	Robert Grosseteste	113 - 117
Ste. Juliane		117 - 121
Ste. Cateline		121 - 124
Ste. Margherite		125 - 126
Del tumbeor Nostre Dame Ste. Marie		127 - 128
Jonas et la Baleine		128 - 130
De L'Abeese que li Deables empraigna		130 - 131
Ore orrés les proierres		131
Del povre clerc qui moult desiroit avoir este rices et mist le crucifis en pleges por lui al Juis		132
De la Ste. Empereis qui garissoit les lieprous		133 - 135
Du prudhomme qui ne voulait dire Complies		136
De Celui a qui Nostre Dame enta la cuisse el cors et St. Ypolites l'aporta		136

Contents	Author	Folio
Del diable qui se fist clerc et divin		137 - 139
Del Unicorne		139 - 140
De le Desputon de l'ame et del cors		140 - 143
Li Lucidaires		144 - 154
De Jugement et Des Quinze Signes		155
La Table de le Mappemonde		156 - 160
L'Image du Monde	Gautier de Metz	160 - 179
Les Natures del Tans		180
Livres estrais de philosophie et de Moralite	Alart de Cambrai	181 - 198
Li Livres des Natures des Bestes	Pierre le Picard	198 - 212
Lapidaire		213 - 214
Lapidaire de Pierres taillies		215 - 217
Li Livre de Machabeus	Gautier de Belle-Perche	- 273
Des VII Sages de Rome		273 - 283
De Carlmagne (sans rime)	Pseudo-Turpin	284 - 290
Poemes diverses	Robert de Blois	291 - 296
Histoire de Troie et d'Angleterre		297 - 303

/44

Contents	Author	Folio
Chronique de Normandie		304 - 314
De la Deesse d'Amour		315 - 319
Li Livres de Cristal et de Clarie		319 - 342
Melion		343 - 344
Li Lay del Trot		344
Lai d'Aristote		345 - 346
La Chantepleure		347
Doctrinal le Sauvage	Le "Sauvage" d'Arras	347
Li Dit des drois: Clerc de Voudrai		348 - 349
Li Livres de Fisique	Aldobrandino de Sienne	349
Histoire de Reinbert		350 - 356

12145

(2) MONTPELLIER: BIBLIOTHEQUE DE LA FACULTE DE MEDECINE: H437 (1)

A volume of collected manuscripts, in -8°, written on vellum.

Contents	Author	Folio
Roman: de la Création du monde, ou: des Oeuvres de Dieu: en vers		
Cil Livre de Clergie en Roumans, qu'est appeles Image du Monde	Goussoin de Metz	
Ci commence li livre apele: Bestiaire	Pierre de Beauvais	

(3) THE VATICAN LIBRARY: REGINA: 1323 (2)

A volume, 289 x 208 cm, of 261 folios, it is signed in two places by its copyist - on folio 36 and folio 258, where the following inscription is found:

> "commence par moi, Jehann Pamir a Pons Ste. Maxence, et paracheve au chasteau de Bouillencourt, lundi XV111 Sept. 1475".

However, there is no indication of the owner for whom it was intended. J. Pannier was not a professional copyist, but this is not his only known manuscript.

There are several missing folios: ff. 244-7, as indicated by an index included by the copyist. These folios contained l'Epistre des Roumains.

---

(1) This is the catalogue description. The manuscript is also described, according to the catalogue, by Galland: Mémoire de l'Academie des Inscriptions Tom 11 P. 678. This is all the information about this source included in the catalogue.

(2) This description is taken from Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits: T.XXX111 Pt. 2 1889 Pp 114 - 124

2/46

Contents	Author	Folio
Bestiaire	Pierre de Beauvais	2 - 36
L'Epitre d'Othea	Christine de Pisan	36 - 63
De la nature des Chiens (Extract from: de la Chasse)	Gaston Phebus	64 - 73
Inscription touchant la mort du Comte de St. Pol		73
Tombeau et Epitaphe d'Enguerrand de Marigny		73
Le Nouvelet		74 - 86
Arrêt de Condemnation du Comte de St. Pol		86 - 87
Le Livre des Echecs Moralisés		89 - 139
Jugement et Exécution du Comte de St. Pol		139 - 141
Mandement des Concordats		141 - 143
Exécution du Prince d'Orange		143
Le Songe de la Pucelle		144 - 150
Ballade		150
Chastie-Musart		151 - 170
Complainte sur la Mort du Comte de St. Pol		172
Le Livre d'Agriculture		173 - 224

2/47

Contents	Author	Folio
Le Lai de Paix		225 - 228
Satire contre les femmes		228
Proverb		228
Le Breviaire des Nobles	Alain Chartier	229 - 235
Une prophétie		253
Le Psautier des Villains	Michel Taillevent	235 - 241
Complainte	Alain Chartier	241 - 243
Le Regret d'Honneur		248 - 253
Le Mariage des Quatre Fils Aymon		254 - 256

48

(4) SIR THOMAS PHILLIPP'S COLLECTION:6739

A volume of 51 folios, 184 x 133 mms. written on vellum, in long lines with 27 lines to the page. It is copied in a Northern French dialect.

It is bound in early X1Xth century Russia leather, and bears many signs of wear, but is undamaged.

The manuscript bears the following inscription:

> "Le livre apele Bestiaire, translatei de Latin en Roumans par Pierre ki le fist par le commandement de l'evesque Philipon".

The manuscript is not dated, but is considered to be in a late X111th century hand. There are certain signatures and catchwords, believed to belong to the X1Vth century, and some odd sketches in the margins.

The Bestiary (the only work included) is illustrated with 72 rectangular miniatues. Capitals are in red or blue with contrasting penwork, but there are no title or chapter headings.

No identification of early owners is given, but Sir T. Phillips bought the manuscript from a Mr. Payne.

Contents	Author	Folio
Bestiaire en Prose	Pierre de Beauvais	1 - 51

D) The Manuscripts of the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais

Part Two : The Short Version

(1) PARIS : BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE : FONDS FRANÇAIS 834 (1)

This volume, of 140 folios, is written on vellum, with two columns to the page, even during prose works.

The manuscript is not dated, but, according to the catalogue, it belongs to the XIVth century.

There are no illustrations, but the capitals are beautifully ornamented, and there are line decorations, which are coloured red on blue, and gold on black. Gilding is used extensively. At the beginning of the volume, before folio 1 there is a XIVth century index, finely executed in red, blue and gold. This index is extremely detailed, even naming each of the animals in the Bestiary.

A note on folio 39 (the first folio of the Bestiary) informs us that the Bestiary is copied from a manuscript belonging to a M. Nobles from la Claite near Macon. The translation of a work by Monseigneur Jaques de Calixte (folios 10 - 14) executed by Pierre de Beauvais in 1212 is dedicated to the Countess Yolande de St. Pol, but there is nothing to indicate whether this dedication was copied from the original of this manuscript, or whether it was an addition on the part of the scribe who copied this particular manuscript.

Contents	Author	Folio
Doctrinal le Sauvage	le "Sauvage" d'Arras	1 - 6

(1) The Bestiary from this manuscript (folios 39 - 49) is reproduced as Appendix A to this thesis.

2/50

Contents	Author	Folio
La Dietz du corps et de l'Ame	Pierre de Beauvais	7 - 8v
L'Eure du jour	Anon	9
La Translacion Mons. St. Jaque de Calixte	Pierre de Beauvais	10 - 14
L'Histoire Charlemainne or La Chronique du Pseudo-Turpin	translated by Pierre de Beauvais	15 - 30
Le Livre de moralitéz des philosophes (Le Livre de Seneque)	Alart de Cambrai(?)	31 - 38
Li Bestiaires	translated by Pierre de Beauvais	39 - 49
Le Testament mestre Jehan de Mehun	Jean de Meun	50 - 77
Le Livre du Renclus de Moliens	Renclus de Moliens	78 - 97
Le Chapitre de Charite	Renclus de Moliens	98 - 117
Li Mireoers de la Vie et de la Mort (1266)	Robert de l'Orme	118 - 121
La devision de la Nef du Monde		122 - 125
Des Quinze Signes		126 - 127

Contents	Author	Folio
La letre de Prestre Jehan a l'empereur Fedric de Constantinople	Prestre Jehan	128 - 132
Le Purgatoire que Nostre Seigneur Jhesu Crist monstra a St. Patrix		133 - 138
Les Vertus de l'Eau Salemonde		139

(2) PARIS : BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE : FONDS FRANÇAIS 944

This very plain volume, of 56 folios , is written on paper, in long lines of closely-written and difficult-to-read script. It contains 58 folios.

It does not bear a date, but, according to the catalogue, it belongs to the XVth century.

The manuscript is not illustrated and contains no miniatures. The rubrics and capitals are in red, but are plainly executed. However, the binding is of beautifully tooled leather, with gilt and a crest headed by a coronet. The same crest appears on both covers. This binding is of a much later date than the manuscript.

There is a note on the end-paper at the beginning, in a later hand than the remainder of the text, which reads:

"Le breviere en Francoys."

This, together with the content of the manuscript seem to indicate early ecclesiastic ownership, though no definite indication of ownership is to be found.

2/52

Contents	Author	Folio
La Raison pourquoy l'en dit chascun jour vii heures	Anon	1
Paraphrase du Paternoster	Anon	2 - 3
Paraphrase du Credo	Anon	4
Treatise on the Benefits of Confession	Anon	5 - 10
Les .x. Commandemens		11 - 13
Le Livre du Bestiaire	translation of the Physiologus by 'Pierre'	14 - 33
Traite: de Moralite		34 - 55
Guide des confesseurs		56

(3) PARIS : BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE : FONDS MOREAU 1716 (1)

This manuscript is a XV11th or XV111th century copy of a late X111th century manuscript, belonging formerly to the Marquis of La Clayette. The copy was commissioned by La Curne de Sainte-Palaye, who also checked its accuracy. The original has now been lost, but it is of more inherent interest than the present copy. The format of the original is known, as M. de Sainte-Palaye took the trouble to mark the original column and page divisions on the copy. The original, therefore, was a fairly large volume, (there was a second part to the collection of M. de la Clayette, and this was contained in a much smaller volume, of 87 pages, with 18 lines to the page.),

---

(1) for a full description of this manuscript and its history, see P. Meyer: "Notices et Extraits des Manuscripts de la Bibliotheque Nationale" Vol. XXX111 Part 1

R/53

of 824 pages, 412 folios, written on parchment with two columns of 45 - 52 lines to the page. There may have been illuminated capitals, but there is nothing to indicate the existence of miniatures. There are certainly none in the copy.

No indication is given of ownership, other than that of the Marquis de la Clayette, under whose name the present copy, five volumes long, is known in the Bibliotheque Nationale, and it forms part of the Fonds Moreau, 1715 - 1719.

The Bestiary de Pierre de Beauvais was originally to be found in the first and longer manuscript, and is now part of Fonds Moreau 1716.

Contents	Author	Folio
La Vie de St. Eustache	Pierre de Beauvais	1 - 9
La Vie de St. Germer	Anonymous, but without doubt by Pierre de Beauvais	9 - 14
La Vie St. Joce	Pierre de Beauvais	14 - 18
La Vie de St. Margarite	Fouque	18 - 21
Bestiaire	traduit en prose by Pierre de Beauvais	21 - 30
Le Livre de Moralite		30 - 36
La Translation et les Miracles de St. Jacques		36 - 41

Contents	Author	Folio
L'Estoire Charlemagne or the chronical of the Pseudo-Turpin	transcribed into prose by Pierre de Beauvais	41 - 55

There seems to be a close relationship between two of the manuscripts of the Short Version of the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais: Ms. B.N.F.fr. 834 and B.N.F. Moreau 1716. They have four major inclusions in common:

The Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais

Le Livre de Moralite

La translation des Miracles de St. Jacques

L'Estoire Charlemagne, (the chronicle of the Pseudo-Turpin

In both manuscripts they are grouped together, although not in identical order.

What is more important is the note found in B.N.F.fr. 834 indicating that the Bestiary in this manuscript is a copy of a Bestiary belonging to a M. Nobles (a noble lord?) of La Claite near Macon. Ms. B.N.F. Moreau is a copy of an older manuscript belonging to the Marquis of La Clayette. La Clayette (pronounced [klɛ t̪]) is in the 'arrondissement' de Charolles, near Macon, Saône et Loire. It seems almost certain, therefore, that B.N.F.fr. 834 and B.N.F. Moreau are copies, made 200 years apart, of the same manuscript, which is now lost.

(4) MALINES : BIBLIOTHEQUE DU SEMINAIRE 32 (1)

This volume, 190 mm x 120 mm of 23 folios, is written on paper. It is set out in long lines, with 27 - 30 lines to the page.

It is not illustrated, and even the rubrics and initial letters have not been completed, being represented only by temporary headings. Only the section on the Fox has had the rubrics filled in.

There is no indication of early ownership, but the manuscript probably came into the hands on the Grand Seminaire from the Prieuré des Bois.

Contents	Author	Folio
Bestiaire	Pierre de Beauvais	1 - 32

(1) For a full description of this manuscript, see O.Jodogne : A Propos d'un Manuscript du Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais in the Annuaire du Cercle Pédagogique Université de Louvain: 1931 Pp. 32 - 42.

PART II

THE ANIMALS

PART 11 CHAPTER 1 : A DETAILED ANALYSIS OF EACH BESTIARY, in order to determine

1) The Amount of Consistency in the Choice of Animals

2) Possible Reasons for a particular Choice

The first impression one has of the Bestiaries, when one looks at them as a genre, is that they are all very similar; indeed, in length and appearance, the only exception is the Long Version [1] of the Bestiary of Pierre de Beauvais. All the others present to the reader what might be termed a united front. A quick perusal of the indices confirms this impression: once one has read one Bestiary, the characters in the others take on the appearance of old friends - and there are few newcomers to break the harmony - or, as some would have it, the monotony!

Our aim in this chapter is to assess exactly the amount of consistency, in terms of content, between the Bestiaries, and to suggest possible reasons for either adherence to, or deviation from, a possible predetermined norm.

The first problem, therefore, is to determine this norm. The very similarity of the Bestiaries facilitates this task, and it takes little effort to find terms of reference within which to work.

We have chosen to consider as normal, as one of the "nuclear" animals, any animal that appears in all four Bestiaries, or, for some, in three out of the four, when the particular chapter is omitted only from the Bestiary of Gervaise. These latter are

---

(1) Pierre de Beauvais: Bestiaire CXIII: Long Version in Cahier & Martin: Mélanges d'Histoire, d'Archéologie et de Littérature Vols. 2, 3, 4.

(Alphabetical Order)

1) ADAMAS
2) ACIDA
3) AIGLE
4) APTALON
5) ASPIS
6) CALADRIUS
7) CASTOR
8) CERF
9) CHIEVRE
10) COLUM
11) FENIS
12) FORMI
13) FULICA
14) GOURPIL
15) HERICUN
16) HUPE
17) HYDRE ET COCODRILLE
18) HYENE
19) IBEX
20) LACOVIE
21) LION
22) MOUSTOILE
23) NICTICORAX
24) OLIPHANT
25) ONAGER
26) ONOCENTAURUS
27) PELLICANUS
28) PENTHERE
29) PERTRIS
30) SERENA
31) SERRA
32) SINGE
33) SYLIO
34) TURROBOLEN
35) TURTRE
36) UNICORNE

---

(1) To rationalise the nomenclature, the spellings of the names of the animals have been taken from the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais, who seemed to be most representative.

included in an attempt to give a broad, over-all view of the consistency of choice of animals in the Bestiaries. To have excluded from a list of nuclear animals those that are omitted from Gervaise alone would be to give a falsely-reduced picture of the similarity of content of the other three Bestiaries, and the still large, if not total, amount of agreement between these three, and that of Gervaise.

There are, therefore, 36 nuclear animals, and, as the number of chapters in the individual Bestiaries is as follows:-

Philippe de Thaün	- 38
Guillaume Leclerc	- 35
Pierre de Beauvais I	- 71
Pierre de Beauvais 834	- 39
Gervaise	- 29

it is clear that, apart from the Long Bestiary of Pierre de Beauvais, there is indeed a great deal of consistency in the choice of animals.

To reach the individual totals, each author treats the basic material in his own way, and adds further information, from either his own immediate source or by cross-reference to a more remote work.

The possible sources of each addition will be mentioned, as will reasons for the omission of certain animals from the Bestiaire de Gervaise. These reasons will be discussed in connection with the individual animal they concern.

Philippe de Thaün includes all 36 of the nuclear animals, adding the chapter on the Pearl, ("Unio") and on the Twelve Stones, all of which are treated in the same chapter, and the beginning of the projected Lapidary which was to form the third

CONCORDANCE TABLE: TO SHOW THE SIMILARITIES IN CONTENT BETWEEN THE EARLY GREEK PHYSIOLOGUS AND THE FRENCH BESTIARIES

	Greek Mss.	G.L.	P.11	P.1.	Ph.	Ger.
Amon li Prophetes	48	-	34	61	-	-
Ant and Ant Lion	14	11	11	28	8	16
Antelope (Aptalon)	2	2	2	2	7	10
Ape (and Onager)	25	21,22	21,22	45,46	21,22	8
Beaver	36	17	17	39	10	14
Charadrius (Caladrius)	5	5	5	5	26	18
Coot (Fulica)	27	23	23	41	33	11
Crow	40	-	-	-	-	12
Diamond	24	35	35	62	36	-
Doves/Paradixion	19	32	32	58	29	-
Eagle	8	8	8	26	25	17
Elephant	20	33	33,34	60	16	9
Fox	18	15	15	32	20	13
Frog	44	-	-	-	-	-
Goat	21	20	20	43	4	-
Hedgehog	16	13	13	30	19	15
Hoopoe	10	10	10	24	31	22
Hydrus and Ichneumon	38,9	19	19	42	5	4
Hyena	37	18	18	40	11	7
Ibis	17	14	14	31	32	-
Lion	1	1	1	1	1	1
Ostrich	-	28	28	29,52	13	21
Owl	7	7	7	22	34	-
Panther	29	24	24	49	3	2
Partridge	31	32	32	50	24	-
Pearl and Agate	23	-	-	-	37	-
Pelican	6	6	6	7	28	19
Phoenix	9	9	9	26	27	23
Salamander (Sylio)	45	31	31	56	14	-
Serra (Sea monster)	4	4	4	3	32	-
Siren/Onocentaurus	15	12	12	23	15	5
Snake (usually Asp)	13	27	27	13	17	28
Stag	43	30	30	55	6	24
Swallow	42	-	-	11	-	-
Terrobolen (Burning Stones)	3	3	3	4	35	-
Turtledove	41	29	29	53	30	25
Unicorn	35	16	16	37	2	3
Weasel	34	27	27	13	12	27
Whale (Aspidochelone)	30	25	25	51	23	-
Wild Ass	25	21,22	21,22	45,46	21,22	8

Key: Table I Chapter II

G.L. = Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire

P.11 = Pierre de Beauvais: Bestiaire Ms. 834

P.1 = Pierre de Beauvais: Bestiaire: Long Version

Ph. = Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire

Ger. = Gervaise: Bestiaire

part of this work. No other French Bestiary contains this chapter, and one has to return to the Latin tradition before finding it mentioned. It is found in both Book II and Book III of De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus, and is contained in all the earliest Latin translations, and thus, of course in the earlier Greek Physiologus. In the case of Philippe de Thaün, it is impossible to state with any certainty which Latin Bestiary his version derives from, as, alone among the French authors, he arranged his Bestiary logically into sections on animals, birds and stones. Thus, although in De Bestiis et Alliis Rebus, we find:-

103) De Margaritarum inventione ("Unio")
104) De Lapidibus Igniferis ("Terrobolen")
105) De Duodecim lapidibus pretiosis ("Douze Pieres")

all grouped together, it is unwise to claim this as the source of the additional chapter on "Unio", as it is likewise contained in all the earlier Physiologus Texts.

Pierre de Beauvais omits none of the nuclear animals, and adds chapters on the "Leus", "Chievre Sauvage", (also entitled "Amon li Prophetes"), and "Chien". (His long version omits nothing, either, and adds 36 other animals, which will be considered separately.) Again, only Pierre de Beauvais contains these three additional chapters, and only Books II and III of De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus contain "Leus" et "Chien"; in Book III they are found to be consecutive, and at the end of a section, although here any similarity in order of contents between the work of Honoré de Saint-Victor and that of Pierre de Beauvais ends. The chapter on "Amon li Prophetes" or"Li Chievre Sauvage" is not accounted for in any version, Latin or Greek, although the

Greek Physiologus does contain an article on 'Amos and the Fig Tree', as does an early Latin translation, 'Versio "B"', to which the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais bears many other resemblances. (1)

The Bestiaire de Guillaume Leclerc does not contain the article on the "Onocentaurus", but goes into greater detail about Serpents in general in the section of "Aspis". Possible reasons for the omission of a chapter are dealt with below; but the inclusion of an expanded section on snakes is very interesting, as it is one of the most valuable guides to "family relationships" contained in the actual material of the Bestiary. This will be dealt with in much greater detail, and here it is sufficient to say that although the Greek and early Latin Physiologus Texts have more than one section on snakes, in addition to the one on "Aspis", the French Bestiaries, with the exception of Guillaume Leclerc's, and to a lesser extent, Gervaise's, have merely the one chapter, on the Asp.

Guillaume Leclerc includes additional non-Bestiary material, but these are purely individual items, and grow from amplifications of the 36 nuclear animals, or form part of the Epilogue.

The consideration of the omissions, and from the point of view of the Dicta Chrysostomi, additions, in the Bestiaire de Gervaise, gives rise, not only to speculations about the "raisons d'être" of the Physiologus as a genre, but also of its development into the various forms of Bestiary translated in the thirteenth century. A study of this development is necessary in

---

(1) F. McCulloch. Op. Cit. Ch. 3 passim.

connection with the chapters found in Gervaise, because his Bestiary, although based on a version of the Dicta Chrysostomi, presents too many variants for this to be the sole source. It was found to be necessary to go back as far as the Greek Physiologus to find the source of some of the material in Gervaise; but there was the second possibility: that of positive and voluntary omissions and additions on the part of Gervaise, and the reasons for these are considered below.

Table I Chapter II, by contrasting the Greek Physiologus (left-hand column) and the French Bestiaries, brings to light certain evidence about the relationship between the early and later works.

The first point is that, out of 49 chapters in the original Greek Physiologus, only 9 are not found in the later Bestiaries. When certain probable assimilations and amalgamations are taken into consideration, this number is reduced to a probable six; and of these, five are found in at least one Bestiary. That is to say, that, even though these five chapters are not among the nuclear 36; they are still represented in the French Bestiaries: their tradition has not been completely lost. It would appear that only the chapter on the Frog has been finally omitted; it appears in the oldest known Latin manuscripts, the "Y" version,

(Munich, Latin 19417, 9th Cent.,
Munich, Latin 14388, 9th to 10th Cent.,
Bern, Latin, 611, 8th to 9th Cent.)

but after that, disappears from use. It is not, to my knowledge, contained in the Bestiarium of Honoré de Saint-Victor, nor in the Long Version of the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais.

The other chapters not forming part of the 36 nuclear animals, yet found in 1 or more French Bestiary are as follows. The title of the Bestiary in which each is found is written in brackets afterwards.

1) Vulture (Pierre de Beauvais 1)
2) Crow (Gervaise)
3) Swallow (Pierre de Beauvais 1)
4) Pearl and Agate (Philippe de Thaün)
5) Amon li Prophetes (Pierre de Beauvais 1 and Pierre de Beauvais 834)

Therefore, although to say that the French Bestiaries are totally dependent on the Greek Physiologus would be inaccurate, it is clear that the French Bestiary is closer, in terms of animals contained, to the Greek Physiologus and its direct Latin translation, than to the later, larger Bestiarium, such as the "De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus", Books II and III of Honoré de saint-Victor, the transitional manuscripts of the second Family of Manuscripts. Those manuscripts of the third and fourth families are chronologically too late to influence the French Bestiaries.

However, it cannot be said either that the French Bestiary is derived directly from the Greek Physiologus and its Latin translation. The tradition does not run:

Greek Physiologus

Latin translation

French translation

even though the similarity in content would seem to indicate this. The difference is not found in the number or types of animals contained, but in the descriptions of the animals. The original Latin translations from the Greek are without additions from other

sources; the French Bestiaries are derived from the B-Is versions, which contain additions from Isidore of Seville in all but seven chapters.

This would give a logical sequence from Greek to French, except for the fact that the French Bestiaries, especially that of Philippe de Thaün, include many adaptations and alterations found in, for example, Honore dé Saint-Victor. Philippe de Thaün and Honoré de Saint-Victor especially show structural and stylistic links, as well as links of content. These cross-references of course complicate the picture and pose the question: "could the French Bestiaries be derived, in fact, from the later, expanded Bestiarium, as this is the only Bestiary which contains all the material to be used in the French Bestiary?" To use an example that Florence McCulloch cites as one of the problems still to be solved in the Bestiaire de Philippe de Thaün: the derivation of the "important, early account of the Elephant's sleeping against the tree": (1)

> "Dormientes nunquam recubant, sed quando sopori dediti, vel labore defatigantur, recreant se magnis arboribus applicati, et ipsis suffulti dormiunt." (2)

This is followed by an account of the capture of the elephant by sawing through the tree. This passage has an almost exact parallel in Philippe de Thaün:

> "..... Quant il se volt dormir,
> Kar se culchiez esteit
> Par sei ne levereit,

---

(1) F. McCulloch. Op. Cit. P. 53

(2) Honoré de Saint-Victor: De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus in Migne: Patrologa Latina Vol.177 P. 75 Col $\overline{1}$ (Liber secundus)

E en liu de culchier

Li estot apuier

U a arbre u a mur,

Idunc dort a seür

E la gent de la tere

Ki le volent cunquere,

Le mur enfunderunt

U l'arbre enciserunt ...." (1)

The passages are not identical - there is material contained in Philippe de Thaün and other French Bestiaries that does not come from Book II of De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus by Honoré de Saint-Victor or from Isidore de Seville - but the comparison does show that the French Bestiaries were influenced, if not in form then in content, by the later, expanded Bestiaria, such as De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus.

Thus it could be argued that the French Bestiaries were derived from the expanded Latin Bestiaries, by a process of contraction, the sequence being as follows:

Greek Physiologus

|

Latin Physiologus (Versions 'Y', 'A', 'B'and 'C')

|

B-Is (Honoré de Saint-Victor, bk. II etc., B.M. Royal 2 C XII)

|

Transitional Manuscripts

|

Bestiarium (Honoré de Saint-Victor, bk. III etc.)

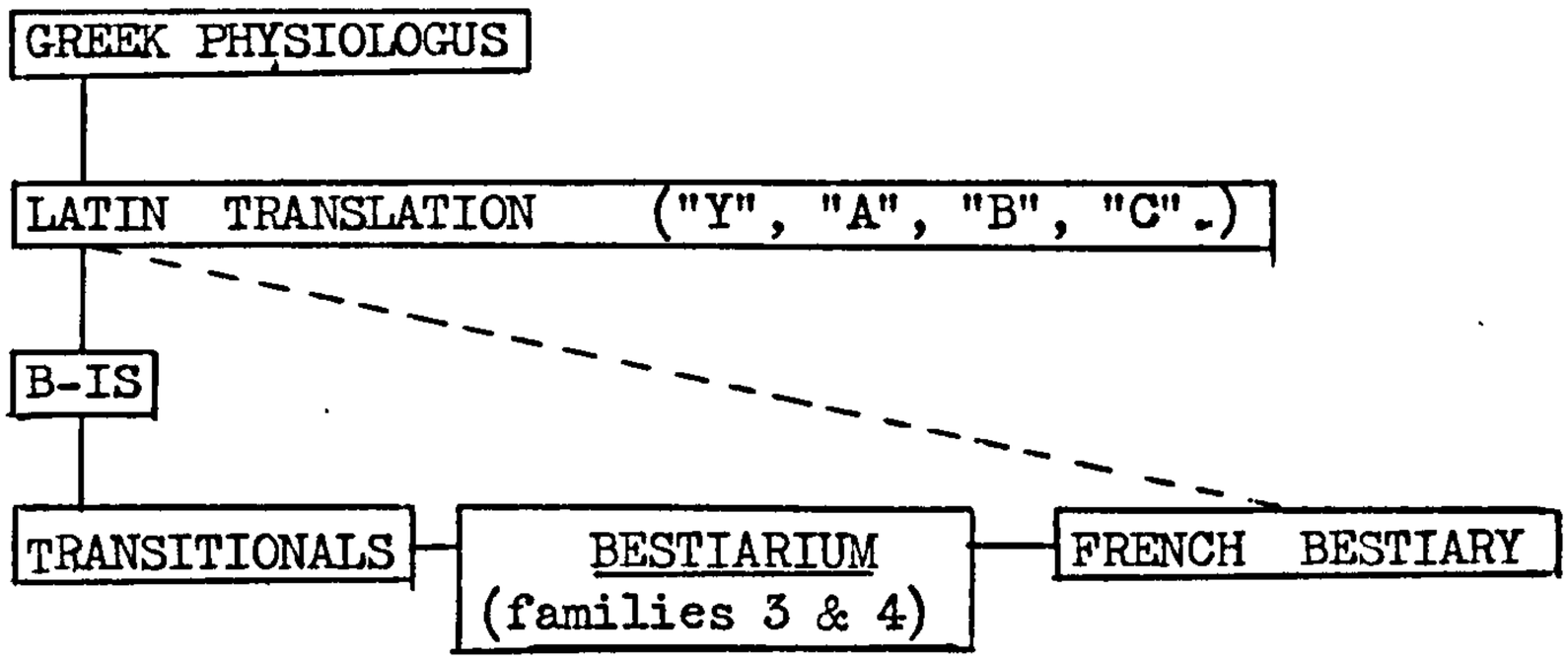
|

French Bestiary

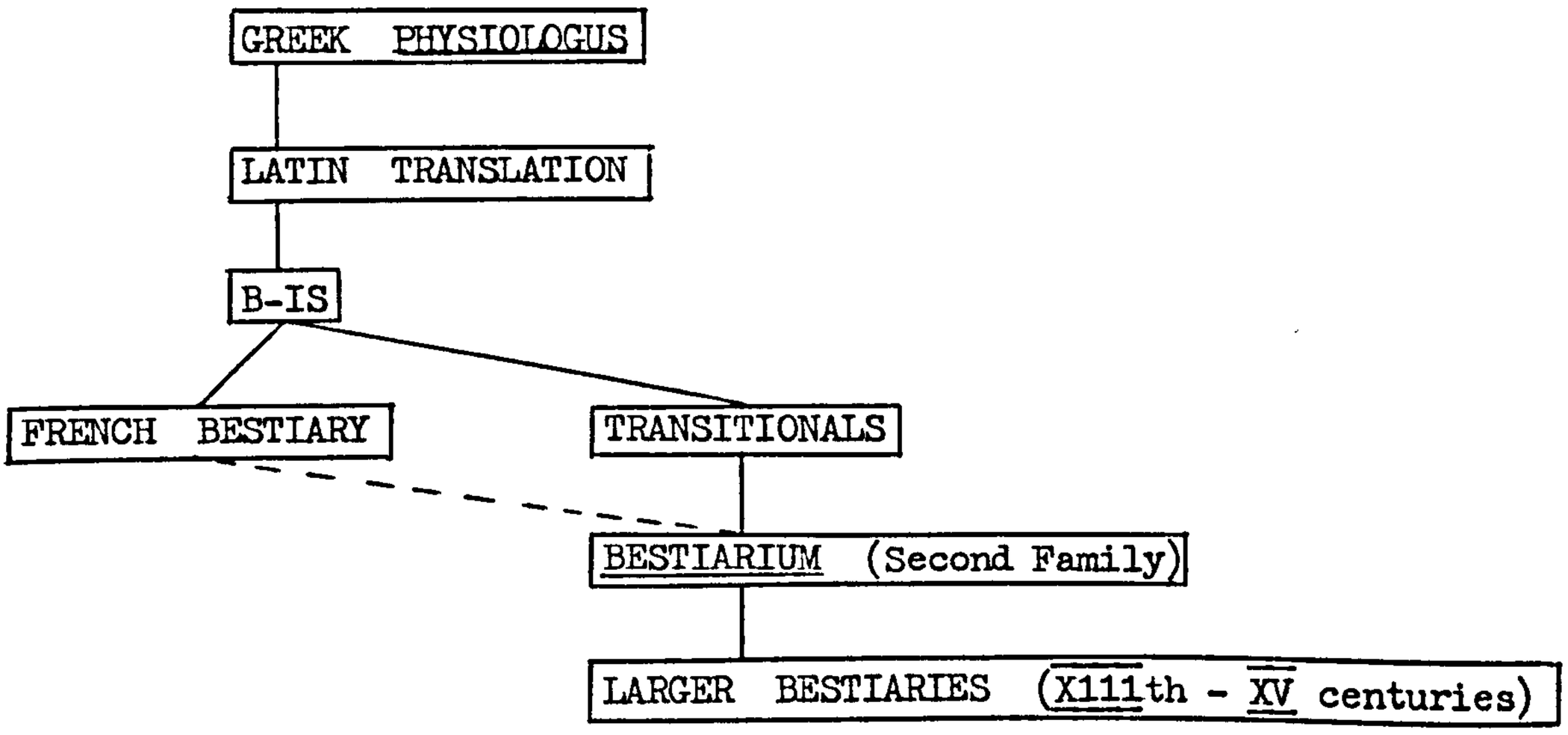
---

(1) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire Ed. E. Walburg. L. 1544-1554

This would account for the greater part of the material in the French Bestiaries; on the other hand, this explanation is unlikely to be true, as it involves the coincidence that the expanded Bestiary should contract once more to the exact contents of the B-Is, or even the Greek Physiologus. This seems hardly credible, unless one follows the plan below:



with the reduction of the Bestiarium to the Bestiary positively influenced by the original Latin translation Bestiaries. This is a possible solution, but a more probable one would indicate a bifurcation in the tradition, with parallel development taking place in the XII th and XIII th centuries, as follows



There is the possibility, although no such manuscript has been listed, that between the B-Is version and the French Bestiaries,

there is a Latin Bestiary, a form of the B-Is Family, with the extra interpolations from the Bestiarium, and that a manuscript of this type is the direct ancestor of the French Bestiary; M. F. Mann, in his edition of the only published B-Is version, has, as his objective, the indication that the Bestiaire de Guillaume Leclerc was almost entirely based on a B-Is version; could it not therefore be argued that there was an intermediary step, combining material in Bestiarium sources with that of the B-Is version? Such a hypothesis could not, ofcourse, be proven until an interpolated B-Is manuscript had been found.

The close relationship of the French Bestiaries to the original Greek and Latin versions obviously accounts for the consistency of the choice of animals, at least as far as external factors are concerned; the internal stability will be dealt with at a later point.

It would seem, therefore, that the choice of animals in the French Bestiary was not dependent on the free choice of the authors of the French Bestiary, but on the fact that they were merely carrying on a tradition by translating it into the vernacular, and, adapting it to the outlook of the age.

As we have seen, there is a great deal of consistency in the choice of animals in three of the Bestiaries, (Cf. Chapter 11, Table 1); the fourth Bestiary, that of Gervaise, presents a different problem, as far as choice of animals is concerned, in that it contains only 26 of the 36 nuclear animals. Its great similarity to the Dicta Chrysostomi indicates that the latter is probably the

	PHILIPPE	PIERRE 1	PIERRE 11	GUILLAUME	GERVAISE
ADAMAS	36	62	35	35	-
ACIDA	13	29; 52	28	28	21
AIGLE	25	21	8	8	17
APTALON	7	2	2	2	10
ASPIS	17	13	27	27	28
CALADRIUS	26	5	5	5	18
CASTOR	10	39	17	17	14
CERF	6	55	30	30	24
CHIEVRE	4	43	20	20	-
COLUM	29	58	32	32	-
FENIS	27	26	9	9	23
FORMI	8	28	11	11	16
FULICA	33	41	23	23	11
GOURPIL	20	32	15	15	13
HERICUN	19	30	13	13	15
HUPE	31	24	10	10	22
HYDRE ET COCODRILLE	5	42	19	19	4
HYENE	11	40	18	18	7
IBEX	32	31	14	14	29
LACOVIE	23	51	25	25	-
LION	1	1	1	1	1
MOUSTOILE	12	13	27	27	27
NICITCORAX	34	22	7	7	-
OLIPHANT	16	60	33+34	33	9
ONAGER	21	45	21	21	-
ONOCENTAURUS	9	66	12	-	14
PELLICANUS	28	7	6	6	19
PENTHERE	3	49	24	24	2
PERTRIS	24	50	32	32	-
SERENA	15	23	12	12	5
SERRA	18	3	4	4	26
SINGE	22	46	22	22	8
SYLIO	14	56	31	31	-
TURROBOLEN	35	4	3	3	-
TURTRE	30	53	29	29	25
UNICORNE	2	37	16	16	3

CHAPTER TWO TABLE ONE

ABBREVIATIONS: PHILIPPE: Le Bestiaire de Philippe de Thaün

PIERRE 1: Le Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais: Long Version

PIERRE 11: Le Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais: Ms. 834

GUILLAUME: Le Bestiaire de Guillaume Leclerc

GERVAISE: Le Bestiaire de Gervais

2/1/14

CONCORDANCE OF THE BESTIAIRE DE GERVAISE AND THE DICTA CHRYSOSTOMI

ANIMAL	DICTA CHRYSOSTOMI	BESTIAIRE DE GERVAISE
Lion	1	1
Panthere	2	2
Unicorne	3	3
Idres & Cocodrille	4	4
Sereine	5	5
Onocentaurus	5	6
Hyena	6	7
Singe	7	8
Onager	7	-
Elephant	8	9
Antule	9	10
Serpent	11	11
Lacerta	12	-
Corbeau	-	12
Vurpil	15	13
Capra	14	-
Castor	16	14
Eriçon	18	15
Formi	17	16
Aille	19	17
Caradrius	26	18
Pellicanus	20	19
Perdris	23	20
Chamoi	24	21
Hupe	25	22
Phenix	27	23
Cervus	13	24
Tortre	-	25
Sarce	10	26
Belette	-	27
Aspis	-	28
Ibis	-	29
Nocticorax	21	-
Fulica	22	-

1/1/15.

source of the Bestiaire de Gervaise, and the problem of the choice of animals therefore seems to have arisen at the time of the compilation of the Dicta Chrysostomi. A study of reasons for a particular choice that took place around 1000 A.D., and which would be consistant with a Latin tradition, does not, I feel, belong in a survey of Medieval French Bestiaries, except to say that the reasons listed below may have prevailed then, as well as two hundred years later.

Even though the Dicta Chrysostomi is almost obviously the main source of the Bestiary of Gervaise; Gervaise deviates from his source, at least as far as the choice of animals is concerned, in that he omits 5 animals:

1) Onager
2) Lacerta
3) Dorcon
4) Nicticorax
5) Fulica

and adds 5, four of which are found at the end of the Bestiary, with "Sarce", which is misplaced:

1) Belette
2) Aspis
3) Ibis
4) Corbeau
5) Tortre (Cf. Chapter II, Table II.)

It is apparent that, although Gervaise relied heavily on the Dicta Chrysostomi, and may indeed have used a version of the Dicta Chrysostomi which has now been lost, the two works, from the point of view of the animals contained, are not identical; and that, although certain physical reasons may account for omissions, other factors must be considered in view of the additional material

i/16.

Gervaise uses.

To consider, first, possible reasons for omissions may prove valuable, not only in itself, but may also point to reasons for inclusions. These reasons put forward are obviously not conclusive - there cannot be, until Gervaise's immediate source is found, sufficient evidence to state definitively Gervaise's motives for inclusion or omission, - but they may serve as a guide to choice motivation not only in Gervaise but also in the original author of the Dicta Chrysostomi. (It would also, by close comparison of the omissions from the Dicta Chrysostomi, give valuable information about the character of Gervaise, especially if any omission contained references or moral opinions to which Gervaise was specifically opposed.)

Thus, possible reasons for omission are - and each one will be dealt with individually -

1) The fact that a particular animal is or is not Biblical

2) "Physical" reasons - e.g. a corrupt text, with pages either missing or badly damaged.

3) Obscurity either of physical or moral attributes

4) Duplication either of attributes or moral content

5) "Moral message" at odds with the overall "message" of the Bestiary.

6) Slender moralising content.

(A seventh reason, that of personal taste and prejudice, will be dealt with in Chapter V, Part III)

The first of these reasons - whether a particular animal is omitted because it is Biblical or non-Biblical-is unlikely to be

1.17

valid in the case of Gervaise, as it does not account for the omission of all the animals: "Nocticorax" as a Biblical animal, "Dorcon" could just be considered to be one, but the other three are not.

The second group of reasons - the "physical" reasons - appertains more to the external features of the manuscript copied, and the type of work intended, than to the content of a particular omission, which is mainly what the other reasons refer to.

The most obvious 'physical' reason for an omission is a missing page or folio. This reason is usually to be suspected when the omissions are grouped together, and the articles surrounding them are misplaced. From the Bestiary of Gervaise, it will be noted that two of the animals omitted do, in fact, occur in consecutive positions in the Dicta Chrysostomi (Cf. Chapter 11, Table 11.): "Nocticorax" and "Fulica" occupy places 21 and 22; and, indeed, the order of animals, which has, to that point, been reasonably consistent in both manuscripts, now shows a fair amount of disruption, with "Charadrius" misplaced to the beginning of the section on birds, following "Aille", and "Nocticorax" and "Fulica" omitted. Indeed, if one removes "Nocticorax" and "Fulica" from the end of the Dicta Chrysostomi, the order does become that of the Bestiaire de Gervaise:

GERVAISE	DICTA CHRYSOSTOMI
17) Aille	19) Aquila
18) Charadrius	20) Pellicanus
19) Pellicanus	21) Nocticorax

GERVAISE	DICTA CHRYSOSTOMI
20) Perdriz	22) Fulica
21) Chamoi (Assida)	23) Perdix
22) Hupe	24) Assida
23) Phenix	25) Upupa
	26) Caladrius
	27) Phoenix

The chapter on the "Cerf", too, is misplaced, and this is preceeded by animals which are omitted in Gervaise. So missing or loose folios could in fact account for 4 out of 5 omissions in Gervaise. However, if the sheet containing the chapter on the "Cerf" survived, it is logical to assume that one of the two Chapters which surrounded it would have survived with it - it is unlikely, though of course possible, that each article would have been copied on a separate piece of parchment. Therefore it seems doubtful that this reason accounts fully for the omission of "Lacerta" or "Capra", even if it could be valid for the omission of "Nicticorax" and "Fulica".

The next physical reason is one that applies as much to the original compilation of the Dicta Chrysostomi as to Gervaise's version, it is that, very simply, certain chapters could have been omitted on the grounds that the author was writing a Bestiary, not a Lapidary or a Volucrary. The immediate relevance of this to the Dicta Chrysostomi is obvious: among the 36 nuclear chapters, there are 2 on stones, neither of these ("Adamas" and "Turrobolen") are to be found in the Dicta Chrysostomi, although they are found in every other Bestiary, including the "Hofer"

Bestiary, which is itself a variant of the Dicta Chrysostomi. It could be argued that this is a possible reason for the omission of two birds from Gervaise, on the grounds that he is not writing a Volucrary, but the inclusion of ten other birds somewhat refutes this.

The next two reasons, those of obscurity and duplication, must be carefully considered, as they are both synthetic reasons for omission, springing from the content of a particular chapter omitted. Both lead to confusion, and thus detract from the clarity and effect of the symbol. For example, the piece on the "Onager" found coupled with "Simia" in the Dicta Chrysostomi, is missing in Gervaise. Now this coupling, unlike that of the "Syrene" with the "Honocentaur", (both half-man, half-animal,) has no underlying logic. Admittedly, both animals represent the Devil, but then, so do "Vulpis" and "Ericeus", which are not joined together. It may be that, by the time a version of the Dicta Chrysostomi reached Gervaise, the section on the "Onager" had become so telescoped and garbled - it is but a 'slight' symbol anyway - that it was practically indistinguishable from "Simia", and was not considered worthy of inclusion. This would be better proved if there were elements of the "Onager" to be found under "Simia", but none occur in the only extant version of the Bestiaire de Gervaise.

"Lacerta" is omitted not only from Gervaise but also from the other Bestiaries; this could be because of assimilation caused by the similarity of the attributes of this animal to those of the "viper" or "serpent". That this is possible can be demonstrated

20

with reference to the two different Bestiaria attributed to Honoré de Saint-Victor: "De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus", Books II and III.

In Book II, we find the chapter headed

28: "De lacerto, Stellione et lacerta" (1)

whereas in Book III, these animals are divided into different groupings:

95: "De lacerto et Batracha"

98: "De stellione iterum et aliis serpentibus". (2)

Thus "Lacerta" is here considered in the light of a Serpent, and it is possible that a similar transmutation has taken place in the Bestiare de Gervaise. Here again, the motive would be clarification, either because Gervaise himself was confused over the two, or because he felt it would confuse his readers.

Similar reasons may be put forward for the omission of "Capra", "Nocticorax", and "Fulica"; although perhaps here reason six - slender moralising content, again leading indirectly to confusion, could be more appropriate, as all these three directly or indirectly symbolise man: the moral impact could be considered as less than that of the more dramatic God/Devil significations.

For these reasons too evidence must be sought in the Dicta Chrysostomi, but some can be indirectly deduced from Gervaise's own comments on his handling of the text. He protests - perhaps too much - that he is merely concerned with translating it, and that the text he now presents us with is a true and faithful replica of the Latin text he found "in the cupboard.":

"Ici fenist li Bestiaires
Plus n'en avoit en l'essenplare
Et de mentir seroit folie.

---

(1) Honoré de Saint-Victor: Op. Cit. Book II. Ch. 28.

(2) Honoré de Saint-Victor: Op. Cit. Book III. Ch. 95, 98.

Qui plus en sait plus vos en die!

Gervaises, qui le romain fit

Plus ne trova ne plus n'en dit!" (1)

If we can take this at face value, then Reason 2 - physical deficiencies - must be taken as the true explanation why he omitted animals, whether this seems to be completely valid or not; however, as C. S. Lewis so aptly remarks

" ... (Writers) sometimes profess to be deriving something from their "auctor" at the very moment when they are departing from him." (2)

Thus it would in fact seem as though Gervaise has departed from his original and is covering his tracks - somewhat like the Lion - fairly certain that his departures from the straight and narrow will go unnoticed.

These, then, are the possible reasons for the choice of a particular animal, with a view to omissions that have taken place. Although I have based these observations on Gervaise and his links with the Dicta Chrysostomi, the reasons given are, it is hoped, sufficiently general to provide possible ground for omissions in other texts - indeed, not necessarily just in Bestiaries.

However, an author's departure from his source material is better regarded from the point of view of what he has added to his "auctor", than from what he has left out. We find that, in fact, Gervaise has added five chapters to those known in extant versions of the Dicta Chrysostomi. There are, of course, as many reasons for the inclusion of a particular animal as there are for its

---

(1) Gervaise: Bestiaire ed; P. Meyer in Romania 1 - 1872. L.1273-8

(2) C. S. Lewis: the Discarded Image : P. 210

omission.

The most obvious reason, and indeed, the one to which all other reasons are parts, is that of cross-reference to another text, which contains not only all these, but contains them in a similar order. This does seem to be what happened with Gervaise, especially in that out of five additions, four are to be found at the end, very much as an addendum, with the misplaced article on "Sarce" included after that on the "Tortre". Unfortunately, no one Bestiary, French or Latin, includes these animals in this order. The one that comes nearest is Bodleian: Laud. Misc. 247, which has:

27) Mustela
28) Aspis
29 Assida
30 Tortre

"Ibex", however, is a fair way back, at number 14; also, there is no article on "Corbeau", a chapter found in only one other French Bestiary - the Long Version of the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais, - and, although this contains all the other additional material, it is not arranged in the same order as in Gervaise.

On the other hand, there are several more possibilities to be considered. Firstly, of course, that Gervaise was working from a version of the Dicta Chrysostomi which already had the additional chapters interpolated. Obviously, this again includes an element of cross-reference, but the compilation was done, not by Gervaise, but by his "auctor".

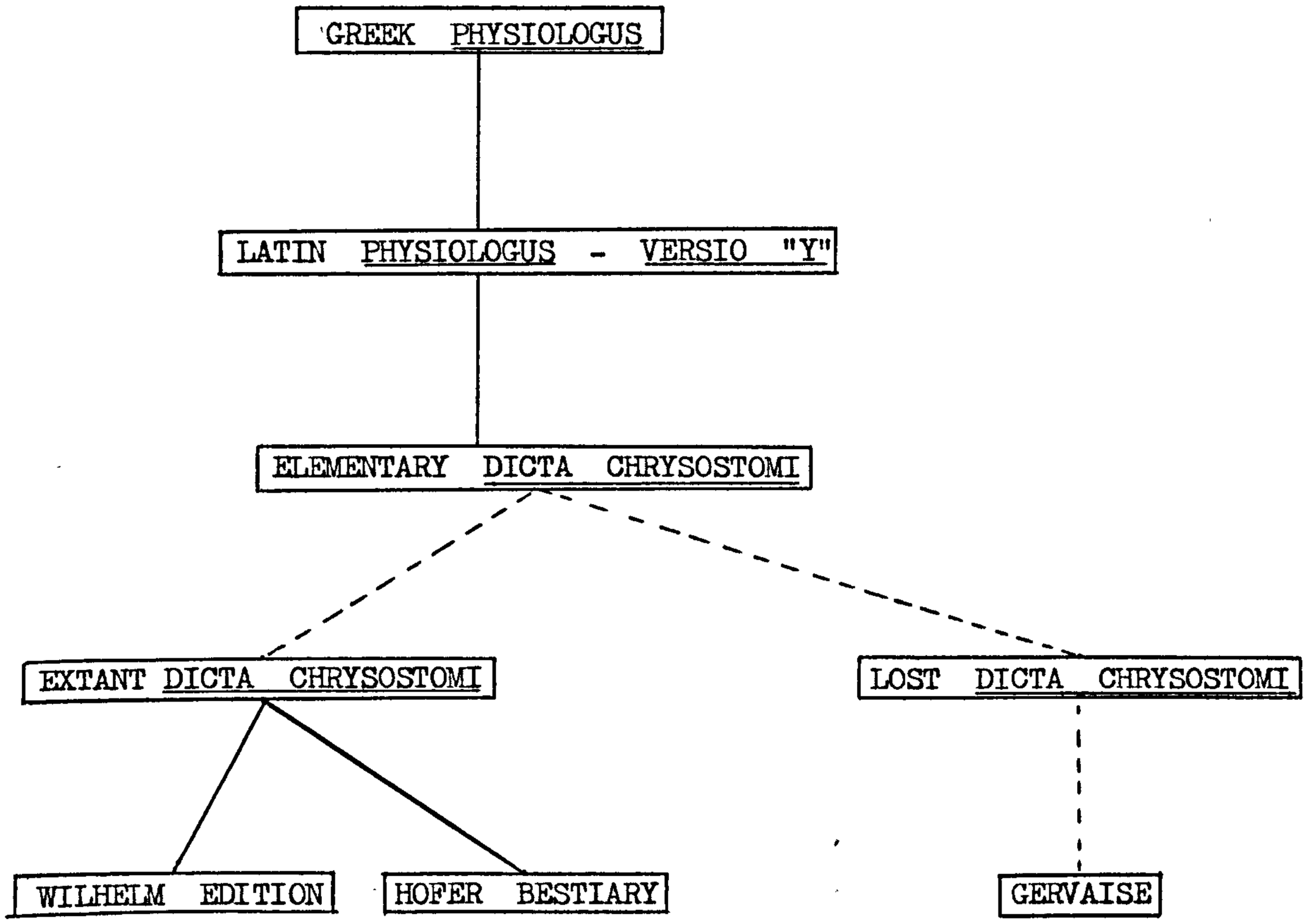
Whether one believes the additions to have been done by Gervaise or by his "auctor" depends largely on the interpretation one puts on the phrases already mentioned, concerning his fidelity to the text,

123

and on what evidence can be gleaned from the text to illuminate Gervaise's character; that is to say, if he appears to be sufficiently inventive and independently-minded to compile a Bestiary. This is a difficult question to answer, because although he does display certain idiosyncrasies as an author, several prejudices, and certainly places different emphasis on certain aspects of the chapters he includes, he does not seem to have sufficient stature as an author to attempt additions on a large scale. However, as all that was required was to look at two, possibly more, manuscripts, and make up the deficiency from the more complete text, this could be possible, especially if the text which contained the additional material was badly defective, containing only a few chapters. This theory, of course would be more valid if all the inclusions were to be found at the end; four of them are; the fifth one is half-way through, and no version of the Dicta Chrysostomi listed by F. McCulloch [1] contains the "Corbeau". Indeed, apart from the Long Version of Pierre de Beauvais' Bestiary, and "De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus", no Bestiary as such contains an article on the Crow until as far back as the Versio "Y" Latin Bestiary, the direct translation from the original Greek, and the Greek Physiologus itself. This gives rise to the question of whether, in fact, the Bestiary of Gervaise was based on the Dicta Chrysostomi as we know it, or on a much older Manuscript, based on the "Y" category, thus

---

(1) F. McCulloch. Op. Cit. P.p. 43 and 56



That the Bestiary of Gervaise is related in some close way to the extant Dicta Chrysostomi cannot be denied - the order of chapters, (cf. Table 11. Chapter 11) is too close for this to be overlooked. However, I feel that the Bestiary of Gervaise cannot be held to be an adaptation (for that is what the additional material would make it) of the extant Dicta Chrysostomi, but a translation of a manuscript of a fuller version of the Dicta Chrysostomi, closer in content to the Latin Versio "Y" manuscripts, or again, to a similar, but slightly different tradition. This seems to be the most satisfying explanation, as it is unlikely that Gervaise did in fact expand the extant Dicta Chrysostomi.

The material omitted from 'Versio "Y"' in the Dicta Chrysostomi can be accounted for by the reasons listed above, especially those

physical and assimilatory reasons.

But for the presence of the article on the "Corbeaus", a rare addition as we have seen, there would be a very good "raison d'être" for the other four: all are very "popular" animals, each one being one of the nuclear 36 animals, and all possessed of striking physical and moral attributes, which, as will be shown in the following chapter, all show a great degree of consistency in both the physical attributes and the symbolic interpretations.

Thus, in considering the choice of animals in the Bestiaries, we find that the most fruitful source of information on this choice is to be found in the comparison of the Bestiary of Gervaise with its supposed source, the Dicta Chrysostomi. This remains true, and the reasons for inclusion valid for general consideration, even though one is forced, through the complicated nature of the links between the Bestiaire de Gervaise, to consider the possibility that the Bestiaire de Gervaise is descended from a different version, basically containing similar material, of the Dicta Chrysostomi.

In this chapter, we have concentrated on the reasons behind the choice of an animal in a particular Bestiary, or for the reasons for omission of certain chapters; we have not attempted to explain the reasons behind the choice of the 36 nuclear animals, nor of the 49 inclusions in the Greek Physiologus. This is because it is felt that the reasons underlying the choice of these original animals could point to the very "raison d'être" of the Bestiary/Physiologus tradition itself, and this is to be considered in its correct place.

PART 11 CHAPTER 11

ANIMALS, ATTRIBUTES AND MEANINGS

This part of the sectionis a study to see whether an animal retains, throughout the Bestiaries, its symbolic meaning, or whether the attributes and meanings change from Bestiary to Bestiary. Also, the type of animal, real or imaginary, is considered, in case one type of animal shows greater consistency of symbolic interpretation than the other.

As we have seen from Chapter 2,Part1,the French Bestiaries resemble each other to a considerable extent in the number of animals contained, and in the choice of these animals. The purpose of the present chapter is to discover if this similarity is continued into the realm of the attributes given to the individual animals concerned, or whether an individual author, in order to create a work of his own, uses completely different attributes and symbolic interpretations. We also consider the development of the tradition from non-Physiologus texts, (the works of Pliny and Isidore of Seville) and the influence of the magnum opus on the subject, namely, the Books II and III of De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus by Honoré de Saint-Victor. These texts have been chosen for comparison in order to give a broader view of the development of a symbol, rather than to analyse in depth all the Latin Physiologi, noting variants and deviations, for such an exercise would be more concerned with direct "Family" links and the determination of source material, than with the wider implications of the beast symbol tradition which is being studied here.

The order in which the animals are discussed is therefore as follows:

1. Lion
2. Monosceros (unicorn)
3. Panthere et Dragon
4. Dorcon (goat)
5. Ydrus et Crocodile
6. Cerf
7. Aptalon (antelope)
8. Furmi et furmicaleüns
9. Onoscentaurus (man/ass)
10. Castor (beaver)
11. Hyene
12. Mustele (weasel)
13. Assida (ostrich)
14. Sylio (salemander)
15. Serena
16. Elephans
17. Aspis
18. Serra (marine monster)
19. Hericun
20. Goupil (fox)
21. Onager (wild ass)
22. Singe
23. Cetus (whale)
24. Perdrix
25. Aigle
26. Caladrius
27. Fenix
28. Pellicanus
29. Colum
30. Turtre (turtledove)
31. Huppe (hoopoe)
32. Ibex (ibis)
33. Fullica (coot)
34. Nicticorax (screech owl)
35. Turrobolen (burning stones)
36. Adamas (diamond)

The Degree of Stability of the Symbol; the Physical and Moral Attributes of the Bestiary Animals.

For the purposes of this chapter, we have followed the order of the animals as found in Philippe de Thaün, as this is the oldest French Bestiary, and is also the only one to be arranged in the order of first animals, then birds, and finally stones. Moreover, the internal structure of each category is logical: those animals representing Christ first, then those representing man, then those representing the Devil, finally; the same pattern is used for the lists of birds and stones. "And I begin with the Lion, "por ce qu'il est rois de toutes les bestes, si font bien a oir et a entendre et a retenir."" (1) (2)

1) Lion

All seven texts, (Pliny, Isidore de Seville, Honoré de Saint-Victor, Philippe de Thaün, Pierre de Beauvais, Gervaise, and Guillaume Leclerc,) agree about the basic attributes of the Lion. These are:

1) Physical description:
   a) Rough-hewn face,
   b) Well-built, large neck with mane,
   c) Wide in front, narrow behind
   d) Non-rounded legs, with large, agile, fissipedic feet
   e) Long tail
   f) Long, curved claws

2) When he hunts, he draws a circle in the soil with his tail - his prey cannot escape therefrom

---

(1) All references to the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais, ms. 834 refer to the copy of B.N.F.f. 834, which forms appendix (a).

(2) Pierre de Beauvais: Bestiaire ms. 834. App. (a) P. (i) Ll. 13-14.

3) When angry, he stamps on the ground

4) When hunted, removes all his tracks with his tail to evade pursuer

5) Fears white cocks and the squeaking of charriots

6) Sleeps with his eyes open

7) Trembles when he first sees man

8) Lioness gives birth to a"dead" cub, which comes to life three days later as the lion roars nearby.

Of these attributes, taken from the fullest account, that of Philippe de Thaün, the fifth is the one that is universally mentioned; Pierre de Beauvais adds, realistically, the lion's fear of fire. All but Pliny, the pre-Christian writer, maintain that the lion sleeps with his eyes open, and include the obvious illustrative Biblical text:

" I sleep, but my heart waketh. " (1)

Again, all but Pliny include the idea that the lion covers his tracks with his tail when he is hunted, and that the lion cub lies 'dead' for three days; Pliny, the realist, who has no symbol to formulate, tells us that the lion cub does not move for two months. All but Philippe de Thaün and Gervaise mention the mercy of the lion, mostly towards man, whom it is reputed not to attack unless ravenous, and not then if the man is captive or fallen; nor does the lion get angry except when injured. The conscious effort the French Bestiaries make to improve their symbolism from the way they extend this attribute of mercy to cover pity towards smaller animals:-

" Il espargne les povres bestes et les menues laist aler en pais. " (2)

---

(1) Song of Songs: Chap. 5 v. 2

(2) Pierre de Beauvais: Bestiaire Ms. 834 P. iv Ll. 1-2

This, although not entirely consistent with the Medieval view of God, does still serve to increase the similarity of the symbol to Christ symbolised.

A close study of the French Bestiaries reveals that there is little difference in the chapter on the Lion in the Bestiaries of Philippe de Thaün, Guillaume Leclerc and Pierre de Beauvais. Gervaise is less detailed, in that he gives only the basic attributes, the three most common "natures" and significations. (1) Unlike Philippe de Thaün and Honoré de St. Victor, he does not attempt to give a "signification" to every small physical detail; and here, indeed, not even Honoré de St. Victor can compete with Philippe de Thaün in the luxurious mass of detail included, though his moralistic interpretation is very similar. This chapter in Philippe de Thaün is by far his most fully developed, as though the Lion were, to him, the optimum symbol. (2)

---

(1) The three most common meanings, though they are not universal, are:-

4) The lion's tracing a circle in the soil with his tail = Incarnation

6) The lion sleeping with his eyes open to indicate the dual nature of Christ

8) The lion cub being born dead and resuscitated = Resurrection.

The meanings in Gervaise differ only in detail from those given in Philippe de Thaün. (Cf. Footnote to Chapter 2, no. 2 below)

(2) The moralistic interpretations of the physical attributes given above are as follows: (taken from the Bestiaire de Philippe de Thaün)

1) Physical description
   a) On day of Judgment, stern towards the Jews.
   b) (No meaning specified.)
   c) Divinity and humanity in the one being

Guillaume Leclerc and Pierre de Beauvais differ very little from each other, even in the smallest detail, while a similar closeness may be observed in the Latin texts of Isidore de Seville and Honoré de St. Victor.

Thus, to recapitulate, there is a great degree of similarity in the treatment of the Lion in all seven texts, although the amount of detail varies. The basic symbol, that of the Lion as God or Christ, remains constant in all texts, except, of course, in Pliny and Isidore de Seville, neither of whom include moralistic interpretation. The evident similarity of the Latin texts points to a steadily growing tradition concerning the Lion, and the change from the Antique to the Christian tradition is also sufficiently clear.

'Family' links, too, are beginning to be formed, Guillaume Leclerc and Pierre de Beauvais, Honoré de Saint Victor and Philippe de Thaün, Honoré de Saint Victor and Isidore de Seville. These linkages will be followed up in the ensuing chapters, and the conclusions noted.

---

d) Swiftness of God: God holds world in hand.
e) We are all under the jurisdiction of Christ.
f) Nails represent Christ's vengeance on the Jews.

2) Circle = paradise, tail = justice of God, animals = man.
3) Earth = man; God chastises those He loves.
4) Hiding tracks = Incarnation; took human form to trick the Devil.
5) Cock = St. Peter; carts = Evangelists.
6) Eyes open = death was only apparent.
7) Trembling = God humbling Himself before man.
8) Lioness = Mary; cub = Christ; Roar of lion = God's strength; three days = Resurrection.

These significations, although taken from Philippe de Thaün, nevertheless remain valid for all texts; the only deviations occur as a result of omission.

2) Unicorn

With this fabulous beast, there is general agreement on the need to capture it by trick, though the reasons for this necessity vary; Guillaume Leclerc, Pierre de Beauvais, Isidore de Seville and Pliny maintain that the beast is too ferocious to be captured otherwise, (indeed, Pliny goes as far as to say that the unicorn is the fiercest beast known); Gervaise indicates a certain difficulty in capture, because

"Tant se set la beste desfandre" (1)

though whether this indicates ferocity or skill in evasion is difficult to decide; Honoré de Saint Victor puts the difficulty of capture down to timidity, while Philippe de Thaûn does not give any reason.

The basic attribute of the unicorn, the necessity to capture it by means of luring it to a maiden and thus calming it sufficiently to capture it, is found in all except Pliny; there are only minor variations in the retelling of the legend. These differences, however, are interesting, as they throw light on to the techniques adopted by the various authors to improve the quality of the symbol. There are, for example, slight variations in the fate of the unicorn; Pliny, writing before the dawn of the legend, states that the unicorn cannot be taken alive; Isidore de Seville notes the capture by means of the trick, but gives no further indication of its fate; Philippe de Thaün rides two horses and says it is killed or captured, while Gervaise, Guillaume Leclerc, Pierre de Beauvais and Honoré de Saint Victor maintain it is captured alive and taken to the court of the king. These differences are interesting, not only because they point to a partial divergeance between Honoré de Saint-Victor and

---

(1) Gervaise: Bestiaire (ed. P. Meyen Romania Vol. 1 1872) L. 245

Philippe de Thaün, with the later bestiaries resuming Honoré de St. Victor's version, but also because it shows a dichotomy of thought in connection with the death of the Unicorn. Obviously, Gervaise, Guillaume Leclerc, Pierre de Beauvais, and Honoré de St. Victor, by their unanimous statement that the unicorn is captured alive, they follow the reasoning that the Unicorn represents Christ, Christ is a God, and therefore immortal, and it would be wrong to portray the death of God. Philippe de Thaün, who is usually very strict in his observation of the detail surrounding a symbol, may indicate by his ambivalence the twofold nature of Christ; that He was a God, but, as a result of the Incarnation, the very subject of the legend of the Virgin and the Unicorn, He was also Man, and as such, could and did die. This seems the best explanation of Philippe de Thaün's ambiguity, a quality foreign to him, as can be seen from the wealth of detail he uses in connection with the Lion.

The Bestiaries as a whole are unusually silent as to the description of the appearance of this fabulous but popular beast. The only two to give much physical description are Pliny and Pierre de Beauvais 1; but they show a surprising amount of similarity, differing only in one detail; the following physical description is taken from Pierre de Beauvais 1:

a) Four feet long

b) Has one horn in the middle of its forehead

c) Looks like a small billy-goat

d) Has the body of a horse

e) Has the feet of an elephant

f) Has the head of a stag

g) Has a high pitched voice

h) Has a tail like a piglet

For 'g', Pliny substitutes a low-pitched, deep voice. Philippe de Thaün only tells us that it has one horn and looks like a small goat;

Gervaise says exactly the same, indicating in addition that the unicorn likes to live in the mountains, (a possible confusion with the Chevre, whom the Unicorn is reputed to resemble.) Guillaume Leclerc merely states that it has one horn, but gives a number of character attributes - that it is militant and brave, violent and passionate, fights the enemies of God, here symbolised surprisingly by the elephant:

"N'a pas poeir que s'en defende
Li Olifanz, quant le requert:
Car desoz le ventre le fert
Del pe trenchant com alemele
Si forment, que tot l'esboele." (1)

This enmity between the Unicorn and the elephant is also found in Isidore of Seville, whose description is equally brief, but in no other manuscript. Honoré de Saint Victor describes it as having one horn and the appearance of a small goat.

The meaning of the symbol remains basically constant: (here as in Philippe de Thaün)

a) Single horn - means the unity of God, that Christ, although one of the Trinity, is the one God.

b) Capture by means of maiden - Incarnation of Christ by the Virgin Mary

c) Maiden's breast - Church

d) Kiss of Unicorn - Peace.

Most writers merely give the first two meanings; Honoré de Saint Victor goes into more detail than even Philippe de Thaün, but differs in so many aspects that we considered it useful to include the list of his interpretations:

a) Unicorn - Christ

b) Maiden - Virgin Mary

---

(1) Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire (ed. R. Reinsch) L. 1583 - 1592

c) Capture - incarnation

d) Hunters - Jews who condemned Christ to death

e) Single horn - Unity of Father and Son

f) Sharpness of horn - that no thrones nor dominions can equal God as He is

g) Timidity - Humility of Incarnation

h) Difficulty of capture - Devil may try to probe the mystery of the incarnation, but fails.

i) Resembles goat - because clothed in sin and flesh to overcome sin.

As we can see, the basic attributes, (a), (b) and (e) are as in Philippe de Thaün, but the other details, found nowhere else, are considerably more explicit than in Philippe de Thaün.

An interesting feature of the moral attributes of this beast is the interpretation of the Incarnation as a trick to deceive the Devil. This very Medieval belief is found in Honoré de St. Victor, Philippe de Thaün and Guillaume Leclerc; Philippe de Thaün seems fond of this ruse of God's - he mentions it in several chapters, including the one on the Lion.

So again, there is great similarity in all texts in the legend of the Unicorn and the Maiden; physical description, does not vary very much, although how different is this goat-like, elephant-footed creature from the elegant, graceful horse-with-a-horn found depicted in later illustrations, the series of tapestries, especially "La Dame à la Licorne".

The moral interpretation is likewise constant, although found in varying degrees of detail.

Family links are difficult to judge from this chapter, as there is so much similarity between the texts. Only isolated details seem

to link texts in this case,; the trick played on the Devil links Honoré de St. Victor, Philippe de Thaün and Guillaume Leclerc, whereas the physical description gives us two very unexpected bed-fellows in Pierre de Beauvais and Pliny; This 'coincidence' will be carefully observed throughout. Again, Phil ippe de Thaün and Honoré de St. Victor resemble each other, in style if not in the details actually used, whereas the other texts are too similar for any conclusions to be drawn.

5) Panther

The seven authors agree on the beauty of this noble animal, which is used to represent Christ alone (unlike the Lion, which may also be said to represent God the Father.) All, including the pre-Christian Pliny, mention the Panther's powers of attracting other animals by the smell - this is later transposed to indicate the supposed sweet breath that issues from the mouth of the Panther - although Pliny adds that other animals, if attracted by the smell, are frightened by the Panther's head, and of course, Roman Pliny's Panther uses its gift of attraction to catch and devour animals, not to lead them to eternal salvation! He achieves capture by hiding his head.

This power to attract animals is 'explained' by the etymology of the panther's name - it is supposedly derived from the Greek word for "all", that is Παν. This emphasis on the Greek derivation of the word is stressed, naturally by Isidore de Seville in his "Etymologia", but also in Honoré de Saint Victor and Philippe de Thaün:

"E oez de sun num
Signeficatiun:
'Pan' en griu trestut est,
Kar de tel nature est:" (1)

The other Bestiaries all portray the same notion of universality, although they no longer use the actual derivation, but a paraphrase:

"Panthere dit, qui dreit l'entent (2)
Tant come beste qui tot prent"

The physical and moral attributes differ very little throughout the seven texts; the legend is as follows (here taken from Honoré de Saint Victor):

---

(1) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire (ed: E. Walburg) Ll. 463 - 466

(2) Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire Ll. 2071 - 2072

a) Enemy of the dragon alone

b) When has eaten its fill of all meats, goes into its cave and sleeps for three days

c) When awakes, emits roar and sweet odour, which summons all animals, except the dragon, to him

d) Other animals follow panther

e) Of many colours

Pliny here mentions only the attraction of the panther for other animals, but adds the gratitude displayed by panthers. Their many colours are, according to Pliny, spots, as he maintains that panthers have a variety of markings, basically small spots on a light background. Isidore de Seville mentions the popularity of the panther and its enmity to the dragon, and gives the Greek derivation. He also describes a panther as being covered in spots, like eyes, black or white, depending on the species. He also tells us of the difficulty a femal, panther experiences in gestation, (he claims to be quoting Pliny) as the claws of the cub tear her insides. This fact is also used by Honoré de Saint-Victor in a kind of appendix, stating that it comes from Pliny, and quotes Isidore de Seville on the enmity of the panther and the dragon. This cross-referencing is interesting, as it shows clearly that Isidore de Seville was acquainted with Pliny's work in some form, and that Honoré de Saint-Victor was influenced by Isidore de Seville, and here actually quotes him as a source.

Philippe de Thaün follows Honoré de Saint-Victor exactly; Gervaise is, for once, more expansive, in that he gives more physical description - the panther's neck is long and it has well-shaped neck and head; it has also great sense and lives a good life. He also gives more details of the panther's sweet breath, maintaining that it comes from the consumption of oriental spices, which seems to lessen the impact of the symbol; both Gervaise and Guillaume Leclerc omit the actual Greek

derivation. Guillaume Leclerc agrees basically the the list of attributes above, but calls the panther a 'loup-cervier', or lynx, which the earlier writers seem to imply in their physical descriptions. This specification would seem to imply that Guillaume Leclerc or his source had more knowledge on the differences between panthers and lynxes than his colleagues. Guillaume Leclerc also specifies the colours of the panther, all seven of them. Pierre de Beauvais follows Honoré de Saint Victor completely.

There is general agreement, too, on the meaning to be given to the panther: (again, the attributes are taken from Honoré de Saint Victor, as his is the fullest account)

a) Panther - Christ

b) Many colours = all attributes of wisdom

c) Beauty = beauty of Christ

d) Sleeps when full = Christ 'slept' on the cross when replete with insults

e) Sleeps three days - Resurrection

f) Roar and sweet odour - words of God and sweetness of Christ.

Philippe basically agrees with Honoré de Saint-Victor, except that he specifies that the other animals represent man and the Dragon the Devil; he does not specify colours or the meaning of the panther's many colours. For him, the roar means the heavenly voice because Christ was raised from the dead, and the sweet smell represents prayer. Gervaise follows Honoré de Saint-Victor closely, in that he gives more details of the insults that Christ had to bear than Philippe de Thaün does, and he includes more Biblical quotations. Here, the odour is the odour of God. Guillaume Leclerc follows Gervaise in his detail of the insults, stresses the universality of God, and has the odour to be that of resurrection, of incarnation, death and passion. Pierre de Beauvais merely differs in his inter-

pretation of the odour - to him, it is the commandments, whose fine smell, along with the 'smell' of the Gospels, attract people to God.

Thus again we find great similarity between all the texts, with many interesting links; Isidore de Seville quotes Pliny - the first time we have met such an open admission of source material, and Honoré de Saint-Victor quotes from both of them. As in the chapter on the Unicorn, the general similarity makes it difficult to be precise about cross-references in the French Bestiaries, but it seems worth indicating the great similarity of Honoré de Saint Victor and Philippe de Thaün - again -, and this time, of Gervaise, as this more expansive chapter increases his similarity to both these earlier texts.

3 a) Dragon

This mythical beast is found in all texts except that of Pliny; it seems probable, therefore, that the Christian writers found their source for this animal in works outside the Roman tradition, as Pliny contains most of the animal histories current in the Roman world. One possible source of this legend is Ethiopia, the seat of one of the oldest surviving forms of Christianity, and, according to Honoré de Saint Victor, Isidore de Seville and Guillaume Leclerc, the home of the dragon. It is also interesting to recall the widely held theory that the Physiologus originated in the Middle East, around Egypt. It would seem, therefore, that the point of origin of this particular legend is somewhere in that area of the Middle East, still just under Roman rule for the Latin writers, and becoming known to the West in the X11th and X111th centuries on account of the Crusades.

The Dragon is mentioned as an animal in its own right in Isidore de Seville, Honoré de Saint-Victor, Philippe de Thaün and Guillaume Leclerc; in Honoré de St.-Victor and Guillaume Leclerc, it has even a chapter to itself, whereas in Philippe de Thaün it forms part of the chapter on the panther; however,in the other two, the separate chapter follows that on the Panther. Isidore de Seville mentions the Dragon twice, but the two chapters are not found close to the Panther. Gervaise and Pierre de Beauvais both mention the Dragon in connection with the panther, but devote no space to it as a separate chapter.

Pliny's one mention of the Dragon is as a form of serpent in his account of the fights between the elephant and the snakes (see under the heading 'Elephant').

There is complete agreement between Isidore of Seville and Honoré de Saint-Victor on the physical description of the Dragon (below is Honoré de St. Victor's description)

a) Largest of all snakes

b) Brought out of its cave by sounding brass in its vicinity.

c) Crested

d) Has a small mouth and open pipes through which it breathes

e) Strength not in its teeth, but in its tail - wounds by lashing, not biting

f) Legend of snakes/dragons killing elephants by suffocation

g) Live in India and Ethiopia.

Isidore de Seville agrees with this description in every detail, and adds only the Etymology of the name. Philippe is far less detailed, saying merely that it is like a snake and that it is crested. He then adds that it is winged, is twelve feet long and has many teeth. He mentions the destruction wrought by its tail, but omits the country of origin. Guillaume Leclerc follows Honoré de Saint-Victor far more closely, mentioning the small mouth and large body, as well as the crest and long tail. Guillaume Leclerc also gives Ethiopia as the home of the Dragon, and uses the fact that it fights with its tail. The Dragon that Gervaise uses is definitely the Biblical Leviathan:

"Illuec lia lo fier dragon,
l'ancien enemi felon..." (1)

The moral interpretation also remains constant in all the texts; in each case, the Dragon is the Devil, who alone cannot tolerate the proximity of Christ; it is only the degree of detail that varies: Honoré, as usual gives a very full account:

a) Dragon = Devil

b) Gold-coloured = was originally an angel, and decieves the foolish with hope of false glory and human delight

c) Crested = king of pride

d) Poison in tongue, not teeth = deceives with his words

---

(1) Gervaise: Bestiaire Ll. 195 - 196

e) Follows elephants = follows great men

f) Binds their legs with tail = binds them with sin and excludes them from heaven

g) Death from suffocation = if one dies in the fetters of sin, one goes to Hell.

This very full account is not copied in any of the French texts; Philippe de Thaün only interprets one detail, and that differently from Honoré de Saint-Victor; the tail is the end of the Dragon, it is bad because of the destruction it causes, and this indicates that the Dragon/Devil will come to a bad end! Guillaume Leclerc does not specify any meaning to individual attributes, and Gervaise and Pierre de Beauvais merely mention the Dragon 'passim' without giving any direct interpretation.

Thus, again, there is great agreement in the texts which actually use the Dragon, and the amount of detail provided by each author gives a few interesting links, most important of these being the unusual degree of similarity in the works of Honoré de Saint Victor and Guillaume Leclerc, and the similar treatment meted out to the Dragon by Pierre de Beauvais and Gervaise. It is also interesting to note the paucity of detail in Philippe de Thaün - this gives rise to the thought that he might have been using a defective original for this article; it is the first chapter in which Philippe de Thaün and Honoré de Saint Victor have appeared so different; also, the detail included - that of the bad end forecast by the Dragon's 'bad' tail - this seems very weak in comparison to Philippe de Thaün's usually tightly-drawn moralisations. However, it is very similar to the conclusion that Philippe de Thaün gives in connection with the monkey's lack of tail (cf; the chapter on the Monkey) that the tail can be taken to mean the end of the life of the animal, and any defect indicates a 'bad end'. A logical interpretation, but rather a trite one, whether it be the inspiration of Philippe de Thaün or his source.

4) Goat

The goat, missing from Pliny and Gervaise, possibly for reasons mentioned in Chapter 2(a), is treated with a great degree of similarity in the works of Honoré de Saint-Victor and the three other French Bestiaries. Its attributes are as follows:

1) Two sorts of goats, the 'Hericini' or field goats, and the ones usually described in the Bestiaries, the 'Dorcon', as it is called by Honoré de Saint-Victor and by Philippe de Thaün.

2) Like high mountains, feed in small enclosed valleys in the mountains.

3) Have very good eyesight and perception - can tell if a man, walking in the distance, is a friend or an enemy.

Philippe de Thaün agrees with this description almost exactly - he merely omits the passage about the two sorts of goats; and Pierre de Beauvais agrees with Philippe de Thaün, except that he does not use the Greek name 'dorcon', calling it merely 'Chievre'. Both Guillaume Leclerc and Isidore give a fuller, slightly different description of the goat, Guillaume Leclerc in that he starts his chapter on the goat with the popular legend on the subject:

"Bestes sont mult foles e sages:
Des privees e des salvages
Vos tenez por coart le levre
E por fole tenez la chevre" (1)

otherwise, his account tallies with that of Philippe de Thaün, except that Guillaume Leclerc gives a fuller physical description and the name of the goat in 'Romanz' - 'Buc'.

The description given by Isidore is interesting in that it combines two traditions of legend about the Goat: the Roman, which saw

---

(1) Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire Ll. 1729 - 1732

in the goat the epitomy of lasciviousness, and the Bestiary, confined more especially to the 'Dorcon' species, which is based on their faculty of being able to see for a long distance. Like Honoré de Saint-Victor, Isidore de Seville mentions the noise these wild goats make - like thigh bones being rubbed together, and that they live in high mountains. He further writes that the largest goats are called Cinyphii after the river Cinyphis in Libya, where they, outsize goats, abound. Capra goats are supposedly so-called, because they pluck off brushwood - rather an obscure etymology.

The only Bestiarium mention of the goat's supposed lasciviousness is to be found in Honoré de Saint-Victor, under the chapter on the Unicorn, where he writes that the Unicorn is the size of a goat, because Christ was clothed in flesh and sin in order to overcome flesh and sin.

The meaning of the Goat also remains fairly constant:

1) Goat = Christ or God, because they love-
2) The Heights = prophets, patriarchs, apostles and saints
3) Valleys = the Holy Church on whom Christ feeds, by the works of piety that the faithful perform
4) Long sight = Christ, because of the following quotation:

> "Though the Lord be high, yet hath He respect unto the lowly; but the proud He knoweth afar off." (1)

(These meanings are taken from Honoré de Saint Victor). Philippe de Thaün uses the symbol of the Goat to represent the life that God led on earth, in that He loved the mountains, that is, the just men, who form the mountains of justice, on which God feeds. Philippe de Thaün takes long sight as meaning that God sees and knows all who

---

(1) Psalms: chap. 138 v. 6

are, who have been, and who will be, and He knows who will go to Hell, Although the detail is interpreted in a slightly different way, the symbolism as propounded by Philippe de Thaün is substantially the same as that of Honoré de St. Victor. This is also true of Guillaume Leclerc, who mentions churches actually in the small valleys, and it is here that God is fed by the good works of the faithful, and Guillaume Leclerc here uses the quotation:

> "For as much as you did it unto the least of these, you did it unto me." (1)

and goes on to recount the whole of the chapter and its consequences, its inclusion being justified by that fact that the Bible itself used sheep/goat symbolism in that particular chapter. However, it is interesting to note how the Bestiary writers could use a Biblical quotation to back up an argument, when the quotation uses the same animal that is contained in the Bestiary exposition, although the latter gives it an entirely different character; in this chapter on the goat, Guillaume Leclerc uses the parable on the sheep and the goats, where the goats symbolise the condemned, to reinforce a chapter where the Goat symbolises Christ or God, so far does the Bestiary symbolism depart from the Biblical.

Pierre de Beauvais agrees with Philippe de Thaün, and extends the faculty of long sight to the ability to see into people's hearts. For him, however, the heights mean the Church, instead of just men.

Thus again, we find great similarity between the five texts that figure the goat; of these five, possibly the readings of Guillaume Leclerc and Honoré de Saint Victor are the closest, although the differences between all the texts are so slight that it is difficult to classify them into significant categories.

---

(1) Matthew: chap. 25 v. 40

However, Pierre de Beauvais does seem to have simplified the readings in the earlier texts of Honoré de St. Victor and Philippe de Thaün, and from his own contemporary, Guillaume Leclerc; his adaptation of the heights to indicate the Church obviates the slight difficulty of having God feeding upon his subjects, as Philippe de Thaün would have it, or the added complication of Christ feeding in the valleys, or the Churches, as found in Guillaume Leclerc or Honoré de St. Victor, for the simple reason that there are Churches to be found in the Mountains. Pierre's extension of the clear sight of the goat to include God's ability to see into peoples' hearts is a logical step, and one that does much to strengthen the image.

5) Hydra and Crocodile

These two creatures are never separated in the Bestiaries and all the texts, both Latin and French, agree on the basic legend of the hatred of the Hydra for the crocodile, although in Pliny, the Hydra is called an Ichneumon, and no mention is made of it rolling in mud, in order to facilitate its entry. Pliny, as usual, gives far more detail taken from nature, and what seems to be reasoned observation. As expected, he confines himself to purely physical attributes.

The description of the beasts remains fairly constant, although Philippe de Thaün, Guillaume Leclerc, Honoré de St. Victor and Isidore de Seville give more detail than Pierre de Beauvais and Gervaise. The following descriptions are taken from Honoré de St. Victor:

1) Hydra

a) Physical description

1) Aquatic serpent which lives in the waters of the Nile - hence name.

2) Like a large boa - one swells up at a blow from it.

b) Attributes

1) Hates the Crocodile

2) Has following habit: when it sees a crocodile asleep on the shore, it goes and rolls itself in the mud so that it can slip easily into the throat of the crocodile

3) Crocodile swallows it alive, and it tears the crocodile to pieces from the inside out.

4) The Hydra remains alive inside the crocodile, and emerges unhurt.

2) Crocodile

a) Physical description

2:24

1) Said to be yellow in colour

2) Born by the Nile, and lives both on land and in the water

3) Twenty cubits long

4) Armed with terrible teeth and nails

5) Skin said to be so hard that if it is hit by a stone it is not hurt

B) Attributes

1) At night, lurks in the water; by day on the ground

2) If it captures and eats a man, it weeps over him afterwards.

Philippe de Thaün's description of the Hydre is far simpler - he does not mention Honoré de St. Victor's second physical feature - that it is like a large boa constrictor. In its moral attributes, Philippe de Thaün lays emphasis on a favourite theme of his - that of trying to trick one's enemy. (This is found also under 'Lion')

The only difference in Philippe de Thaün's telling of the legend is that the Crocodile actively swallows the Hydre, whereas Honoré de St. Victor makes the incident seem more involuntary. Gervaise does not even describe the Hydre as a serpent, merely as a 'beste'. Otherwise, his version tallies with that of Honoré de St. Victor, especially in so far as the act of swallowing is here again involuntary. Guillaume Leclerc describes the Hydre as a snake, but omits his place of origin. Guillaume Leclerc, to complicate matters, maintains that the Hydre is actively swallowed. Pierre de Beauvais $\underline{1}$ and 834 differ on this topic, in that, where Pierre de Beauvais $\underline{1}$ gives the same description of the Hydre as Philippe de Thaün, 834, merely states that

"Une beste est en l'eve, qui est apelees Hydres." (1)

also, the rest of the legend in 834 is slightly altered, possibly

---

(1) Pierre de Beauvais: Bestiaire Ms. 834 P. xxiv L.9

indicating a faulty copy, as in this version we find the Hydre:

"Il va et si se loie de soie, qui puisse legierement
corre par les eves" (1)

In this version again, the Crocodile actually attacks the Hydre and swallows it alive. The rest of the legend is a s in Honoré de St. Victor.

It would probably be of interest at this point to give a brief resumé of the progress of the legend of the Hydre, as it is given in "Mélanges d'Archéologie, d'Histoire et de Littérature", Volume III, edited by C. Cahier and A. Martin. He calls it throughout the Ichneumon, and writes that, according to Tychsen, (2) this strange creature was originally supposed to be a weasel, which is the enemy of all serpents - he assumes the Crocodile to be a serpent. In Pliny and Seneca, the enemy of the Crocodile is called the 'squale' (although Pliny does also refer to the Ichneumon as such under his section on snakes, and mentions its battle with the Crocodile, which it kills in true Bestiary fashion.) The Squale kills the Crocodile by finding the weak chink in the Crocodile's armour, the squale being presumably some sort of dolphin (this is the other animal I found referred to in Pliny as the enemy of the Crocodile.) Aristotle seems to think that this enemy of the Crocodile is a bird, known as the Trochile, which puts its head into the Crocodile's mouth to remove leeches. There is, I believe, a certain bird, a kind of stork, that does render this kind of service without being swallowed itself, which seems close enough to the legend to have some claim to being the main-spring of it. However, another strong claimant is the mongoose, or Ichneumon, which is rather like a weasel, which covers itself with mud to fight; it is from this part of the legend where speculation

---

(1) Pierre de Beauvais: Bestiaire Ms. 834 P. xxiv 1.13 - 14

(2) Tyschen: Physiologus Syrus Rostock 1795 P. 47 - 49
quoted C. Cahier, Op. Cit., Vol. 3 P. 316

that the crocodile's enemy could be a basilisk seems to arise, especially as representations in architecture of Basilisks do in many ways resemble mongooses. Heredotus calls the "bête noire" of the crocodile a 'tupinambis.' According to Cahier, all, however, agree that this Ichnemon is an aquatic animal, like a dog, or a carnivorous mammel, although references to birds and reptiles are found - which gives it a fairly wide scope, and casts little light on to the true identity of this mysterious killer of crocodiles.(1)

The description of the Crocodile differs with the importance of the role it plays in the individual works. In the earlier works, it is treated with equal care to the Hydre, displaying perhaps a Manichean strain, in that equal importance is laid on both the symbol of Christ and of his enemy. However, in Pierre de Beauvais I and Gervaise, the role played by the crocodile is minimised, as is its description, and Pierre de Beauvais 834 contains only a bald statement concerning the enmity of the Hydre and the Crocodile. Where the Crocodile is described in depth, however, there is a great deal of agreement between the texts as to its appearance. Philippe de Thaün follows Honoré de St. Victor's description almost exactly, omitting only the colour and its habit of lurking in the water by night, and on the land during the day. Gervaise mentions only the size of its mouth:

"Qui plus est granz que n'est une oule". (2)

Guillaume Leclerc's first physical description of the Crocodile is very misleading, as it contains the line:

"Boef resemble alques de façon" (3)

---

(1) For a further discussion of this subject, see F. McCulloch: "Mediaeval Latin and French Bestiaries", (Op. Cit) p. 129.

(2) Gervaise: Bestiaire Ll. 286

(3) Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire L. 1654

and this description is executed faithfully in many a manuscript illustration, where the Crocodile is indeed very much an ox in appearance. (See especially Mss. B.N.F.f. 14969, 14964, 1444, 14970, 24428.) The description of the Crocodile being like an ox possibly springs from a misinterpretation of the Latin word 'bos', which can mean 'ox', 'wood' or 'serpent'. Whereas the latter translation is the correct one, most of the illustrated manuscripts show the Crocodile as an ox.

Again like Honoré de St. Victor, Guillaume Leclerc mentions the tradition that Egyptian women make a face pack out of crocodile dung!

Isidore of Seville agrees almost exactly with Honoré de St. Victor, except that he omits all mention of crocodile tears, but adds that the crocodile hatches its eggs on land, and the parents take turns at guarding the offspring. He also states that, owing to the disposition of its jaws, it cannot eat fish with crests.

Pliny's Crocodile, the 'curse on four legs', as he so aptly describes it, differs in several details from the legend as found in the later works, but even Pliny mentions the Ichneumon which kills the Crocodile from inside. Like Isidore of Seville, Pliny does not mention the crocodile tears, but, apart from this, he uses every other attribute and several more.

The first of these is that its teeth are set close together as in a comb. He then mentions the small bird that cleans inside the crocodile's throat, and a smaller breed of crocodile, the Scinos, which serve as an aphrodisiac for male crocodiles. He also writes of the crocodile's other enemy, the dolphin, which has a knife-shaped fin on its back, which it uses to kill the Crocodile by piercing it through the belly - its weakest point. Pliny then goes into a long story about the natives of the Nile region, which terrify

the crocodile by their smell, causing it to disgorge recently eaten bodies; who run towards crocodiles instead of away from them, as they know a crocodile will flee its pursuers, but will chase any one who runs away from it; these natives also ride crocodiles, forcing them to keep their mouths open by putting a staff across it. None of this latter story is to be found in any other text here.

There is great similarity, too, in the moralistic interpretation of this beast. The basic meaning is as follows, (taken from Philippe de Thaün):

a) That the Hydre is covered in mud = the Incarnation;
God thus conquered the Devil by means of a trick

b) Crocodile = Devil

c) Open mouth = death and Hell

d) Entry of Hydre into entrails and its subsequent killing of the Crocodile and its safe return = Christ's descent into Hell as a man, His triumph over Death and Hell and His ascent to Heaven as a God.

Gervaise makes no mention of the Incarnation, but has the Crocodile symbolising the Death and Hell, and the Hydre representing Christ. Guillaume Leclerc mentions both the Incarnation, and the Crocodile as Death and Hell - a cross between Gervaise and Philippe de Thaün,- whereas Pierre de Beauvais goes one step further and has the Crocodile symbolising Hell. He also mentions the Incarnation, but not that a trick was thus played on the Devil. Honoré de St. Victor agrees with Philippe by equating the Crocodile with the Devil and its entrails with Hell.

However, again, Honoré de St. Victor is far more detailed in his symbolism than even Philippe de Thaun; he enlarges upon the quality of the Crocodile as a whole, giving it the likeness of the Hypocrite and the Miser, because they swell with pride and excess, but make the

public display of conformity to the strictest rules. (It is not made clear precisely how the Crocodile is supposed to represent all this - it is possibly an extension of "crocodile tears".) That it lives by night in the water, and on land by day is said to mean that the Hypocrite lives excessively, but likes to pretend he lives holily and righteously. The tears shed for their victim is interpreted as representing the men who bewail their sins, but never mend their ways. That the Crocodile's upper jaw moves is that these hypocrites pretend to live good lives and believe in God, but that they never show their beliefs in action. The use the Egyptian women made of Crocodile dung is supposedly representative of the way in which the bad are praised, by the ignorant, for the perpetration of evil.

A further inclusion by Honoré de St. Victor and Isidore de Seville in this section on the Hydre and the Crocodile is an account of the classical Hydra, as killed by Hercules, but this is discounted as mere fable by both of them (!), Isiore de Seville explaining that the Hydre is merely a watery place, and Hercules just cut off the source; (Isidore de Seville thus neatly reduces the whole legend to Symbolism!). Honoré de St. Victor repeats exactly the same comment, and says at the end - 'but this is all fable'.

These comments on a classical tradition are very interesting as they at once show a knowledge of Classical literature, and a hearty contempt for anything as far-fetched, to their minds, as this legend - a far cry from later XIVth - XVthe century adulation and imitation of the classical writers. It also shows that writers such as Honoré de St. Victor and Isidore de Seville did exercise some discrimination in their beliefs; although whether this means that we can say with certainly that they must have believed all they transcribed is a matter open to debate.

Perhaps it would be worthwhile here to comment on the choice of these two animals to represent the characters they do; it is not so

much the Crocodile that seems incorrect, as much as the Hydre, who is meant to represent Christ; admittedly, the reputed action of the Hydre is apt, but surely not the unlovely description of it, as found, for example, in Honoré de St. Victor, that it is a large boa, at a blow from which one swells up, because it lives off the excrement of oxen. Hardly a Christ-like picture!; and this raises the whole question of the balance between the symbol and the symbolised; in Honoré de St. Victor, at least in this chapter, it would seem that "the symbol's the thing", whereas the other writers at least remain silent about the less savoury details of the Hydre, in order to reduce the "credibility gap". One can at least retain, with them, a picture of the noble little Hydre doing battle with the ugly monster; Honoré de St. Victor give rather the vision of two graceless beasts doing battle, and neither is the text-book hero!

Thus again, we find much similarity in the attributes and meaning of these animals, as found in all seven texts; all contain the basic legend, with slight differences only, and the moralistic meaning also remains constant. Here, it is useful to note certain disparities that could be of interest in determining derivation and source material. Firstly, there is the swallowing of the Hydre, voluntary in Philippe de Thaün, Guillaume Leclerc and Pierre de Beauvais, where the Crocodile attacks the Hydre first; involuntary in Gervaise, and Honoré de St. Victor; in the others, it is not made clear. Then there is the importance of the role of the Crocodile, equally important as that of the Hydre in Philippe de Thaün, Honoré de St. Victor and Isidore de Seville, and to some extent in Guillaume Leclerc, but minimised in Pierre de Beauvais and Gervaise. The mention of crocodile tears, again, is an indication of similar source material, and this is found in Honoré de St. Victor, Philippe de Thaün and Guillaume Leclerc. Only Guillaume and Honoré de St. Victor mention the use that Egyptian ladies make of crocodile dung. Thus we find that whereas Gervaise

and Pierre de Beauvais are somewhat isolated by their lack of detail. Honoré de St. Victor, Guillaume Leclerc and Philippe de Thaün show great similarity, even in detail. Possible Guillaume Leclerc bears even more resemblance to Honoré de St. Victor than Philippe de Thaün does. However, Honoré de St. Victor contains a great deal more detail than either of the other two; some of this is confused and not sufficiently closely drawn to be "good" symbolism - possibly this is why the other two omitted this extraneous matter and confined themselves to what was more readily comprehensible and more transparent in its symbolism. Pliny again has far more physical detail, and some which is foreign to all other sources; however, he includes enough Bestiary material to prove that the dichotomy between the Classical and Christian worlds was far from complete.

Thus we leave these two much discussed beasts, and pass on to the Stag.

6) The Stag

As this beast has two completely different sets of attributes, provided by the two traditions, French and Latin, it seems clearer to state in a list these attributes, and discuss them afterwards. The first list, representing the French tradition, is taken from Philippe de Thaün; the second from Honoré de St. Victor.

List One

a) Goes and finds a ditch where he knows a serpent is lying

b) When found, takes a mouthful of water and pours it over the serpent

c) Breathes over it

d) Serpent comes out; stag kills it angrily by stamping on it.

List Two

a) Name means horned

b) Said to live ninety years

c) When they feel old, they draw serpents out of the ground with their breath, and eat them, overcoming the danger of poison; they are rejuvenated by this food

d) Shake out arrows by eating dittany

e) Curious about hissing pipes

f) When their ears are erect, they can hear well

g) When swimming across a river, each stag places his head on the rump of the one in front, so that no-one feels the weight

h) If their tears are collected and bones from their hearts (sic!), they make a beneficial drink for those who have weak hearts.

Honoré de St. Victor also mentions another sort of stag, whose attributes resemble those of the stag as found in the French Bestiaries: this one makes the serpent come out of its cave, strikes it as it does, and kills it, but, because of the poison, which it spits out in the nearest pool,

its coat is changed and its horns drop off.

Of the French Bestiaries, Guillaume Leclerc and Pierre de Beauvais agree in all respects with Philippe de Thaün; Guillaume Leclerc merely adds that the stag is much stronger for having eaten the serpent, and Pierre de Beauvais gives the Biblical quotation most commonly used about the stag: Psalms, 42, v.1.

Gervaise starts his account with this quotation, and goes on to tell about the enmity between the dragon and the stag, telling us that this arises because the dragon eats the fauns. The rest of his account tallies with that of the alternative form found in Honoré de St. Victor, where the stag forces the dragon out of its "fosse" with its breath, then tramples it under foot, and, although poisoned, once it has spat out the poison into a clear fountain, it is rejuvenated, even though it loses its horns and its hooves ("ungles") and coat are changed. This is the only French Bestiary to include this account. Its only difference from Honoré de St. Victor's account is that Honoré de St. Victor does not mention rejuvenation as a result of the poison.

The accounts given by the Latin texts are in many ways closer to a semblance of nature, stylised though this may be, than the French texts, who concentrate on the more highly-charged symbolic attributes. For example, they all mention the stag's use of dittany to remove arrows, and the communal way in which they cross rivers. Pliny as usual gives many details which at least seem to be derived from actual observation; he tells us of the pregnancy of the does, and how they eat hartwort to facilitate birth, and then eat dittany so as to pass on the taste to the young; he likewise mentions the greed of stags, the weakness of their intestines, changes of antlers, beneficial properties of antlers, their habit of running down-wind so that their scent goes with them, and a host of other fascinating facts.

The meaning given to the stag remains fairly constant: the stag represents Christ, serpent is the Devil, the serpent's lair is man, the breath Holy inspiration, and the water wisdom; the trampling of the serpent beneath the stag's feet - that is, its lower extremity or end - signifies that the Devil will be crushed by Christ at the end. (These meanings are taken from Philippe de Thaün.) Guillaume Leclerc agrees with Philippe de Thaün entirely, and couches his account in military language, which is echoed in several illustrations in manuscripts of the Bestiaire de Guillaume Leclerc. Pierre de Beauvais does not mention a meaning for the breath of the stag, nor does he include the meaning that the trampling of the serpent is the ultimate destruction of the Devil. Honoré de St. Victor agrees substantially with this first interpretation, despite the different physical attributes, but goes on to give a further one: that the stag is a penitant man, who takes the knowledge of his sins to the fountain of spiritual knowledge and rids himself of them; he is then received into the Body and Blood of Christ and the reconciliation of the priests.

Honoré de St. Victor gives a second interpretation of the stag - that it represents the Saint who sees the poison of evil in himself and others, and tries to kill it and cast out the Devil. Honoré de St. Victor then tells us that this stag goes then to the mountain (Christ) and seeks food - the Food of the spirit. Gervaise's interpretation is a weak version of this second meaning given by Honoré de St. Victor (just as his account is an abbreviation of the second account found in Honoré de St. Victor), where the Stag is the Penitent and the meaning is more in the style of an exhortation than an interpretation: that man ought to reject sin and kill the Devil. The attribute just touched on at the end of Honoré de St. Victor's account - that the Stag seeks the high mountain of Christ - is also

found in the Long Version of the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais, along with the legend of the Gadarene Swine. (1)

Thus, the Stag is the first beast in which we find a bifurcation of the legend: the first branch telling how a stag pours water over the dragon and breathes on it; and the other, in which the stag draws the dragon out of its ditch by its breath. In both cases, the dragon is trampled to death. Of course, only Philippe de Thaün embroiders this part of the story and gives it a definite meaning - the others leave it to the reader's/hearers' intelligence to give this part an interpretation.

Honoré is by far the most complicated in his account - he alone gives three sets of attributes and three interpretations, of which one had been used by Isidore of Seville, this being his primary interpretation; one is used by Gervaise, in an abbreviated account; the third meaning is in itself rather weak, as the serpent approaches of its own will the Stag, thus weakening the force of the symbol, which elsewhere signifies the active searching out of evil on the part of Christ, the Saint or the Penitent. Honoré de St. Victor's version seems to be a collection from many sources of the legend of the Stag. It is not surprising that an animal which played a great part inthe every day life of the Middle Ages, as well as in its Courtly Literature, should have a great number of symbolic attributes attatched.

The French Bestiaries of Philippe de Thaün, Guillaume Leclerc and Pierre de Beauvais all show a great deal of similarity, the only major addition being found in Pierre de Beauvais, who recounts the parable of the casting out of the Devil from the Gadarene Swine.

---

(1) Mark: chap. 5 v. 1 - 19

However, Gervaise differs radically from these texts, and this emphasises a point mentioned in a previous chapter (Part II chap. 1) (Table II.), where the chapter on the Cerf is mentioned as being misplaced from the source material. This leads to the speculation that Gervaise may have been working from a defective source and included the Cerf after reference to a text which contained an adaptation of the account given by Honoré de St. Victor.

In this chapter, Family groupings seem to be divided roughly into two rival camps: the one including Honoré de St. Victor, Isidore de Seville, Gervaise, and to some extent, Pliny; the other comprising Philippe de Thaün, Guillaume Leclerc, and Pierre de Beauvais. This chapter serves to strengthen the links already noted between Honoré de St. Victor and Gervaise, and to emphasise the separation of two texts at first closely linked: those of Honoré de St. Victor and Philippe de Thaün. It is to be noted here that Guillaume Leclerc and Pierre de Beauvais show more similarity than they have done since the first chapter on the Lion.

It is also interesting to note here, briefly, as the subject will be discussed in greater detail later on in this chapter, that this first major bifurcation of legend occurs in a beast which is very much a part of everyday life for Medieval writers; this is possibly because each writer, having this personal experience, felt better equipped to refute possible doubts and errors in their source material. Certainly, as a whole, in this chapter, French writers depart very determinedly from their Latin forebears.

7. The Antelope

This beast is not found under this name, or any similar name in either Pliny or Isidore of Seville. However, it is found in all the other texts, and with a very great degree of constancy, both of physical attribute and of moralistic interpretation.

Its basic attributes are as follows (the list is taken from Philippe de Thaün, as his is the most detailed account to be found in a French Bestiary):

1) Wild beast, cannot be captured or wounded except by trickery.
2) Has two pointed, sharp-edged horns with which it can cut down trees.
3) Drinks the waters of the Euphrates, which comes from paradise.
4) When it has drunk there, it finds a small bush, in which it plays and rubs its horns - but gets them caught in the thin twigs.
5) Hunter comes along and finds it caught fast in the bush and kills it.

Honoré de St. Victor's account tallies exactly; Guillaume Leclerc's only addition is to prepare the reader in advance for the dénouement by mentioning that the Antelope deliberately rubs its head in the bushes, as does Pierre de Beauvais, whereas Gervaise differs from them by making the incident of the beast tangling himself up in the bushes seem far more accidental, thus giving the moral interpretation a slightly different emphasis, which will be mentioned below.

The meanings of this symbol, too, remains constant - here again, they are taken from Philippe de Thaün:

1) Antelope= man
2) Two horns = old and new Testaments

3) Trees = sin and corruption

4) Water = drunkenness

5) Bushes = women of ill-repute

6) Hunter = devil who jumps in once man is caught.

The other Bestiaries do not draw exact parallels to each detail - for example, Guillaume Leclerc does not equate water with drunkenness, but in each case, the legend is repeated with a great deal of similarity. Apart from the lack of detailed parallelism, the only differences between the texts occur in the slightly different interpretations each author gives to the cutting horns the Antelope sports on its head. The various meanings are set out below; (Honoré de St. Victor gives two meanings.)

Philippe de Thaün, Guillaume Leclerc, Honoré de St. Victor I — Two Testaments

Honoré de St. Victor II - Good works

Pierre de Beauvais - Knowledge of good and evil

Gervaise - Abstinence and obedience

The interpretation of the bushes, too, varies slightly:

Philippe de Thaün, Gervaise, Pierre de Beauvais, Honoré de St. Victor — Women that trap men when drunk; should avoid both: "Les vins et les fames font desseurer home de Dieu". (1)

Guillaume Leclerc - bushes = all vices - the world and its ills - not just women.

Guillaume is the only writer not to betray extreme antifeminist views in this section; all the other writers lay the ultimate downfall of man squarely in the lap of wicked women.

---

(1) Pierre de Beauvais: Bestiaire Ms. 834. quoting: Ecclesiasticus: chap. 19 v.2

In Gervaise, the antelope seems to fall upon the bushes accidentally, rather than purposefully heading for them; this slightly changes the emphasis of the meaning: it is from drink that all evils flow - avoid this, and one can withstand temptation by, to use the frame of the symbol, avoiding the bushes.

With a beast about which there is so much agreement, it is difficult to determine any family groupings, except to say that once more Philippe de Thaün and Honoré de St. Victor seem reconciled; Guillaume Leclerc and Pierre de Beauvais seem separated on points, that could be laid down to personal interpretation, and all that in Gervaise differs from Philippe de Thaün and Honoré de St. Victor is the emphasis of the meaning. The only factor in which two texts isolate themselves in similarity is the enumeration of the sins, found in Philippe de Thaün and Pierre de Beauvais, and this one occurance is not sufficient to point to a definite link.

The only difficulty which one meets with the Aptalon is its omission from the two earliest texts that are being considered. As this animal does occur in the earliest Greek Physiologus, it would appear that this is a surely Bestiary animal,(1) and its inclusion in Honoré de St. Victor is one factor that separates him from Encyclopaedists "tels quels", and places him firmly in the ranks of a Bestiarium writer. It also shows how, in some instances, (especially as in this case, where the Aptalon cannot readily be identified, with any degree of certainty, to the antelope or any other beast,) the Bestiary tradition was osmotic, receiving influences from outside, but not influencing, at this stage, better known authors and traditions.

---

(1) F. McCulloch : Op. cit. P. 85.

8. The Ant

In the chapter on the Ant, all texts show agreement as to the basic attributes of hard work and industry; Honoré de St. Victor, Philippe de Thaün, Guillaume Leclerc and Pierre de Beauvais all use the quotation from Proverbs:

6. "Go to the ant, thou sluggard; consider her ways and be wise"
7. "Which, having no guide, overseer or ruler,
8. Provideth her meat in the summer and gathereth her food in the harvest". (1)

The above authors paraphrase the quotation in varying degrees; Gervaise merely describes the Ant as being "sage".

The basic attributes of the Ant are as follows: (as found in Philippe de Thaün)

1. Collects grain all year to eat in winter
2. Eats and collects only wheat; rejects barley. Can tell the difference by smell.
3. Divides hoard into two parts so that does not lack nourishment in winter.
4. Ants do not beg grain off each other - follow tracks back to the source of food.

Honoré de St. Victor agrees almost exactly with this description; he merely amplifies No. 3. saying that the ant keeps the grain in its nest so that it does not germinate and spoil before winter.

Gervaise, on the other hand, is less specific, and has an account of No. 4. which is difficult to understand:

"Trestuit ordene(e)ment vont
Quant de lor fosses issu sunt,
E il vunt querir a mengier.
Quant il sunt venu au granier
Ja n'i querrunt uis ne porte,

---

(1) Proverbs: Book 6 vv. 6, 7, 8.

Chascun prant-i-grain, si l'enporte." (1)

however, the general meaning is clear, and tallies with Philippe de Thaün's version. Guillaume agrees in broad terms, but further rejects rye in his account. Of the French Bestiaries, Pierre de Beauvais alone omits any mention of discrimination between wheat and barley; instead, his ants:

"quant il issent de lor fosse, il vont ordeneement et quierent les graines de quel semence que se soit, et aportent a lor fosse." (2)

Isidore de Seville agrees also with Philippe de Thaün on attributes 1. and 2., and adds that the name "formi", or "formica" is derived from the fact that it carries wheat:

"quod ferat micas farris" (3)

Pliny mentions the collection of food and shared labour, but uses no other basic attribute.

Of course, the accounts in the other Bestiaries are far longer than it would seem from the list of attributes: each Bestiary, to exemplify further the meaning of 4. cites the parable of the five Wise and five Foolish Virgins;(4) this double allegory, in Philippe de Thaün, is given meaning as clear as any normal set of attributes:

Wheat and oil = Christianity

Hoard and lamp = Soul

Five Virgins = Five senses

Virginity = Chastity.

Honoré de St. Victor uses the parable as further illustration of his point, but does not draw the parallel as closely as does Philippe de Thaün; Gervaise gives the general meaning, but does not specify meanings to individual attributes, Guillaume Leclerc does not specify individual meanings until the recapitulation, which

---

(1) Gervaise: Bestiaire Ll. 760 - 764

(2) Pierre de Beauvais: Bestiaire Ms. 834 P. xiii Ll. 16 - 19

(3) Isidore de Seville: Etymologiarium Liber XII, Chap. 3 L. 9

(4) Matthew: chap. 25 v. 1 - 13

starts L. 1021, where he urges the reader to fill their lamps

"De bones vevres e certaines," (1)

or, in other words,

"De bone oille por verite,
c'est l'oille de charite." (2)

This meaning is echoed almost word for word by Pierre de Beauvais, who writes:

"le devons garder que nos lampes soient garnies d'oile:
ce est que notre cuers soient plain de bones vertus
et de bones oevres". (3)

This double allegory is not, of course, found in the more "Factual" texts; Pliny and Isidore de Seville.

Having dealt with one meaning as it fell within the scope of the most important extensions of the basic attributes, it is logical to give the rest of the meanings before continuing with further additional material. In the list below, the meanings are taken from Philippe de Thaün:

1) Collecting wheat, rejecting barley: = embracing orthodoxy, rejecting heresy.
2) Wheat divided into two parts = attributes of Christianity against the coming of winter stored up against the Day of Judgement.
3) Wheat divides into a) Straw = The Letter = Literal Interpretation
   b) Grain = Allegory = symbolic Interpretation.
4) Ant = wise man.

Honoré de St. Victor combines 2) and 3) above, in order to simplify a rather complicated interpretation, but the meaning is the same.

---

(1) Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire l. 1036
(2) Ibid. L. 1039 - 1040
(3) Pierre de Beauvais: Bestiaire Ms. 834 P. xiv Ll. 14 - 15

143

Honoré de St. Victor also preaches against heresy, symbolised in his work also by barley, and like Philippe de Thaün, he mentions several famous heretics, Sabellius, Donatus and Photinus. Gervaise and Guillaume Leclerc both follow Honoré de St. Victor in using the wheat/barley symbolism, but not the wheat/straw, the meaning that Philippe de Thaün gives to the wheat/straw symbolism being included by them under attribute 2). Pierre de Beauvais gives a rather complicated version; he starts his account by saying:

> "Quant li formis met ses grains en sa fosse, il les devise en dous parties," (1)

thus agreeing with Gervaise, Honoré de St. Victor and Guillaume Leclerc, especially as he goes on to say that the Christian should thus divide the Old Testament. It is only several lines later that he mentions Philippe de Thaün's attribute of dividing the wheat from the straw.

> "car il laissent le grain et voient en la paille" (2)

Thus we see a curious relationship between the works of Philippe de Thaün and Pierre de Beauvais, curious in that they both mention one attribute that no-one else mentions, but that, again, the rest of the accounts differ substantially in several ways. Not only does Pierre de Beauvaise omit all mention of the Formicaleün, the Ethiopian ants and Philippe de Thaün's double allegory of Solomon, he also does not use the wheat/barley symbol of heresy which, in Philippe de Thaün, is found between the account of the Ant dividing its hoard into two, and the account of the ants preferring wheat to straw, that is to say, between the two elements which Pierre de Beauvais combines to form his version of the separating of literal meaning from symbolic. There would, therefore, seem to be no direct link of derivation between

---

(1) Ibid: Ll. 17 - 18

(2) Pierre de Beauvais: Bestiaire Ms. 834 P. xv Ll. 7 - 9

these two texts, but a more slender tie of influence from a more remote source, where the two embryo accounts may have been more similar.

Additional material in Philippe de Thaün can be divided into three sections as mentioned above:

1) the Formicaleün
2) the Legend of the Ethiopian ants
3) the double allegory of Solomon/Formi.

The Formicaleün is a small creature which is to ants as a lion (hence the name) is towards other creatures (but the lion here is not so merciful). It traps ants to eat them and causes great damage to the breed in general. A similar account is found in Honoré de St. Victor and Guillaume Leclerc and Isidore de Seville. Other texts omit any mention.

The Ethiopian Ants, who are as large as dogs and collect gold, and the tricks used to obtain this gold, are mentioned in Philippe de Thaün, Isidore de Seville (who has the ants as guardians of the gold, prepared to kill all comers, and not just as collectors), Guillaume Leclerc, (according to whom the gold is for the taking, if you know the trick), and Honoré de St. Victor.

The double allegory is to be found only in Philippe de Thaün. Here Philippe de Thaün uses a technique not normally to be found in the Bestiaries, that of using a person to symbolise a moral attribute. The double allegory leads on from the wheat/barley symbol, and embraces the saying

"Pur furment me dunerent
Orge ki ne m'amerent" (1)

The text concerns the usurer who takes wheat at the price of barley (presumably the meaning of the passage is not clear); and, though the friend has the money for the barley to buy bread, he has still

---

(1)Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire Ll.1005 - 1006

been cheated, and from then on hates the usurer. From this, Philippe takes Solomon to mean wise men (!), the usurer to mean the covetous, and barley to mean treachery, sin and heresy, which brings him back to the subject of heresy, and here he lists the heretics as found in Honoré de St. Victor, plus Árrianus.

Pliny, as usual, differs greatly from the other texts, but still shares some attributes; he uses the attribute of the ant throwing out damp seed, and a slightly different version of the Etheopian ants, who in this account live in the caves of the Dardae, and mine the gold there. They are the colour of cats and the size of Egyptian wolves. The Indians steal gold in summer, when the ants are in their nests, but - (and here are echoed Isidore de Seville's fierce ants) the ants fly out and sting them.

Otherwise, Pliny shows a truly Roman preoccupation with the ants industry, collective farming, diligence and supposed system of government. He also mentions that the ant carries, proportionally, burdens of enormous size, a fact also mentioned by Philippe de Thaün. We find, too, in embryo the ants' faculties of memory and intelligence, paving the way for the later accounts of the ants' discerning between wheat and barley.

To sum up this chapter is difficult, as it contains so much diverse material. Philippe de Thaün stands out for his account, which is far longer and more fully developed than any other, including Honoré de St. Victor's.

There is, however, substantial amount of agreement on the basic attributes and their meaning; Philippe de Thaün's divagations are extensions, and not material alterations. Of these additions, all but Pliny and Gervaise mention the Formicaleün; and all but Gervaise use the legend of the Etheopian ants. Honoré de St. Victor and Philippe de Thaün alone mention the heretics by name, although all texts use the Ant to preach against heresy.

Apart from this, it is difficult to determine any family groupings: Honoré de St. Victor and Guillaume Leclerc are the closest in their accounts, which both contain both physical and moral attributes, and the physical attributes tally with those in Isidore de Seville. He and Honoré de St. Victor both give the supposed Greek etymology. Gervaise's account is similar, but as usual, the parallels are not as closely drawn. Pierre de Beauvais is outstanding in that he does not use the Wheat/barley symbol, and that he alone follows Philippe de Thaün in mentioning the wheat/straw symbol.

Thus we leave what is one of the longest chapters in each text, and turn to one of the shortest.

147

9. The Onoscentaurus.

A brief account of this beast is found in all texts but those of Pliny and Guillaume Leclerc. In the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais, it is found included under "Serena", which it follows in Gervaise.

In all texts, the physical description is the same: the oroscentaur is man to the waist and ass below.

However, the moral meaning varies somewhat. In Philippe de Thaün and Book II of Honoré de St. Victor, is found the meaning that a man becomes an animal when he does evil. Book III and Gervaise take the double form to indicate double nature or hypocrisy, men with two tongues:

"Itel sunt li faus ypocrite:
Deparole simblent hermite;
Mult sunt devant la gent plaisant
Et deriere fel et tirant." (1)

Pierre de Beauvais repeats the same idea

"li home portent la sanblance qu'il ont double
cuers et doubles paroles. C'est quant dient
bien devant et mal derriere." (2)

Isidore de Seville mentions the Onocentaurus among a number of other man/beast hybrids, and merely points out that the name is given to the man/ass conjunction.

This chapter throws interesting light on several family links. Hitherto, we have noticed that while Gervaise and Philippe de Thaün both often resemble Honoré de St. Victor, they bear but slight resemblance to each other. It would now seem proable that Philippe de Thaün (or his immediate source) was influenced by Book II of De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus while the version of the Dicta Chrysostomi

---

(1) Gervaise: Bestiaire Ll. 339 - 342

(2) Pierre de Beauvais: Bestiaire Ms. 834 P. xv Ll. 14 - 16

2/48

that Gervaise used showed links with the often more abbreviated forms in Book III of de Bestiis et Aliis Rebus. Isidore de Seville's account is too bare to be linked definitely to anything.

10. The Beaver.

In this chapter, there is practically complete agreement in all seven texts as to physical attributes. These are as follows, (taken from Guillaume Leclerc)

1) Slightly larger than a hare

2) Wild animal

3) Medicinal qualities of its genitalia.

4) When pursued, knows why it is being chased, and bites off its own genitalia. Hunter no longer pursues it.

5) If hunted again, when it can run no further, shows the hunter that it no longer possesses the desired trophy, and is allowed to go free.

Philippe de Thaün gives no physical description, but his account otherwise agrees with the above version exactly. Gervaise, possibly through a misreading, says that the beaver is faster than a hare instead of larger. These are the only two texts to compare the beaver to the hare. Apart from the absence of physical description, Pierre de Beauvais also agrees with the above account. Honoré de St. Victor differs from Guillaume Leclerc on one point only, where Guillaume Leclerc is insistent that the animal is wild:

"N'est pas privee, einz est salvage" (1)

Honoré de St. Victor says the beast is very tame, calling it also "a priest's dog". Otherwise, the two accounts tally. The account given by Isidore de Seville is interesting, not only because it shows no deviation from Honoré de St. Victor at all, but also because it shows that here is an old Roman legend being perpetuated. Not only is it to be found, in a great degree of similarity in Pliny, but also in Cicero and Juvenal

---

(1) Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire L. 1480

150

" qui se

Eunuchum ipse facit, cupiens evadere

damno Testicule." (1)

Pliny gives the basic attribute, number (4) above, and includes a fuller description than any other text; he mentions their region of origin - near the Black Sea - and the famous bite which enables them to cut down trees. (It seems a pity that this attribute did not survive into the Bestiaries - it has great symbolical propensities!) He also mentions its fish-like tail and soft fur.

Similar unanimity is to be found in the moral interpretation. The meaning is as follows, here taken from Honoré de St. Victor:

1) Castor - man who leads godly life.

2) Testicles - vices and unchaste acts.

3) Hunter - Devil, who knows himself to be powerless against a Holy Man, and goes away.

Honoré de St. Victor adds to this a short homily about living a good life; Guillaume Leclerc does also, and enmumerates the sins to be avoided, while Pierre de Beauvais ennumerates the virtues to be followed, as does Gervaise.

With such a great degree of similarity, it is pointless to search for family groupings; the only one which springs to view is that Pierre de Beauvais and Gervaise alone enmumerate the virtues to which the Christian should adhere; the rest just give a short homily on chastity.

The main interest of this animal lies in the fact that the legend hardly varies from Classical times to the time of the Bestiaries. It is found in its present form in the earliest Bestiaries, and survives to the latest with little embroidery or omission. Philippe de Thaün adds nothing to the legend, neither does he add any deeper symbolism; Gervaise omits nothing.

---

(2) Juvenal: Satiria 12 - 34

Reasons for this unanimity are not clear, but one possibility is that the legend is from the start very clear cut, almost stark in its lack of extraneous detail. It has two main atributes, both of which interconnect, and the very act itself is startling enough to assure accurate repetition. The meaning, too, follows naturally from the attributes - there is nothing strained or dubious about it (given, of course, the general context of the Bestiaries), so there is nothing there to obstruct the clarity of this simple, yet effective legend, whose impact lies chiefly in its bold, straightforward manner of writing.

11. The Hyena

All texts agree on the generally filthy nature of the Hyena; all but Pliny and Isidore de Seville say that it is not to be eaten; on this point, Honoré de St. Victor, Philippe de Thaün, Guillaume Leclerc and Pierre de Beauvais I all give the quotation from Deuteronomy 14:8 and Leviticus 11:27, Gervaise and Pierre de Beauvais 834 merely mention "La Loy". Honoré de St. Victor, Philippe de Thaün, Guillaume Leclerc and Pierre de Beauvais go on to quote from Jeremiah

"Spelunca haenae hereditas mea fact est". (1)

All texts but Isidore de Seville tell of the bisexuality of the Hyena, Pliny and Guillaume Leclerc stating that this takes place in alternate years, and the rest maintaining that it is male and female at the same time.

The attributes of the Hyena are as follows:

1) Long sighted and proud
2) Forbidden to eat it, because it is dirty
3) Male and female at the same time
4) Has a stone in its eye, by the aid of which a man can tell the future if he has it under his tongue.

(In fact, the only reference Isidore de Seville makes to the Hyena is in connection with this stone - the legend is as above in number 4)).

Philippe de Thaün is the only author to mention the fact that the hyena is long-sighted and proud. In Pierre de Beauvais this is replaced by a short physical description, which tells us that the Hyena is like a bear, only of different colours, and has a fox-like tail. The only other physical description is to be found in Pliny, who informs us that there are many sorts to be found in Ethiopia, and that they are a cross between a wolf and a dog. The only departure from the above attributes is that Pierre de Beauvais and Gervaise do

---

(1) Jeremiah: chap. 12 v. 9 (Septuaginta Version)

not mention the hyena's stone.

Guillaume Leclerc and Honoré de St. Victor are found to be similar again, in that both mention specifically that Hyenas are filthy because they dig up corpses and eat them. (For the other view of this part of the legend cf. H. Waddell, "Beasts and Saints", where a story of Coptic origin has St. Macarius of Alexandria forbidding the Hyena to kill prey.)

Honoré de St. Victor quotes from the Latin tradition by using Solinus' attribute that the hyena can imitate the human voice. This idea is also found in Pliny, and in both, the feat is performed to attract human and canine prey - both, presumably, living.

The meaning varies only slightly from text to text; the bisexuality of the animal is the attribute expanded to mean, in Honoré de St. Victor, the children of Israel who changed from God's way to that of wealth and excesses, stating that those who serve luxury and miserliness are like the hyena, in that they are unstable, neither completely faithful nor completely faithless. This is terminated by the quotation from James:

"A double-minded man is unstable in all his ways". (1)

This interpretation is the one followed by Gervaise and Guillaume Leclerc, who extends this religious instability to cover moral instability. Pierre de Beauvais uses the quote from James (mistakenly, he attributes it to Solomon), and extends the instability to its logical conclusion of hypocrisy, containing a passage similar to one found under "onoscentaurus".

"Vos ne poez servir a Dieu et au deable ensemble". (2)

Pierre de Beauvais also contains the idea of the Hyena representing avarice, which is the principal meaning given by Philippe de Thaün,

---

(1) James: chap. 1 v. 8.

(2) Pierre de Beauvais: Bestiaire Ms. 834 P. xxiv L.8.

who, in what for him is a very imprecise passage, says that the Hyena symbolises the avaricious, covetous and lecherous man (lechery is here indicated by bisexuality), who, because he is flighty and unstable, is half-woman.

The Hyena contrasts with the Beaver (ch. 10) because of the haziness of the legend; It is easy to see why there are so many versions when the earlier Latin versions are not clear in their meaning. However, it is possible to see some form of family grouping, as Pliny and Honoré de St. Victor contain similar material, and Gervaise and Guillaume Leclerc both follow Honoré de St. Victor closely in their interpretations. Again, Philippe de Thaün and Pierre de Beauvais show signs, if not of common ancestry, at least of common influence, in that they alone mention avarice as a meaning for the Hyena.

12. The Weasel

The attributes of the weasel, according to Philippe de Thaün, are as follows:

1) Dirty beast which must not be eaten

2) Conceives by the mouth, gives birth by the ear.

This is generally accepted, except by Honoré de Saint Victor, who reverses attribute No. 2), to make the weasel conceive by the ear and give birth by the mouth, although he admits that some sources, he unfortunately does not specify which, reverse the manner of conception and birth. Honoré de St. Victor quotes the Law (Deuteronomy) which says it must not be eaten, and like Isidore de Seville, gives the Greek derivation of μυς πελα, which is tantamount to a physical description! He also states that the weasel is skilled in medicine to the point of being able to resuscitate its dead young. This attribute is found repeated only by Pierre de Beauvais I. The similarity between these two texts is further enhanced by the fact that they both treat the Asp and the Weasel under the same chapter, whereas in Gervaise and Guillaume Leclerc, these animals are treated under separate, if consecutive, chapters.

Isidore de Seville and Honoré de St. Victor are the only two to say that there are two kinds, the domestic and the wild. These two texts also mention the Weasel's habit of transferring its young from one part of the house to another, and that it chases rats, serpents and mice. Isidore de Seville writes that the weasel is falsely believed to conceive via the mouth and give birth via the ear. Guillaume Leclerc also mentions the habit of moving often and the weasel's hatred of snakes and mice.

The meaning of the Weasel remains fairly constant, although the interpretation does not follow easily from the attributes. The meaning according to Philippe de Thaün is as follows:

1) Weasel - men who hear God's word, but do not repeat it.

This meaning is repeated in every text but that of Pierre de Beauvais, who gives a meaning of "obedience", but the text is rather garbled. He starts off as the other texts do:

> "Autresi sont li feel en Dieu, qui volontiers recoivent la semence de la parole de Dieu. Mais il devienent puis n'i obedient, qu'il entrelaissent ce qu'il ont oi de Dieu".(1)

However, here he makes a statement which seems to dissociate this state of disobedience from the Weasel, by the next phrase:

> "Ja, cist qui sont tel ne resanblent mie a la Moustoile, mais un serpent qui est apelle Aspis ....(2)

So it would appear that, for Pierre de Beauvais, the state of grace of hearing God's word and retaining it is the prerogative of the weasel, and the disobedient are represented by the Asp.

The meaning given by Honoré de St. Victor is merely an extension of the one given by Philippe de Thaün; for him, the weasel represents those who listen to God's word, but are not obedient and keep secret what they have heard.

The interesting point to be noted about the weasel is that the French Bestiaries seem to be little influenced by their Latin predecessors, in that they completely ignore Isidore de Seville's affirmation that it is false to suppose that the weasel conceives by the mouth; and in that none of them followed the reading given by Honoré de St. Victor, which seems to fit in better with the meaning that they all use.

Indeed, it would appear that Honoré de St. Victor changed the order to improve the logic of the attribute/meaning sequence; his version certainly reads more easily; the only point that jars being

---

(1) Pierre de Beauvais: Bestiaire Ms. 834 Ll. 6 - 9

2157

the disobedience by retention, which seems to go against the idea of giving birth by the mouth. As there would seem to be some indirect link between Honoré de St. Victor and Pierre de Beauvais, this slight confusion could lead to the garbled version found in Pierre de Beauvais, where the meaning of obedience could be derived from the logical continuation of the legend as Honore dé St. Victor reports it - the man who receives the word of God (conceives by the ear) and preaches it (gives birth by the mouth). This would give a meaning of obedience to the text. It is difficult to account otherwise for the different meaning in Pierre de Beauvais.

Again, it is interesting to note the similarity between the texts of Honoré de St. Victor and Isidore de Seville, and of Honoré de St. Victor and Guillaume Leclerc. Once more Philippe de Thaün and Honoré de St. Victor diverge radically, and this time, it is Honoré de St. Victor who is isolated by his reversal of the main attribute. Philippe de Thaün and Gervaise are substantially the same.

2'58

13. The Ostrich

This animal is omitted, unusually, from De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus, but is found twice in the Long Manuscript of Pierre de Beauvais, where the second article acts as a completion of the first.

The attributes of this beast remain fairly constant; the following list is taken from Philippe de Thaün:

1) Physical description: a) has the feet of a camel
   b) has the wings of a bird
2) Cannot fly
3) Knows it should lay its eggs when a certain star, Virgilia, is in the sky. This appears in June. The Ostrich covers her eggs with sand and leaves the sun to hatch them, forgetting all about them.

Gervaise follows this description, omitting only the mention of its wings, and telling instead of its red beak. He calls the Ostrich "Chamoi" because it has the feet of a camel. All Gervaise adds to the main attribute 3) is that the ostrich grieves over its lost eggs, an attribute which is hardly in keeping with the subsequent moral interpretation. Guillaume Leclerc follows Philippe de Thaün exactly, adding only that the hatching takes place with God's help. In Pierre de Beauvais 1, the physical description is far more extensive, and reasonably accurate. According to him, "Acida" has the head and beak of a swan, the legs of an ass and the stag's cloven foot. He also adds that the ostrich eats metal if it finds some. Pierre de Beauvais M. 834 returns to Philippe de Thaün's description with the words:

> "Phisiologes dit que ceste beste, Assida, a eles, mais ele ne vole mie contre oisel. Piez a sanblables a piez de chamout". (1)

---

(1) Pierre de Beauvais: Bestiaire Ms. 834 P. xxxiii l. 14 - 16

Isidore de Seville agrees substantially, giving only a brief account of the hatching of the eggs, and offering no explanation of the reason for the successful nurture by sand. Pliny does not mention anything about the way the eggs are supposedly hatched; he merely says that the shells are used as vessels. However, he also tells us that it is the largest species of bird, that it is found in Africa and, again, Ethiopia, that it exceeds the height and speed of a horseman, and that, though it has wings, it cannot fly. As well as describing its hoof as being like a stags, Pliny also tells us that it uses them as weapons and throws stones with them. Pliny, too, adds that the Ostrich eats anything; and gives us another attribute with which we are all familiar: that once it has hidden its neck in a bush, it thinks it is totally concealed.

The moral interpretation shows a similar amount of consistency; the following list of meanings is taken from Philippe de Thaün:

1) Ostrich - wise man who, aspiring after Christ, leaves his family, as monks do.

2) Star - Christ

3) Eggs - left to death and to be buried, as earthly riches should be.

In Gervaise, the meaning is angled slightly to make the forgetful bird symbolise the man who forgets God and covets earthly riches. This meaning is slightly difficult to reconcile with the attributes, as, if one takes:

"Donc s'en part et va pasturer" (1)

as the desertion of God, and the quest after earthly things, it follows that the eggs become God - hardly a very dignified parallel, - but nothing can be made within thelogical framework of the symbol, of their subsequent hatching. To complete the muddle, Gervaise, like Philippe de Thaün, Guillaume Leclerc and Pierre de Beauvais,

---

(1) Gervaise: Bestiaire L. 963

uses the St. Matthew quotation:

> "He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me: and he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me" (1)

The meanings in Guillaume Leclerc and Pierre de Beauvais are the same as the one in Philippe de Thaün: that the eggs left are the man's relations, not God; Pierre de Beauvais I adds a further comment that the eggs/relatives, living in humility and charity (dust) are as the soul warmed by the sun of justice.

Thus Gervaise stands out from the rest by his reversal of the meaning; the rest are difficult to judge as a family, except to point out how similar the other texts are to each other, even down to the fact that they all mention the name of the star. Once again, Pierre de Beauvais I and Pliny have this strange resemblance; alone, they say the Ostrich's feet are like a stags: (the rest say 'camels'), and that it has an unusual diet!

However, Pierre de Beauvais I omits to say that it cannot fly, a fact included in Pierre de Beauvais 834.

It is curious to note the number of animals that are reputed to come from Ethiopia, especially when one considers that Western contacts with the Middle East were at that time very close, because of the Crusades. Guillaume Leclerc calls this 'bird' "Ostriche", but gives "Assida" as an Ethiopian derivation.

A further point of interest is the dichotomy between attributes in the Bestiaries, and beast legends that we use today; of all the attributes given on the Ostrich in the Bestiaries, only the ostrich's famous diet, mentioned in Pierre de Beauvais, is cited today; and the most famed of all ostrich antics is found merely in Pliny - the ostrich's habit of burying its head in the sand.

---

(1) Matthew: chap. 10 v. 37

No mention of the Salamander is to be found in either Gervaise or Pliny, but all the other texts show almost complete agreement in their treatment of this beast. Pierre de Beauvais 1 includes it under the chapter on the four beasts representative of the four elements; the Salamander, of course, represents fire.

The attributes given below are to be found in De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus, by Honoré de Saint-Victor.

1) Looks like a lizard - (some call it a lizard)

2) Quotation from Solomon "The (Stellio) (1) spider taketh hold with her hands, and is in Kings' palaces."

3) According to the Physiologus: if a salamander falls into the fire, it is not burned; instead, it extinquishes the Fire.

Philippe de Thaün agrees with this almost exactly; his version of the Solomon quotation is slightly muddles, and alters the emphasis:

"De li dit Salemun
Que en reial maisun
Deit estre e cunverser
Pur essample duner" (2)

thus strengthening his symbol by making the Salamander a beast of good report from the beginning of his chapter. He goes on to say that the reason for which it cannot be burned is that it is so cold; he does not, however, mention that it extinguishes the fire as well.

Guillaume Leclerc merely adds that the Salamander is of many different colours, a fact also mentioned by Pierre in both Ms. 834 and his Long version. In the Long Version, Pierre de Beauvais also states that it lives on fire - this is obviously to enhance the effectiveness of his use of the Salamander to represent fire - and that clothes made out of salamander skin will not burn, and are therefore to be cleaned by fire.

---

(1) Proverbs: chap. 30 v. 28 (Vulgate)
(2) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire Ll. 1308 - 1310

Isidore de Seville mentions attribute(3) above, and first uses a description, later taken up by Philippe de Thaün, Honoré de St. Victor and Guillaume Leclerc, that the Salamander's poison is the strongest of all animals', and that if it climbs into a tree, it poisons all the fruit; also, if the fruit falls subsequently into a well, the water is likewise poisoned. None of the authors who use this attribute give it a meaning; in each case, it is mentioned last, almost as an afterthought. Honoré de St. Victor says the tree is an apple tree, and Philippe de Thaün and Guillaume Leclerc follow this reading.

The moral interpretation of the Salamander also shows a great deal of similarity in the various texts. The following list of meanings is taken from Philippe de Thaün.

1) Parallel of the three men in the fiery furnace, (1)
   Ananias, Azarias and Misael.
2) That the Salamander will not burn = the Three overcame torture by faith alone.

Philippe then adds the assurance that Holy men will never burn in Hell or come to harm. Guillaume Leclerc's interpretation agrees exactly with Philippe de Thaün's, and Pierre de Beauvais only extends it by mentioning that all good men of God overcome cruel tyrants. He also included Daniel in the Lions' Den. Honoré de St. Victor again does not give so much detailed interpretation, but instead the same sort of parallel that is to be found in the other texts. He uses the Three in the Fiery Furnace, but omits all mention of Daniel. He too adds an assurance at the end of his interpretation, presumably to reinforce the message, which does not come over as strongly in this form of presentation as in those chapters where more detail is included for direct interpretation. This assurance reads:

---

(1) Daniel: chap. 3 (passim)

"Those who trust in God completely and persevere
in Good Works will be unharmed;"

In this Chapter, it is seen how closely the texts resemble each other. It is difficult, therefore, to come to any conclusions about family groupings, except to indicate the different treatment of this chapter in the Bestiaire of Pierre de Beauvais. He alone mentions Daniel in his interpretation, and in the Long Version of his Bestiary, the whole format of the presentation of this chapter is changed; The Salamander does not constitute a chapter by itself, but is one part of a chapter in which each of the four elements, earth, air, fire and water, is given its representative. The Salamander, because of its non-combustible reputation, is made to represent fire.

It is interesting to note that this attribute of being able to live in flames is one of the few Bestiary legends that still have currency today, even though it is patently not true. (The Salamander can, however, endure very hot climates.)

With reference to the quotation given from Proverbs, or at least to Philippe de Thaün's interpretation of it, one wonders if this could have any bearing on the choice of the Salamander as emblem by Francois I. The coindence seems at least open to question, even if the choice were based on the Biblical version rather than on the Bestiary transcription.

15. The Mermaid

Here, both Pliny and Isidore de Seville give the classical name of "Nereids" to the Mermaid; Pliny states that the description current at that time (he does not specify the origin of the description) is not incorrect, except that they are covered with hair, even in the places where they have human shape. Thus it would seem that Pliny's description tallies to some extent with that given later in the Bestiaries, that the Mermaid is half woman, half fish. Pliny mentions reports of dead nereids cast up on the shore, which would tend to give credence to the modern theory that the classical Nereids were in fact sea-lions. In connection with later legend of their singing, Pliny reports that Nereids are supposed to sing mournfully when dying.

In the later Latin and French Bestiaries, the description is given greater detail than in Pliny. However, there is some doubt as to whether mermaids are half woman, half fish, or half woman, or half bird. Honoré de St. Victor states that they are half-fish, Philippe de Thaün says that they have feet like falcons, Gervaise returns to the latin half-fish description, whereas Guillaume Leclerc, one stage further combines both traditions and says that they can have either fish-like tails, or bird-like talons, but not at the same time. Pierre de Beauvais, in Ms. 834 goes to the other extreme and says that the Mermaid is half-woman, half-bird. In his Long Version, Pierre de Beauvais seems to agree with Philippe de Thaün.

Honoré de Saint Victor and Pierre de Beauvais in his Long Version both list three sorts of mermaid, all typified by their different instruments: one sings with her voice, one sings to the flute and the third sings to the Lyre.

Apart from the physical description, there is little difference in the attributes of the Mermaid as found in the various texts. The list below is taken from Philippe de Thaün.

1) Lives in the sea

2) Sings in rough weather, weeps in fine

3) Lulls any sailor who hears its song to sleep, and makes him forget his ship.

Honoré de St. Victor does not mention the rather obvious fact that the mermaid lives in the sea, nor does he differentiate between their two types of song. He does, however, give the Homeric fate of the sailors thus lulled to sleep - that the mermaids then pounce on them and devour them. He also stresses the willingness of the mermaids' victims. Gervaise mentions that mermaids live in the sea, and that they sing, but, like Honoré de St. Victor, he does not specify one song for wet weather and one for dry. Again, like Honoré de St. Victor, Gervaise says that when the sailors' senses are lulled, the mermaid pounces and destroys. This attribute is repeated in Guillaume Leclerc and Pierre de Beauvais Ms. 834. The Long version of Pierre de Beauvais' Bestiary agrees with the account in Philippe de Thaün.

The moral interpretation of the Mermaid remains fairly constant, except inthe Bestiaire de Gervaise. The following list is taken from Philippe de Thaün.

1) Mermaids = wealth

2) Sea = world

3) Ship = people

4) Navigator = soul, which should guide body

He then adds a general interpretation that the riches of the world make mind and body sin, and the soul sleeps in sin. For the two different songs, in rough or fine weather, Philippe de Thaün gives a close-drawn interpretation:- the Mermaid personifies wealth, and

the mermaid sings when worldly wealth is desired; and weeps when such wealth is despised for God. Guillaume Leclerc extends the meaning slightly to embrace general pleasures of the world, not just money. The essence of wealth, however, remains, as most of the pleasures mentioned are those of the rich and idle. Pierre de Beauvais, too, interprets the mermaid as meaning general pleasures, not just wealth. In giving these general meanings, Guillaume Leclerc and Pierre de Beauvais seem to be following Honoré de St. Victor, even though he, alone of all the authors, gives a second meaning, which would have seemed, at first sight, the most natural one - that of using Mermaids to symbolise harlots, adding in this context that Venus is supposed to have risen from the waters. The interpretation put on this creature by Gervaise is, however, totally different from any used in the other Bestiaries. To him, the Mermaid represents all members of the entertainment industry!

"Cil qui aiment tragitaours
Tumeresses et juglaours
Cil ensevent, ce n'est pas fable
La precession au diable" (1)

This meaning, totally different from any seen before, points to a particularly individual author, who uses his writings as a vehicle for his opinions; whether this interpretation is one given originally by Gervaise, or one he found in the Dicta Chrysostomi, it is yet one more indication of the wide margin that separates the tradition behind the Bestiary of Gervaise from the main stream of Bestiary writing.

In the writings on this creature, therefore, we see some definite family links, and the outlines of three traditions: the Classical tradition, represented by Pliny where the Mermaid is termed

---

(1) Gervaise: Bestiaire Ll. 321 - 324

a Nereid, and is described, as in Homer, as a half-fish, half-woman hybrid, luring sailors to devour them; the main Bestiary tradition linked by their interpretation on the Mermaid, as much as by their description; and the tradition which culminates in the legend given by the author of the Dicta Chrysostomi and by Gervaise.

Family links are determined by the physical description of the Mermaid. Pliny, Honoré de St. Victor and Gervaise use the description that has survived to modern times, that of the half-woman, half-fish creature; Isidore de Seville and Pierre de Beauvais Ms. 834 maintain that the Mermaid is half-woman, half-bird; whereas Philippe de Thaün represents the stage which F. McCulloch (1) considers transitional, of half-woman, half-fish (to her, the development dates from the late seventh or early eighth century, contained in a Liber Monstrorum of that period,) but with the feet of a falcon. Guillaume Leclerc, almost as if to reproach Philippe de Thaün with the impossibility of having three species in one, says that they can be of either description, but not at the same time.

Thus, although there is a great deal of similarity between the texts, there is sufficient difference in detail to be able, in this case, to point to various traditions and groups, and it is most interesting to see the continuation of the Isidorean tradition in Pierre de Beauvais, Ms. 834, and to some extent in Guillaume Leclerc. Philippe de Thaün as usual stands alone for the amount of closely detailed interpretation here rivalled not even by Honoré de St. Victor, and differing from him in many ways, another indication that these two works, though bearing a great resemblance to each other, in fact spring from very different sources, if not from two different, but similar, traditions.

---

(1) F. McCulloch.: Op. Cit. P.166 - 169

16. The Elephant

This animal is mentioned in all the texts, and there is agreement between all of them, except for Pliny, who gives much detail about the elephant's working life at Rome; even in this text, however, most of the basic attributes found later in the Bestiaries in a more refined form, are given in embryo. These basic details are as follows, this list being taken from the Bestiary of Philippe de Thaün.

1) Intelligent animal, does not reproduce very often.
2) When it does reproduce, it goes to the East, almost to Paradise.
3) Female makes male eat mandrake, so that she can ensnare the male. They then proceed with reproduction.
4) The female, through fear of the Dragon, gives birth in deep water, because the Dragon would eat the young if it found them on land. Male is close by to protect young.

The account given by Gervaise tallies exactly with the above list, as does that of Guillaume Leclerc, who merely adds that the elephant goes towards India, as well as to Paradise. Pierre de Beauvais Ms. 834 agrees exactly with the attributes as found in Philippe de Thaün, but Pierre de Beauvais, in his Long Version adds that the Elephant is strong and powerful. Pliny illustrates the intelligence of the elephant by endowing it with the human faculties of obedience, memory, honesty, wisdom, justice, respect for religion and ritual, and the ability to understand human speech. Pliny likewise mentions that elephants mate rarely, out of modesty, according to him, and show a great deal of loyalty and affection to their females - the factor which in the Bestiaries becomes the male's willingness to stand by the female in calving. Although Pliny does not say that

elephants give birth under water, he does say that they live near water, even though they cannot swim.

Isidore de Seville mentions the elephant's intellect, but gives no indication of the frequency of reproduction; all he says on the subject is that they mate backwards! He does, however, say that the female gives birth under water through fear of the Dragon. The account given by Honoré de St. Victor tallies with that of Philippe de Thaün.

The same similarity is found when one consideres the meaning given to the Elephant in the various texts. The list below is taken from De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus by Honoré de St. Victor.

1) Elephants = Adam and Eve
2) East, near Paradise = Eden, and no knowledge of evil, desire or sex.
3) Mandrake = tree of the knowledge of Good and Evil
4) Water = this world, because of the fluctuations and sensual pleasures.
5) Giving birth under water = Eve gave birth to Cain in this world, after ejection from Paradise.

Philippe de Thaün takes the Elephant to mean man in a wider sense, and does not draw such close parallels on Paradise and giving birth under water - he merely says that Adam and Eve fell into the sea/ world and gave birth there, weeping for their sins. Philippe de Thaün does, however, give the Dragon, of whom no mention is made by Honoré de St. Victor when giving his interpretation, the meaning of the Devil, and agrees with Honoré de St. Victor that the mandrake is the fruit of the tree of Knowledge, Philippe de Thaün too uses the allegory of the sea as this world, and the storms and tempests of the sea are interpreted as the trials and tribulations of this world. The text by Gervaise follows that of Honoré de St. Victor in that it actually mentions Adam and Eve, but instead of equating

individual attributes with a specific meaning, Gervaise recounts the story of Adam and Eve; the effect is the same, the tree is mentioned, and paradise, but these are not specifically given to interpret the Mandrake and the elephant's going to the East. Gervaise too uses the sea/world parallel, but instead of mentioning the sea, he calls it 'un estanc'; the reasons he gives for the parallel are, however, those given by Honoré de St. Victor:

"A estant puet estre asignez
Cist monz por les diversitez
Qu'en un estan sunt concuillies
Eves de diverses parties." (1)

He then goes on to give the quotation from Psalms:

"Save me, O God; for the waters are come in
unto my soul". (2)

Gervais's account is very similar to that of Guillaume Leclerc, who also mentions 'un estanc' instead of the sea, and draws a general parallel with the story of Adam and Eve, not specifying individual attributes. Pierre de Beauvais Ms. 834 again follows this account very closely, and so does the Long Version.

All texts also include a number of attributes which are given no moralising interpretation, and which give the Bestiary in this chapter the aspect of an encyclopaedia rather than a religious manual. The list of 'unexplained' attributes given below are to be found in Philippe de Thaün.

1) When the skin and bones of an elephant are burned, they give off a smell which repels snakes, poison and dirt.
2) Elephants are enormous.
3) Look like oxen with ivory teeth/tusks.
4) Carries a castle on its back

---

(1) Gervaise: Bestiaire Ll. 417 - 420
(2) Psalms: chap. 69 v.1

5) Has understanding and memory.

6) Legs are in one piece and are inflexible, therefore it sleeps standing up.

7) To capture an elephant, one pulls down the wall an elephant is leaning against, the elephant falls over and cannot get up again, and is easily captured.

8) Elephants are found in India, live for three hundred years. The period of gestation for females is two years.

Most of the above attributes, apart from 1) are to be found in Pliny; Isidore de Seville mentions their life span and the period of gestation, their use in war, and the castles they carry on their backs; he also expands on the comment that they are like oxen by saying that they are also known as 'Lucian oxen' - oxen, because the Ox was the largest animal otherwise known, and 'Lucian' after the battle of Lucina, where elephants played a large part. Isidore de Seville too writes of the elephant's intelligence and memory, and says that they used to live in both Africa and India, but that they had since become extinct in India. (The name of 'Lucian oxen' is also to be found in Pliny and Honoré de St. Victor). Isidore de Seville does not give details on the capture of elephants, but, like Honoré de St. Victor, he says that they keep away from walls.

Honoré de St. Victor contains all the above attributes, and in the same order as listed. He gives a moral interpretation of the use of elephant skin to ward off snakes and other pestilence:

1) Bones and skin = God's commandements and Holy works

2) House = heart of man

3) Serpents = Devil.

Like Isidore of Seville, Honoré de St. Victor mentions that the

elephant is now extinct in one of the countries where it was formerly native, but Honoré de St. Victor maintains that the elephant is now to be found only in India! The story of the elephants' capture is found in Honoré de St. Victor, with the slight difference that the elephant is to be found against a tree, which is hewn down to effect the capture. The essence of the method, however, remains the same. Honoré de St. Victor, like Pliny and Isidore de Seville, mentions the elephants' preference for keeping in herds. Honoré de St. Victor and Isidore de Seville both give a supposed derivation for the name; both give the Indian term "Barrus", on account of their voice and ivory tusks. Isidore of Seville adds a possible Greek derivation "χορος ", the Greek, supposedly, for mountain.

Of the above attributes, Gervaise mentions only the first - the purgative powers of the elephants' skin and bones. This is also to be found in Guillaume Leclerc, and indeed, Guillaume Leclerc's account agrees to a great extent with that of Philippe de Thaün, only differing in that, like Honoré de St. Victor, he informs us that the elephant is now extinct in Africa, and is to be found only in India. Guillaume Leclerc gives no mention of the method of capturing an elephant, but does say that the elephant never kneels down because it would be unable to get up again. Guillaume Leclerc adds a description found in none of the other seven texts under consideration - that when the elephant eats, a part of its intestine comes out of its mouth, with which it eats:

"Quant il vent en un pre herbu,
Hors de sa boche ist un boel
Od quei il se pest el prael." (1)

This is, of course, the elephant's trunk!

---

(1) Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire Ll. 3290 - 3293

Like Honoré de St. Victor, Pierre de Beauvais, in his Long Version, gives the elephant's skin and bone the interpretation of good works, and in all other ways agrees with the list above taken from Philippe de Thaün. He merely adds that a sheet covered with tusk will not burn. In Ms. 834, he merely mentions the virtues of the skin and bones, and likens them to

"cil qui sont es oevres Damedieu et es commandmens." (1)

Thus we can see that there is a great deal of consistency in the accounts given in the seven texts, not only in the basic attributes and their explanation, but also in the additional information found in most texts, and rarely given a moralistic interpretation. Indeed, it is possible to trace the formation of the full story as it is told in the French Bestiaries, by following the various attributes as they appear successively in Pliny, Isidore de Seville, Honoré de St. Victor, which marks their amalgamation with a different genre, that of the Greek/Latin Physiologus, and the gradual ascendency of the Physiologus material over that belonging to the Non-Christian tradition, until we find, in texts like Gervaise and Pierre de Beauvais 834 a preponderance of Physiologus material, with but few survivals from the Classical tradition. (Family links appear, but they are overshadowed by this more linear relationship; however, it is to be noted that Gervaise, Guillaume Leclerc and Pierre de Beauvais liken the world to an 'Estanc', where Philippe de Thaün and Honoré de St. Victor use the parallelism of the sea. Philippe de Thaün, Guillaume Leclerc and Honoré de St. Victor all differ from Isidore of Seville by giving the elephants' habitat as India; Isidore de Seville alone calls them natives of Africa.)

---

(1) Pierre de Beauvais; Bestiaire Ms. 834 P. xlv, 1.23 - P. xlvi, 1.1

This linear development can be illustrated very clearly from the Bestiaire de Philippe de Thaün, where we find the following two passages:

"E PHISIOLOGUS
De l'elefant dit plus:
La u l'os en ardrat
U li peils bruillerat
De l'odur kin istrat
Les serpenz chacerat
E venim e ordure,
Itel est sa nature" (1)

which contains Philippe de Thaün's account of the burning of bones and skin to chase out serpents.

"et Ysidres nus dit,
Ki L'elefant descrit
Grant sunt a desmesure
E de bos unt faiture
E les denz que il unt
Tutes d'ivoire sunt;
Un chastel portereit
Se sur son dos esteit;
Si at entendement
E grant remembrement." (2)

Philippe de Thaün then goes on to tell about the methods of capturing an elephant. The quotation above from Physiologus is the one 'extra' attribute to be found in all texts, including those of Gervaise and Pierre de Beauvais Ms. 834; it is not found in Isidore de Seville. The quotation from Isidore de Seville, given by Philippe de Thaün above, is to be found also in Honoré de St. Victor, and in a slightly abbreviated form in Guillaume Leclerc; it is mentioned by

---

(1) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire Ll. 1517 - 1524
(2) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire Ll. 1531 - 1540

Pierre de Beauvais in his Long Bestiary, but not in Ms. 834. Gervaise makes no mention of it at all. This gives a clear indication of the way in which the Classical tradition, represented by Pliny (who also mentions the castles) and Isidore of Seville, is gradually superceded by the Physiologus tradition which possibly takes root easily because of the amount of material which resembles the new additions already to be found in the Classical tradition; this can be illustrated with reference to Pliny, who indicates that the elephant mates rarely and is loyal to the female. With this "Core" to receive the basic attribute of the Physiologus, which is an enlargement of this very fact, the way is smoothed for the introduction of less basic and more hypothetical attributes which accompany the basic attribute in the Physiologus, such as the alchemistic properties of elephant skin and bone.

This chapter shows most clearly the linear development of the Bestiary, and the cross-fertilisation process between the Classical tradition and the Christian-Physiologus one; family links, though present, are overpowered by the strength with which this development of tradition imposes itself on the reader.

16 a) The Mandrake

The Mandrake is mentioned in every text except that of Pliny and the Long Version of the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais, although this could be an error of copying. It is certainly mentioned in Pierre de Beauvais Ms. 834, under the name of "Mandegloire". The following physical description of the mandrake is taken from Philippe de Thaün.

1) In appearance, like man or like woman; female has lettuce-shaped leaves, the male has leaves like those of beetroot.
2) Must be picked by a dog, as anyone who hears the shriek dies.
3) Invaluable in medicine, where it cures anything but death.

The account given by Isidore of Seville (in a separate chapter from the one on the elephant; in every other text, it forms a vital part of the basic attributes of the elephant) is a fuller version of the one given above; he includes the etymology of the name, taken from the flavour of the fruit, which is like that of apples. He informs us that the Romans called the Mandrake fruit "Malum terrae"! Isidore of Seville also gives the poetic name of the plant - ἄνφρωπομορφον - (anthropomorphon) given because of the shape of the root, which is in human form. The rest of Isidore de Seville's description agrees with that of Philippe de Thaün, in that Isidore de Seville mentions the soporific and medicinal powers of the mandrake, and the two different kinds of leaves. He merely adds that the fruit of the female resembles plums.

The account found in Honoré de St. Victor agrees exactly with that given by Isidore of Seville; which is not surprising as Honoré de St. Victor tells us that his legend is that of Isidore de Seville! Again, a rare example of Honoré de St. Victor acknowledging one of his sources.

Gervaise gives very little information about the Mandrake, he contents himself with saying that

"Sanblance a de feme et d'ome." (1)

Guillaume Leclerc is more expansive, and his account agrees almost completely with that of Philippe de Thaün; he includes the account of the uprooting of a mandrake and indeed only differes in that he does not liken the leaf of the male mandrake to the beet-root.

No mention is made in the Long Version of the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais of the mandrake as an entity separate from its use in connection with the elephant, and the same absence is to be noted in Ms. 834.

The meaning of the Mandrake has already been given in connection with the elephant; this meaning never varies, it is always the representative of the tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, or of its fruit.

There is such agreement on the nature and use of the Mandrake that further comment seems unnecessary, except to point out that only Philippe de Thaün and Guillaume Leclerc mention the way in which the mandrake is to be picked, a legend that has, however, survived to modern times. (Guillaume Leclerc, in fact, merely says that the mandrake must be picked with extreme caution, otherwise death or madness will ensue. However, he does say that it is possible to do this "si sagement" that one is not harmed by it.)

F. McCulloch gives a brief history of the legend of the dog and the mandrake. (2)

---

(1) Gervaise: Bestiaire 1.590

(2) F. McCulloch . Op. Cit. P. 118

17) The Asp

This creature is to be found in all texts, but the manner of presentation differs widely. Philippe de Thaün alone mentions it in isolation, although he does say that there are other snakes. Apart from Philippe de Thaün's work, the other texts can be divided broadly into two categories: those that include the Asp in the same chapter as the Weasel; and those that include it in a separate chapter which covers a variety of snakes. The division is as follows:

Asp and Weasel	Asp and Other Serpents
Honoré de St. Victor	Pliny
Pierre de Beauvais	Isidore de Seville
Gervaise	Guillaume Leclerc

The texts which contain the Asp in a chapter with other snakes can, of course, still be closely linked to the chapter on the Weasel; in Gervaise and Guillaume Leclerc, the chapters are consecutive.

Despite the differing presentations, however, the attributes given to the Asp show a great deal of similarity in all the texts. The main feature is given below as found in Philippe de Thaün:

1) When the Asp sees someone who wants to charm it, it knows how to block its ears; one it presses to the ground, the other it stops with its tail.

This attribute is to be found in Isidore of Seville, even though he includes other snakes with the Asp; Honoré de St. Victor gives a legend which contains even more detail, and in which the 'enchanteor' is specifically trying to urge the Asp out of its hiding place. Gervaise falls between two stools, in that he has two chapters devoted to snakes. The first of these comes early on in the Bestiary, and he there discusses the natures of 'vuivres', 'colovres' and 'dragons'. Further on, following the section on the Weasel, he includes a chapter on the Asp, in which he mentions 'une autre beste' who is the enemy of the Asp, but gives no further indication of this

beast's identity.

The account that Gervaise gives of the Asp and its tendency to block its ear differs from that by Philippe de Thaün, in that, whereas Philippe de Thaün indicates a human snake charmer, Gervaise lays the blame on 'une autre bests', who goes to the lair of the Asp to entice it out. Indeed, Gervaise's chapter on the Asp bears many similarities to the chapters on the Dragon and Panther: the Asp has an enemy whose song is pleasant to all but the Asp, and other animals come from long distances to hear it

'Riens ne se porroit saoler
De cele beste oïr chanter.
Autres bestes la vunt sivant
De loing por escouter son chant." (1)

This beast goes to the Asp's lair, and tries to entice it to leave the hole, but the Asp blocks his ears to the sound.

'A la fosse ou aspis repaire
Vait chanter qui l'en cude traire' (2)

It would seem, therefore, that the source material with which Gervaise was working was defective, with the result that the 'enchanteor' of the other Bestiaires becomes merely and vaguely 'une autre beste.'

Gervaise then gives the usual attribute of the Asp, (as above). The meaning given by Gervaise to the Asp merely serves to add to the confusion; no animal is given a specific interpretation; the moral is more a sermon against man's preoccupation with riches and vice. However, at this point, our creature which has so far been "sage et porveable" is given the meaning to be found in the other texts: that of the rich, sinful man who shuts his ears to the word of God:

---

(1) Gervaise: Bestiaire Ll. 1157 - 1160
(2) Ibid. Ll. 1161 - 1162

"Luxure l'asome et eslorde
Et la covoitise l'essorbe
Qui ne vuet point de prechement
De Deu ne son ensoignement." (1)

Thus it would appear that some confusion attends an early manuscript of this particular Bestiary, whether it be the fault of Gervaise's immediate source or an earlier copy is not here important. What matters is to show that Gervaise's reading represents error of reading at some stage, and not a new interpretation of this animal.

Guillaume Leclerc agrees with the reading given by Philippe de Thaün, with the only difference that he gives a longer sermon on wealth. Pierre de Beauvais, in his Long Version, gives a great deal more detail in this chapter. He adds motive for the "enchanteor" who tries to bring the Asp out of its hole: the Asp is the guardian of the Balm tree, and the aim of the hunter (as he becomes in this version) is to take the balm. There is a slight difference, too, in the handling of the basic attribute in this text: instead of merely applying its ear to the ground, the Asp here rubs its ear on the ground to fill it with mud. In Ms. 834 Pierre de Beauvais' account is like that of Philippe de Thaün; he offers here no further detail or explanation.

The meaning, too, remains constant, with the exception of the misunderstanding in Gervaise mentioned above. Philippe de Thaün and Honoré de St. Victor are the only ones to give individual meaning to the separate parts of the attribute, and their interpretations agree. The list below is taken from Honoré de St. Victor.)

1) Asp = Rich man

2) Ground = Desires

---

(1) Gervaise: Bestiaire Ll. 1173 - 1176

3) Tail = old sins to which new are added

4) Ears = Heart, which will not listen to the Word of God.

Philippe de Thaün adds to this a complaint about the lack of generosity in rich men - at a time when liberality to the poor was part of the duty of every wealthy man; and his interpretation of the ground is more specific, in that he gives it the meaning of desire for wealth. Guillaume Leclerc agrees with this meaning, and,in his Long Manuscript and in Ms. 834, Pierre de Beauvais merely adds that the rich man is in his way worse than the Asp, which blocks up only its ears - the rich man blocks up his eyes too, so that he cannot see the sky.

Pliny, however, uses none of the aforementioned attributes; in his text, the Asp is to be found in the company of several other snakes, and his account may be taken to provide a prototype for the other texts that include the Asp in a general section on snakes.

1) Many types of snakes - they take their name from their natural habitat.

   a) Horned snakes - so-called because they have little horns, often in groups of four, their purpose is to protect the body by the confusion they cause when moving. They also act as a lure to birds.

   b) Amphisbaena - a two-headed snake, one head being found at the end of the tail.

   c) Javelin snake - so-called because it hurls itself at its prey from trees.

   d) Serpents - bite the feet, but can also launch themselves from trees.

   e) Asp - the bite of the Asp causes swelling of which there can be no cure but by amputation of the affected parts.

2) Has affection, lives with one mate. Tries to revenge death of partner by killing the murderer.

3) Has poor eyesight, because eyes are at the side of its head. Hears more than it sees.

Isidore de Seville follows the same pattern of exposition, but the snakes he lists are not the ones to be found in Pliny; his snakes are:

1) Asp - who blocks up his ears so as not to hear the charmer's song. So-called because it scatters poison in its bite. - = poison.
2) Dipsas (water jar) - so-called because its bite causes one to die of thirst.
3) Hypnalis - so-called because one falls unconscious before dying.
4) Haemorrhois - so-called because it sucks away the blood and dissolves the veins, so that the blood drains away.
5) Prester - lets out steam through its ever-open mouth; one swells up from the bite and dies from the decay caused by the swelling.
6) Seps - consumes victim, which melts in its mouth.

Only one of the French Bestiaries which follows this pattern of presentation of the Asp shows certain similarities to the account given in Isidore of Seville. This is the Bestiaire of Guillaume Leclerc, who, in his chapter on snakes, mentions the Asp, following the Weasel, then breaks the train of his thought to include a homily of the vanity of riches in the world, and then takes up the theme of the Asp again as an exhortation. Following this, he mentions two snakes, also found in Isidore de Seville, the 'Dipsas' and the Prialis, (Isidore de Seville's 'Hypnalis' - the link is made clear in the following line: "Si morut en dormant")(Guillaume Leclerc - Bestiary L. 2572). He also writes of, but does not name, "Haemorrois",

described in the lines:

"... Que chescune veine li creve,
Si seigne tant com seigner poet:
Apres le sanc morir l'estoet." (1)

and "Prester", in the lines:

"... Car le cors meintenant porrist
E chet tot en puldre e en cendre." (2)

Gervaise also mentions three other types of snakes, none of which bear any resemblance to any hitherto mentioned. He writes of the "Vuivre", who, like the Weasel is reported to conceive via the mouth, but then kills the male, by biting its head off. The female is in its turn killed, as the young bite holes in their mother's sideto be born (3), and the mother dies of the wounds. Gervaise gives this creature the meaning of the Jews, who killed Christ, Christ being our father and Jerusalem our mother.

The second serpent in Gervaise is the "Colovres", who shed their skin in old age by swallowing a stone, which drags the old skin off. Its hide and its sight are then miraculously restored. This snake represents the once-evil man, who forsakes his ways by abstinence and repentance and henceforward lives a good life. (It may be noted here that the only other French Bestiary to mention any of these three serpents is the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais in its Long Version, where the chapter on the Vuivre bears a strong resemblance to the chapter on the same animal in Gervaise.)

Under this section on snakes, Gervaise includes, lastly, the dragon, a name here not applied strictly, as the animal Gervaise describes as the Dragon is not the one found in the other Bestiaries. Gervaise's dragon appears to be a mis-reading of a chapter on the stag, (the main chapter on the Stag being misplaced from its order

---

(1) Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire Ll. 2580 - 2582

(2) Ibid: Ll. 2586 - 2587

(3) This could be the origin of the expression 'to nurse a viper in one's bosom.'

in the Dicta Chrysostomi), which covers several of the attributes later given to the stag. In his chapter on the Dragon, Gervaise informs us that when it feels thirsty, it goes to drink in a pure fountain, but first it purges itself in a ditch, to get rid of the poison, then it can drink in safety. This shows strong links with the chapter on the stag, in that Gervaise's version of the Stag is one where the stag is the enemy of the Dragon, and, when the Dragon has been made to leave its ditch, tramples it underfoot then eats it. As a remedy for the poison thus swallowed, the Stag seeks a clear fountain, purges himself, and is cured by bathing in the fountain. The similarity between the two parts also extends to the language they are couched in:

1) The Dragon

"Li dragons est de tel nature,
Quant il ha soi, tot a droiture
Va querre une bele fontaine
Dont l'eigue est pure, nete (et) saine:
Ma[i]s primierement, seins mentir,
Va en .j. fosse vomir.
Quant de verin est nez et pur
Dont puet boivre tot a segur." (1)

2) The Stag

"Li cers por l'envenimeure
Vait aigue querre clere et pure;
En la fontaine vait vomir,
Qu'il ne puet le verin soffrir." (2)

Thus it would appear that Gervaise, in his source text, came across a leaf of manuscript that had become misplaced, and probable badly mutilated. He may have seen the word "dragon", and believed it

---

(1) Gervaise: Bestiaire Ll. 577 - 584

(2) Gervaise: Bestiaire Ll. 1065 - 1068

to be the subject of that chapter, instead of the name of the other contender, the stag's enemy. He then proceeded to attach a meaning to this dragon, which is in keeping with its attributes - that the man who goes to pray at Church should not go there burdened with his sins; he should first purge himself of these by confession, so that he is fit to enter the house of God.

However, this theory is complicated by the fact that Gervaise gives yet another set of attributes to the Dragon, namely that if it sees a man naked, it flees from him in fear; if the man is dressed, it attacks him. The history of this attribute is rather long, and is discussed in F. McCulloch Op. Cit. P. 184. These attributes are to be found in a chapter on a serpent in Pierre de Beauvais, the Long Version; there, they are to be found in the second chapter on the 'Vuivre', under the heading of the 'Woutre'. As the chapter on snakes in general begins in Gervaise by the Vuivre, it is not illogical to assume some distant link between the Dicta Chrysostomi, the probable source of Gervaise's work, and the Long Version of the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais.

Therefore, we see that, although there is a great deal of agreement between the seven works on the actual text of the chapter on the Asp, there are two different ways of presenting it, and it is by this division that one can determine "Family Groups." We find that Honoré de Saint-Victor can be grouped with Gervaise and Pierre de Beauvais; and Pliny with Isidore of Seville, and Guillaume Leclerc. Philippe de Thaün, although not linked structurally to any of the other authors in the group, can be classified with Honoré de St. Victor, on the grounds of content and style, in that they alone specify meanings for individual attributes. Family links on the basis of material used can also be found between Isidore of Seville and Guillaume Leclerc; (in this chapter, the links between these two

texts are particularly strong, because they agree not only in content but also in layout.), and between the Long Version of the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais, and that of Gervaise, linked by a common chapter on the 'Vuivre', and use of an attribute to be found in no other French Bestiary on the subject of snakes.

Before leaving this section there is one more family link to be mentioned - between those texts that mention Cleopatra's death, which was caused, according to legend, by an Asp. This is to be found in the following texts: Philippe de Thaün, Isidore of Seville, (who is definite that it was in fact a Hypnalis, as it put her to death as though it were putting her to sleep.) Guillaume Leclerc also says that it was a Prialis, his misreading for a Hypnalis. Philippe's version resembles neither of these; according to him, Cleopatra

"A ses traianz les mist
E tant fort l'alaitierent
Que le sanc en suchierent;
Mort en fut la reine" (!) (1)

This is, in fact, the form of the legend which has survived.

A possible explanation for the traditional linking of the Weasel with the Asp (a link which is to be found in some form in all texts but those of Pliny and Philippe de Thaün) is to be found if we trace the legend back to Pliny. Here the Asp is described as having a life and death struggle with the Ichneumon, (who also kills the Crocodile à la Hydra). The Ichneumon, according to Tyschen, has at various times been associated with different animals, in the attempt to find the original. Among the contenders for the title are the mongoose, described as being like a weasel, and the weasel itself, who, again according to Tychsen, is the enemy of all serpents. Thus we find a link, older than the attributes and symbolic interpretations

---

(1) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire Ll. 1676 - 1679

87

given to the two animals, which causes them to be thought of in connection with each other.

In this state, therefore we leave the much-discussed Asp, and pass on to the Serra.

18) The "Serra" - A Flying Fish

As might be expected, this imaginary beast is missing in Pliny, and varies, in the other texts, both in the presentation of the attributes and in the meaning given to them. However, a unity of theme can be observed. As in the last chapter, the modes of presentation fall into two categories:

1) The Serra tries to make the ship sink by flying before the wind and causing a calm.

This group comprises Honoré de St. Victor, Isidore of Seville, Philippe de Thaün and Pierre de Beauvais.

2) Spreads its wings and tries to attack the ship by turning itself into a ship-like creature.

This is the reading to be found in Gervaise and Guillaume Leclerc. However, all texts but that of Philippe de Thaün maintain that the Serra falls back into the sea because its strength fails; Phillipe de Thaün agrees that the Serra returns to the sea, but says it is to catch fish, making this a more voluntary action. This obviously improves the quality of his symbol:

As far as the meaning is concerned, Philippe de Thaün alone interprets the Serra as the Devil; to the others, it symbolises the man who turns towards God, and then turns away again. In this interpretation of the Serra as the Devil, Philippe de Thaün makes use of detail to enhance his symbolism. To him, the sailors aboard ship are the people of the world, and the wind the Holy Spirit; the Devil, by preventing the Holy Spirit from reaching them, turns them away from God; when the Devil realises that it is powerless against saints, he dives into the sea, that is, the world, and catches sinners. Honoré de St. Victor, the other author who gives specific meanings, interprets the Serra a s those who start off in God's law, but who fall aside, and turn to cupidity and vice; they are then

drowned by the waves of the sea which carry them off to Hell. In his work, the sea represents the world, and ships the good men who navigate the storms of the world without danger or shipwreck. The waves of the sea are the hostile powers of this world. All the other versions agree with Honoré de Saint Victor's reading, although they give general meanings, rather than interpretations of individual attributes.

This beast again shows a use of symbol that has been noted before - the interpretation of the sea as the world. This is to be found in all the texts, and occurs in more than one chapter. It is,in its way, a leitmotif, a symbol ready cast to enhance the symbolism of any chapter in which it is found. It is, in itself, an apt symbol, in that the waves give a clear image of the evils and fluctuations of the world; the greater the waves are, the more dangerous they are to sailors; the greater the evils are in the world, the more danger there is to men's souls.

Family links are determined in this case by the different exposes of the attributes. This places Guillaume Leclerc and Gervaise in the same category; the rest form the second group, with the exception of Philippe de Thaün, who is separated from them by the interpretation he gives to the Serra, which has a completely different emphasis from that found in the other texts; in his narrative, people are turned away from God by the intervention of the Devil; for the others, it is a voluntary rejection brought about by mans' laziness and lack of will-power.

19) The Hedgehog

A chapter on this animal is to be found in each of the seven texts, and they are all similar to one another. The basic attribute remains remarkably constant; it is to be found in Pliny. Below is the list of attributes as found in Philippe de Thaün's Bestiary:

1) Physical description:

a) Like a small pig

b) Has a spiny hide.

2) At the grape-harvest it climbs into the vine, cuts down the best bunches and rolls in them. When its spines are covered with grapes, it takes them back to its young.

Pliny gives the above legend, with the only difference that the hedgehog rolls on apples, not grapes. Pliny also says that they can be used to foretell a change in the weather, as the hedgehog returns to its lair as the North wind changes to the South.

When hunted, the hedgehog curls into a ball; animals will not touch the spines, and, when it is desperate in this position, the hedgehog is reputed to urinate on itself, and this rots the hide and the spines. They must therefore be caught before that happens, or the hide will be spoiled. According to Pliny, this hide was in his day much in demand as a dressing cloth for garments, and there was legislation against fraud and monopoly. To make a hedgehog uncurl, one must sprinkle it with hot water; in order to kill them without spoiling the hide, hedgehogs were fastened up by their hind feet and left to starve. Even in this account, which is doubtless more factual than any which follow, the basic attribute, later expanded in the Bestiaries, is to be found in embryo. The account given in Isidore de Seville's earlier work is the same as the one quoted above from Philippe de Thaün; he omits the physical description, nor does he include any of the detail to be found in Pliny, other than the basic

attributes. Honoré de Saint Victor's narrative agrees almost word for word with that of Philippe; he merely adds that the hedgehog is good to eat and is useful in medicine; the physical description is precisely that found in Philippe de Thaün, and he adds no details from Pliny, except that it curls up in a ball and squeaks like a cart.

Gervaise again agrees with Philippe de Thaün, differing only in that he says its head is not like that of a sucking pig, although its body is. He adds, too, that it is bold and quick-tempered. (Largely, I think, because "airous" makes a good rhyme for "espinous" on the next line!) Guillaume Leclerc also agrees with Philippe de Thaün, adding only that, as in Pliny, and Isidore de Seville, the hedgehog curls up when people or other animals are near. This is repeated in Pierre de Beauvais' Long Version, which agrees thus with Guillaume Leclerc; the reading in Ms. 834 agrees with the one in Philippe de Thaün.

The meaning given to this animal shows the same degree of stability. The following list of interpretations is taken from Philippe de Thaün:

1) Vine = man

2) Grape = soul

3) Hedgehog = Devil

4) Bunch of grapes = goodness of soul.

He then gives a general interpretation, which runs as follows: that the Devil steals all goodness of soul from man, and deprives him of his chance of salvation.

Honoré de Saint Victor does not, in this chapter, give symbolic meaning to individual details. He gives instead a general exhortation, not unlike the one in Philippe de Thaün; that Holy men should guard their vines and their spiritual fruit so that they do not occupy themselves with theconcerns of this world and the pleasure of worldly goods,

lest the prickly devil spike all their spiritual fruits on their thorns and feed them to animals, and the man will be left empty of all benefits. In Honoré de St. Victor, too, the hedgehog's ability to curl up in a ball at the approach of danger is given a meaning: that when one realises in advance what is harmful to one's salvation, one should arm oneself with one's virtues and the Church sacraments.

Gervaise gives a similar account to the one found in Philippe de Thaün, with the only differences being that Gervaise enumerates the fruits of the spirit, as found in Galatians 5, 19, and emphasises more strongly the threat of Hell. He makes veiled allusions to the Hedgehog as representing the Devil, but he does not state as much specifically.

Guillaume Leclerc also agrees with Philippe de Thaün, adding only part of the exhortation to be found in Honoré de Saint Victor, that one should guard one's spiritual fruits from the Devil.

Guillaume Leclerc also gives a homily on worldly wealth.

Pierre de Beauvais, in his Long Version, agrees with Philippe de Thaün, even down to giving the bunch of grapes the meaning of the human soul, in that he says that the tree without grapes is man's empty soul. He too gives the quotation from Galatians, 5, 19. The reading in Ms. 834 varies very little, except in that it is less specific, and ends with the quotation:

"J'ai gardai mauvaisement ma vigne." (1)

Thus we see that all the texts resemble each other closely in the basic attribute and its meaning, and the only family grouping possible must be carried out on details. Pliny and Guillaume Leclerc are thus grouped together because they maintain that the hedgehog rolls on apples, not grapes; and Guillaume and Honoré de Saint Victor both stress that one should protect one's spiritual fruits from the Devil.

---

(1) Song of Soloman: Chap. 1. v. 6.

Guillaume Leclerc and Honoré de St. Victor are found grouped together again, this time with Gervaise, by the meaning they give to the grapes; in these three texts, the grapes are used to symbolise the fruits of the soul, whereas in Philippe de Thaün and Pierre de Beauvais, the grapes symbolise the human soul itself.

20) The Fox

Rather surprisingly the fox is not mentioned in Pliny; however, in all the other texts, the attributes given to this animal are exactly the same in every case, varying only in minor details. The list of attributes below is taken from Honoré de Saint Victor:

1) the name "Vulpes" is very similar to the word "Voluptes", appropriate to the fox, as it never runs in a straight line, but always twists and turns; this is because it has a twisted foot.
2) The fox is a crafty and deceitful animal.
3) When the fox is hungry and has nothing to eat, it rolls in red earth, so that it appears bloodied, then lies on the ground, protrudes its tongue, and holds its breath. Birds see it thus, think it dead, fly down to it to peck at it, and are devoured.

Isidore of Seville, alone of the remaining texts, gives the first attribute in full, including the etymology. (This attribute seems to die out from Honoré de Saint Victor to reemerge in Pierre de Beauvais, Long Version and Ms. 834, where he writes:

"Ne mule ore ne va droite voie". (1)

The rest of the attributes are to be found in Isidore de Seville, but ina rather telescoped fashion; he merely states that the fox feigns death and devours the birds that set about its "corpse". Philippe de Thaün's version agrees exactly with that of Honoré de Saint Victor, except that he omits the first attribute, and is more specific on the last, according to him, the birds actually put their heads into the fox's mouth. Gervaise's reading is like that of Philippe de Thaün, with the only change being in the emphasis that Gervaise puts on the evil nature of the fox, rather than merely calling it crafty and deceitful. Guillaume Leclerc, influenced by the Roman de Renart,

---

(1) Pierre de Beauvais: Bestiaire Ms. 834 P. xix L. 10

adds two points which doubtless appealed to a contemporary audience on account of their topicality; one is that he calls the fox "Renart", where all the other texts (French) call it a "gorpil"; the second is that Guillaume Leclerc makes a few references to the text of "Roman de Renart"; for example,

"... Signefie le mal gopil,
Qui le poeple met en eissil" (1)

and by referring to the incident in "Roman de Renart"where Renart eats Coupee - and her ten brothers and sisters:

"Volenters fist trosser ses joes
Li gopiz en totes saisons
De gelines et de chapons." (2)

Apart from this, Guillaume's account tallies exactly with that of Honoré de Saint Victor, especially in that he specifies the same exact posture in which the Fox lies. Both accounts of Pierre de Beauvais agree with that of Honoré de Saint Victor.

Philippe de Thaün alone adds a double allegory about the damage that vixens do to the earth by digging lairs. This is given the following moralistic interpretation:

1) Earth = man

2) Ditches = sin

to which is added an explanation: that man is tricked and ensnared by tricks and sin from the Devil.

The meaning given to the basic set of attributes varies very little from text to text. Nor does any text give an interpretation to individual attributes; in each case, the meaning takes the form of a general explanation, wrapped losely round the story. The Fox always represents the Devil - this much is specifically stated - who pretends to be dead until people have entered into bad ways; he then traps

---

(1) Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire Ll. 1342 - 3
(2) Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire Ll. 1310 - 1312

them and brings them to perdition. To this, Honoré de St. Victor and Guillaume Leclerc add that to good men the Devil really is dead and powerless; they cannot be tempted to meddle in His affairs. Gervaise and Guillaume Leclerc specify the sins that drag men down to Hell; they take them from Galatians 5, 19. Pierre de Beauvais does not list individual sins, he merely chastises those who live according to the flesh; this is in the Long Version; in Ms. 834, in a text which resembles that of the earlier Bestiaries, he does in fact list the same sins that are to be found in Gervaise and Guillaume Leclerc.

The fox's habit of feigning death is attested to in many non-Bestiary works, including a recent Russian film on the subject. Professor K. Varty's admirable book, Reynard the Fox, illustrates the legend in its many forms. It is one of the few Bestiary attributes which is based on close and accurate observation of nature, even though several other animals from the Bestiaries would have been easy to observe in the same way.

Family groupings are difficult to determine in this chapter, where each account bears such a strong resemblance to the rest, but it is interesting to note the way in which one tradition, that of the fox's twisted foot, dies out and then reemerges. This fact makes the Bestiaire of Pierre de Beauvais, especially in the Long Version, resemble very closely its Latin predecessors; this similarity is also to be found between the Latin texts and that of Guillaume Leclerc, who follows very closely his 'auctors' from the point of view of the fulness of the description given. However, the Bestiaire de Guillaume Leclerc must stand out for its imaginative presentation, and its fresh approach in the field of audience appeal.

21) The Wild Ass

In this chapter, we see the blending of two traditions, both from the Physiologus, but which seem to run separately and parallel until they are joined in Honoré de Saint Victor.

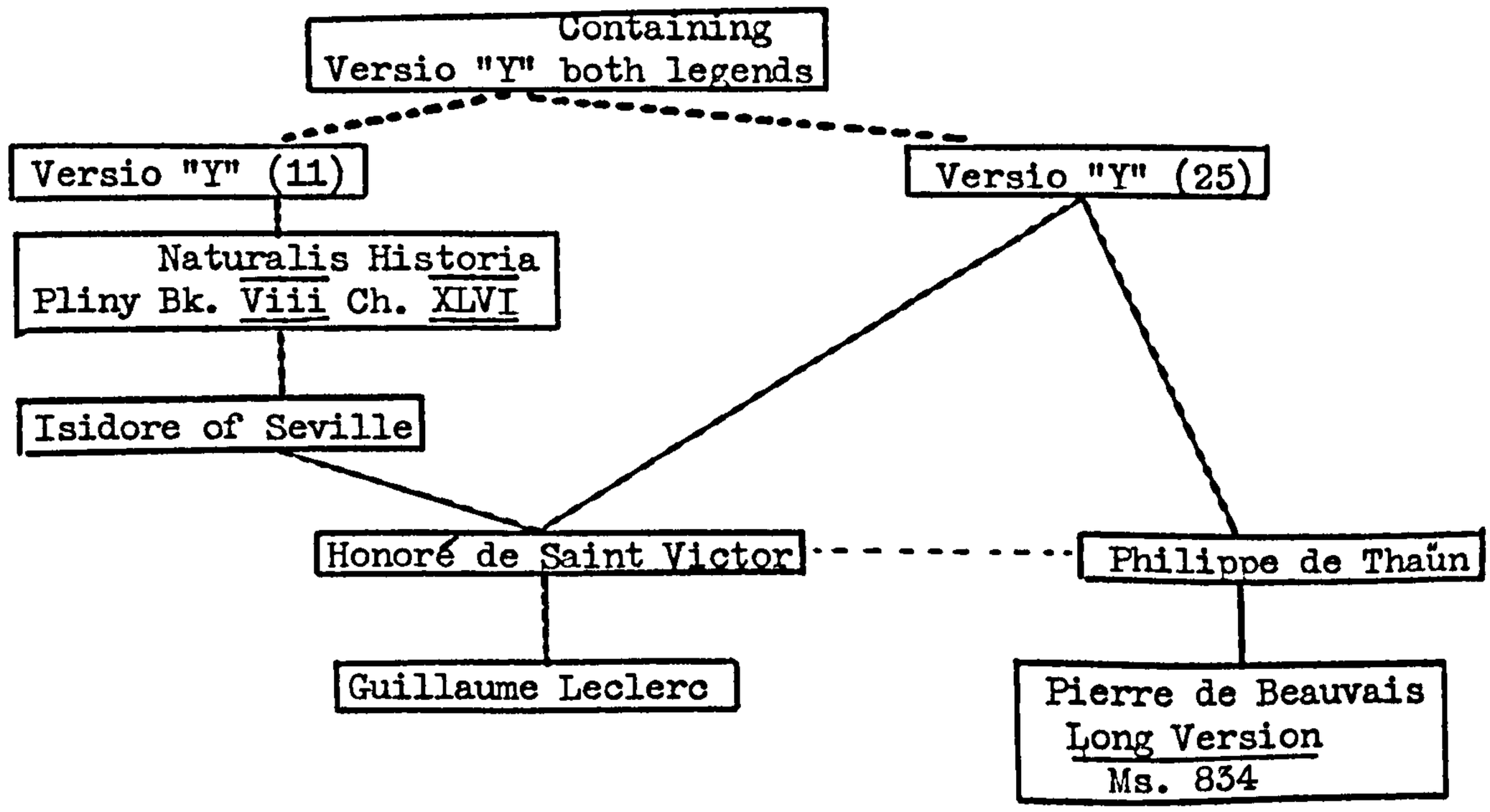
The "first" legend appears in the early Latin Y (11) version (for a full discussion of this point, c.f. F. McCulloch., op. Cit. P. 144-145), and runs as follows:

> 1) The male ass is the first in charge of the flock.
>
> When the female produces male offspring, the head of the flock emasculates it from motives of jealousy.

This account is to be in Pliny, Isidore de Seville, Honoré de St. Victor and Guillaume Leclerc.

The second legend is to be found in a different Y version manuscript Y (25). This recounts how the ass knows and announces the Equinox: by braying twelve times on the twenty-fifth day of March. This is the account to be found in Philippe de Thaün, Guillaume Leclerc, Pierre de Beauvais, Long Version and Ms. 834, and Honoré de Saint-Victor.

Thus, the history of the two legends can be summarised in table form:



Thus we see that, while a chapter on the Wild Ass is to be found in all the texts except the Bestiaire de Gervaise, only two works contain an account which consists of both versions of the legend (those are, the "De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus" by Honoré de St. Victor and the Bestiaire de Guillaume Leclerc); the rest, containing only the one version, can be divided into two categories, each dependent on the particular version of the legend chosen; it will then be noted that, with the exception of the Bestiaire de Guillaume Leclerc, the texts which contain the legend of the ass emasculating its offspring are the Latin text, while the milder - and more fruitful version from the point of view of a symbol - is to be found in the last of the Latin texts and all the French Bestiaries. A pattern therefore emerges, in which we see the blending of two traditions to give the story as found in Honoré de St. Victor and Guillaume Leclerc. (This merging of two traditions has been noted before in this Chapter).

As all the texts which give a moralistic interpretation include the second legend, that of the Wild Ass braying a given number of times at the equinox, it follows that there is a fair amount of consistency in the meaning with which this animal is endowed. The interpretation below is taken from the Bestiaire de Philippe de Thaün.

1) Wild Ass = Devil

2) March = all the time we have on earth. (According to Philippe de Thaün, the Creation took place in March).

3) Light = Good People

4) Night = evil people

5) Hours = people

He then adds a general interpretation: when the Devil realises that his people are decreasing in number, as are the hours of darkness, he starts to lament. Honoré de Saint-Victor merely adds the quotation from Job that the ass only brays when it seeks its food.

"Doth the wild ass bray when he hath grass, or loweth the ox over his fodder?" (1)

This quotation is also to be found in Guillaume Leclerc and Pierre de Beauvais, Long Version and Ms. 834, whose accounts do not otherwise deviate significantly from that of Philippe de Thaün. Alone, Guillaume Leclerc adds a note of anti-semitism by referring especially to Jews and Sarrasins:

"Quant il verra les Sarrazins
E les Jueus, qui sont frarins,
En la lei Deu realier,
Donc porra de feim baailler:
Car sa viande avra perdue,
Qu'il a si longuement eüe." (2)

In no other text is such anti-semitism or crusading spirit to be found. However, it will be seen that the differences between the texts are those of minor detail and Guillaume Leclerc's orthodox enthusiasm may well be intensified by the politico-religious conditions under which he was living. This plea for a return to Godliness is without doubt an indirect reference to the Interdict during which he was writing, and which he openly deplores.

When considering Family relationships, there are two which spring immediately to mind. They are the links between Pliny and Isidore of Seville, whose accounts are identical; and that between Honoré de Saint Victor and Guillaume Leclerc, being the only two texts to include both versions of the legend. It is interesting to see that the resemblance is so complete as to include both texts having the same attributes in the same order: the legend taken from Latin sources to be found first, followed by the more usual Bestiary account. (That the story of the ass emasculating its young must therefore be of more importance than the other story because of sequential preference is a moot point, because it is the other legend that bears the weight

---

(1) Job: chap. 6 v. 5
(2) Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire Ll. 1903 - 1908

of the moral.) As Honoré de Saint Victor derives much of his account from Isidore of Seville, it therefore makes the Bestiaire de Guillaume Leclerc the most Isidorean of the French Bestiaries. Indeed, it will have been noted from Family groupings considered in the past that the Bestiaire de Guillame Leclerc bears more resemblance to the texts of the Latin beast tradition than any other French Bestiary; indeed, the resemblance is so close that one is led to believe that there was some direct consultation at some stage, whether by Guillaume Leclerc himself or by one of his predecessors of his Bestiary.

22) The Monkey

The monkey is mentioned in all seven texts, and there is a fair degree of similarity in the accounts given. However, it would be more accurate to divide the accounts of this animal into two categories: those which describe a number of different species of monkey and those which contain just one. The former category comprises the Latin texts and the Bestiaire de Guillame Leclerc, who mentions three different sorts. The rest are found in the second category. To clarify this chapter, we will consider first the basic attributes as they are described in the French Bestiaries, as these attributes are common to all texts, Latin and French; then move on to the material to be found only in the Latin-type texts. The list of attributes below is taken from the Bestiaire of Philippe de Thaün.

1) Plays tricks and imitates people.

2) When angry, soils itself.

3) Always has twin offspring; carries favourite child in front of it, the one it hates behind it.

Honoré de Saint Victor also contains attribute 3), but his version is fuller, in that he describes how, when hunted, the monkey is obliged to relinquish its favourite child, and is left with the one it dislikes. Honoré de St. Victor expands attribute 2) by saying that the monkey has no tail, and shows its disgusting rear portions. Honoré de St. Victor varies attribute(1) by saying that, like humans, monkeys know the elements, rejoicing at the new moon and weeping when it is full. Gervaise's version of the story is very corrupt, omitting the main attribute completely, and saying merely that the monkey is ugly, looking more like a Devil than a man and, as in Honoré de St. Victor's account, has nothing to cover itself with behind. In his physical description of the monkey, Gervaise also mentions that the monkey has a head, but no neck. This description is also to be found in the Bestiaire of Guillaume Leclerc, whose version is otherwise close to that of

Philippe de Thaün, in that Guillaume Leclerc includes all the attributes listed above, and adds that monkeys are filthy, and the play-things of rich men. Like Gervaise and Honoré de Saint Victor, Guillaume Leclerc emphasises the animal's physical ugliness by saying that it has no tail. The third attribute is here exactly as it is in Philippe de Thaün. The accounts found in the two versions of the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais differ radically from each other, the account in the Long Version being very similar to the attributes given above, with the addition of the monkey's preference for children rather than adults, and the trickery mentioned in attribute(1) above here softened into mischief in Pierre de Beauvais' comment that the monkey always wants to undo what it sees done. The only characteristic of the monkey to be found in the Ms. 834 version of the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais is that it has no tail and is therefore ugly from the back. Thus we see that the basic attribute, that of carrying the favoured child in front and the other behind, is to be found in all the French Bestiaries except those of Gervaise and Pierre de Beauvais, in the 834 version. This attribute, is, however, to be found in Isidore of Seville and, with the slight difference that he does not specify any difference between the offspring, in Pliny. The carrying of the young he takes to be a sign of affection towards them and he adds that the monkey can kill its young by hugging them.

The species of monkey that are mentioned in the earlier texts seem to be an Isidorean development from an idea found in Pliny, who writes of four different types without attempting to name the individual species. He mentions:

1) A long-tailed species which are intelligent.

2) The Baboon, of fiercer nature.

3) Ourang-outang - more gentle.

4) A pretty-haired ape, different in appearance, with bearded face and flat tail. Lives in Ethiopia.

In Isidore of Seville, there are five species mentioned, to be distinguished, according to Isidore of Seville, by their tails. The species he lists are as follows:

1) The Cercopitheci - who have tails.

2) Sphingae - hairy, friendly, with protuding chests; docile to the point of forgetting their natural wild state.

3) Cynocephali - which have tails, but faces like dogs. (Hence the name)

4)Satyri - quite pleasant features and constantly agitated in movements.

5) Callitriches - look different from others: bearded, with broad tails.

It is obvious that the last one mentioned by Isidore of Seville is also the last one on Pliny's list, but it is difficult to match up any of the others, except to say that the long-tailed species found in Pliny is probably the one listed by Isidore de Seville as the Cercopitheci.

The list of species found in Honoré de Saint Victor matches exactly the one in Isidore de Seville, both in the names given and in the descriptions. He adds, for the sake of his Symbol, that it is the tail-less monkey that is shameless and uncouth. Honoré de St. Victor makes no attempt to give moralised meanings to the individual species.

The account found in the Bestiaire de Guillaume Leclerc is a very much abbreviated version of the one in Honoré de Saint-Victor and Isidore of Seville. He says that there are more than three sorts of monkey, but he makes no attempt to name them, and his characteristics of the species are often a bit vague. He mentions that there are some with long tails (judging by the position this type occupy in his list, there are the Cercopitheci), some with heads

like dogs, and some - this attribute seems to be a misreading of the beginning of Honoré de Saint Victor's text, where he says this - that rejoice at the crescent moon and weep at the full. This does not constitute the characteristic of any species in Honoré de St. Victor, but is rather a general observation which applies to all monkeys.

However garbled Guillaume Leclerc's version may be, the distinct resemblance that it bears to the texts of Honoré de Saint Victor and Isidore of Seville in this chapter serves to reinforce the comment already made to this effect in the section on the Wild Ass, (q.v.)

As no attempt is made to give meanings to individual species, there is a great deal of consistency in the interpretation of the Monkey. The interpretation given below is a general one, as it is taken from Guillaume Leclerc, who does not give meanings to individual attributes. His Bestiary was chosen, however, because it contains the fullest interpretation of any of the texts. He writes, giving the meaning to the fact that the monkey has no tail, but has a head, that the Devil started as an angel (the head), but fell because of pride, and will remain without end (lack of tail) in the misery of Hell. This interpretation is to be found in Gervaise, Guillaume Leclerc and Pierre de Beauvais. The interpretation to be found in Honoré de Saint-Victor also agrees substantially with that found in Guillaume Leclerc, but the loss of the tail is interpreted in a slightly different way: that the Devil will lose everything in the end; another "bad pun", but signifying ultimate failure, whereas Guillaume's account seems to indicate that the Devil has already lost everything. Of the two, Honoré de St. Victor's reading seems slightly better, in that the supposed end of the Devil has not yet obtained.

Philippe de Thaün, who does not mention this attribute of the

lack of tail, but instead writes of the monkey's habit of soiling itself when angry, interprets this as the Devil dirtying everyone who serves him. Alone of the writers who give symbolic interpretations, Philippe gives a meaning to the way in which the monkey carries its young; he says that this represents the Devil who carries before him those who are going to Hell (the one the monkey loves), and leaves behind the good, whom he hates; they will stay with God. However, this does not successfully account for the possible meanings in the other texts, who extend this attribute to say that when hunted, the monkey is forced to leave behind the one it loves, and is saddled (literally!) with the one it hates. To continue the symbol to its logical extreme, one would see the Devil left carrying the good; surely not a good symbol, unless one combines it with the rage of the Devil mentioned in Section 21 (the Wild Ass) when he sees all the non-believers converted to Christianity. Possibly the difficulty of extending the symbol to interpret their longer account is the reason for the omission of any moralistic interpretation of this attribute in all the other moralising texts.

To consider "Family groupings" in this section is to comment at once on the similarity of the Bestiaire de Guillaume Leclerc to its Latin predecessors, and on the difference of the Bestiaire de Philippe de Thaün from all the other texts, not only in that he does not mention the one attribute common to all the other texts - the lack of a tail, but also in that he alone gives an interpretation to the attribute found also in Guillaume Leclerc, Honoré de Saint-Victor and Pierre de Beauvais: Long Version, that is, of the way in which the monkey carries its young. We have already seen that the accounts of the Monkey can be divided into two categories, according to whether or not they list more than one monkey species; the division is:

One Monkey	Several species of Monkey
Philippe de Thaün	Pliny
Gervaise	Isidore de Seville
Pierre de Beauvais	Honoré de Saint-Victor
	Guillaume Leclerc

To this division must now be added a second: those that mention the way in which the young are carried, and those who do not. In this matter, the texts are divided thus:

Monkey carrying young	Omission of the attribute
Pliny	Gervaise
Isidore of Seville	Pierre de Beauvais Ms. 834
Honoré de Saint-Victor	
Guillaume Leclerc	
Pierre de Beauvais Long Version	
Philippe de Thaün	

Suffice it to say that Philippe de Thaün is the only one to omit the attribute of the lack of tail. To correlate this evidence is to emphasise again Guillaume Leclerc's similarity to the Latin texts; those four texts are constantly to be found in the same category; there is some degree of similarity, too, between the Bestiaire de Gervaise and the Ms. 834 of the Bestiaire of Pierre de Beauvais: however, this is more likely to be a coincidental resemblance than a direct line of descent; the two texts resemble each other most on the grounds of the brevity of their chapters, rather than on the content.

Finally, if one reads the indices of the various texts, it is interesting to observe that in the following texts, the Wild Ass and the Monkey are treated in consecutive sections:

Text	Animal	Location
Honoré de Saint-Victor	Wild Ass	Bk. II, Ch. XI
Honoré de Saint-Victor	Monkey	Bk. II, Ch. XII
Philippe de Thaün	Wild Ass	Section 21
Philippe de Thaün	Monkey	Section 22
Guillaume Leclerc	Wild Ass	Section 21
Guillaume Leclerc	Monkey	Section 22
Pierre de Beauvais L.V.	Wild Ass	Section 24
Pierre de Beauvais L.V.	Monkey	Section 25
Pierre de Beauvais 834	Wild Ass	Section 21
Pierre de Beauvais Ms. 834	Monkey	Section 22

In Gervaise, the section on the Wild Ass is omitted; Pliny and Isidore de Seville cannot place the two sections together, as the animals are of different natural divisions, the one being a member of the Ungulata, the other a Primate, and the texts of Pliny and Isidore de Seville follow as closely as possible the natural orders.

This juxtaposition is, therefore, one that derives from the Physiologus, and is based on symbolic or legendary similarity, rather than on intrinsic natural relationship. Florence McCulloch (1) gives the history of this union, which appears to have begun in the Y Physiologus, which contained a chapter on the Wild Ass alone and one on the Onager and the Ape. The two legends of the Wild Ass have been mentioned in Section 21; the legend of the ape found in Version Y is no longer to be found in the Bestiaries, although some connection may be seen between this version, and one of the attributes given in the Bestiaire de Philippe de Thaün. The legend is as follows: that, as the Wild Ass brays twelve times at the Equinox, the Ape urinates seven times. The link between the two sections is presumably, therefore, that both creatures are reputed to mark the

---

(1) F. McCulloch: Op. Cit. P. 144 - 145

Equinox in some way; also, both carry the symbol of the Devil. However, this link seems tenuous, and it appears to be custom that is keeping the two together in later texts, when the attribute of the Ape found in Y has passed out of use.

23) The Whale

Again, for this creature, there are two different accounts, giving evidence of two different traditions; the two categories are formed by those texts which contain the basic attribute - that of the sailors landing upon it and subsequently being drowned - and those which do not: the division is as follows:

Basic attribute contained	Basic attribute omitted
Honoré de Saint-Victor	Pliny
Philippe de Thaün	Isidore of Seville
Guillaume Leclerc	
Pierre de Beauvais LV and M. 834	

(This animal is not to be found in Gervaise). From the table above, we can see that the account of the whale as we find it in the French Bestiaries is a pure Physiologus tradition, not touched by the Classical tradition. It may be suggested here that the reason for the pure state of the Physiologus legacy in the Bestiaries is due to the somewhat dull and unimaginative accounts in the Classical texts of this animal.

Once the two traditions have been separated, it is possible to say that the accounts of the Whale given in the Physiologus-type texts show a great degree of similarity, as do the versions in the two Latin texts, Pliny and Isidore of Seville.

The attributes given to the Whale in the Physiologus-type texts are as follows, the list being taken from Philippe de Thaün:

1) Large animal which spends all its time in the sea.
2) Covers its back with sand, and floats still on the surface of the sea; sailors who see it think it is an Island, land on it and light a fire to prepare food. The whale feels the heat of the fire and dives; the sailors are drowned.
3) When it wants to eat, it yawns and emits a sweet odour, which attracts small fish, who approach and are swallowed.

This account is to be found, exact down to details, in Honoré de Saint-Victor. The only difference in the Bestiaire de Guillaume Leclerc is that the whale's back is already covered with sand; it has no need to cover it for the purpose; also, Guillaume Leclerc begins his account with a description of the number of different fish in the sea. The version given by Pierre de Beauvais also tallies exactly with the one given in Philippe de Thaün.

The account to be found in the Latin texts is as follows, (this list is taken from Pliny)

1) Largest species of all to be found in the Indian ocean, it is the largest creature in the Bay of Biscay.
2) Rears up higher than a ship's rigging, belches out a deluge from the mouth in its forehead.
3) In summer, hide in the gulf of Cadiz, breed there. Killer whale attacks them and kills females and calves by driving them onto the rocks.

Isidore de Seville too mentions the enormous size of these creatures, and gives the Greek derivation of the two names for the whale: Βαλλειν . Isidore de Seville goes on to say that the Cetus was the whale of Jonah - the only text to mention this - ironically, as it is Isidore de Seville's first and last Biblical quotation. He omits the rest of the account given by Pliny; however, the two texts are similar in the emphasis they lay on the size of the Whale and in the fact that they send off sprays of water.

The meaning given to the attributes in the Physiologus-type texts also shows a great deal of consistency; the list of meanings below is taken from Philippe de Thaün.

1) Whale = Devil
2) Sea = world
3) Sand = worldly wealth
4) Sailor = soul
5) Ship = body

6) Wood = love of wealth

7) Fish attracted by odour = men who love the Devil and are damned because of him.

The meaning given in Honoré de Saint Victor differs only slightly from the one above. According to him, the sailors are the incredulous who put their trust in the Devil, believing themselves safe, and therefore sink to Hell. To the little fish who are devoured by the whale, Honoré de St. Victor adds the bigger fish, men of greater faith, who avoid the Devil and his lures. This meaning of men 'of little faith' is also to be found in Guillaume Leclerc, who says they are easier to catch, because they are weighed down by the deadly sins. The reading given by Pierre de Beauvais in both versions is the same as those found in Honoré de Saint Victor and Guillaume Leclerc.

Family groupings here are very vague; the only clear indication of any split is in the slightly different meaning given in Philippe de Thaün to the small fish; however, the very nature of this slight difference merely goes to emphasise the basic unity of the four texts.

Before leaving this creature, it must be pointed out that in the Bestiaries of Pierre de Beauvais and Guillaume Leclerc, as well as in Versio Y, Versio B and Versio C, the section on the Whale follows that on the Panther, which it resembles to the point that both animals emit an odour from their mouth s which has the power of attracting other creatures to them. As the Panther symbolises Christ, it is obviously a beneficial attraction in this section; those attracted by the Whale are not so fortunate in their choice of leader. However, the juxtaposition of these two sections gives some insight into the reasons

for the order in which animals were placed in a text. In this case, the contrast afforded by placing two beasts, one 'good', one evil in adjacent sections does much to heighten the symbol in both cases; this is obviously a literary device, and leads one to search for others in similar sections which are always found to be consecutive.

24) The Partridge

No mention of this bird is made in Pliny, but the other texts show a great deal of similarity. The attributes below are taken from Philippe de Thaün:

1) Loses the chicks it has reared, because they are stolen from another bird; when the chicks are full-grown and hear the voice of their true parents, they fly away, and the Partridge has nothing to show for its labours.

This attribute is backed up with a quotation from Jeremiah,

"As the partridge that gathereth young which she has not brought forth, so is he that getteth riches and not by right; in the midst of his days they shall leave him, and at his end, he shall be a fool." (1)

This account is to be found in Isidore of Seville, who does not include the Biblical quotation; he adds that the bird derives its name from its voice, without offering any further explanation, nor the supposed Greek or Latin source. Isidore de Seville further says that the partridge is a foul and crafty bird, because of its pederasty.

The account found in Honoré de Saint Victor agrees with that from Isidore de Seville; indeed, Honoré de Saint Victor actually quotes from Isidore over the etymology of the name, and over the description of the partridge as crafty and deceitful bird. Like Philippe de Thaün, Honoré de Saint Victor gives the quotation from Jeremiah. Gervaise, however, merely refers to the quotation instead of giving it in full; the rest of his account tallies with that of Philippe de Thaün.

Guillaume Leclerc does not mention or refer to the Biblical quotation; the main attribute, however, is to be found in his text, and he adds one characteristic found in Isidore, but nowhere else : that of the partridge's supposed homosexuality. (One is led to

---

(1) Jeremiah: chap. 17 v. 11

wonder if this is the reason for the female's need to go out and steal eggs from other birds!) Pierre de Beauvais also agrees exactly with Philippe de Thaún: he includes both attribute and quotation.

The meaning, too, shows the same amount of consistency: in all texts, the thieving partridge symbolises the Devil, who steals baptised people from the church, but when these hear the voice of their Father and Mother, (that is, God and the Church,) they leave the Devil dishonoured. Honoré de Saint Victor is more explicit in his interpretation of individual attributes, for him,

1) Partridge = Devil

2) Eggs = hope

3) Bird whose eggs were stolen = Church.

Thus we see that Honoré de Saint Victor changes the meaning very slightly, in that, to him, the eggs symbolise hope, and not the Children of the Church, as in Philippe de Thaün. Gervaise's account tallies with the one given above; it differs only in one minor point - that the eggs/souls are stolen from God rather than from the Church.

In Guillaume Leclerc, the sins are more explicitly expressed, that is, that Guillaume Leclerc specifies that the 'chicks' are reared:

"En malvestez, en lecheries,
En luxure, en beveries" (1)

In Pierre de Beauvais, the souls are those of non-believers and those whose faith is not strong, rather than full children of the Church. He, like Guillaume Leclerc, says that the Devil brings them up in sin and worldly pleasures. The Long Version account agrees with the one quoted above.

In a section where all the texts bear so much resemblance to each other, it is impossible to determine family groupings, except to point

---

(1) Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire Ll. 2391 - 2392

out that yet once more, the Bestiaire de Guillaume Leclerc is very close to the text of Isidore of Seville; these two alone mention the supposed pederasty of the Partridge.

In Philippe de Thaün, Pierre de Beauvais (both versions) and Guillaume Leclerc, as well as in the Greek Physiologus, Versio Y and Versio B, the section on the partridge is foundadjacent to the one on the Whale; obviously, no zoological link exists between these creatures; the link, later one of habit, must have originally sprung from the similarity of the message; both sections deal with treachery, the one where the sailors put false hope in the Whale, soon to be disappointed, the other, almost the reverse, in that the children go from a state where they are deceived by the Devil, to one where their eyes are opened. It is this contrast of the fall from the state of grace on the one hand and the attainment of it on the other, which presumably brought about the juxtaposition of these two sections; it is also a possible reason for Philippe de Thaün's placing the partridge next to the whale, and therefore, according to the pattern of his text, out of place; (the partridge, representative of the Devil, and a rather insignificant bird, is thus placed before the King of the Birds, the Eagle, who represents Christ, and which is followed by all the other birds representing Christ. The partridge, by the logic inherent in the text, should be near the end of the section on birds, with Ibex and Nicticorax.) This, I feel, serves to reinforce the conclusion arrived at by E. Walberg, (1) when considering this problem - that the ancient order of placing was not without influence in the locating of the Partridge. It would appear that the Bestiaire de Philippe de Thaün was not the only text where the old tradition was maintained.

---

(1) E. Walberg: Op. cit. P. xxx

25) The Eagle

As may be expected, the Eagle is the source of many sets of attributes and meanings, and, of all seven texts, only the following contain a complete list:

1) Honoré de Saint Victor

2) Philippe de Thaün

3) Pierre de Beauvais, Long Version and Ms. 834 Guillaume Leclerc contains nearly all the material found in these three, but misses out certain details. In the table below are set out the basic attributes, with the texts in which they occur listed beneath each heading. To simplify the table, the attributes are here set out in full, and are referred to in abbreviated form as the headings of the table:

1) Long sight: proved by ability to look at sun, or to see fish swimming from a great height.

2) Disowning of young - the eagle tests its young chicks' ability to gaze at the sun without flinching; those who pass this test are claimed as true offspring; those who fail are disowned.

3) Rejuvenation - brought about
   a) by flying near to sun to burn off old feathers and to dispel the mist from the eyes, then plunging three times into a fountain in the East. (Philippe de Thaün)
   b) sharpening its beak on a stone, then going after food, its youth is restored. (Honoré de Saint Victor)

TABLE 1

1) Long Sight	2) Disowning of Young	3) Rejuvenation
Pliny	Pliny	Pliny *
Isidore of Seville	Isidore of Seville	-
Honoré de Saint-Victor	Honoré de Saint-Victor	Honoré de Saint-Victor
Philippe de Thaün	Philippe de Thaün	Philippe de Thaün
Guillaume Leclerc *	Guillaume Leclerc	Guillaume Leclerc
Pierre de Beauvais	Pierre de Beauvais	Pierre de Beauvais
-	-	Gervaise

The attribute of long sight is to be found in every text but that of Gervaise; Philippe de Thaün gives a slightly different reading from the one found in most texts, where the 'test' for long sight is the eagle's ability to see fish swimming in the sea from a great height; Philippe de Thaün interprets the Eagle's name as 'clear-sighted' rather than as 'long-sighted', because of its reputed ability to be able to look at the sun without flinching:

"En Latine raisun
Cler-veant l'apelum.
Kar le soleil verat
Quant il plus clers serat,
Tant dreit l'esguarderat
Ja l'oil ne cillerat" (1)

Philippe de Thaün then returns to the orthodox description of long sight by saying also that the Eagle can not only see the fish swimming far below him; it is also capable of diving from this height and catching them.

---

* Denotes a reading that does not quite correspond to the category in which it is placed, but which bears a fair degree of similarity to it.

(1) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire Ll. 2015 - 2020

In Pliny, the faculty of long sight is mentioned twice; both times in connection with the Osprey or Sea Eagle, which would seem to be the type of eagle intended in the other texts; it is the Sea Eagle that Pliny endows with the perpetration of Attribute 2). (The Sea Eagle is one of six categories that Pliny lists; the others are as follows:

1) Black Eagle - inhabits mountains, is the smallest of the eagles, but is very strong. It rears its own young, the rest drive them away. It has no scream or cry.
2) White-tailed eagle - found in towns and level country. Has a whitish tail.
3) 'Morphos' or marsh harrier, otherwise known as the Dusky eagle - lives near lakes, darkest of the eagles, has prominent tail, and is said to have teeth. Breaks tortoise shells by dropping them from a height.
4) Hawk eagle or mountain stork - like vulture, only with smaller wings. Unwarlike and degenerate, it allows a crow to flog it. Screams. Only eagle that, although greedy, carries away the dead body of its prey; others consume it on the spot.
5) "True Eagle" - only pure-bred one. It is of medium size, but is rarely seen.
6) Osprey - keen eyesight, hovers at great height; swoops into sea to catch fish.)

In all other texts, the attribute of long sight is exactly as described above (Attribute 1).

The eagle's disowning of its young is described in all texts, again excepting that of Gervaise; otherwise, there is complete agreement in all texts as to the content and presentation of this attribute. Pierre de Beauvais in his Long Version describes the

parental affection of the eagle otherwise for its offspring: eagles, fasting, watch their eggs for forty days; they hunt afterwards; this extra information serves to give the eagle's renunciation of its young an aspect of tragedy from the point of view of the parent as well as that of the offspring: it strengthens the effect of the eagle as a symbol of Christ.

The third attribute, that of the eagle's rejuvenation is missing in Isidore of Seville, and is found in only a very embronic form in Pliny. The rest of the texts can be split into two categories, according to the method of rejuvenation they describe:

1) Rejuvenation by flying near the sun to burn off old feathers and to dispel the mist from its eyes, then plunging three times into a fountain in the East.
2) Sharpening its beak on a stone, then going after prey; its youth is then restored.

TABLE II

Rejuvenation - method I	Rejuvenation - method II
-	Pliny ✠
-	Honoré de Saint Victor
Philippe de Thaün	-
Gervaise	Gervaise
Guillaume Leclerc	-
Pierre de Beauvais 834	-
Pierre de Beauvais Long Version	Pierre de Beauvais Long Version

It will be seen from the above table that two Bestiaries are included in both categories; this is obviously because they contain either the whole of both methods, or, as in the case of Pierre de Beauvais, give one method, and add part of the second: Pierre de

Beauvais describes Method I in detail, but mentions also the use of the stone. Gervaise describes both methods in detail, differing from the account given in Honoré de Saint Victor (the synopsis of Method II is taken from Honoré de Saint Victor's work) only in that in place of the rather weak ending, (the eagle goes off to catch prey) Gervaise writes that the eagle actually eats the stone and is thereby restored to full vision.

Pliny has been placed in Category II because he describes the eagle's habit of grinding down an overgrown upper mandible by rubbing it against a stone; otherwise, it would no longer be able to open its beak, and would die of starvation. That this developed into the account given in Honoré de Saint Victor is obvious, and gives the "De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus" the dubious distinction of deriving its account from fact; however, as the product of fact is, in this case, rather weak, the more fanciful accounts gain in immediacy and impact what they may lose in sheer factual reference.

Apart from Gervaise, Pierre de Beauvais 834 and Pliny, the accounts given in the other texts adhere faithfully to the Method they have chosen; there are no deviations from the set patterns.

Here again, we see two parallel traditions which are brought together, this time in the Bestiaire de Gervaise; Method I would appear to be the one described in the Physiologus, and Method II to represent the Classical tradition.

In connection with rejuvenation, Honoré de Saint Victor, Philippe de Thaün, Gervaise, and both versions of Pierre de Beauvais use the quotation from Psalms,

> "Who satisfyeth thy mouth with good things, so that thy youth is renewed like the eagle's". (1)

Guillaume Leclerc and Pierre de Beauvais 834 also quote from John

---

(1) Psalms: chap. 103 v. 6

with reference to rejuvenation by plunging into a fountain:

> "Jesus said to him, 'Verily, verily I say unto thee,
> Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he
> cannot enter into the kingdom of God." (1)

Despite differences in the attributes, the meaning given to the Eagle remains constant enough to admit of standard treatment. The list below is taken from the Bestiaire de Philippe de Thaün:

1) Eagle = Christ, who, as King of all men, can see all.
Also; Christ can look God in the face. All true Christians will see God thus.

2) Sea = World

3) Fish = People

4) Eagle = angel carrying souls to God

Philippe then gives a general exhortation and admonition that if men will not look towards God, He will cast them aside.

5) Plunging into fountain = Baptism

6) East = Birth

He here adds the necessity for baptism of fire and water for salvation. Guillaume Leclerc and Pierre de Beauvais agree almost completely with this interpretation, although, as usual, their comparisons are not as detailed. Guillaume adds the general comment that the eagle/Christ renews its vigour by looking towards the Sun/God. In Pierre de Beauvais, there is a strong strain of anti-Semitism, that it is the Jews who are the weak eaglets that cannot stand the sun's rays; he adds that they should look at Christ and seek the spiritual fountain of Christ. To Pierre de Beauvais, the stronger young are the Baptised, who can see God clearly.

In Honoré de Saint Victor and Gervaise, the two texts which mention Method 11 of rejuvenation, the meaning of the eagle is altered from Christ, it becomes man, and the stone on which the eagle sharpens

---

(1) John: chap. 3 v. 5

its beak represents Christ. The rest of Gervaise's interpretation agrees with the list given above.

Honoré de Saint Victor gives a highly complicated account of the Eagle, in which the attributes given play only a small part; the whole section is extremely scholarly and therefore very difficult for the layman to understand. The description is so detailed that it seems more in keeping with a full-length 'Speculum' than with a Bestiary. In this section, Honoré de St. Victor quotes from Gregory on the interpretation given in the Scriptures for the Eagle: it can mean:

1) evil spirits, robbers of the soul or the power of earthly things - this is what is meant by the name 'eagle', and Honoré de St. Victor here quotes Jeremiah IV in support of his argument: "his horses are swifter than eagles", which can be taken to mean that our persecutors are swifter than eagles, because evil men do so much against us.

2) The name of the Eagle can also indicate earthly power: this is supported by a quotation from Ezekiel 17 - 3, where the eagle and the soaring vine are representative of a rebellious and proud house of Babylon.

3) The discriminating knowledge of Saints. This is illustrated with reference to Saint John, whose symbol is the eagle, and who attained to the inner secrets of life, by mentally leaving this world and soaring to the heavens by means of contemplation, reputedly without tasting death. (The relevance of the symbol is revealed in the phrasing of the last sentence;)

5) The ability of the eagle to look at the sun is interpreted by Gregory as being representative of the Ancient Fathers, who mingled human infirmity with comtemplation; these men

could look beneath them and see sinners, and look up to the death and Passion of Christ, and thus sought spiritual refreshment.

6) That the eagle flies high, yet returns to earth to feed is representative of the Fall of Man, who was created free to seek for Heaven, but was brought down to earth by human desires.

7) (This is the rejuvenation of the eagle already referred to).

This section from Honoré de Saint Victor is a fine example of Early Medieval Symbolism; it shows great analytical power on the part of the author; and the typical Medieval lack of concern over inconsistency - in Gregory's account, the eagle has both good and evil meanings in the one section, apparently without embarrassment to the author, who held the view that things which seemed irreconcileable on earth only did so because our minds were incapable of comprehending the Universal Truth, in which everything was ultimately linked and all antipathies reconciled. However, it was unsuitable for lay consumption, and in a later chapter, we shall see how this closely-drawn argument, intended for clerics, became a simpler genre, suited to less academic minds.

Except to point out the similarities between Philippe de Thaün and Pierre de Beauvais, both in content and meaning, there is little to mention in the way of 'family groupings" that has not been considered when it first arose: the links between Honore de Saint Victor and Gervaise, and Honoré de Saint Victor and Pliny. The only distinctions to be found are those in Tables $\overline{1}$ and $\overline{\overline{11}}$; these give the clearest possible view of family relationships in this section.

26) The 'Caladrius'

This bird is not to be found in either Isidore of Seville or Pliny; however, in all the other texts, the accounts show a great deal of similarity, all of them containing the same main attribute and endowing it with the same meaning. There are, though, some minor differences, usually connected with the amount of detail given ina particular text. The list of attributes below is taken from Honoré de Saint Victor, one of the fullest accounts.

1) All white
2) The marrow of its femur will cure failing sight.
3) If carried before a sick man, can tell whether he is going to live or die; if the man is going to live, the bird will look at him; if it looks away, the man will die.

All Philippe de Thaün adds to this is that the Caladrius resembles a gull in appearance, and that, like the Salamander, it should be found in the King's court. Philippe de Thaün maintains he is quoting from the Physiologus in this matter. According to F. McCulloch [1] the history of this part of the legend of the Caladrius show that it developed because of the confusion of a bird, the Icterus, described in Pliny as having similar powers to those given to the Caladrius, with the Caladrius; the name of the bird, 'Icterus', being the Greek name for jaundice (which the Icterus was supposed to cure by being shown to the patient), the Latins called the same disease 'Regius morbus', the king's disease. Hence the need for the Caladrius, heir to the Icterus' faculties, to sojourn in the King's court. Again following the Physiologus reading, Philippe de Thaün quotes from Deuteronomy; I could not identify the exact passage, but with reference to B and Y version Physiologus texts,

---

(1) F. McCulloch: Op. Cit. P. 100 - 101

F. McCulloch gives the Biblical reference as Deuteronomy, 14: 18, which mentions a bird interpreted as 'Heron' in the Authorised Version:

"And the stork and the heron after her kind, and the lapwing and the bat;"

Gervaise only mentions the appearance of the Caladrius, and attribute 3), as does Guillaume Leclerc, who, however, mentions that the Caladrius is to be found at Jerusalem. Once again, Pierre de Beauvais agrees with Philippe de Thaün, down to the faculty of the Caladrius of removing the illness from the patient. The only difference to be found is that in Pierre de Beauvais, the Caladrius is described as having two horns like a goat. This attribute is sometimes found in Manuscript illustrations of the Caladrius.

A similar amount of consistency is to be found in the meaning given to this bird. The list below is taken from Honoré de St. Victor:

1) Caladrius = Christ
2) Whiteness = freedom from sin
3) Thigh bone = propagation of His race
4) Interior of fe mur (marrow) = secret incarnation of Saviour.

He then gives a general explanation of the Caladrius' prognostication of life and death: that Christ turned away from Jews, looked at us, and took our sins away from us on the Cross.

This is basically the interpretation to be found in Philippe de Thaün; the only difference is that Philippe does not use the rather tenuous parallel of the thigh bone as the propagation of the race; instead, Philippe de Thaün interprets the bone marrow as the ointment of baptism, because of the Greek word Χρισμ, similar to the word Χριστ - for Christ. Gervaise gives the meaning of Christ to the Caladrius, and the interpretation of the fatally sick man as Jews and the man to recover as the Christians. These meanings are

found also in Guillaume Leclerc, who adds that the princes of the world went to Him and could find in Him no spot of sin: a combined quotation taken from John (1) and Peter (2) a quotation also found in both version of Pierre de Beauvais, whose account agrees with those found in Gervaise and Guillaume Leclerc.

'Family groupings' in this section can be determined only by whether a text contains the legend of the powers of the Caladrius' thigh bone; the division is as follows:

Those containing the attribute	Those omitting it
Honoré de Saint Victor	Guillaume Leclerc
Philippe de Thaün	Gervaise
Pierre de Beauvais	

Indeed, this shows some remarkable results; first, that Guillaume Leclerc does not resemble Honoré de Saint Victor to the extent he usually does, and secondly, is linked more closely than usual to the Bestiaire de Gervaise. The third point of interest is the similarity between Philippe de Thaün and Pierre de Beauvais.

The omission of the Caladrius from Isidore of Seville and Pliny shows that the account found in Honoré de Saint-Victor and the French Bestiaries is a Physiologus chapter, with little addition from Classical sources, except for the confusion with the Icterus, which may account for Philippe de Thaün's statement that the Caladrius should be found in the king's court.

Thus we see that, although no definite agreement has been reached about the natural identity of the Caladrius, there is great consistency in its treatment in the texts which contain the chapter. This is interesting, as throughout the Bestiaries, we have seen that fabulous or unusual animals, such as the Caladrius, the Unicorn and

---

(1) John: chap. 14 v. 30

(2) 1 Peter: chap. 2 v. 22

the Aptalon have been treated with greater similarity and consistency than the more common creatures. Possibly this could be explained by saying that 'real' animals are open to observation, and that each 'auctor' describes the animals according to his own observation, a logical comment until one looks at the rather far-fetched tales written about these animals, as in the legends attatched to the Partridge, the Hedgehog and the Doves.

A better explanation is found in the Medieval love of and reverence for, book learning: if an account in a book clashed with an account taken from natural observation, then the book was believed every time in preference to 'modern' observation. Thus well-known legend was more strongly and more clearly fixed in the minds of the Bestiary compilers than the more'dubious', oral accounts of nature in the raw.

Further, many of these legends were now very old, and, although they varied from telling to telling in minor details, the basic form and content had crystallised over the years and coherent narratives formed.

This point is further illustrated in the next section, the Phoenix.

12|,28

27) The Phoenix

This bird, perhaps the most famous of all legendary creatures, is not to be found in Pliny, but all other accounts show almost complete agreement in their treatment of the subject: the attributes and their meanings remain constant, with the only variations, minor in substance, occuring in detail. The attributes listed below are taken from Philippe de Thaün:

1) Beautiful, swan-like bird, found in Arabia.

2) Only one exists; it lives for 500 years; it is crimson in colour. (1)

3) a) When aging, gathers precious twigs, and builds a pyre, on top of which it sits, and waits for the sun to set the pyre alight. Phoenix itself is burnt to a powder; because of the fire and the aromatic twigs, the powder is sweet with warmth and moisture. On the third day, a new Phoenix comes to life.

b) After 500 years, Phoenix seeks rejuvenation; it rubs itself in balm and flies to ancient altar at Eliopolis, where a similar ritual to the one mentioned in 3) a) is performed, with priest officiating. In ashes, on first day is seen a small white worm; on the second, resembles a bird; third day, fully fledged Phoenix.

It is obvious that the second account of the death and rebirth of the Phoenix is merely a different version of the first; the details may differ, the legend of the Phoenix who dies and is regenerated from its own ashes is the basic structure of both versions.

Honoré de Saint Victor's account agrees substantially with the first version given by Philippe de Thaün; the inflaming of the pyre is done by the sun and not by a priest. Honoré de Saint Victor,

---

(1) The colour given is 'pourpre', a word open to many translations. Here, 'crimson' seems the most suitable choice.

like Philippe ascribes the habitat of the Phoenix to Arabia; he also gives its lifespan as 500 years, and says that there is only one of the species. Honoré de Saint Victor gives its colour as 'phoeniceum' - a reddish-purple, again in agreement with Philippe de Thaün.

Isidore of Seville's account is like that of Honoré de Saint Victor. It is interesting to note that neither of them mention the time that elapses between the death of the old Phoenix and the Emergeance of the new, fully-flegged one. Possibly Honoré de St. Victor thought the message was sufficently clear as it stood, and was not in need of the reinforcement found in later texts.

The account given in the Bestiaire de Gervaise seems to combine Versions I and II above; the details are like those of Version II in that the rebirth is given in the same three stages; however, it is the Phoenix that collects the twigs, to which Gervaise adds precious stones, and lights its pyre itself, by striking stones together, and fanning the flames with its wings. To make the parallelism even more appropriate, Gervaise gives the Phoenix a life-span of one year, and says that its death and rebirth takes place each March. According to Gervaise, the Phoenix lives in India; he gives no physical description.

Guillaume Leclerc's version resembles Version II above, except that the Phoenix, having anointed itself in spices, carries more to the altar; there, the priest has already prepared the pyre. However, the bird lights the fire itself, as in Gervaise, by striking its beak on the stone; the rebirth takes place as in Version II above. Guillaume Leclerc also mentions the sweet odour that is given off.

Pierre de Beauvais, however, agrees more with Version I, in that the rebirth takes place on the third day. Also, there is no

mention of the Phoenix going to Eliopolis, or that it is attended by a priest. The physical description given in Pierre de Beauvais does not agree with the one in Philippe de Thaün; Pierre de Beauvais' Phoenix is a magnificent specimen, crested like a peacock, red at the chest and neck, blue at the tail, but gleaming like gold. As in Gervaise and Guillaume Leclerc, the Phoenix lives in India.

All the French texts give the quotation from John 10 : 18 in an abbreviated form; the full quotation runs as follows:

> "Therefore doeth my Father love me, because I lay down my life, that I may take it again. (v. 17)
> No man taketh it from me; but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down; and I have power to take it again. (v. 18)"

Pierre de Beauvais, both versions, and Guillaume Leclerc both give the quotation twice, as though to underline its importance.

The meaning, which follows so naturally from the text in this case, is obviously constant; the only differences come in depth of detail and in layout. As all texts are so similar, a general interpretation here will suffice: the Phoenix represents Christ, who voluntarily died for us, and on the Third Day, came back from the dead. Guillaume Leclerc and Pierre de Beauvais, who emphasise the sweet odour given off as the Phoenix dies, give this odour the logical interpretation of the odour of sanctity. These two authors also point to the Jews' misinterpretation of this miracle, and emphasise that Christ was the one who came to fulfil the Law. Philippe de Thaün adds to the general interpretation the symbol of the Phoenix's two wings as the Old and New Testaments, much as he interpreted the Aptalon's two horns. (q.v.)

Honoré de Saint Victor, while agreeing with the general interpretation, gives meanings, taken, he says from Rabanus Maurus, (1)

---

(1) Honoré de St. Victor: Op. Cit. Ch.XLlX Col.48

to individual details, to give a more complex account that any of the French texts contain:

1) Phoenix = Resurrection of the just

2) Aromatic twigs = virtuous deeds, which serve to restore old strength after death.

3) Arabia = life in this world

4) Arabs = wordly men

5) Phoenix = 'unique one' according to the Arabs,
= the good man who is removed from love of this world

6) 500 years = 5 x 100 years; in moral literature, 100 years = perfection, 5 = the body, because of the five senses.

7) That there are various sorts of twigs = different virtues of the mind.

8) Pile of twigs = good man gathering round him all his good works.

9) Pile set alight by sun = good man inflames his mind with contemplation of the Holy Spirit

10) Death and rebirth = Belief in Resurrection

11) Resurrection = no greater miracle to believe than the resurrection. Words of scripture confirmed in a work of nature.

As one can see, the symbolism in Honoré de Saint Victor is not as immediate as that in the other French texts; instead of having the Phoenix as representative of a person, it is representative of an idea, the idea of resurrection, which leads him to 'prove' the scriptures by means of a natural phenomenon; this seems less appropriate than the simpler, but more effective, symbolism of the later texts; doubtless,

as this is a learned text, it is intended for academic clerics; the simpler versions would have more appeal to other audiences.

It would appear that the version 11 is the one found in the older Latin Physiologus, and it is, in fact, this version that is contained in all French Bestiaries except that of Pierre de Beauvais, who gives an Isidorean reading, making Pierre de Beauvais in this case, nearer Isidore de Seville than Guillaume Leclerc is. The curious version found in Honoré de Saint Victor is not found in the other Bestiary texts, and must derive, as he himself suggests, from sources like Rabanus Maurus.

The legend of the Phoenix has proved persistant, being current even in modern times, and, like the Unicorn, has survived in the form it takes in the Bestiaries.

28) The Pelican

All the texts include this bird although the description in Pliny is not very clear, and, as he gives the Pelican's habitat as the extreme North of Gaul, he could be confusing reports of storks, found in Alsace, with a different description, which likens the Pelican to a swan with a second stomach. However, apart from Pliny, the other texts show great consistency in their accounts, varying only in detail. The version below is taken from Philippe de Thaün:

1) Looks like a crane; lives in Egypt
2) Two sorts: one lives on fish from the Nile
   : otherlives on lizards, crocodiles, and serpents from the Isles of the Nile Delta
3) Name derived from the Greek on account of its long beak
4) When young peck at parent as it hatches them, and try to destroy its eyes, the parent pecks back in anger and kills them. On the Third Day, returns, finds them dead, and pecks own breast. As the blood falls on young they come back to life.

Pliny mentions none of this; Isidore of Seville gives only attribute 4), adding that the Pelican mourns over its young for three days, instead of leaving them. Isidore of Seville gives no physical description, but agrees with Philippe de Thaün about its habitat, the Nile region, from which, according to Isidore de Seville, it derives its name. Isidore de Seville does not mention two species.

Honoré de Saint Victor gives the habitat of the Pelican, the Nile regions, and links it to a quotation from Psalms:

"I am like a Pelican of the Wilderness: I am like an owl of the desert;" (1)

---

(1) Psalms: chap. 102 v. 6

Giving no derivation of the name, Honoré de St. Victor passes immediately to attribute 4), and, like Isidore of Seville, maintains that the Pelican mourns its young. Honoré de St. Victor then gives an attribute and meaning not found in any other text: that the Pelican digests quickly whatever it eats, as it has nothing in its stomach to retain food; its food, therefore does not weigh on it and it eats what merely suffices for its needs. This Honoré de Saint Victor interprets as symbolising the hermit who lives on little, eating to live, not living to eat.

Gervaise gives the quotation from Psalms, as the Latin rubric for this section in his text; he then goes straight into attribute 4), adding that the young die in pain. The rest of the version agrees with attribute 4) above. Guillaume Leclerc starts by saying that the Pelican is made in the image of God; then, like Philippe de Thaün, he specifies the two types of Pelican, one which lives in the desert. He does not quote from Psalms in this. Guillaume Leclerc's version of attribute 4) is as above, except that, by saying that the chicks are under-nourished, he gives them a reason for pecking the parent bird.

Pierre de Beauvais, after giving the Biblical quotation, passes straight to attribute 4), which is exactly as found in Philippe de Thaün.

The meaning shows a similar degree of consistency; Philippe de Thaün, whose list of meanings is given below, specifies the meaning of certain details, those instrumental to the symbol; Honoré de St. Victor, as it has been pointed out in other sections on birds, gives a very complicated and detailed interpretation, which will be given after those from the French Bestiaries.

1) Pelican = Christ

2) Young = men saved by Christ's blood

3) Young who peck out parents' eyes = those who deny the truth of God.

Gervaise gives another Biblical quotation in his meaning :

"Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth: for the Lord hath spoken, I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me." (1)

The suitablility of the quotation needs no comment. In Gervaise, the meaning is the same as given above, but Gervaise does not interpret individual detail; his is a general explanation, as is the version found in Guillaume Leclerc. Guillaume Leclerc changes the interpretation of the Pelican from Christ to God, which does, to our eyes, seem more logical as this reading means that the young automatically become the Jews, who turned away from God, who took his revenge in many ways, repented and sent his Son, symbolised by the Blood, to save the world. In his exposition of the meaning, Guillaume Leclerc gives the above quotation from Isaiah, then begins a long explanation, which covers the meaning above. Guillaume Leclerc's is by far the best interpretation, and this lends his text a dignity and simplicity missing in the other versions of this section.

For Pierre de Beauvais, the Pelican once more symbolises Christ, and, after the Isaiah quotation, the meaning he gives follows that found in Philippe de Thaün.

The meaning given in Honoré de St. Victor is, as has already been said, substantially that found in the other texts. However, the layout is once more a good example of early Symbolic structure, thought out in the Dark Ages, and continued into the true Medieval period:

1) Pelican = Christ

---

(1) Isaiah: chap. 1 v. 2

2) Egypt = world

3) Solitude = virgin birth

4) Killing young = converting unbelievers

5) Lamentation = mercy of Christ, as for Lazarus

6) Three days to come to life = because Christ Cleansed them with His own Blood.

7) Death of Pelican = Christ's own Passion.

8) (Honoré de St. Victor then goes on to add another interpretation parallel to the first.)

Egypt = darkness

9) Solitude = abstention from worldly pleasures.

10) Pelican killing young = good man, by own prayers, judges and condems bad thoughts and acts.

11) Lamentation = should weep over sins

12) Sprinkling young = deleting bad deeds with flesh and blood, that is, by good living.

In this double interpretation, we see the consummate art with which early Medieval symbolism was cemented together; not only does Honoré de St. Victor give meaning to the central attribute as the other writers do, but fills in the periphery details to enlarge the picture painted, and increase its universality. Not content, either, with producing one interpretation in which all the threads are drawn neatly together, Honoré de St. Victor produces a second, equally cohesive, which is linked intrinsically with the first, in that the second shows us man as a microcosm of the universe portrayed in the first. In the first, we see the works of God, symbolised by the Pelican, as they apply to the world as a whole; in the second, God's message to man as an individual, portrayed by the same symbol. This is fine symbolism; whether it is appropriate for general use is another question; I feel that it is not by accident that the later

Bestiaries simplify their accounts to give only the universal application of the symbol; the other, which necessitates contemplation and a knowledge of advanced theology is suited to clerical use, not to the instruction of lay congregations.

Thus we see that in this section, there is great consistency, both in the attributes given and the interpretation put on them. Only Guillaume Leclerc differs in any degree of importance from the usual interpretation. As this interpretation is not one found in the Physiologus, it would seem that this is a revision made by Guillaume Leclerc or one of his more immediate sources in order to improve the quality of the symbolism in his text. The other texts are too similar to permit of division into family groups; the differences between them come more, I feel, from individual style and technique than from different groups of manuscripts. Again, Honoré de St. Victor stands alone on this question of technique, a question that is even more immediate in the next section, on the Dove.

29) The Dove

This bird is not mentioned in Pliny or, surprisingly, Gervaise. The other French Bestiaries carry legends similar to each other, but which are different from the massive account in Honoré de St. Victor, and from the scanty version in Isidore of Seville. We shall first consider, therefore, the readings given in the French Bestiaries before moving on to the version found in Honoré de St. Victor. The list of attributes below is taken from Philippe de Thaün:

1) One particular dove makes all other doves fly to dove cote.
2) Different coloured doves have different interpretations (these will be listed below in Table 1)
3) Tree, found in India, shelters doves who seek its fruit. Safe as long as they stay in its branches. But dragon waiting below for doves that leave tree. Dragon, however, fears the tree and its shadow - keeps clear of both. If dove leaves the tree, it is killed.

As Isidore of Seville gives an account which vaguely resembles this, it may be considered here in its entirety. Isidore de Seville says that doves, or 'columbae' are so called because their necks can be of different colours, an embryonic form of attribute 2). Also, the dove, which used to be called 'Veneraria', lacks all bitterness; it tends its nests and looks after its mate. (This encroaches somewhat on the attributes given to the Turtledove in other texts, q.v.)

Guillaume Leclerc is the only other text to share Philippe de Thaün's description of the one dove which makes all the others fly to the cote. Both he and Pierre de Beauvais give separate meanings to different coloured doves, although these are often not the same colours for a particular meaning:

TABLE 1

Meaning	Colour in Philippe de Thaün	Colour in Guillaume Leclerc	Colour in Pierre de Beauvais
St. John Baptist	White	White	White
Elias	Grey-brown	Brass-coloured	Gold-brown
St. Stephen	-	Green (Stephanine)	Green (Stephanine)
3 Men in Fiery Furnace	Gold	-	Gold-brown
Johah	Blue	Ash-coloured	Pearl-grey
Christ's Passion	Purple	Red	Pink- Red
Prophets/Apostles	Multicoloured	Multicoloured	Grey-brown

Thus we see that, though the colours may change from Bestiary to Bestiary, the basic idea and the various persons symbolised remain fairly constant. Many of them are self-explanatory, but some of the colour choices are obscure when taken out of context. The red of the Passion and the gold of the Three men in the fiery furnace are obvious; the white of John Baptist becomes clearer when read in connection with the quote that always accompanies this meaning:

> "Wash you, make you clean ..... though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be white as snow.....".(1)

This quotation was usually accompanied by the following, specifically about John Baptist, to reinforce the symbol:

> "Verily I say unto you, Among them that are born of women there hath not risen a greater than John the Baptist...." (2)

Elias presents a problem, as there seems to be no connection between the colour and the meaning; Guillaume Leclerc seems to have realised this, in that he describes the Dove of Elias as 'air-coloured'; this however, does little to clarify the situation, as the colour itself is so vague. Jonah is better represented; blue is appropriate because of his adventures in the sea and the whale; ash-coloured,

(1) Isaiah: chap. 1 v. 16 and v. 18

(2) Matthew: chap. 11 v. 11

(and pearl-grey seems merely to be an adaptation of this) because Jonah is said to have preached in hair shirt and ashes.(1)

St. Stephen's colour is at first sight self-explanatory, in that the name of the colour derives from the name of the Saint; however this does not explain the allocation of the name "Stephanine" to the colour green. No attempt is made in the text to explain this; they all merely say that Stephen was the first Christian martyr, andtook his place at the right hand of God.

The allocation of the multicoloured dove to the prophets and apostles follows the internal logic of symbolism, in that the different colours represent the different teachings of the apostles.

The legend of the Doves, the Dragon and the Paradixion Tree also remains constant in these three texts; the only difference comes in the layout; Philippe de Thaün deals with this legend in the same section as the Doves which are of different colours; Guillaume Leclerc and Pierre de Beauvais deal with it under a separate chapter. Indeed, in Ms. 834, the heading of the former chapter, the one on the colours of doves carries a faulty heading, and thus almost becomes divorced from the Dove, which is mentioned only in the succeeding chapter; the faulty heading reads:

"De la Tanrine Coulor"(2)

an easy error, but one which serves to remove all mention of the Dove from the former section in Ms. 834.

Thus we see that the attributes listed at the beginning of this section remain valid for all three French texts that contain chapters on the Dove. There is no less consistency in the interpretations with which these attributes are endowed; this list, which is taken from Philippe de Thaün, is correct for the other two, with only

---

(1) Jonah: chap. 3 v. 5 - 6

(2) Pierre de Beauvais: Bestiaire Ms. 834 P. xxxix

minor changes, discussed below.

1) Tree = Christ

2) Dragon = Devil

3) Shadow = Holy Ghost

Philippe de Thaün then gives a general explanation of the rest of the attribute: if Christians leave the Church, they fall into the hands of the Devil and are damned. He ends with a prayer for God's help to remain onthe Church. Guillaume Leclerc expands slightly on the general meaning by giving the other side of the picture: that if we stay in the Church, which is interpreted as God by Guillaume Leclerc, the Devil cannot touch us. The reading in Pierre de Beauvais is exactly as found in Philippe de Thaün, except that Pierre de Beauvais gives Guillaume Leclerc's exhortation to stay in the shelter of the Church and God. Possibly Guillaume Leclerc's variant in making the Tree represent God not Christ, and having Christ as the fruit strengthens the symbol; however, the version in the other two is coherent and acceptable.

To give a full account of the chapter on the Dove in Honoré de St. Victor is not strictly necessary in a work on French Bestiaries; it will suffice, I feel, to list the main headings into which Honoré de St. Victor's expose is divided.

Honoré de St. Victor's "Dove" is headed by a somewhat obscure Latin Biblical quotation, which forms the theme of the first sub-divisions of his chapter. He then goes on to liken different coloured doves with different institutions of the Church. Although this part of Honoré de St. Victor's work shows some similarity to the French Bestiaries, the meanings of the different coloured doves are not those to be found in the later texts.

1) Gives three legends about doves:

a) Represents Noah - the story of the Dove and the Olive branch. (Genesis 8 : 11)

b) David - strong arm (Psalm 68 : 13)

c) Jesus, the saviour, bringing peace of mind (Matthew 3 : 17)

Meanings:

a) i) Dove returned to ark = mind called to rest from outside matters. Must fear dark mind - the beginning of damnation.

ii) Carrying olive branch = seeking mercy

iii) Carrying olive branch in mouth = begs for indulgence by prayer.

b) "though ye have lain among the pots, yet shall ye be as the wings of the dove covered with silver, and her feathers with yellow gold."

i) Gold on feathers = promise of wings of gold to those who do good works.

c) "This is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased"

i) Dove = Holy Spirit, because Christ was preparing to take on the sins of the world through His humility - the promise of effective grace.

(There then follows a series of sub-sections on the comparison of the Dove to certain ecclesiastic concepts. I give only the sub-section headings.)

1) The comparison of the Dove to the Church.

2) Comparison of the Dove to the faithful mind.

3) Comparison of the Dove to the Prelates.

4) Doves with red feathers compared to the Church.

2/2/143

5) Doves with silvery wings compared to preachers.

6) Doves with blue wings compared to contemplatives.

7) The Colours of the Doves correlated to Mulberries/black

8) The Yellow eyes and the Foresight of the Doves compared with the foresight of the Church.

9) The change of colour of a dead Dove's body compared with the turbulent Sea; the Flesh = Sea.

10) <u>Diverse properties of Doves</u>

a) For song - groans = willing self-chastisement, groans as it beats its breast.

b) Without bitterness = without bitterness of anger

c) Kisses = likes peace

d) Flies in flocks = loves agreement

e) Does not plunder to live = because it will not steal from neighbour.

f) Collects best grains = gathers best sayings

g) Does not live off carrion = impervious to the desires of the flesh

h) Nests in holes in the rock = puts its trust in Christ

i) Perches over water to avoid vulture = foresight, can see and escape from the Devil.

j) Brings up twin chicks = love of God and love of neighbour.

Faced with the foregoing account in one of their works of reference, it is no wonder that the French Bestiary authors or their immediate Latin sources, shunned such a lengthy and complicated version of the Dove, even if it does bear slight resemblance to Isidore of Seville, and continued, in a very pure state, the <u>Physiologus</u> tradition; the French accounts tally in almost every detail with the B version and the Y version. The account given by Honoré de St. Victor is also that of the '<u>Aviarium</u>'.

30) The Turtledove

Not found in Pliny, this bird remains constant in attributes and meaning in all the other texts. However as this section in Honoré de St. Victor is again a complicated exposé, we shall first consider the treatment of the Turtledove in the other five works. The list of attributes below is taken from Philippe de Thaün.

1) Simple, chaste and beautiful.

2) Loves mate so much that will never turn to another, even after the first one's death. Mourns him, and never sits on greenery again.

Very little of this is to be found in Isidore de Seville; he first of all gives the derivation the name, which is supposedly taken from its voice; he then adds that it is a modest bird that likes mountain valleys and deserts (which ties in with Philippe de Thaün's comment that it no longer sits on greenery), and that it keeps away from towns.

Gervaise's account keeps far more closely to Philippe de Thaün's; the only change he makes is to omit the part about the Turtledove mourning for its mate; the rest is identical.

Guillaume Leclerc also agrees with Philippe de Thaün, adding only that the bird and its mate are never separated; after mentioning that the "Widow" never again sits on greenery, Guillaume Leclerc goes on to give a homily, not only against adultery, but also against second marriage. Pierre de Beauvais emphasises the Bird's chastity; otherwise, his account is the same as that of Philippe de Thaün.

The meaning given to this bird shows a similar degree of consistency to that shown in the attributes above. The list of meanings is again taken from Philippe de Thaün.

1) Turtledove = Church

2) Christ = male

3) (general interpretation) Church weeps over Christ's death and has never left Him; that iswhy the Church holds out

the hope of salvation - the reward for loyalty.

4) Turtledove can also mean the Virgin Mary.

Guillaume Leclerc agrees totally with this reading, and adds an interesting and topical point when he compares this, the ideal state of the Church, to the state of the Church in England at this time, the time at which England was under the Interdict (1208 - 1213). Pierre de Beauvais repeats the general meaning, and adds the comment that as the turtledove flees human habitation, so we should flee the pleasures of this life. Gervaise changes the meaning from marital and post-marital fidelity to an exhortation to fidelity to the Holy Law and the need to forsake the world.

Thus we turn from the French Bestiaries which show such a great deal of similarity to Honoré de St. Victor, whose account, though similar in content and overall meaning, is very different from them in the treatment of the material. Again Honoré de St. Victor gives a number of sub-sections, comparing the Turtledove, in this case, with certain Church institutions. As in the section of the Dove, only the headings of these subdivisions will be given.

1) The Nest of the Turtledove in Palm Tree, compared with the Tree of the Cross, and the Hope of Salvation.

2) The Voice of the Turtledove compared to the Soul; our Land and other lands.

3) Turtledove of the Church and Faithful Souls compared: Christ as the Husband of the Turtledove.

(Here some of the attributes are those of the Bestiaries, but the symbol is set out in far more detail.)

At the end of his account, Honoré de St. Victor gives the Attributes given above as found in the Bestiaries; the meaning is exactly as laid out in Philippe de Thaün.

There is no possibility of "Family groupings" in this section, as the French Texts are so similar, and Honoré de St. Victor follows the Aviarium once more, the French texts follow the simpler version of

2/2/146.

the Physiologus, whereas Honoré de St. Victor gives a far more

complicated account.

12/147

31) The Hoopoe

Although this bird is omitted from Pliny, there is otherwise complete agreement over the main basic attribute; the differences that do occur are minor, and are found in the detail offered by the individual author. The list of attributes below is taken from Guillaume Leclerc:

1) Dirty bird with a dirty nest, but kind in nature.

2) When the parent birds have lost both their power of flight and of vision, the young birds preen the parents and warm them until they can see again, and regain the faculty of flight.

Isidore of Seville only gives the first attribute above, that of the dirty nest of the Hoopoe. However, Isidore de Seville then adds something found later in Philippe de Thaün, and Pierre de Beauvais, Long Version; that if someone smears himself with the blood ofthe Hoopoe, he will see demons in his sleep. The supposedly filthy nature of the Hoopoe is underlined by the derivation Isidore de Seville gives of the name: he says that the Hoopoe is so-called because it lives off human dung and feeds its young with it.

This derivation is also to be found in Honoré de St. Victor, who gives the actual Greek derivation: " ἔποψ ", literally "I make food". Honoré de St. Victor quotes a meaning for this from Rabanus Maurus, who likens the Hoopoe to the wicke d sins of men. However, after these unfavourable attributes, Honoré de St. Victor takes the passage from the Physiologus (and accredits the Physiologus with the attribute) given above; the only difference that Honoré de St. Victor makes is to omit any mention of the parents' sight being renewed.

This, too, is the reading given in Philippe de Thaün, who does not, however, say that the Hoopoe is a filthy bird; instead, he gives

2/2/148

a physical description, that the Hoopoe is crested like a peacock. This is followed by the peculiar attribute, mentioned above under the description of the account by Isidore of Seville, that a man smeared in Hoopoe blood will dream of demons.

Gervaise gives an account that varies in detail from those already considered. According to him, the Hoopoe is a beautiful bird; the care taken of the parents is confined, in Gervaise, to the young licking the parents' eyes in order to restore their sight; no mention is made of their loss of flight.

The physical description given in Pierre de Beauvais, Long Version, is more expansive than any found so far; he gives the size, the sort of feathers it has, as well as saying, like Philippe de Thaün, that it is crested like a peacock. Like Philippe de Thaün, too, in the Long Version, Pierre de Beauvais gives the legend attributed to Hoopoe blood. This is not mentioned in Pierre de Beauvais Ms. 834, who gives merely the bare attribute of the care shown by the young; he says that both flight and sight are restored;

Apart from the interpretation put on the Hoopoe by Rabanus Maurus and quoted by Honoré de Saint Victor, all the texts, including Honoré de St. Victor's, are in complete agreement over the symbolic meaning of the Hoopoe; no-one specifies meanings for individual attributes; all give the general meaning of the duty one owes to one's parents, and indeed say that if such loving care can be shown by a bird that lacks the faculty of thought, how much better should we treat our parents.

It is difficult to give "family groupings", but we can again see, in Honoré de St. Victor, the blending of two traditions; the interpretation given by the Church Fathers, represented by Rabanus Maurus, in this case, and the reading given in the Physiologus. It is interesting to note, however, that while anadverse and a

2/2/149

favourable attribute can be found together in Honoré de St. Victor, without his finding anything incongruous or detrimental to his symbol, the later Bestiaries, with the possible exception of Guillaume Leclerc, suppress the adverse description of the Hoopoe as a dirty bird, doubtless to enhance their symbol. Indeed, the only survival from the third tradition seen here, the one prepresented by Isidore of Seville, is that curious faculty of Hoopoe Blood, that of causing nightmares.

Thus we see that there are, in fact, three traditions of legends on the Hoopoe; the "Classical", represented in Isidore de Seville, who gives the derivation and the blood-indiced nightmares; the Early Church tradition, found in Honoré de St. Victor, along with the derivation, taken from the Classical Tradition, and the basic attribute of care and attention taken from the Physiologus. And it is the Physiologus tradition that survives, no doubt because of the clear, simple and touching nature of the basic attribute, and the obvious suitability of the meaning given to it.

32) The Ibis

All the texts, except those of Isidore of Seville and Pliny, agree on the basic attribute, and, with minor variations, on the meaning.

The reading given in Pliny is as follows: the Ibis lives in Egypt; and shares with the Hippopotamus the ability to administer medicine to itself. it uses its beak, which is long and curved, to purge itself by extracting food from its rectum.

The account given in Isidore of Seville bears some resemblance to the above version; for him also, the Ibis lived in Egypt, and used its beak to purge itself, but here with the slight difference that it sends water up its rectum. Isidore de Seville adds that the Ibis lives off serpent's eggs, which it carries to its nest.

The readings in the remaining texts follow the pattern given below; (The example is taken from Honoré de Saint Victor).

1) Most filthy of all birds.

2) Lives off dead and dying bodies; therefore stays by the water's edge day and night looking for dead fish. It dare not enter the water because it cannot swim, nor does it try to learn.

The same version is found in Philippe de Thaün, with the one addition that tells us that the Ibis comes from Egypt; Gervaise, Guillaume Leclerc and Pierre de Beauvais follow Honoré de St. Victor in omitting this. Their accounts differ in no way from that found in Honoré de St. Victor.

The meaning given to the Ibis shows a great deal of consistency also. Honoré de St. Victor and Philippe de Thaün again itemise their interpretations; the others give a general explanation; but the import is basically the same. (The meanings given below are taken from Philippe de Thaün).

2/2/151

1) General exhortation: the man of God must learn to go into deep water, that is:

2) Water = knowledge

3) Sea = a) Scriptures b) World.

4) (Philippe de Thaün gives a general allegory of scriptures and knowledge:)

a) Knowledge = meat that every Holy soul demands

b) Scriptures = food for those who want to profit from it and understand the allegory

5) (A final explanation): if man does not understand the allegory, he lives, like the Ibis, off dead flesh; he will have merely the joys of the flesh, the carnal vices, which will condemn him to Hell.

6) Philippe de Thaün enumerates both the Cardinal vices and the Cardinal virtues, as taken from Galatians. (1)

7) Man should fly above, that is, reject, the world.

8) Man has two wings to fly with: his hands (to lift in prayer): as birds fly with their wings spread, and ships sail with sails hoisted.

9) Parable of Moses and Amaleth (2); when Moses raised his hands to God, the Jews conquered; when he lowered them, they were beaten.

10) Ibis also represents a "losengier", because purges himself by putting water into its rectum with its beak. (Here Philippe de Thaün is following the version given by Isidore of Seville.)

Every one of these meanings and exhortations, except the last one, is to be found, almost word for word, in Honoré de Saint Victor; the interpretation givenby Gervaise is simpler, but he expands the comparison of man to a ship:

---

(1) Galatians: chap. 5 v. 19

(2) Exodus: chap. 17 v. 11

1) Man = ship

2) Virtue = yardarm

3) Sailor = soul

4) Sea = world

5) Man must learn to swim, because the Devil makes the ship go astray and tugs against the sailor.

6) Ends with homily on belief, prayer, mercy and redemption.

In a somewhat abbreviated version, Guillaume Leclerc gives the interpretation that Philippe de Thaün gives, with the exclusion of the final attribute and meaning.

Pierre de Beauvais, too, gives an identical account, emphasising, as do Honoré de St. Victor, and Philippe de Thaün, the strength of the sign of the Cross.

Two points arise from this section; firstly that a bird that was a God in ancient Egypt has, by another religion, become despoiled and dishonoured; one wonders how strong the propaganda motive is for this degradation.

Secondly, that all the French Bestiaries head this section: "Ibex" confusing it with the beast, mentioned in Honoré de St. Victor, Pliny and Isidore of Seville, which bears no resemblance, visual or symbolic to the Ibis; the error is purely aural; however, it seems strange that the confusion should occur in all four texts; possibly this could point to a single source, both of the error and, ultimately, of the different versions.

12/153

33) The Coot

Not mentioned in Pliny, or Gervaise, this bird is treated with a great amount of consistency in all the other texts, with the exception of Isidore of Seville. The list of attributes given below is taken from Philippe de Thaün.

1) The Coot is wise, clever and humble; it eats 'honest' food and never touches carrion.

2) Likes to stay where there is peace and food

3) Makes its nest in the water or on a rock.

4) When tempest comes, dives into the sea; the more it is tormented, the more joyful it is.

Isidore of Seville says that the Coot is so-called because its flesh is good to eat and tastes like a hare's, he derives this from: φυλικα , which he interprets as 'pleasant'. Isidore de Seville then omits the fact, which is very important in the rest of the texts, that the Coot never touches carrion, and passes on to attribute 4), laying less stress on the increase of the Coot's enjoyment in proportion to the increasing severity of the tempest.

Honoré de St. Victor agrees totally with Philippe de Thaün; the only difference being a slight extra emphasis on the Coot's partiality to staying in one place.

Guillaume Leclerc also agrees completely with Philippe de Thaün; his one addition has faintly Isidorean overtones, when Guillaume Leclerc writes that the Coot is tasty:

"Et sachez, que la lettre dit,
Que sa char est de tel manere
come d'un levre de bruere." (1)

The account given by Pierre de Beauvais differs slightly from the others in that he gives a physical description of the Coot: that

---

(1) Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire Ll. 1984 - 1986

2/2/154

it has the feet of an eagle, a tail and neck like a falcon, its head and beak are like an eagle's, its body a peacock's, and it is spotted with different colours. Pierre de Beauvais omits, however, the Isidorean trait of the Coot's predilections for tempests.

The meaning of the main attribute, the Coot's habit of staying in one place and never eating carrion, remains constant in all the texts; the interpretation given below is that by Philippe de Thaün:

1) Coot = Holy men, who live honestly and do not eat meat, to chastise the body.

2) Hide themselves away to pray in solitude.

3) Nest = Hermit's cave

4) Water = wisdom via God

5) Rock = stability.

In Honoré de Saint Victor, the interpretation is basically the same, except that he places more emphasis on the stability of the Coot as opposed to the changeable nature of heresy. Honoré de St. Victor gives a second meaning, too, to this predilection for staying in one place: it means that the Coot/Holy man will stay in the peace of the Holy Catholic Church until the end, and be fed there by the Word of God; Honoré de St. Victor then gives the quotation on this subject from Matthew 4 : 4.

Guillaume Leclerc again gives an interpretation similar to that of Philippe de Thaün, emphasizing the Holy Man's chastisement of the flesh, and adding a meaning to the extra attribute he put in about the flavour of the Coot: Guillaume Leclerc makes this indicate the sweetness of the Coot's/Holy man's soul because of the goodness of his life. Guillaume Leclerc does not, however, give individual interpretations for the nest, the water and the rock. This is also

7/2/75 3

true of Pierre de Beauvais, who otherwise agrees with Philippe de Thaün, quoting, like Honoré de St. Victor, from Matthew 4 : 4.

Again in this section, we see the blending of two legends, the Physiologus attribute of the Coot's staying in one place and not eating carrion, with the Isidorean contribution, that the bird loves a tempest; an attribute which then is considered part of the account, until Pierre de Beauvais omits it.

With such similarity between texts, there is little point in trying to determine family groups, except to say that once more, Guillaume Leclerc resembles Isidore of Seville more closely than any of the other French Bestiaries: these two alone mention that the flesh of the Coot tastes like that of a hare. Honoré de St. Victor and Philippe de Thaün, too, resemble each other closely; Pierre de Beauvais seems to stand out because of his detailed physical description of the Coot; even so, this is to be found only in the Long Version of his Bestiary; Ms. 834 is the same as the account given in Philippe de Thaün.

/21 156

34) The Owl

Omitted from Gervaise and Pliny, this bird is described in the rest of the texts with a great deal of consistency, despite the flimsiness of the main attribute, which is one of the vaguest and most general found in the Bestiaries; its persistency may be partly accounted for by its accuracy from the point of view of nature. The reading given below is taken from Philippe de Thaün:

1) The Owl likes to fly at night because it does not like the light.
2) It lives on filth, and sings at evil.
3) Called in French "Fresaie" (effraie - barn owl or screech owl).

To reinforce the rather weak main attribute, Philippe de Thaün, and indeed every other author except Isidore of Seville and Honoré de ST. Victor, quotes from Psalms:

> "I am like a pelican of the wilderness: I am like an owl of the desert." (1)

Honoré de St. Victor gives the same attributes, except for the French name for the bird, and adds that the owl lives in ruins, possibly a reference to Isaiah:

> "But the wild beasts of the desert shall lie there; and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures; and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there.
> And the wild beasts of the islands shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces: and her time is near to come, and her days shall not be prolonged." (2)

although Honoré de St. Victor does not actually mention this passage.

Guillaume Leclerc does not give attribute 2) above, but the rest

---

(1) Psalms: chap. 106 v. 6
(2) Isaiah: chap. 13 v. 21 - 22

2/2/157

of his version tallies with that of Philippe de Thaün; Pierre de Beauvais gives only the Biblical quotation, with the first attribute; he then adds that all birds despise the Owl as Christians despise Jews.

The meaning given to this bird shows a fair degree of similarity in the French Bestiaries; however, the interpretation given by Honoré de St. Victor is very different; it will be considered after that of the French Bestiaries. The list of meanings below is taken from Philippe de Thaün:

1) Nicticorax = Jews

2) God put them in the light to save them, but the Jews did not want to accept Him, or hear His commandments; they said "We have no king butCaesar" (1) God turned to us, and rescued us from Devil by His own death.

3) i) Filth = Jew's way of life

ii) Wrong = just as owl does not fly correctly

iii) Sings = cries of pain

4) Jews were God's sons, but they went away at the Crucifixion; we approached God then.

The interpretation given in Guillaume Leclerc matches the one above, except for his omission of meaning 3); to meaning 2), Guillaume Leclerc adds that 'before Christ's Coming, we were in the shadow of death', and that 'Christ is the light of the world'. Pierre de Beauvais gives only meaning 2), and meaning 1), only not with specific meanings given to individual details.

The meaning found in Honoré de St. Victor is as follows:

1) Owl = Christ

2) Ruins = because Christ was born among the Jews

3) Light = vain glories:

"Yea, the light of the wicked shall be put out, and the spark of his fire will not shine" (2)

---

(1) John chap. 19 v. 15 (2) Job: chap. 18 v. 5

2/2/15

4) But Christ is the light of the world, therefore light flees from light; that is, truth flees from the glories of the world.

5) Searching for food at night = seeking sinners and converting them to the Church.

6) Fleeing light = does not seek praises and glory.

As it can be seen, this version is completely the opposite to that given in the Bestiaries; it is a logical exposé of a symbol, once the basic Christ/Owl allegory has been accepted, which is difficult, in view of the unpleasant nature of the Owl as found in the Biblical quotations given. However, it is a complicated and scholarly reading; the one found in the French Bestiaries is much clearer and is more readily assimilated. It is interesting to note that, because of the different interpretation given to the Owl by Honoré de St. Victor, his text is, in this section, free from the marked anti-Semitism of the later texts. Honoré de St. Victor's description is consistent with the one found in the Aviarium, whereas the Bestiary versions are derived from those of the Physiologus. In this case, there has been no blending of the two traditions, as happened elsewhere, probably because the two interpretations are so totally opposite.

35) The Burning Stones

This chapter is not to be found in Pliny, Isidore of Seville or Gervaise, but in all the other texts, there is complete agreement as to location, basic attribute and meaning; the reading below is taken from Honoré de St. Victor:

1) Found in an Eastern mountain.

2) Derivation from Greek 'chirobolos'- 'a handful'.

3) Said to be male and female; if separate, do not burn; if brought together, burst into flames immediately, and burn everything around them.

Apart from the omission of the derivation, the French Bestiaries do not differ from the above version; Pierre de Beauvais gives the Greek derivation in his Long Version; in Ms. 834, he simply says that the Stones are called 'Tirobolen' in Greek.

The meaning given to this curious phenomenon also remains constant, varying only in the degree of anti-feminism contained in an individual version. The meaning as given below is the one found in Philippe de Thaün:

1) Stones = men and women

2) When put close together, burn with love; when apart, no temptation.

3) This is why monks and nuns should be separated.

4) Devil overcomes men by means of women, because they are more crafty. Women are the gateway to the Devil. Adam, Solomon, David and Samson were all deceived by women.

This strictly anti-feminist view was also adopted by Guillaume Leclerc; the only difference between the two texts in this case is that Guillaume Leclerc names Adam, Joseph and Samson; of these, he writes, Joseph resisted.

The readings in Honoré de St. Victor and Pierre de Beauvais are

rather less biased against women; not only do they mention the temptation of the above men, they both add that Eve and Susannah, too, were tempted; the one overcoming temptation, the other succumbing. However, the final exhortation given by Honoré de St. Victor is once more antifeminist in its content; that men should not have confidence in chastity alone, but they should arm their hearts with divine teaching, so that the false love of woman does not weaken them, and the works of the Devil will not inflame them. Even marital love is condemned; men who lead a monastic life should remove themselves a long way from their wives, or the good Christ did for them would be destroyed.

Pierre de Beauvais is slightly less harsh on women; he at least admits that women are chaste, and therefore tempted, not temptors, themselves. In Pierre de Beauvais' Bestiaire, lust is personified by an angel of the devil, who is always waging war against the just.

The only 'family grouping' to be found in this is, in fact, this split over the degree of anti-feminism; in this, Philippe de Thaün and Guillaume Leclerc resemble each other, as do Honoré de St. Victor and Pierre de Beauvais.

The omission of this section from Pliny and Isidore of Seville indicate that this legend is derived purely from the Physiologus, and contains no trace of a different tradition.

2/2/161

36) The Diamond

This section is not to be found in Gervaise, and Pliny mentions none of the attributes given in the French Bestiaries to this stone, except for its power to ward off evil. This chapter is in fact a composite one, combining attributes given formerly to the Diamond on the one hand, and the Magnet on the other. These two chapters were separate in the Greek Physiologus and in Versio Y, where in Versio A, B and all those following, the section on the Magnet has been absorbed into that of the Diamond.

The list of attributes below is taken from Honoré de St. Victor, as owing to a lacuna, the reading in Philippe de Thaün is corrupt at the beginning.

1) Found, according to Phisiologus, in an Eastern mountain.
2) Must be looked for at night, because it does not shine during the day - its light is obscured by that of the sun.
3) Cannot be broken up by metal, fire, or any other stone; softened by goat's blood.
4) Description: a small, rust-coloured stone with the splendour of crystal.
5) Strength gives it its Greek name, "Adamas".
6) Magnetic properties - it draws other stones towards it.
7) Removes the poison of amber and is valuable against the evil arts.

Obviously, the versions found in the French Bestiaries are not as detailed as this, and do not contain some of the less important details, but the basic properties of the Diamond are found unchanged.

Philippe de Thaün adds to the account above a reading later

found in the other Bestiaries, that of the prophet standing on a wall of diamond, holding a diamond, and watched by the crowd: this quotation is taken from the Septuaginta version of Amos: 7 : 7. Philippe de Thaün also gives a rather curious reference to Daniel, who saw a man in a unique linen robe, who came out from the ground. The relevance of this passage to the whole is possibly obscured by the omission or obliteration of certain words, which makes an accurate reconstruction impossible; without these missing parts, the reference seems alien to the rest of the section. Philippe de Thaün omits any mention of its size or its colour; and, like Guillaume Leclerc, says that it is ox-blood, not goat's blood, that disolves the Diamond. Pierre de Beauvais does not describe how to dissolve a diamond.

The reading given in Guillaume Leclerc is closer to that found in Honoré de saint Victor than is the version given in Philippe de Thaün; the physical description of the Diamond, as found in Guillaume Leclerc, agrees entirely with that given by Honoré de St. Victor, and Guillaume Leclerc also mentions the cabalistic powers of the Diamond; again, these are exactly as they are in Honoré de St. Victor.

The meaning given to this stone also shows a fair degree of consistency; the main difference, as usual, is one of style of layout, not of content. The list below is taken from Honoré de St. Victor:

1) Diamond = Christ (we, the created, cannot prevail against the strength of the created;)

2) Little diamonds = Saints; therefore

3) Mountain = Christ

4) Does not shine during the day = Christ put aside His celestial virtues at the Incarnation.

5) Shines in darkness = Christ is the Light of the world; came to the 'race that sat in darkness and in the Shadow of Death' (Isaiah 9 : 2).

6) Iron = Death (trampled it underfoot - 1 Cor. XV, 25 - 27).

7) Fire = Devil who sets fire to all lands and states (2 Thessalonians 2 : 9).

8) Other stone = no penitent or any animal can prevail against Him.

Again, the interpretations in the Bestiaries are not given in such detail, and it is the attribute of the prophet on the wall of Diamond which receives most attention.

Philippe de Thaün alone puts an interpretation on the fact that ox-blood dissolves Diamond; this runs as follows: the ox is a dirty beast, its blood corruption; corruption and sin pull us apart; in this instance, the Diamond is representative of the Christian.

The mountain giving off light is given a similar meaning to the one in Honoré de St. Victor; here, this is the Light of God, shining in our darkness. The interpretation of the man standing on thewall of diamond is, as described in Philippe de Thaün, given below:

1) Man = Christ

2) Wall = victory

3) People = imminent battle

4) Standing on wall = stability

5) Holding diamond = holding God in the form of a diamond, because nothing can destroy Him.

Guillaume Leclerc agrees exactly with the reading given in Philippe de Thaün; Pierre de Beauvais changes some of the meanings given to individual detail, but the effect remains the same. The changes are: the Wall = Jerusalem; the holding of the Diamond = the Glory of God; the wall is given a second menaing - that of Unity.

To the Diamond's failure to shine in the day, Pierre de Beauvais

21216a

gives the meaning that the angels did not know Christ, when He ascended to Heaven.

Thus we see that the section on the Diamond is a curious one, in that, although all the versions resemble each other to a marked degree, no two Bestiaries carry exactly the same reading: for example, Guillaume Leclerc, who follows Honoré de St. Victor very closely in the attributes given, follows Philippe de Thaün in the meaning, which is quite different from the interpretation in Honoré de St. Victor. Again, no two versions are alike, because all of them, Guillaume Leclerc and Pierre de Beauvais included, give a mass of individual detail, and often, meanings for each one; and it is almost inevitable that in such a situation, there should be less consistency than in chapters whose meanings are given in a broad sweep, interpretation only the main attributes, and leaving details to one side.

Thus we come to the end of the correlation in detail of the descriptions and interpretations given to the thirty-six nuclear animals; the next part of the chapter attempts to build from these rather scattered facts a picture of the consistency of the symbol, and to see which of the categories of animals, real-exotic, real-everyday and imaginary, shows the greatest degree of consistency.

CHAPTER THREE - CONCLUSIONS

As we have seen in Part 11, Chapter 2, the physical descriptions and the symbolic interpretations given to the animals and birds contained in the Bestiaries are sufficiently similar, comparing one Bestiary with another, to suppose that some system of symbolic 'shorthand', for use in clerical circles, could be based upon them. The general descriptions and wider implications of most animals do not change; any differences are usually minor, and, in many cases, are a question of a greater wealth of detail, included gratuitiously or given symbolic interpretation.

However, sufficient disparity of detail and chapter order exists to indicate a merging of several traditions, the two major sources being Classical tradition and the Physiologus tradition itself, which were augmented by consecutive writers from various quarters, with the result that the immediate source from which each of the four individual French Bestiary writers was working was a blend of the two principal sources, with addenda which were largely the result of an earlier adaptor's personal interests or knowledge.

Thus the influence of the older works by Pliny, Isidore of Seville and Honoré de St. Victor is greater or lesser in a French Bestiary in proportion to the knowledge the French author or his immediate sources had of these Latin writers. For example, we see far more of Honoré de Saint Victor's influence in the Bestiaire of Philippe de Thaün than we do, generally speaking, in the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais, in either version. Conversely, the thirteenth century writers tend to show more knowledge of Pliny than does

Philippe de Thaün. The reason for this is probably the obvious, physical one: the thirteenth century writers or their sources were profiting from the Twelfth Century 'Renaissance', during which, as a result of the Crusades, Latin and Greek texts became more widely available in the West, as many had been preserved in Arab versions while lost to Dark Ages Europe. These later writers would therefore be better aquainted with the works of Pliny than Philippe de Thaün had been, while Philippe de Thaün may have had a more extensive knowledge than them of the works of Honoré de Saint-Victor.

Who is to deny, further, that, before their respective source text reached our French writers, some secularly-minded clerk engaged on producing a new copy of a Latin Bestiary might not have preferred the more straight-forward and seemingly factual accounts in Pliny, now more widely known because of the Twelfth Century Renaissance, to the heavy moralisation of Honoré de Saint-Victor? Or again, that, immediately after copying that 'best-seller' by Isidore of Seville, Etymologiae, a clerk decided to incorporate into his Latin Bestiary some 'facts' mentioned by Isidore of Seville, but omitted from the Bestiary he was copying? This would doubtless account for several details included, but upon which no moralising interpretation was based.

Further, we must bear in mind that the Medieval concept of authorship and of a work were not the same as our own. We would never think of adding into a text notes of our own invention; the mere printed form of the book, let alone the laws governing copyright, precludes this; but to the Medieval mind, a book was a growing, living thing, open to additions and corrections, amplifications and retractions, from anyone who felt they had something to

contribute to the universal store of knowledge. Because this was an essential concept in the Middle ages: that no one person could contain the sum of human knowledge; the Middle Ages authors were very conscious of building upon the foundations of the Classical World and its knowledge; this was especially true after the new interest in Classical literature and philosophy in the twelfth century. It is possible that any cleric, transcribing a copy of a Bestiary, would feel quite justified in adding to the work in front of him knowledge gleaned from a work he had previously copied.

In addition a copyist would feel no more need to acknowledge the work as his than would many an original author: hence the number of anonymous works. The act of creating a work was not seen as a personal achievement, certainly in clerical circles; it was regarded as another contribution to the store of human wisdom, and, as we have already seen, knowledge was not personal but open to anyone.

However, while it was possible for most copyists to include additions from memory, which would be rather garbled, it was not always possible for them to consult the previously-copied manuscript in order to verify a hazy memory; monastic scriptoria were strictly ordered and governed. No such restrictions would apply, on the other hand, to a copyist working on a manuscript in private, lay hands. Thus it might be that those B-Is versions which contain very accurate renderings of the Isidorean text might have been produced in a less closely-supervised or in a private residence, while the inaccurate ones are the product of strict supervision in the scriptorium.

We must now consider more closely the textual relationships indicated in Section Two, Chapter Two, to establish whether in fact one French author does show consistently stronger influence from one Latin author than from another, or whether any such rapprochement is merely fortuitous.

A work's similarity to an earlier one can be occasioned by two factors: style and content. Here, we will mainly be concerned with content, but, as there are two texts in which the style of symbolic interpretation is very similar, it is only right that this should briefly be considered.

At first sight, the works of Philippe de Thaün (Le Bestiaire) and of Honoré de Saint-Victor (De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus) seem very similar. Only these two works attempt to give a symbolic meaning to small details; or try to increase the value and weight of a symbol by interpreting all the attributes given in the belief that thus the total is greater than the sum of its constituent parts. Both Philippe de Thaün and Honoré de Saint Victor have a very learned approach to their work: it is obviously designed for detailed clerical study, for constant reference, and as an exercise in symbolism as a vehicle for the extension of religious knowledge. In comparison with Philippe de Thaün and Honoré de Saint-Victor, it seems that the later French Bestiaries were designed for a wider and less specialist public.

However, this apparent similarity is only superficial: although on many occasions the content of the individual sections is

broadly similar, frequently the details given by Philippe de Thaün, although as many in number as those in Honoré de Saint Victor, are completely different. For example, in the section on the Stag c.f. Part II, Section 2), Philippe de Thaün gives a version of the legend which is adopted by Guillaume Leclerc and Pierre de Beauvais, while the version in Honoré de Saint Victor is followed by Gervaise alone and only then in a very abbreviated version.

In contrast, in the section on the Doves, in which Honoré de Saint-Victor surpasses himself and presents us with a very long and detailed chapter, Philippe diverges again, but towards a much simpler version. However, this in its turn, is not followed by the other French Bestiaries, and they give a reading which is very much in line with the one found in the various Physiologus texts.

As a final example of the ways in which two so apparently similar texts diverge, let us consider the Serra (the flying aquatic monster). In this case, the description of the beast as found in Philippe de Thaün is very little different from the one in Honoré de Saint Victor, yet the moral interpretation put on it by Philippe de Thaün differs radically from the one found in Honoré de Saint-Victor and, incidentally, in the later French Bestiaries.

It seems, therefore, that the version of the Physiologus which Philippe de Thaün was following, and which has not yet been satisfactorily identified, is very different in detail from De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus, Book II, and, despite a general similarity of style, shows only the same degree of similarity of content to it as do other Bestiary texts.

Indeed, it seems that the Bestiary which most completely blends the traditions of the Physiologus texts and the Latin tradition as known from the works of Isidore of Seville and Honoré de Saint Victor is that of Guillaume Leclerc.

Having said that, we should state the criteria for such a statement.

It has already been seen that the Bestiaries are very similar in content to one another, and very often, to the works of Honoré de Saint Victor and of Isidore of Seville. So the determining factor in such a case is not the general description or the broad interpretation, but the finding of a detail here or there which indicates its descent or closer proximity to one Latin, non-Physiologus text than to another. While this distinction may seem over nice, it is not possible to choose more important factors on which to base such judgement as the texts are so similar to each other.

However, to take one example in which the similarity between Guillaume Leclerc's Bestiary and the Latin texts is very marked, let us consider the treatment of the Wild Ass (Onager) in the various texts.

This animal is the subject of two separate legends, one concerning its ability to distinguish and mark the Vernal Equinox, an attribute mentioned in all the French Bestiaries and in the De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus by Honoré de Saint-Victor. The second, that of the jealous father castrating his male offspring, is found in the Latin texts; Isidore of Seville's Etymologiae, Pliny's Historia Naturae, and De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus. It is also contained in the Bestiaire de Guillaume Leclerc, alone among the French Bestiaries.

This means that, of all the seven texts, only two contain both sets of attributes: De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus and the Bestiaire de Guillaume Leclerc.

Let us also consider the various ways in which the subject of the Dragon is treated.

The Greek Physiologus devotes no individual section to this beast; Pliny mentions only the enmity between the Dragon and the Elephant; he is silent over the relationship between the Panther and the Dragon; after that, Isidore of Seville contains a separate section on the Dragon, and Honoré de Saint-Victor gives an autonomous description of it, although this is to be found attatched to the section on the Panther. When we come to the French Bestiaries, Gervaise and Philippe de Thaün give no separate description of this beast; of Pierre de Beauvais and Guillaume Leclerc, the latter gives a description at once the most comprehensive and the closest in content and layout to the one found in De Bestiis et Alliis Rebus.

In contrast, the section on the Goat is slightly different in Guillaume Leclerc from the version in De Bestiis et Alliis Rebus; indeed, in many respects, Philippe de Thaün's version is nearer to Honoré de Saint-Victor's; however, as if to prove that nothing is as simple as we would like, only two texts contain one particular attribute: the Bestiaire de Guillaume Leclerc and the De Bestiis et Alliis Rebus both mention churches in mountain valleys and liken them to holy men. This is but one instance in which the two works resemble each other in minor details.

Finally, the treatment of the section on the monkey merits

attention. The French texts of Philippe de Thaün, Gervaise and Pierre de Beauvais mention only one type of monkey; that is, they do not try to differentiate between the various species of monkey; Philippe de Thaün's description and that given by Pierre de Beauvais resemble each other closely, especially in their expression of the main attribute.

However, none of these texts in any way follows the Latin tradition of differentiating between five or six species of monkey and giving a physical description of each, as well as giving the basic attribute: that of the female monkey carrying its favourite child in front and the less favoured on its back, and ultimately being left with its least favourite.

There is only one French Bestiary which follows this layout: Le Bestiaire de Guillaume Leclerc. This section gives the ultimate example of the way in which this Bestiary combines the two traditions: it contains the basic attribute, and adds to this the form as found in the Latin texts. However, even this poses problems of derivation, as Guillaume Leclerc was either working from a defective copy of a Latin source, or from a rather hazy memory: although he attempts to distinguish between the various species, he has not sufficient information to do this completely, and in fact can only produce three sorts of monkey. He also tries to give the Romance form of the Latin names, again, without too much success. However, Guillaume Leclerc also gives minor attributes contained in the French Bestiaries and not in the Latin texts: he mentions their fondness for playing tricks and their powers of imitation.

Despite the generally stronger resemblance between the Bestiaire de Guillaume Leclerc and the earlier Latin works on natural history, there is one instance in which the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais is so similar to the Naturalis Historia by Pliny that it invites comment. This is in the section on the Unicorn, and only Pierre de Beauvais, among the French Bestiary writers, and Pliny among the Latins give a detailed description. Furthermore, these two descriptions are so similar that they differ in only one attribute; the pitch of the animal's voice.

Yet the rest of the Bestiary by Pierre de Beauvais show no more similarity to the work of Pliny than do the other French Bestiaries, so it is unlikely that Pierre de Beauvais had before his eyes a newly rediscovered copy of Pliny's work. It is more likely that he was supplementing his Physiologus-type source text from memory, having recently read an account of Pliny's description from a different source. If he had had the complete Naturalis Historia with him as he worked on the Bestiary, I feel sure we would have had more instances in which these two texts alone were in harmony.

Apart from the Bestiaire de Guillaume Leclerc, it seems that the other Bestiaries resemble the Latin texts to a very similar degree; basically, they discuss the same animals as the Greek Physiologus texts, but the impact of the later works, especially Isidore de Seville's Etymologiae is considerable. (1)

---

(1) This is especially true of those manuscripts of the Second Family to which Ms. McCulloch refers by the appellation 'B-Is' (Op. Cit. Chapter 2 passim)

The only one to differ to any great extent is the Bestiaire de Gervaise which, as we have already seen earlier in this Section, has departed from the tradition quite considerably by the reduced number of beasts it contains.

However, the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais in its Long Version contains a fair amount of non-Bestiary/Physiologus material, much of which cannot even be traced; yet where he does discuss Bestiary animals, his descriptions and attributes are very much those contained in the B-Is versions of the Bestiary. (1)

So far, we have only discussed the influence of the De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus on the Physiologus tradition; it is equally possible that the process was reversed early on in the creation of the De Bestiis, and that a great deal of the material found in both the De Bestiis and the Physiologus texts came originally from the Physiologus or indeed from the Latin Bestiaries.

The progression from the early Greek Physiologus texts to the latest of the French Bestiaries is one that is complex in the extreme. There is no question of one text leading directly to another; these processes of augmentation and clarification went on at every stage of the Bestiary's development with the result that no two manuscripts of the same Bestiary, let alone two Bestiaries, were identical; the changes were fortuitous, dependant on where, when and often after which other manuscripts these Bestiaries were copied; it is fairly safe to say that the Bestiaries of Guillaume Leclerc, Philippe de Thaün, Pierre de Beauvais and Gervaise have not been transmitted to us in exactly the same wording as the authors used, - and that is

---

(1) Cf. F. McCulloch. Op. Cit. P.p. plus appendix

over a space of a mere two hundred years from the compilation of the Bestiary to the last surviving manuscript: how much greater must the changes made be when one considers that the Physiologus tradition stretches back to the 5th Century.

All that can be said with any certainty is that the French Bestiaries are derived from the Latin Bestiaries, which in turn are a combination of material from the Greek Physiologus texts and other works, such as Etymologiae, by Isidore of Seville, and De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus by Honoré de Saint-Victor, and that, at each stage of a Bestiary's development, even at each copying of a Bestiary manuscript, certain augmentations and 'improvements' were made, so that the direct descent of each Bestiary is impossible to trace, and we are reduced to sketching only the broadest lines of development.

To some extent, also, it is using false criteria to attempt to form a logical pattern of development; the idea of a 'complete' work is outside the traditions of Medieval authorship. To add to a manuscript of the nature of a Bestiary was in no way to impair its originality or authenticity: the aim of the original author and of the clerics who augmented, adapted and clarified them was the same: to increase human knowledge and man's understanding of the world around him.

After comparing the Medieval French Bestiaries with their Latin predecessors, we must now compare them among themselves.

Many of the arguments already put forward remain valid, especially when comparing the Short Version of the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais and the Bestiaire de Guillaume Leclerc, but it is nevertheless true that we are dealing with four individual works, five if we include the problematical Long Version of the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais.

From a physical point of view, as we have already seen, the French Bestiaries resemble each other to quite a considerable extent: the number of animals varies but slightly; there are 36 chapters in the Bestiaire de Philippe de Thaün, 37 in the Bestiaire de Guillaume Leclerc, 39 in the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais and 29 in the Bestiaire de Gervaise.

The similarity between the Bestiaire de Guillaume Leclerc and the Short Version of the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais is all the more marked when you take into consideration the fact that, as far as No. 22 all the sections are in the same order exactly in both Bestiaries, and that, after that, the order is similar, except that the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais has separated certain animals instead of combining them in the same chapter, with the result that it is two numbers ahead of the Bestiaire de Guillaume Leclerc, until No. 35, after which it has two chapters not found in the Bestiaire de Guillaume Leclerc.

However, it is there that the close relationship ends, and indeed, this much similarity is occasioned only by both authors following the standard order of the B-Is versions. For the individual sections contain many differences, albeit minor ones,

and there is one major difference of style: the Bestiaire de Guillaume Leclerc is, like all its predecessors, a verse Bestiary, whereas the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais is written in prose. (Both versions of Pierre's Bestiary are prose ones; they are perhaps modelled on Isidore of Seville's Etymologiae and De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus, both of which are written in prose. Or perhaps, as he said in his introduction, he simply preferred prose, because there is no need to subject the meaning to the medium as there is with verse.

In fact, the Bestiaire de Philippe de Thaün bears as much similarity to the Bestiaire de Guillaume Leclerc, from the point of view of number of chapters contained and the animals discussed, as does the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais. Philippe de Thaün omits none of the chapters contained in the Bestiaire de Guillaume Leclerc, and adds only the chapters on the Pearl and Agate, and on the Twelve Stones of the Rational (as he calls them.) These additions are not altogether surprising when one considers that he intended to compile a Lapidary as his next work.

The major physical difference between the Bestiaire de Philippe de Thaün and the Bestiaire by Pierre de Beauvais (in its short Version) and by Guillaume Leclerc is not, therefore, one of length or of content, but of order. Philippe de Thaün, or his immediate source, is the only French Bestiary compiled to place the beasts discussed in an order which has a recognisable logic: he works from Christ, via the Devil, to man, in animals, then birds, and finally stones.

It is perhaps significant that the Latin Bestiaire used by Philippe de Thaün has never been isolated. It is most probable that the Latin source text he followed was in fact in the same illogical order as the ones followed by Guillaume Leclerc and Pierre de Beauvais. Philippe de Thaün was an innovator in the Anglo-Norman language: his is one of the earliest texts written in that language; furthermore, the court atmosphere in which he circulated, that of the court of Henri Beauclerc, was conducive to creative and learned works of all descriptions. He was the first Anglo-Norman to take upon himself the task of transferring a Latin Bestiary into French, and, in doing this, he must have been aware that he was creating a new departure in Literature and Knowledge. The major change he made to his source text was to take the unprecedented step of translating it. Surely to reorganise the content into a logical order, simple to comprehend, was but a minor task.

Thus, as F. McCulloch points out, (1) Philippe de Thaün's immediate source text was probably a manuscript of the B-Is tradition, very similar in content to the ones used by Guillaume Leclerc and Pierre de Beauvais, a century later.

However, from the point of view of content of the chapters on the individual animals, the Bestiaire de Philippe de Thaün shows certain differences from the Bestiaires by Guillaume Leclerc and Pierre de Beauvais. This is most apparent in the chapter on the Ant which in the Bestiaire de Philippe de Thaün is extremely long,

---

(1) F. McCulloch: Op. Cit: 51 - 52

and divisible into five individual parts.

1) the basic, physical attributes

a) the Biblical quotation 'Go to the Ant, thou sluggard',(1) with the accompanying fact that the ant collects grain all year and eats it in winter.

b) Eats and collects only wheat - can differentiate by smell.

c) Divides hoard into two parts, so never hungry.

2) the interpretation of these attributes, using the double allegory of the 5 wise and 5 foolish Virgins.

a) oil/grain = Christianity

lamp/store of grain = man's soul

5 Virgins = senses

Virginity = chastity

b) Wheat divided and stored = Christian truth stored against the day of Judgement.

c) Wheat i) straw = the literal level of the Bible

ii) grain = the allegorical interpretation of the Bible

Barley = heresy.

Ant = wise man who can differentiate between the two and choose the correct one.

3) Attributes without moralising interpretation

a) An Ant can carry, proportionally speaking, more than a camel or horse.

b) If the grain gets wet, the ant throws out the spoiled grain and keeps the good.

c) Legend of the Ethiopian Ants, who guard gold.

---

(1) Proverbs: chap. 6 v. 6

4) The Formicaleün

a) a small animal which is to the Ant as a Lion is to the other beasts. Causes great physical damage to them.

5) A second allegory of the Ant as Solomon

a) this takes the words of Solomon about giving barley instead of wheat, which he accuses usurers of doing

b) meaning:

i) Solomon = wise people

Usurers = covetous people

barley = treachery, sin, heresy.

The Bestiaires of Guillaume Leclerc and Pierre de Beauvais contain the first three physical attributes. The meaning of the animal as a whole is given, but not the individual meaning of each physical attribute. However, Pierre de Beauvais interprets the division of the grain as the division of religious truth into the two testaments, an interpretation which is slightly easier to understand.

Pierre de Beauvais mentions none of the attributes which have no specific meaning (section 3 on previous page) and Guillaume Leclerc mentions only the Ethiopian Ants.

Guillaume Leclerc mentions the Formicaleün; Pierre de Beauvais does not; and neither of these works include the final allegory involving Solomon and the Ant. Indeed, the cramped, and rather uneasy tone of this final allegory makes one wonder if Philippe de Thaün worked it out for himself, basing his method on the Latin he had just been translating, and the content inspired by the earlier

mention of both Solomon and of barley.

Thus we see that the version of the Ant given in the Bestiaire de Philippe de Thaün is much longer and more detailed than those in the Bestiaires of Guillaume Leclerc and Pierre de Beauvais. It even contains more material than the equivalent section in De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus, where no mention is made of the Ant's comparative strength, or of the final allegory of the Ant and Solomon. Also the interpretation of the attributes in De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus has been more closely adhered to in style by Guillaume Leclerc and Pierre de Beauvais than by Philippe de Thaün: Honoré de Saint-Victor does not give a specific interpretation to individual attributes; he too gives only a broad allegorical meaning to group of related attributes.

The section on the Ant in the Bestiaire de Philippe de Thaün is perhaps an extreme example; usually, the difference is not one of totally individual material, but of the unusual, painstaking allegorical interpretation of every detail of a physical attribute. A good example of Philippe's more expansive treatment of an allegory is to be found in his section on the Ibis. The three Bestiaries we are considering here all include the Ibis; the main attribute in each case is identical; the meaning also shows a great deal of consistency, all three Bestiaries agreeing on the main interpretation of this bird. The only difference comes in the way in which the interpretation is reached. The Bestiaries by Pierre de Beauvais and Guillaume Leclerc state simply that the Ibis represents the sinner who does not eat spiritual food, that is, the man who does not display the Christain virtues. Philippe de Thaün, ultimately,

arrives at the same conclusion; but to do so, he adopts the following method:

a) states that men of God must go into true waters and into the Holy Sea.

i) water = knowledge

ii) sea = a) scripture

b) the world (by natural allegory - Philippe's comment)

iii) knowledge = meat that every holy soul demands

iv) scriptures = food for those who want to profit from it and understand the allegory.

v) If man does not understand the hidden meaning of the Scriptures, he lives, like the Ibis, off dead flesh. He will enjoy only the pleasures of the flesh, which will send him to the Devil. Man needs the Christian virtues to defeat the Devil.

As we can see, Philippe de Thaün finally gets to the same conclusion the other writers reached in far less space. Furthermore, in Philippe de Thaün's desperate quest for accurate detail, culminating, he hopes, in a more persuasive symbol, he seems to lose sight - we certainly do! - of the main interpretation, so that he drowns in his own sea of detail. This technique could be explained by the different, more formal world in which he wrote his work, as well as by the rather pedantic nature displayed by Philippe de Thaün elsewhere in the Bestiary.

So, although the Bestiaire de Philippe de Thaün is one hundred

years older than the Bestiaires by Pierre de Beauvais and Guillaume Leclerc, the differences are those of style in interpretation, and of physical order, rather than any fundamental difference in content and meaning. All available evidence suggests that Philippe de Thaün was indeed using a B-Is version of the Latin Bestiary, not dissimilar to the ones used, and more slavishly followed, later by Guillaume Leclerc and Pierre de Beauvais.

We have omitted the Bestiaire de Gervaise from the above comparison, as indeed it is quite considerably shorter than the other three; and the reasons for its brevity have already been discussed. However, it must be pointed out that, in the sections which are common to all Bestiary texts, Gervaise follows the tradition as in the other three texts, with only few exceptions.

The first, and most important example is the treatment Gervaise gives to the section on the Stag. We have seen that this chapter is displaced; we have also seen that the material included differs from that found in any other account; it does vaguely resemble the section on the Stag in De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus, and a probable explanation for its peculiar nature lies in the displaced, and possibly, mutilated page. The poor quality of the physical and moral attributes of this animal, even by Gervaise's standards, indicates that this is the most plausible reason for its individuality.

The second is that Gervaise, in company only with the Greek and Latin Physiologus texts, and with De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus, includes a section on the Crow. Again, this is an incomplete section, with a lacuna in the part concerning the physical attributes. (1)

---

(1) Gervaise: Bestiaire ed. P. Meyer in Romania N: 1 (1872) c.l. 628

Also in connection with this bird, P. Meyer (1) indicates that the lines surrounding the lacuna are possibly distorted, and are open to two interpretations.

Meyer further states that the Crow, as described in the Bestiaire de Gervaise has little in common with the Latin text published by Cahier (2) and consequently with the only other account of the Crow in a French Bestiary, in the Long Version of the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais.

Once more, we must notice the imperfect nature of this singular inclusion. It almost seems as though the cases in which the Bestiaire de Gervaise departs from the norm established by Philippe de Thaün, Guillaume Leclerc, and Pierre de Beauvais, as well as by the Dicta Chrysostomi are those in which his source manuscript was most mutilated and incoherent, and that Gervaise was forced to supplement the incomplete version in front of him with material from his own memory, another, little-known source, or even of his own inventing. This lends more impact to Gervaise's own comment that he has followed faithfully the Latin book he found in 'the cupboard' (3).

In all other cases, the Bestiaire de Gervaise follows at least the basic attribute given to each beast, even though sometimes the meaning given can vary.

This is most noticeable in Gervaise's interpretation of the Mermaid (Serena). The other three French Bestiaries give the obvious meaning: that the Mermaid represents the wealth and corruption of this world. Gervaise interprets the Mermaid as a figure

---

(1) Gervaise: Bestiaire ed; as above. P. 434 (footnote)

(2) P. Cahier et A. Martin: Mélanges d'Archéologie, d'Histoire et de Littérature.

(3) Gervaise: Bestiaire L. 32 - 35

of the corruption spread by members of the entertainment world.

In two instances Gervaise gives the same reading as Guillaume Leclerc, as opposed to Philippe de Thaün: firstly, he interprets the Serra as a figure of people who at first adhere to God, then fall away, where Philippe de Thaün interprets this beast as the Devil.

Secondly, Gervaise, like Guillaume Leclerc, mentions several sorts of snake, instead of discussing the Asp alone, as do Philippe de Thaün and Pierre de Beauvais. Here, however, the similarity ends, as the snakes mentioned by the two writers are not the same. However, of those mentioned by Gervaise, the 'Vuivre', the 'Coleuvre' and the 'Dragon', the Vuivre is also found in the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais, Long Version, and the 'Coleuvre' is simply an account, factual for once, of the snake's ability to slough off old skin, after growing a new one underneath. Finally, the 'dragon' is not an account as found elsewhere; rather, Gervaise, again as a result of a mutilated manuscript, gives to the Dragon the attributes which all the other Bestiaries discuss with reference to the Stag.

Thus we see that there are problems concerning the Bestiaire de Gervaise, many of which seem to have been the result of his faulty and mutilated source manuscript. Otherwise, the differences between the Bestiaire de Gervaise and the other three Bestiaries are minimal in comparison to the very substantial resemblance it bears them.

So far, we have seen that all French Bestiaries bear a basic similarity to the Latin texts, and to each other. It now remains to clarify the situation further by finding out which category of of animals are most consistent in their content throughout the Bestiaries, and to see whether mythological animals are more or less stable in their descriptions than real, but exotic animals or real, and everyday beasts.

To facilitate this study, we have divided the nuclear animals into three degrees of consistency:

A) Very great consistency between all texts, showing minor inconsistencies only.

B) More serious differences, but in physical attributes rather than in moralising content.

C) Beasts whose attributes and meanings vary radically from Bestiary to Bestiary.

From the point of view of clarity, we will deal with each category in turn, rather than with the animals in the order they are presented in any of the Bestiaries.

Category A

1) LION

This animal varies only in the quantity of details given by Honoré de Saint-Victor and Philippe de Thaün; the major symbolic attributes and their meanings are common to all the Bestiaries.

2) PANTHER

Again, the accounts vary only in detail, especially in that Isidore, Honoré de Saint-Victor, Philippe de Thaün and

Guillaume Leclerc give the etymology of the name. There is general agreement on the meaning, although there are differences in the meaning given to the 'odor' which issues from the Panther's mouth.

3) UNICORN

Very few differences; though not all texts give the problematical physical description; those that do are in almost complete agreement. Meaning remains constant.

4) ANTELOPE (APTALON)

Great consistency in both physical description and moral interpretation, even though this animal is not readily recognisable from the world of nature. However, not mentioned in Pliny or Isidore de Seville, this is an animal belonging purely to the Physiologus tradition.

5) ANT

Consistent even to minor details, except in the Bestiaire de Philippe de Thaün, where it is examined in greater detail than anywhere else.

6) CASTOR

Great agreement except in physical description - which is usually lacking, and this led to some curious illustrations.

7) ELEPHANT

The only person really to diverge from the standard account is Pliny, who gives us a factual account of the Elephant's role in Rome. Other Bestiaries vary only in the amount of non-moralised detail included. Philippe de Thaün includes some material whose sources cannot be traced.

8) HEDGEHOG

Physical and moralising attributes almost completely constant, despite the fact that only one author, Pierre de Beauvais, describes the Hedgehog's propensity for rolling itself up into a ball if attacked: the one fact that most of us know about hedgehogs. This illustrates the point that the Physical level of a symbol is relevant only in connection with the levels of symbolic interpretation.

9) FOX

Very consistent; based largely on accurate observation and enhanced no doubt by the popularity of Fox fable.

10) PARTRIDGE

Basic physical and moral attributes constant, but sometimes a few non-moralising attributes added.

11) CALADRIUS

Very consistent, despite its omission from Pliny and Isidore de Seville. A Physiologus beast, its attributes have merely simplified in the progression from Honoré de Saint-Victor to the French Bestiaries.

12) PHOENIX

Moral interpretation constant, some slight variations in the basic legend, but this beast is treated with a great deal of consistency.

13) PELICAN

A very great deal of consistency, but Pliny gives slightly greater detail in his physical description.

14) TURTLEDOVE

All Bestiaries agree over this well-known legend - but it is not based on fact.

15) COOT (FULICA)

A great deal of consistency, despite the fact that, like the Caladrius and the Aptalon, this bird has never been satisfactorily identified in the world of nature.

16) OWL

Although a well-known bird, the attributes given are not natural, and their great consistency is probably accounted for by the fact that they coincide with the Biblical description.

17) TERROBOLEN

Another purely Physiologus chapter, it shows great consistency, possibly because of the striking nature of the attribute and the suitability of the meaning.

Category B

1) GOAT

Physical description here is fairly consistent, as is the basic interpretation given. However, the secondary attribute - that of the goat's mountain habitat - is given different intepretations.

2) HYDRE AND CROCODILE

There is some disparity in the physical description of these animals, especially of the Crocodile: these differences are carried over into the miniatures illustrating Bestiary manuscripts. The Hydre, despite the fact that it cannot be readily identified, remains relatively constant in writers

after Pliny. Meaning remains constant.

3) HYENA

This very incohesive chapter is basically the same in most texts. However, Pierre de Beauvais and Guillaume Leclerc do not mention the stone traditionally associated with the Hyena; the meaning, too, shows slight disparity of application: three texts associating the treachery with the Jews, Pierre de Beauvais adding also the meaning of the hypocrite.

4) WEASEL

The basic legend and its meaning remain constant, but Honoré de Saint-Victor reverses the major attribute: the manner of conception and of giving birth.

5) OSTRICH

Not included by Honoré de Saint-Victor; mentioned twice by Pierre de Beauvais in the Long Version of his Bestiary; Pliny makes no mention of the attribute which is the major one in the French Bestiaries. Otherwise, the treatment is constant.

6) SALAMANDER

Not mentioned by Gervaise and Pliny; Pierre de Beauvais includes it as one of the Beasts representing the four Elements, a lay-out found later in the Bestiaire d'Amour de Richard de Fournival. But otherwise the physical and moral attributes remain constant, except for different degrees of detail.

7) WHALE

The Latin texts are much fuller and are based on factual observation, most of which is lacking from the French Bestiaries;

3|27

these, however, show a fair amount of agreement among themselves.

8) EAGLE

Apart from Pliny, whose account is largely factual, the theme of rejuvenation is constant. However, the methods of achieving this are divided into two groups. There is also some divergeance over the amount of detail included.

9) DOVE

Despite the fact that this is a well-known bird, the details given about it are far from natural. Honoré de Saint-Victor and Philippe de Thaün both moralise about it at great length and give entirely different versions. However, the other texts agree basically over description and moral interpretation.

10) HOOPOE

There is some disagreement over this bird as to whether or not it has dirty habits and a dirty habitat. As such dirt would contrast unfavourably with the bird's otherwise pleasant nature, this detail is of some importance.

11) IBIS

Isidore of Seville and Pliny give versions merely based on factual observation. However, the other texts vary only slightly both in physical attributes and moral interpretation.

12) DIAMOND (ADAMAS)

Omitted from Gervaise, and, under its Bestiary form, from Pliny; Philippe de Thaün and Honoré de Saint-Victor give a great deal of detail in this case; the other texts give a much simplified version. Honoré de Saint-Victor and Philippe de

Thaün do not mention the Prophet standing on the wall of Diamond, but the beginning of the chapter is missing from the Bestiaire de Philippe de Thaün, so any link here is possibly fortuitous.

Category C

1) DRAGON

Not universally found. Two traditions, Roman and Christian, the latter represented by Isidore of Seville, Honoré de Saint-Victor, Philippe de Thaün and Guillaume Leclerc, in which texts the differences are merely of degree of detail. Gervaise gives to the Dragon the attributes elsewhere ascribed to the Stag - a possible fault in his source manuscript.

2) STAG

Two versions, plus the rather garbled attempt by Gervaise. Philippe de Thaün, Guillaume Leclerc and Pierre de Beauvais all give the same version; Honoré de Saint-Victor, Isidore of Seville and Pliny all give a different one, although they basically agree among themselves; Pliny again includes many attributes taken from natural observation.

3) ONOCENTAURUS

Not included in Pliny's work, nor in the Bestiaire de Guillaume Leclerc. Although the other texts agree over physical description, two moral interpretations are found, one dealing with hypocrisy, the other with man's two propensities, for good and for evil.

4) MERMAID

Classical and Physiologus traditions different; some texts say the mermaids sing accompanied by different instruments, other that they just sing. The moral interpretation is not as anti-feminist as one would expect: the mermaid represents all the pleasures of the world. However, Gervaise puts on his own interpretation, and preaches against all forms of entertainment.

5) ASP

Very confused, especially in the Bestiaire de Gervaise. There are differences in presentation: sometimes it is mentioned in connection with the Weasel, othertimes as part of a section on snakes. The basic legend - the Asp's ability to block up both ears - remains constant, with differing reasons given for the necessity to do so. The meaning remains relatively constant.

6) SERRA

There is basic agreement as to the nature of the Serra - that it is a flying sea-monster. However, there are two groups of attributes given, concerning its methods of wrecking a ship, and two different sets of interpretations which flow from these.

7) THE WILD ASS

The Greek Physiologus contained two chapters on the Wild Ass, and subsequent texts have maintained the two-fold legend. Not all texts, however, include both: indeed, only Honoré de Saint-Victor and Guillaume Leclerc do so. Philippe de Thaün and Pierre de Beauvais carry the legend of the Ass braying

at the equinox; Isidore de Seville and Pliny mention only the perhaps more factual attribute of the male castrating its male offspring. The texts which carry the first attribute are unanimous in their interpretation; the second legend is not moralised.

8) MONKEY

Texts fall into two groups from the point of view of layout: the Latin texts and Guillaume Leclerc's Bestiary mention several sorts of monkey; the rest, only one. Pierre de Beauvais and Gervaise do not mention the basic attribute found in all the other texts, but, as the meaning is not linked closely to the physical attribute, it remains constant despite the missing physical level in Gervaise and Pierre de Beauvais.

Thus once again, the basic similarity between all the texts is underlined: Category A contains 17 'beasts' as opposed to Category C which contains only 6.

However, the real fact to emerge from this survey is that it does not matter, from the point of view of consistency, whether an animal is everyday, exotic or imaginary. Indeed, where everyday animal is described in detail, there is usually less agreement than in the case of an imaginary animal. One has only to look at the various versions given to the Dove, the Stag and the Eagle to realise that if a beast is well-known, it is more difficult to write a convincing legend about it. Even so, there are five real everyday animals in Category A. Certainly, but the legends given about

them bear no resemblance to their natural habits: there is no natural evidence for the legend attatched to the Turtledove, the one fact that everyone knows about hedgehogs is largely ignored, and replaced by material not observed from nature; the partridge is not noted for stealing the eggs from other birds, (and is even less known for pederasty!), whereas the descriptions and attributes given about the Owl and the Ant owe less to common knowledge than to the Bible; and the Fox is our old friend Renart! Natural observation, therefore counts not at all in the Bestiaries; and this points us towards the explanation for such consistency: what mattered was the written word; empiricism was not yet the order of the day, and a well-known source was always used in preference to one's unsupported observations.

Secondly, and this accounts for the good state of preservation of most of the legends, the physical description by itself was of no relevance; the symbol was a unity, and the physical level of the symbol was considered only in connection with the allegorical and tropological level. It matters not, therefore, whether or not the Middle Ages thought there were seven colours of Doves, or whether they believed in Unicorns: what mattered to them was the system of philosophy, the symbol as an entity being used as a tool to catch a glimpse of the hidden meanings of the Universe.

It is quite possible, therefore, that the compilers of the Bestiaries felt no compunction to make their physical attributes credible; the physical level was there simply to create a set of circumstances on which to build the symbol.

Similarly, in the minds of a clerical public, there would be no reason for the 'willing suspension of disbelief': however far-fetched the legends seem to us, nurtured on empirical science, to them they were merely a part of a symbol used in the quest for universal knowledge, and such knowledge was not gained by studying the world of nature as it appeared before their eyes: knowledge came from books, sources, traditions: the role of the Medieval Scholar was to study these and to try to use them to understand better the mind of God.

Thus it is that the physical level is so consistent, even in the case of exotic and imaginary animals; the Medieval mind was not one to question knowledge, in the form of its accredited sources; the Middle Ages scholar saw his role as one of constant consolidation, of transmitting the wisdom of past ages intact to succeding generations, without questioning its natural veracity, and to add to any work material culled from any reliable source which would add to the sum of human knowledge.

To inquire, therefore, if the Middle Ages writers believed in the monsters about which they wrote is irrelevant; they saw themselves as a part of a chain of knowledge; such monsters were playing a vital role as a tool of inquiry into the nature of existence and the nature of God. All wisdom started and ended there; the individual attributes of a beast were relevant, not for themselves, but for what aspect they could reveal of divine wisdom.

Thus, when we consider beast symbolism, we must think back

beyond empiricism to a form of thought, consisting at the same time of many layers of depth and of a more lateral nature than we are accustomed to using; and it is only then that we cease to be concerned with what the Medieval mind did or did not think of certain, disconnected details, and involve ourselves instead in the uses to which it put the whole formed from the disconnected fragments; then the physical level loses its incredibility and becomes absorbed in the whole, logical structure of the symbol.

What, then, can finally be said about the beasts contained in the Bestiaries?

Firstly, that there is a great deal of similarity, between all the Bestiaries, from the point of view of animals contained; and that many differences are the result of deficiencies in the source manuscripts somewhere in the course of the development of a particular Bestiary.

Secondly, that the animals and birds described also show a great deal of similarity, so that again, missing details can be associated with faulty copies, but also with human interest and individual knowledge.

Thirdly, that each Bestiary that we now know is the product of the merging of at least two traditions, as well as certain other details, again added through an individual's own concerns, interests and knowledge.

Next, that no author considered his work to be the definite version of that Bestiary; he saw himself as a link in a chain, handing down to the next generation of scholars not an individual work, but a minor contribution to the knowledge of mankind.

Finally, and perhaps most important, we realise the unimportance to the Middle Ages of empirical truth as we know it today; the physical description of an animal was relevant only in so far as it provided the base for the symbolic structure. This ability to see beyond the present, the immediate and to seek truth beyond the literal level is a key to Medieval thought which we have since thrown away, and in doing so we have locked ourselves out from the aims and aspirations of a whole age of philosophy.

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

MEDIEVAL FRENCH BESTIARIES

being a Thesis submitted for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the University of Hull

by

Elizabeth Lindsey, B.A.

December 1976

PART III

EVOLUTION

PART THREE, CHAPTER ONE: THE INFLUENCE OF THE BESTIARIES ON THE LITERATURE OF THE PERIOD

SECTION A: A study to see how closely the attributes of the animals in the Bestiaires d'Amour match those in the Religious Bestiaries.

In this chapter, we have confined the close study of the attributes given to the animals in the Bestiaires d'Amour to the Nuclear animals discussed in Part Two, Section Two.

The Bestiaires d'Amour here studied are the Bestiaire d'Amour de Richard de Fournival, (edited by Cesare Segre, Milan and Naples 1957) and Li Response du Bestiaire, in the same volume; and Le Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé, (edited by Arvid Thordstein in Etudes Romanes de Lund Vol.2 , Lund and Copenhagen 1941). The Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé, a fragment, edited by A. Langfors, (Le Bestiaire d'Amours en vers par Richard de Fournival, in Mem. Soc. Neo-Philol de Helsingfors , Vol. Vll (1924) P. 291 - 317) has also been consulted, but, as it differed in no important way from the prose version, it is unnecessary to study it in detail.

A full list of the animals included in the Bestiaires d'Amour, tabulated against the contents of the Religious Bestiaries is to be found in Table I of this chapter, and the nuclear animals also found in the Bestiaires d'Amour are listed in Table II; both tables being located at the end of the chapter.

As before, for reasons of consistency, we have followed , in this chapter, the order of animals as found in the Bestiaire de Philippe de Thaün.

1) The Lion

This animal, which was described at great length in all the Religious Bestiaries also plays an important role in the Bestiaires d'Amour. It is mentioned in three sections of the Bestiaire d'Amour de Richard de Fournival, and in four sections of the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé. In each section, a different attribute is symbolised. In this chapter, on the Lion, the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé contains more attributes as found in the Religious Bestiaries than the Bestiaire d'Amour de Richard de Fournival does, but neither Bestiaire d'Amour contains all the attributes used in the Religious Bestiaries. Below is a summary of attributes given to the Lion, correlated from all the Religious Bestiaries.

1) When the Lion hunts, it traces a circle with its tail on the ground - its prey cannot escape therefrom.
2) When the Lion is hunted, it removes all its tracks with its tail and thus evades the hunter.
3) Trembles with respect if it sees a man before the man sees it.
4) The lioness gives birth to 'dead' cubs; after three days, the cubs are brought to life by the breath of the father Lion.
5) Lions are merciful to smaller creatures.
6) When the Lion is angry, it stamps on the ground.
7) The Lion fears white cocks and the squeaking of carts.
8) Sleeps with its eyes open.
9) Physical description.
10) The Lion is afraid of fire.

None of the Bestiaires d'Amour give any physical description; such description is not instrumental to the symbolic meaning given to the Lion in the Bestiaires d'Amour and is therefore omitted; so are all the minor details from which no symbols are drawn, even in the Religious Bestiaries, with the possible exception of Philippe de Thaün. Thus, the Bestiaire d'Amour de Richard de Fournival omits numbers 1, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, containing only 2, 3, 4, and 6. The Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé omits 6, 7, 9, 10. It is obvious, therefore, that the attributes contained in the Bestiaires d'Amour, are the major attributes from the Religious Bestiaries, that is, those which carried the main weight of symbolic interpretation. It is interesting to note that the Bestiaires d'Amour retain the attribute that the male Lion resuscitates its young on the third day after their birth, although no symbolic interpretation is attached to this in the Bestiaires d'Amour. This survival illustrates the strength of the original attribute/interpretation relationship, so that the attribute does not seem complete without the time factor, superfluous though it may be.

The Bestiaires d'Amour do not add any attributes to those found in the Religious Bestiaries.

2) The Unicorn

The attributes given to this beast in the Bestiaires d'Amour, are those found in the Religious Bestiaries. Once again, there is little physical description of the Unicorn, apart from the fact that it has one horn in the middle of its forehead; however, this lack of physical description is not so striking in this case as it was in the section on the Lion, for, out of the seven texts described earlier, only two, the Pliny and the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais, Long Version, give

a detailed description of the Unicorn. Otherwise, the treatment of the Unicorn is exactly the same in the Bestiaires d'Amour as in the Religious Bestiaries.

It is interesting to note that, following the version of Philippe de Thaün, the Bestiaires d'Amour maintain that the Unicorn is killed on capture, (the other texts say that it is taken to the king's court) because in these three texts, it is more fitting to the moral drawn that the beast should die, Philippe de Thaün to show that Christ was Man as well as God; The Bestiaires d'Amour to show the lover's complete, almost fatal, submission to the will of Love.

3) The Panther.

This animal is, rather surprisingly, mentioned only very briefly in the Bestiaire d'Amour and in Li Response du Bestiaire (in fact, the description of the Panther in the Bestiaire itself tallies with the information given about it in the introduction to the section on the Panther in the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé, where there are a few lines of introduction to the next section at the end of the chapter on the Unicorn). The one attribute given to the Panther in the Bestiaire d'Amour de Richard de Fournival is that all animals will follow the sweet breath of the Panther to the bitter end; the Response adds that these animals follow the Panther on account of the 'sovereign Medecine' given off in the sweet breath of the Panther.

The Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé, on the other hand, follows the readings of the Religious Bestiaries with great fidelity. It even gives the same physical description as the Religious Bestiaries, although no interpretation is given to this description in the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé. It is obvious that the importance attached to the

Panther in the Religious Bestiaires has assured its preservation intact into the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé. Furthermore, it seems probable that the omission of the Panther from the Bestiaire d'Amour de Richard de Fournival was occasioned by a missing folio, which contained material similar to the Section on the Panther in the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé; this is again a vital factor in deciding which Bestiaire d'Amour came first.

3 (a) The Dragon.

In the Religious Bestiaries, the Dragon is always connected with the Panther as the only creature that flees from the sweet odour omitted by the Panther, and, on the strength of this, Philippe de Thaün devotes a chapter to describing the Dragon. Guillaume Leclerc also gives a description of the beast. However, once again, there is no physical description of the Dragon given in the Bestiaires d'Amour, nor is it mentioned in connection with the Panther; in the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé, the enemy of the Panther is called the Serpent, although the author does use the term Dragon elsewhere: it is obvious tha the Dragon found later is not connected in the author's mind with the serpent. The Bestiaire d'Amour de Richard de Fournival does not continue long enough to include a mention of the serpent/Dragon.

On the other hand, the Bestiaires d'Amour concentrate on the enmity of the Dragon and the Elephant, a legend found in very much abbreviated form in the Religious Bestiaries, and given in full only in Honoré de Saint-Victor. Thus, in this case, the Bestiaires d'Amour seem to be following a text closer to that of Honoré de Saint-Victor than to the other Bestiaries. However, the Bestiaires d'Amour do not

agree with Honoré de Saint-Victor over the way in which the Dragon kills: Honoré de Saint-Victor maintains that the Dragon kills by constriction; the Bestiaire d'Amour de Richard de Fournival reads that the Dragon kills by licking people with its poisonous tongue, and the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé that it kills by lashing with its poisonous tongue. However, it is always possible that the authors of the Bestiaires d'Amour purpously changed the earlier readings to reinforce the interpretation that they were to place on the Dragon: that of the 'losengier' who kills the love between two people, if not the people themselves, by spreading rumours and lies about them. In this case, it is obviously more effective to maintain that the Dragon kills with the poison in its tongue. This is just one case in which the authors of the Bestiaires d'Amour use source material freely in order to improve the quality of the symbol.

4) Hydre.

Apart from the omission of all physical description, the Hydre, with one exception, is as described in the Religious Bestiaires; its enmity to the Crocodile, its method of attack and its escape are all as found in the religious Bestiaries. The only difference is that the Bestiaires d'Amour confuse this Hydre with the Greek Hydra, whose existence is vehemently denied by Honoré de Saint-Victor (this is the only text to mention the classical monster at all), by such phrases as:

> 'C'est uns serpens ki a pluseurs testes, it si est de tele nature ke ki li trence une de ses testes, se lui en revienent deus.' (1)

---

(1) Richard de Fournival: Bestiaire d'Amour P. 67.

and

'L'ydre, si com dit l'escripture
Maint chief a, si a tel nature
Que qui li trencheroit ung chief
Deux l'en nastroyent de rechief.' (1)

Thus the Bestiaires d'Amour here include a legend of classical origin not found in any other text but that of Honoré de Saint-Victor who, however, insists that these two 'hydres' are different creatures and ought not to be confused. Thus we are left with the problem: was the Classical Hydre deliberately included to improve the symbol, or did its inclusion arise from an attribute contained in their source text, which had possibly misquoted Honoré de Saint-Victor and said that the two 'Hydres' were in fact the same creature?

To judge from textual evidence, the former could be the solution, as the attribute is given a definite symbolic interpretation: the man who has as many lady friends as he has acquaintances, and who give pieces of their affection in several places. This meaning is to be found in both the Bestiaires d'Amour, so it would seem that in this case again, the Bestiaires d'Amour are departing from their source material for the sake of the work that they are creating; that they are treating their source material with a freedom rarely found in the more scholarly Religious Bestiaries.

4 (a) The Crocodile.

Again, the Bestiaires d'Amour make no mention either of the Physical appearance of the Crocodile (apart from calling it a 'serpens euvages' and saying that it is commonly confused with the Cocatrice.),

---

(1) Anon: Li Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé Ll. 2157 - 2160

or of its habitat. The Bestiaires d'Amour both give the legend, otherwise found in Philippe de Thaün, Guillaume Leclerc and Honoré de Saint-Victor, that a crocodile weeps after eating a man. They also, following the readings of the Latin texts and Guillaume Leclerc, say that the Crocodile, alone among animals, moves its upper jaw and keeps its lower jaw stationary.

The treatment of the Crocodile in these two texts seems to align the Bestiaires d'Amour, despite the fact that they are of a later date than all the Religious Bestiaries, with the older texts in the Bestiary tradition, especially with Guillaume Leclerc, who is, in many ways, the author who adheres most faithfully to the Physiologus tradition, and with Honoré de Saint-Victor, whose work is perhaps the most comprehensive of all the texts studied. This seems to point to a source text for the Bestiaires d'Amour which has closer links with the 'old' tradition than has the text of Pierre de Beauvais, for example.

The Bestiaires d'Amour contain one innovation, which is concerned with the layout of the section on the 'Cocadrille': the Hydre's determination to kill the Crocodile is seen as a direct result of the Crocodile's eating a man. As Richard De Fournival puts it:

> '... et quant il voit ke le cocodrille a un homme mengie, et qu'il s'en repent tant k'il n'a mais talent d'autre homme mangier, si se pense en son corage c'or est il legiers a decevoir, por che k'il ne li caut mais k'il mangue.' (1)

Thus once again, we see the concern that the authors of the Bestiaires d'Amour have for the presentation of their work; this progression makes the attribute more compact and forceful, which in turn, enhances

---

(1) Richard de Fournival : Li Bestiaires d'Amour P. 67.

the symbolic interpretation.

6) The Stag.

The Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé adds yet another version to the already complicated story of the Stag (the animal is entirely omitted from the Bestiaire d'Amour de Richard de Fournival). The Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé gives two attributes to the stag, both of which are, in essence, contained in most of the Bestiaries: the themes of rejuvenation and of the Stag's hatred of snakes. However, the method the Stag uses, according to the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé, to catch the Serpent, is found only in Honoré de Saint-Victor, and then only by combining two versions of a similar legends, one of which involves eating the snake, (as we find in the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé) and the other which involves drawing the snake out, being poisoned by it and running to a fountain. But, apart from in the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé, this action always results in rejuvenation; according to the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé, the stag runs to the fountain merely to seek medecine. Thus it can be said that the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé uses an attribute found basically in Honoré de Saint-Victor, and with slight differences in Gervaise and Guillaume Leclerc, but does not give it the conclusion: the rejuvenation of the Stag. This rejuvenation process, according to the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé is carried out in a different way - and in a way that is to be found in no other Bestiary. When the Stag feels it is growing old, and wants to rejuvenate itself,

"Si se couche en la fourmiere;
Lors saillent devant et derriere
Li fourmion; sus li queurent,
Si li menjuent et deveurent

Sa vielle pel, et desous celle

Li revient apres la nouvelle." (1)

(This is, incidentally, the only time the Ant is mentioned in either the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé or in the Bestiaire d'Amour de Richard de Fournival.) This is the only time that the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé includes an attribute which is completely without precedent in any of the seven texts studied here.

These two are the only attributes given to the Stag in the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé: this does not include any of the Stag's minor attributes, such as its ability to remove arrows from its flesh by eating dittany, or the way in which a herd crosses the river or its intelligence. Again, the reader's attention is focused solely on the two main attributes, the ones that are given symbolic interpretations.

6) Aptalon

This animal is missing from Le Bestiaire d'Amour de Richard de Fournival, but is described in detail in the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé. Indeed, this chapter provides the ideal illustration of the textual links between the Bestiaires d'Amour and the Religious Bestiaries, because it includes every one of the major attributes of the Bestiaries, yet still omits everything that is not germane to the symbolic interpretation. As in the Bestiaries, the Aptalon is described as a wild beast that cannot be captured except by trickery; the physical description given, being essential, is also included in the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé; however, where the religious Bestiaries say that these horns are strong enough to cut down trees, the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé omits this; it is not essential to the symbol. Nor is

---

(1) Anon: Li Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé Ll. 1127 - 1132.

the fact that the water that the Aptalon drinks is the water of the Euphrates important: this Bestiary attribute is missing from the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé; the all-important feature; that the Aptalon gets its horns tangled up in the bushes, is captured and killed, is given almost in isolation, to stress its importance.

Thus, without adding anything to the legend, or omitting anything essential to the symbol, the author of the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé uses his source material to the best advantages for his purpose.

7) The Onoscentaurus

This animal also is omitted from the Bestiaire d'Amour de Richard de Fournival; the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé gives the same scanty story that is found in the religious Bestiaires: that it is man to the waist and horse or ass below. However, in this case, the meaning given to the Onoscentaurus in the religious Bestiaries is carried over into the Bestiaire d'Amour: this creature, double in form, is also double-dealing in its actions; just as in the Bestiaries it represented the hypocrite, the man religious and faithful to all outward appearances, but privately evil of speech and action; so in the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé does this creature represent the person who envious people who are friendly of word but mortal enemies by their deeds.

This is one of the few occasions on which a meaning has been retained into the Bestiaires d'Amour; probably because the interpretation suits not only the animal, but also the purposes of the author of the Bestiaire d'Amour; it is a situation which arises with equal frequency in the religious world and in the field of human relationships.

8) The Beaver.

In this section, the readings in the Bestiaires d'Amour follow closely those of the Religious Bestiary; the only differences are that the animal is not described physically; nor is the sequel to the main attribute included: that when the Beaver is chased a second time, it has only to show its second persuer that it is bereft of the desired trophy to be allowed to go in peace. Otherwise, the legend is exactly as given in the Religious Bestiaries.

9) The Weasel.

This chapter is interesting above all for the family links it demonstrates; three attributes are given, of the five possible derivations from the Religious Bestiaries; the first of which is physical description which is obviously omitted; the other omission is the Weasel's enmity towards snakes and mice. Of the three attributes that remain, one of them is to be found only in Honoré de Saint-Victor - and this is a reading unique to Honoré de Saint-Victor and the Bestiaires d'Amour that the Weasel conceives via the ear and gives birth via the mouth (all other texts reverse the process.) The second attribute, that the Weasel, through fear of her young being killed, moves them from place to place, is found only in Honoré de Saint-Victor and Isidore of Seville. Finally, the Weasel's ability to resuscitate its dead young is found in both Honoré de Saint-Victor and Pierre de Beauvais, Long Version. Thus it is clear that the readings in the section on the Weasel belong to a source closely connected with Honoré de Saint-Victor, and are part of the oldest Bestiary tradition.

10) The Ostrich.

This section again shows how the Bestiaires d'Amour omit anything they consider superfluous. The attributes as given in the Religious Bestiaries are set out below:

1) Physical description

2) Cannot fly

3) Knows, by the appearance of a star in the sky, when it is time to lay its eggs.

4) Having laid its eggs, it deserts them, leaving the sun and sand to hatch them out.

Of these, the Bestiaires d'Amour mention only the last one. Thus the Bestiaires d'Amour, like the Religious Bestiaries do not add anything to the legend; they simply select the main point.

11) The Salamander

In the Religious Bestiaries, there are two ways in which the legend of the Salamander is given: the first of these, as found in Honoré de Saint-Victor, Philippe de Thaün, and Guillaume Leclerc (Gervaise does not include this animal) is to devote a chapter entirely to the Salamander, and to describe its fire-resistant qualities: that it can live in fire, that clothes made of salamander skin will not burn, even that a salamander will extinguish a fire if it is dropped into one. However, Pierre de Beauvais differs from the other texts in that he includes the Salamander with three other beasts, each representing a different element; the salamander, not unnaturally, represented fire, and, according to Pierre de Beauvais, lives entirely off fire. This is the presentation adopted by the Bestiaires d'Amour and their account agrees basically with that of Pierre de Beauvais;

the only difference is not in the attributes of the Salamander, but in the number of other animals included in the same chapter; as well as the four animals representing the four elements, there are five beasts which represent the five senses:

sight : "liens" (a small white worm)

hearing : mole

smell : vulture

taste : monkey

touch : spider

Otherwise, the attribute of the Salamander is the same as in the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais, Long Version.

This section does give some physical description, in both the Bestiaire d'Amour de Richard de Fournival and in the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé. However, the description is not the same in each case. The Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé follows the conventional - and accurate - Bestiary description that the Salamander looks like a lizard; the Bestiaire d'Amour de Richard de Fournival describes the Salamander as follows:

"c'est uns blans oiseaus ki de fu se nourist" (1)

This description is not to be found in any of the seven texts studied here; that it was prevalent is attested to by an illustration in B.N.f.fr. 1444, where the Salamander is represented as a winged animal, rather than a bird, but again, this drawing bears no resemblance to a salamander.

12) The Mermaid.

The Mermaid's description in the Bestiaires d'Amour adheres closely to the Bestiary description. The only omissions are the

---

(1) Richard de Fournival : Bestiaire d'Amour P. 37

rather obvious fact that the mermaid lives in the sea, and the fact that they sing in wet weather and weep in fine. The physical description, half-woman, half-fish or half-bird, is consistent with the description in the Bestiaries, so is the manner in which the mermaid lulls unsuspecting sailors to sleep and then to their doom. Again like Honoré de Saint-Victor and Pierre de Beauvais, Long Version, the mermaids are described as singing to the accompaniment of various musical instruments.

13) The Elephant.

The Bestiaires d'Amour here omit half of the Bestiary legend. They mention nothing of the supposed intelligence and courage of the Elephant, nor of its wisdom in mating infrequently. They do not give, either, the attribute that when the elephant does mate, it goes East, to Paradise, where the female Elephant gives the male elephant the fruit of the mandrake to eat before mating. The only attribute given in the Bestiaire d'Amour de Richard de Fournival is in fact the second half of the Bestiary legend: that the female gives birth under water through fear of the Dragon (with the explanatory note that the Dragon cannot enter the water because it is too fiery a creature.)

The Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé gives another attribute, found in Honoré de Saint-Victor: that the elephant cannot lie down to sleep because its legs are rigid; it therefore sleeps propped up against a tree, and the hunter merely has to saw through the tree to capture the then recumbent elephant. This story is also found in Philippe de Thaün and Pierre de Beauvais, Long Version, with the slight difference that, in these two texts, the elephant sleeps against a wall.

The text in the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé follows in every detail the version given by Honoré de Saint-Victor.

14) The Asp.

The Bestiaires d'Amour here follow the reading of the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais, Long Version, which is a slightly fuller rendering of the usual story of the Asp. Most of the Bestiaries, including the Asp with the Weasel, or at least placing the two chapters consecutively, merely state that the Asp, when the charmer tries to charm it, stops one ear by placing it against the ground and the other with its tail. The reading given in Pierre de Beauvais is slightly different in that the Asp rubs its ear on the ground to fill it with mud. This is the reading, also, of the Bestiaires d'Amour. Again as in Pierre de Beauvais, Long Version, the Asp is said to be the guardian of the balm tree, and the charmer is in fact a robber who wants to steal the balm.

15) 'Serra'.

This legend is found in two versions in the Religious Bestiaires, and once more, the authors of the Bestiaires d'Amour follow the readings given by Honoré de Saint-Victor, Pierre de Beauvais, Philippe de Thaün and Isidore of Seville, maintain that the Serra races with the ship, trying to make it founder by causing a calm, then sinking to the seabed as its strength fails. The Bestiaires d'Amour, in fact, do not state that the beast's intention is to make the ship founder, but their reading is closer to that reading than to the one in which the Serra actually attacks the ship.

Once again, there is no physical description of this supposedly imaginary sea monster.

16) The Hedgehog

This section provides another good example of the usual progression from Religious Bestiary to the Bestiaires d'Amour: the basic attribute, that the hedgehog rolls on the fruit, which adhere to its spines, remains the same; but the minor attributes, such as the fact that the hedgehog is supposed to cut down the best bunches for this purpose, and then to carry them off to its young, were doubtless considered superfluous to the symbol and omitted. However, in this case, physical description is not superfluous, as the only description carried by the Bestiaries is that it is like a small pig with spines, is essential to the action, and is therefore included.

The Bestiaires d'Amour also carry the reading found in Pliny, Honoré de Saint-Victor , Guillaume Leclerc, Isidore of Seville and Pierre de Beauvais, that the hedgehog rolls itself into a ball to evade capture.

17) The Fox.

Again, the Bestiaires d'Amour give only the essential basic attribute as found in all the Religious Bestiaries: that of the Fox feigning death in order to catch unwary birds. The method it uses, that of rolling in red soil to appear bloodied and lying on its back with its tongue hanging out, is exactly the same as the descriptions of this action in the Religious Bestiaries.

The Bestiaires d'Amour omit all mention of the supposed derivation of the name from 'Volupes' because it cannot run in a straight line, and they consider it implicit in the main attribute that the Fox is crafty and deceitful, a fact that the Religious Bestiaries think it necessary to point out.

18) The Wild Ass.

The Bestiaires d'Amour follow, of the two possible Physiologus traditions, the one which originated, among the existant texts, in Manuscript Y (25). This version of the legend of the Wild Ass, which maintains that this animal recognises the Vernal Equinox and marks it by braying twenty five times, is also found in the works of Honoré de Saint-Victor, Philippe de Thaün, Guillaume Leclerc and Pierre de Beauvais. Within these texts, there is no difference in the way the attribute is presented; it is therefore impossible to ascertain whether the Bestiaires d'Amour are following a source derived from Honoré de Saint-Victor or one closer to the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais, as both these texts give the additional reading, which is in fact closer to the version found in the Bestiaires d'Amour, that the Wild Ass cries only when it is hungry. This reading is also to be found in Guillaume Leclerc. However, although the Bestiaire d'Amour Version differs from the versions mentioned above in that they make no mention of the Ass braying at the Equinox, their reading is still closer to these texts than to the other texts, Pliny, Isidore of Seville, Honoré de Saint-Victor and Guillaume Leclerc (both the latter give both versions.), who give the legend of the male ass emasculating its male offspring through motives of jealousy.

19) The Monkey.

Included in two different sections in the Bestiaires d'Amour, under 'Singe' and 'Singesse', the Monkey presents a composite picture of all the major attributes found in the Bestiaries. Under 'Singesse' is found the usual Bestiary attribute, that of the Female monkey, who always has twins, one of whom she loves and the other she hates; she

carries the one she loves in front of her, and the one she hates on her back; so that, when she is hunted, and is forced to run on all fours, she is obliged to drop the favourite and is left with the other.

In addition to this, the Bestiaires d'Amour give the attribute found only in Pierre de Beauvais that a monkey is mischievous and always wants to undo what it sees someone doing. This leads to a description of a method of capturing monkeys, based on this trait of the animal's nature; the hunter puts on a pair of shoes, in the monkey's sight, and then takes them off again, and leaves a pair for the Monkey to do likewise. But before the monkey can take its shoes off again, the hunter appears and catches the monkey, because it cannot climb trees with the shoes on.

The Bestiaires d'Amour do not mention the supposed foul nature of the monkey, or its lack of tail. They do, however, state that they are melancholy and make grimaces, readings also found in the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais.

20) The Whale.

The Religious Bestiaries, that is the texts of Honoré de Saint-Victor, Philippe de Thaün, Guillaume Leclerc and Pierre de Beauvais, all give two attributes to the Whale: the treachery of the whale as it plunges into the sea drowning the sailors who had mistaken it for an island and had lit a fire on its back; and the Whale's method of capturing small fish by giving off a sweet odour from its mouth which the small fish cannot resist. The Bestiaires d'Amour contain only the first of these attributes; their readings tally exactly with those of the Religious Bestiaries.

21) The Partridge.

Again, the Bestiaires d'Amour omit one attribute found in the Religious Bestiaries, but in this case, the attribute is found only in Guillaume Leclerc and Isidore of Seville: the Partridge's supposed homosexuality. The other attribute given to the Partridge in the Religious Bestiaries is faithfully rendered in the Bestiaires d'Amour: the Partridge, lacking offspring, steals the eggs of another bird and rears them as her own. However, she loses the fruits of her labours because once the young birds can fly, and can hear the voice of their true mother, they return to her.

22) The Eagle.

This bird is given many attributes in the religious Bestiaires, and there are many versions of each attribute. As usual, the Bestiaires d'Amour discard all minor attributes and concentrate on the more important ones. Indeed, the Bestiaire d'Amour de Richard de Fournival gives only one attribute. The attribute that is found in both Bestiaires d'Amour is that of rejuvenation.

In the Religious Bestiaries, there are two basic methods of rejuvenation mentioned in connection with the Eagle. The first is as follows:

1) The Eagle flies near the sun to burn off old feathers and to dispel mist from its eyes; then it plunges three times into a fountain in the East.

This reading is to be found in Philippe de Thaün, Gervaise, Guillaume Leclerc, Pierre de Beauvais 834 and Pierre de Beauvais, Long Version.

The second method is:

2) The Eagle sharpens its beak on a stone and then hunts for prey; its youth is thus restored.

This reading is from the works of Gervaise, Honoré de Saint-Victor and Pierre de Beauvais, Long Version. Pierre de Beauvais, Long Version, is included in both categories, because, although he mentions the first method in detail, he also describes the use of the stone. Here, there is a great similarity between the Long Version of Pierre de Beauvais' Bestiary and the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé. The Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé makes the first method its main way of rejuvenation, but the author also mentions the use of the stone.

Indeed, when one adds to this the fact that the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé, again like the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais, describes the Eagle's manner of testing the courage of its offspring, we see that in this case once again, the supposed derived text contains material closer to an older source than the 'original'.

The Bestiaire d'Amour de Richard de Fournival contains only one version of the attribute of rejuvenation; he describes method Two, but, even so, does not mention that the bird goes off hunting after sharpening its beak. The Bestiaire d'Amour de Richard de Fournival does not describe the method of testing the young eagle's courage.

23) The 'Caladrius'.

Again in this section, the Bestiaires d'Amour have reduced the description of this bird to a minimum; there is no physical description, and neither of the Bestiaires d'Amour include the attribute found in Honoré de Saint-Victor, Philippe de Thaün and Pierre de Beauvais, that the marrow of the Caladrius' thigh bone will cure failing sight.

Thus reduced to the one attribute that bore symbolic weight in the Religious Bestiaries, the Bestiaires d'Amour give this legend in exactly the same version as in the Religious Bestiaries, except that the Bestiaires d'Amour do not follow the reading of Philippe de Thaün or Pierre de Beauvais, who maintain that not only can the Caladrius tell which patient is to live and which to die, but that the bird is also capable of removing the illness from the patient.

24) The Phoenix.

This bird is not mentioned in the Bestiaire d'Amour de Richard de Fournival. The version found in the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé is substantially that of the Bestiaries, and it follows, at a slight divergeance or reading, the legend as told by Philippe de Thaün, Honoré de Saint-Victor and Pierre de Beauvais, in that the Phoenix deliberately sets light to its own funeral pyre, instead of letting the sun light it.

There is no physical description of the Phoenix in the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé, nor is its life span given, although it does say that there is only one Phoenix in existence at any one time.

25) The Pelican.

The Bestiaires d'Amour once again omit all physical description, the fact that there are two sorts, and that the bird's name is derived from Greek. They concentrate on the main symbol, which tallies exactly with the Bestiary version (which is almost unanimous), except that the Bestiaires d'Amour do not mention a time lapse of three days between the killing of the young birds and the parent bringing them to life again. For the purposes of the Bestiaires d'Amour, the time span is irrelevant.

26) The Dove.

The description of the Dove in the Bestiares d'Amour is completely different from any given in the Religious Bestiaries. The Religious Bestiaries all give very complicated exposés about the attributes of Doves of various colours, which all have a different religious interpretation; they all give the legend of the Doves sheltering on this tree, safe from the Dragon. Honoré de Saint-Victor devotes a long chapter to the Dove, in which he gives an interpretation not only to doves of different colours, but to feathers of different colours; indeed, this is a multiple symbol, because Honoré de Saint-Victor first likens the Dove to the Church, and gives the meanings to each part of the bird; then to another sacred institution, and repeats the process, at the beginning and end of the chapter, he gives a selection of varied attributes with their meanings. Under the section at the end of the chapter is the one attribute that the Bestiaires d'Amour include: that of the Dove settling and flying over water so that it can see the vulture approaching. This is given an interpretation of foresight, and this meaning is continued into the Bestiaires d'Amour, though as a warning for the lover to be discreet, rather than one to the Christian to beware the Devil!

This complete departure from the Bestiary tradition is difficult to explain, but the reason seems once more to be that the authors of the Bestiaires d'Amour believed that simplicity made their narrative more vivid and forceful, so they discarded the attribute which involved so many different coloured doves, and chose one that was simple and one that blended in with the interpretations of the birds that precede it and follow it, in accordance with the internal logic of the layout.

27) The Turtledove.

The material, brief already, given in the Religious Bestiaries about the Turtledove is reduced even further in the Bestiaires d'Amour who omit what little physical description there was of this bird (that it is simple, chaste and beautiful) to include only the main attribute: that the Turtledove is faithful even after the death of its mate; it will never take another. The Bestiaires d'Amour omit also the further proof of devotion given in Philippe de Thaün, Guillaume Leclerc, and Pierre de Beauvais, that the 'widow' never again sits on greenery.

This bird is one of the few which has, perhaps predictably, retained the meaning of fidelity with which it was endowed in the Religious Bestiaries in the Bestiaires d'Amour. Here, the lover pledges his fidelity in love even though constantly despised.

28) The Hoopoe.

The account of the Hoopoe given in the Bestiaires d'Amour is exactly the same as the one in the Religious Bestiaries. Again, the Bestiaires d'Amour omit all mention of the bird's nature; the Religious Bestiaries describe it as a bird with a filthy nest, but a kind nature.

29) Terobolen (The Burning Stones)

The account of these Stones according to the Bestiaires d'Amour Rime is as follows:

1) If these stones are placed close together, they burst into flames immediately and burn everything around them.

2) If they are separated, they cease burning immediately.

This is, in essence, no different from the legend as given in the Religious Bestiaries; there is a slight difference in phraseology, in that the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé maintains that they stop burning the minute they are separated; this is not actually mentioned in the Religious Bestiaries; these say that the stones do not burn when far apart. The corollary is the same, but the emphasis changes slightly; the process, according to the Bestiaires d'Amour Rimé, is definitely reversible.

No mention is made, in the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé of the location of these stones, of the derivation of the name, or, perhaps rather strangely, of the fact that the Stones are supposed to be male and female. Possibly this is because that is not important to the interpretation: that of a lover, who is ardent when he is near his lady, but cools off rapidly when he leaves her; this could also account for the slight shift of emphasis mentioned above.

From the above, we see that there is a great deal of similarity between the religious Bestiaries and the Bestiaires d'Amour both in the types of animals contained and in the attributes given to them, except that the Bestiaires d'Amour consistently omit physical descriptions. A full concordance of the Bestiaries and the Bestiaires d'Amour is given in this chapter, Table I; Table II shows the number of animals that are contained in both the nuclear animals of the Bestiaries and the Bestiaires d'Amour. Let us now consider the links

and the divergences of these two traditions.

First of all, it will be useful to say something on the relationship between the two Bestiaires d'Amour here under consideration: the Bestiaire d'Amour by Richard de Fournival, and the Bestiaire d'Amour Rime, an anonymous poem of the XIIIth century, published by Arvid Thordstein.

The Bestiaire d'Amour de Richard de Fournival contains 50 animals, plus two more found only in 'Li Response du Bestiaire', a total of 52; the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé contains 56 animals; these two works are therefore linked closely from a numerical point of view. The very number of the animals included immediately points to the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais as the source, or one of the sources, of the Bestiaires d'Amour, a view which is held by both Mr. A. Thordstein [1] and M. C. Segre, [2] in their respective editions of these two texts. That the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais is one source of the Bestiaires d'Amour, even the chief source of inspiration is, I feel, self-evident; however, certain factors point to a different source, further removedin time, but closer in content to the two Bestiaires d'Amour; the first of these group of factors, which is based on observation of more external features - the number and types of animals found in both cases, is of a nature to be dealt with here; the second, pertaining to the attributes with which an individual animal is endowed, will be dealt with later in this chapter.

Out of a total of 72 chapters in the Long Version of the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais, only 48 are to be found in the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé and only 44 in the Bestiaire de Richard de Fournival; obviously,

---

(1) Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé ed A. Thordstein.

(2) Li Bestiaires d'Amour et Li Response du Bestiaire ed.C. Segre.

University
Library
Hull

this number includes several animals whose attributes are slight and confusing, but it also includes a number of 'nuclear' animals, such as 'Formi', 'Hyene', 'Ibis'; and omissions from the Bestiaire de Richard de Fournival, which are, however, included in the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé include 'Aptalon', 'Cerf' and 'Fenix'. If one takes seriously the theory that the Bestiaires d'Amour were derived from the religious Bestiaries - and everything points to this being the case - then why should two followers of this tradition omit several animals which are considered of great importance in the religious Bestiaries? Animals which Pierre de Beauvais included not only in his Long Version of the Bestiaire en prose, but in his shorter version too?

However, it is difficult to point to any known text as a more suitable source; the earlier Latin versions do not contain the same number of animals; even more significantly, they contain a number of stones, of which category no mention is to be found in the Bestiaire de Richard de Fournival, and even the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé contains only 'Torrobolen'. As the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais, Long Version, is the only one of its length in Medieval French, we are forced to look among the great Latin compilations, such as 'De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus', Books II and III before we find any which encompass the whole range of inclusions in the Bestiaires d'Amour; these works again show the same problems, as far as determining sources is concerned, as did the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais: the Bestiaires d'Amour omit too much of importance to be derived solely from these.

So far, we have looked at this problem from the point of view of what has been omitted from Pierre de Beauvais in the Bestiaires d'Amour; there are, however, certain chapters found in the Bestiaires d'Amour which are not to be found in the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais; most of these are to be found only in the vast compilations, which include almost all the animals known to the Medieval world. The following animals are to be found in the Bestiaire de Richard de Fournival, but not in that of Pierre de Beauvais:

1) Faucon
2) Liens

these next are found in the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé alone:

1) Ours
2) Chouette
3) Ecrivisse
4) Pic
5) Scorpion

and the final list found in both the Bestiaires d'Amour, but not in the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais:

1) Abeiles
2) Coq
3) Dragon (as a separate chapter)
4) Hareng
5) Rat

Obviously, inclusions of this nature can be a sign of a highly individual compilation; however, such animals are to be found in the

really long works of the subject; thus individuality is mainly one of choice, not one of 'inventing' new symbolic animals.

Thus we seem to have reached an impasse: the Bestiary of Pierre de Beauvais affords the nearest source among known works; however, the Bestiaires d'Amour deviate from this source, not only by omission, but by additions derived obviously from other sources. Suffice it to say, therefore, that the Bestiaires d'Amour show more freedom and individuality of thought and choice than one meets in the religious Bestiaries; not only do they omit large sections from any source they use ('Cerf', 'Aptalon', 'Fenix' are almost bound to form part of any text that these authors would know), but they add to it animals not mentioned in any of the French Religious Bestiaries, and found in few of the Latin ones. This freedom is, as we shall see, extended to the order in which the animals appear, and even in the choice of attributes.

The question: 'which came first, the Bestiaire de Richard de Fournival, or the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé has already been admirably studied by A. Thordstein in his edition of the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé; his considered answer is that the Bestiaire de Richard de Fournival was the earlier; this seems to be accurate, although there are one or two factors which could indicate the reverse. Most of this evidence hinges on chapters omitted from Richard de Fournival which are, however, to be found in the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé and the Religious Bestiaries. These include several animals considered of importance in both the Religious Bestiaries and in the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé: 'Aptalon', 'Cerf', 'Fenix', 'Panthere' and 'Turrobolen'.

Also, and this is perhaps more important, there are two sections in the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé, which have no counterpart in the Bestiaire de Richard de Fournival: these are:

1) L. 1324 - 1458, the animals here omitted being 'Panthere', 'Pecheur', 'Rat', 'Sueste', 'Leus'.

2) L. 1685 - 1880 which includes part of the section on the elephant, one of the attributes of the Lion, and part of the section on the Chien.

These omissions are not found in a different part of the Bestiaire de Richard de Fournival; they are totally missing. Thus, while it quite frequently happens that the later work omits sections of the earlier work, it is rare that a later work adds sections which are to be found in early works of a similar nature, which have, however, been omitted from an intermediate work.

The other possible answer to this question could lie in the two authors having used completely different source texts; this theory, on the other hand, does not seem valid in view of the similarities so adequately correlated by A. Thordstein. (1)

One final word on the problem of inclusions and omissions is to point out that several animals omitted from the Bestiaires d'Amour are also omitted from the Bestiaire de Gervaise: these are as follows:

1) Adamas,

2) Dorcon

3) Fullica

4) Nicticorax (the attributes given in the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé to the 'Sueste' are not quite the same as those given to the Nicticorax in the Religious Bestiaries;)

5) Paradixion

---

(1) A. Thordstein: Op. cit. Pp. X1X - XXV

Omitted from both the Bestiaire de Gervaise and the Bestiaire d'Amour de Richard de Fournival is the article on 'Terrobolen'.

Thus, of seven Nuclear animals missing from the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé (cf. this chapter, Table 11) five of these are missing from Gervaise also; and of ten nuclear animals missing from Richard de Fournival, six are also missing from Gervaise.

Obviously, this is not to suggest a very close link between the Bestiaires d'Amour and the Bestiaire de Gervaise, or even between the Bestiaires d'Amour and the Dicta Chrysostomi, but the correlation of animals omitted seems to indicate that at one stage, there existed a text, which is nearer to the 'Bestiaire de Gervaise and the Bestiaires d'Amour than any text extant today.

When one comes to consider the attributes of the animals included in the Bestiaires d'Amour, one notices first that, in general, the attributes are those of the equivalent animal in the Religious Bestiaries; there are few major omissions (cf. the earlier part of this chapter), and fewer additions. However, when one studies the Bestiaires d'Amour closely, one finds certain patterns of treatment of these attributes, and indeed, in the choice of attribute.

First of all, there is little physical description in the Bestiaires d'Amour: indeed, such description is found only in the following animals:

1) Unicorn - has one horn, is very fierce.

2) Panthere - is very beautiful and of many colours

3) Aptalon - has two sharp horns and is a wild beast

4) Onocentaurus - is half-ass, half-man

5) Salamander - a) like a lizard (Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé)

b) like a white bird (Bestiaire de Richard de Fournival)

6) Serena - half-woman; half-fish/bird

7) Yrechons - has spines

8) Baleine - is covered with a sand-like skin.

Of this, even, there is very little that could be called gratuitous physical description in all but three cases, (those of Panthere, Salemandre and Serena), the only physical description is essential to the main attribute given to the animal.

This lack of physical description in the Bestiaires d'Amour is possibly indicative of a change in emphasis in the later genre; also of the dual role played by the religious Bestiaries. Here, physical description is important because these texts serve, not only as religious manuals, which would mean that it was only the moralising parts of the Bestiaries that were important, but also as natural history text-books, which did not fulfil their role correctly if the animal were not adequately described. Also, were the physical level of a symbol omitted, the whole symbolic structure would disintegrate, as the centre of the symbolic system was the interplay between the physical level and the interpretative levels built round it. In the Bestiaires d'Amour, on the other hand, physical description is cut down to an essential minimum, indicating that it was the main attribute given to an animal and its meaning, that is all-important. For the sake of literary clarity, it seems, the writers of the Bestiaires d'Amour chose one attribute, and an interpretation which was relatively straight-forward: impact, not the careful building-up of a symbol, was what mattered to these later, literary figures.

We have, so far in this chapter, considered the connections between the religious Bestiaries and their nearest relatives, the Bestiaires d'Amour, that is, the Bestiaire d'Amour de Richard de Fournival, and the anonymous but closely linked Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé. However, these Bestiaires d'Amour were not the only offshoots of the Bestiary tradition of Medieval France; the medium was adapted for works dedicated to one person; we see emerging also a corruption of the Bestiary tradition which was, ironically, the only form under which the French Bestiary was to appear in print.

First, let us consider the Poème Moralisé sur les Propriétés des Choses,(1) which is to be found spread through Ms. B.N.F.fr. 12483, in which there is also to be found a Plantaire, similarly distributed, and part of a Volucrary.

This Poème Moralisé is not directly descended from any of the four French Religious Bestiaries under consideration. Indeed, as Sister Mary A. Savoie points out (2) in her edition of the Plantaire from the same manuscript, the physical attributes given in both the Plantaire and the Poème Moralisé owe more to Pliny and other early writers than they do to the French Bestiary tradition. However, the attributes given in the Poème Moralisé are in most cases almost identical to those given in the Religious Bestiaries; the one exception is the Salamander, which is included with three other animals as those beasts representative of the four elements. This lay-out is found in the Tosco-Venetian version of the Bestiary, in several

---

(1) Poème Moralisé sur les Propriétés des Choses, ed. G. Reynaud: in Romania XIV 18 85

(2) A Plantaire in Honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary ed. Sister Mary A. Savoie Catholic University of America: Department of Romance Languages and Literature. N. 9 Washington 1933

(3) M. Goldstaub and R. Wendriner: Ein Tosco-Venezian Bestiarius Halle 1892

of the Latin Bestiaria and in the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais, Long Version. That is to say, that the Poème Moralisé belongs to that part of the French Bestiary tradition which is furthest removed from the direct Physiologus tradition, and the one to which most non-Physiologus material has been added. The Long Version of the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais is the religious manifestation of this faction, which is then adapted indirectly to form the Bestiaire d' Amour de Richard de Fournival, and the Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé, and adapted once more, this time without the moralising element to form the Cambrai Bestiary. (1)

The Poème Moralisé and the Bestiaires d'Amour, on the one hand, differ radically from the Religious Bestiaries in their approach to the arrangement of interpretative material: whereas the Religious Bestiaries use the different beasts to symbolise different entities - God, Man the Devil, Saints - the Poème Moralisé and the Bestiaires d'Amour address only one person throughout, and all attributes are made directly relevant to that one person. Indeed, it could well be that the Bestiaire d' Amour inspired the author of the Poème Moralisé, by its dedication to one subject, to return the Bestiary to its original religious intention while retaining the format of the secular Bestiary. As we can see from the number of manuscripts containing the Bestiaire d'Amour de Richard de Fournival (2) this work achieved great popularity and its influence was widespread.

This Poème Moralisé is incomplete, owing to the condition of the manuscript, and had never been published or completely edited; G. Reynaud (3)

---

(1) E. B. Ham (ed) The Cambrai Bestiary in Modern Philology Vol. XXXVI Los Angeles 1959

(2) Richard de Fournival: Li Bestiaire d'Amour Ed. C. Segre Milan/Naples 1957; Introduction

(3) G. Reynaud. OP. Cit. passim.

gives only those lines which contain the physical attributes.

Unlike the religious Bestiaries, in which a beast represents Man, Christ or the Devil, the animals in the Poème Moralisé each represent one facet of the character of the Virgin Mary. This is the logical culmination of the process we have seen developing from Honoré de Saint-Victor to Pierre de Beauvais: the process of simplification. And it is because, in the process of simplification, the moral intepretation became less securely rooted in the physical level of the symbol that the whole structure of the symbol was weakened and the system fell into abuse and neglect. Because the main interest in the symbol was in the relationship between the levels, in the thought processes which linked the various levels, and in the construction of the symbol, and when these precesses were no longer apparent, as in the case of the Poème Moralisé; when the allegorical level no longer carefully delineated; then the public's attention was drawn away from the purpose of the symbol, - a revelation of a facet of the mind of God - and focused onto the physical level, which, when considered in isolation, was too far-fetched to be credible, so the whole symbol lost its richness and interest, and the symbolic method of philosophy its purpose and use.

Let us look at an animal common to both the Poème Moralisé and the Bestiary and see the results of this simplification. All attributes and meanings are here taken from the Poème Moralisé (1)

1) Panthère a) a gentle beast, of many colours, which is nice to look at, but which has a fearsome head.

b) Enemy of the Dragon alone - all other animals follow him

---

(1) for a full account of the Bestiary attributes and meanings, see above Section 2 chapter 2

c) Has cubs only once

d) emits a sweet odour which the other beasts follow.

The panther is representative of the Virgin Mary because of her gentleness.

From the above example, it will be seen that the system of symbolism has weakened considerably: the Panther is representative of the Virgin because of one character trait in common. No meaning is given to the attribute which in the religious Bestiaries was the main one: the Panther's ability to attract to it all animals except the Dragon. No interpretation is given to the fact that the panther is of many colours. Only its supposedly gentle nature is chosen to represent the Virgin Mary. Indeed, this is no longer true symbolism, but merely parallelism.

Indeed, it would seem that the symbolic levels in the Poème Moralisé were so much weakened that G. Raynaud considered it unnecessary to publish them! He probably felt, like most later readers of the Bestiaries that it was the physical descriptions of the beasts that mattered, and not the interpretation; whereas we have seen that neither level is of less importance than the other; individually, both are meaningless.

However, the Plantaire contained in the same manuscript is a far better example of symbolism devoted to one person. The Plantaire follows the traditional Bestiary method of statement, intepretation and exhortation, as can be seen from the example below: the plant involved is the Plantain. The section is a long one, so we have selected only those lines relevant to our purpose.

C'est mult bonne herbe que plantain,

Elle est bonne a pie & a main

Ele est seiche de sa nature

et si est plainne de froideur. Section XLV. L. 1-4

The exposition therefore contains three attributes, and one of these refers to 'a pie' and 'a main'. In true Bestiary fashion, the Plantaire interprets not only the attributes of the plant, but also gives a meaning to the 'a pie' and 'a main':

Plantain est Marie la bonne L. 55

.....

Li Pie, ce sont li mendiant

La main, li riche et li puissant. L. 39-40

Later, the major attributes of the Plantain are given a detailed intepretation:

Elle fu seiche sans ordure

Et froide, quar en lui luxure

Nauroit nule, L. 65-67

Finally, there are two passages of exhortation to follow the example of the Virgin Mary, and a warning as to what will happen if you do not:

Marie donne souvent du pain,

Li riche esmuet a bien faire L. 46-47

..... mes tiex .....

Qui ne quiers mes charnez .....

Il te seront mult chier ven [du]

Quar au gibet d'enfer pendu

Tu seras se tu ne mues ta vie L. 67-71

Thus it can be seen that just as in the fullest Bestiary symbols, this section on the Plantain contains the Physical level, the Allegorical level and the Tropological level, and although it is dedicated to just one person, all the attributes given to the plant are picked up and given a full and relevant moral intepretation. The Plantaire is planted firmly in the roots of the Bestiary tradition, and is a true off shoot from it.

Volucraries are rare, and indeed, only two fragments appear to be in existence, the Volucrary in B.N.F.fr. 12483 and a fragment, in B.N.F.fr. 24428, which bears the name 'Omons'. However, even these two fragments are very different; the Volucrary in B.N.F.fr. 12483 appears to contain the Hyrondele, the Cycoigne, the Caladrius and the Cygnes, birds which in fact appear in the longer versions of the Bestiarium and in the Bestiaire d'Amour de Richard de Fournival, with the exception of the Cycogne; therefore it would seem that in fact the birds catalogued as forming a Volucrary are in fact merely part of the Poème Moralisé found in the same manuscript.

The Volucrary in B.N.F.fr. 24428 seems to owe more to the Aviarium than to the Bestiary/Physiologus tradition. It is merely a fragment, in that it contains only three birds: the 'Oiltoir' (the Hawk), 'li passerelle et li cedre' (the sparrows and the Cedar of Lebanon) and 'li poon' (peacocks).

But there is nothing fragmentary about the symbolism contained in each of the three sections: they cover between them 395 lines, an average of more than 100 lines per section, as long as any in The Bestiaire de Guillaume Leclerc, and longer than those in the Bestiaire de Gervaise.

The attributes given in this Volucrary, which is yet unpublished, are those given to the same birds in Part 1 of De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus, the Aviarium.

It would be too simple to say that Omons was compiling a Medieval French version of this vast and detailed work. If he were, and had only reached the first three birds, why are these birds not the first three of the Aviarium? (Which, in fact, are the Doves, the Turtle-dove and the Hawk.) Even if he decided to omit the Doves and Turtledoves, very long and tortuous passages in the Aviarium, why does he follow the account of the Sparrows, which does follow, by one on the Peacock, which is included near the end of the Aviarium?

It is possible, of course, that he was working from a text similar to the Aviarium, but whose order was different; the incomplete nature of the Volucrary must leave this question open to debate.

However, having said that, we are left with the fact that the attributes given in the Volucrary are very similar to those found in the Aviarium: the moral interpretation given is less detailed than in the Aviarium, but the meanings do not differ radically. The system of symbolism used in the Volucrary is the correct one: Omon gives physical description and attribute:

> Li passerel, qui petit sont
> Oiselets et de grant afaire,
> Dedens l'arbre font lor repaire.
> Cist senefient et demonstrent
> Les predicatours qui demonstrent
> la parole de Jhesu Crist (1)

---

(1) Omon: Volucraires in B.N.F.fr. 24428, Ll. 130-135

/40

The writer even uses the same terms in relation to the allegorical level as Philippe de Thaün: 'senefient', 'demonstrent', and he then goes on to add the tropological level by means of the following exhortation:

> Oi avez cest essamplaire
> S'on retenez, si ferez bien,
> Car je ne y ai menti de rien. (1)

So this Volucrary, fragmentary though it may be, belongs firmly to the true tradition of beast symbolism, and can be regarded, not as an offshoot of the Bestiary tradition, but rather as a parallel development, in that, like the Bestiaries, it adapts a Latin original into Medieval French and, while doing so, retains all the physical level, and much of the allegorical level as found in the Latin original.

There are several works, which, as they are based on Bestiary animals, seem as though they should belong to the Bestiary tradition, or at least make use of the physical attributes given to the same animals in the Bestiaries. Such a work is the Dit de l'Unicorn et du Serpent, a fabliau known in old Picard - this region was evidently a stronghold of animal symbolism - and in Burgundian, at least. The tale is well-known, and exists in several versions and many manuscripts. It was used as an exemplum before sermons (2), and is possibly of Oriental origin, as a very similar version is found in several Oriental collections. It has been translated from Sanscrit into Arab,

---

(1) Omon: Volucraire in B.N.F.fr. 24428, Ll. 144-147

(2) Jacques de Vitry, as edited by T.F. Crane: the Exempla or Illustrative stories from the 'Sermones Vulgares' de Jacques de Vitry London 1890 P. 191

Ethiopian, Greek, Latin. (1)

The legend is that a man, fleeing from a Unicorn, meets a serpent at the foot of a valley. He climbs into a tree, but soon he sees at the foot of the tree two little creatures who are gnawing at the treeroots. He feels he is doomed, until he tastes delicious honey, which is flowing down the branches and which makes him forget his troubles. Eventually, the tree falls.

In this allegorical tale, the man represents man and the human condition, the tree represents life, the two little creatures day and night, the serpent hell, and the honey the pleasures of life which make us forget our moral obligations. All this is symbolism of the traditional kind, with moral intepretation given to all details, and the use of the serpent to represent Hell is in accordance with the various meanings given to serpents in the Religious Bestiaries; where the symbolism does depart radically from the Religious Bestiaries is where the Unicorn is made a figure of Death, instead of representing Christ as it always has done throughout the Bestiaries. This adverse meaning given to the Unicorn is given also in the Greek version of Barlaam and Josaphat in other versions of this legend, man is represented as fleeing from a lion.

However, there is little doubt that the symbolism used in the Dit belongs to the tradition of Bestiary symbolism; the layout of the legend is the same: the exposition, which contains the physical description of the beasts as well as the legend:

---

(1) For all the information concerning the Dit de l'Unicorn et du Serpent, I am indebted to Mr. S. Andolf, who edited the Burgundian version of the legend.
Une version bourguignonne du Dit de l'Unicorn et du Serpent in Mélanges de Philology offerts à M. J. Melander Uppsala 1943 Pp. 82-108, especially Pages 83 and 105

Devant ses yauz vit une beste

Ydouse de cors et de teste.

Sor tot riens est felonosse

Et si por est larrenosse

Qu'il n'est nuns hons qui tant seüt

Qui de le garder se peüst.

Anmi le front estoit cornue

D'une corne si tres esgüe

N'est armeüre qu'atenist

Por que a droit cop fenist. (1)

An cele vaul qui si est ydoux

Hai .l. sarpant si mervioloux

Qui tot lou monde veut angoler

Les ganz destrure et esfoler.

Toz jors ai la goule beee

Et si gete si grant fumee (2)

The language setting out the moral interpretation is also that of the symbolism of the Religious Bestiaries:

Or est raisons que je vos die

Que cele beste senefie

Qui est cornue anmi lou fronc.

Ce est la morz qui nos confront (3)

---

(1) Le Dit de L'Unicorn et du Serpent ed S. Andolf L. 21-30

(2) Idem L. 41 - 46

(3) Idem L. 151 - 154

The tropological level of symbolism is also found in this tale; there are certain exhortations to chastity:

Se aucuns tient antre ses braiz

S'amie, soit pucelle ou dame

Por son solaz oblie s'arme (1)

and the usual Medieval idea of the equalising nature of death:

Ele fait si plenier son conte

Qu'ele n'espargne roi ne conte

Ele prant toz, foibles et forz. (2)

The most interesting, from our point of view, version of this exellent tale is the remodelled version by Guillaume Leclerc (3), in which Guillaume Leclerc retains the meaning given to the Unicorn by the legend, although he is obviously aware of the normal Bestiary interpretation:

L'Unicorne, ceo est la mort (4)

although the description given to the Unicorn could, from the point of view of content and technique, be taken from his Bestiary: To this cautionary tale, Guillaume adds his own style, a very personal one, of exhortation:

Biau seignors, se ore veum

Un tel home, que feriom?

Ne li devrion nus aider

Et a nos poeirs conseiller?

.....

Oil veir, jeo respondrai primes

Ore aidom donc a nos meimes

Qui somes en autretel cas. (5)

---

(1) Le Dit de l'Unicorn et du Serpent L. 252 - 4

(2) Idem L. 163 - 5

(3) Le Dit de l'Unicorn et du Serpent: remaniement par Guillaume Leclerc. ed. E. Martin in Guillaume Leclerc: Le Besant de Dieu Halle 1869

But all these versions in Old French adhere to the correct tradition of symbolic structure; in all three, we have the tripartite structure: exposition, interpretation, exhortation; so despite the unusual interpretation given to the Unicorn, the legend is a true relative, through style, of the Religious Bestiaries.

Indeed, perhaps the very difference in the treatment of the Unicorn helps us to understand more clearly that a symbol is a coheseive structure, and its logic is entirely internal: when reading the Dit de l'Unicorn, one notices in passing that the Unicorn is here used to symbolise something different from its Bestiary interpretation; however, that does not detract from the internal logic of the legend's symbolism, nor from its validity as a symbol; each symbol, correctly constructed, can stand in isolation from any other knowledge one might have of the animals mentioned; once again, we see that the interpretations given to a physical level in themselves can vary considerably as long as they are correctly linked and grow properly from the physical level given.

Finally, we must consider the form in which the Bestiaries survived into print, and in this form we see the culmination of the process of simplification which was started when the French Bestiaries, after Philippe de Thaün, stopped interpreting detail and started giving an interpretation of an animal as a whole.

Les Dits des Oiseaux and les Dictz des Bestes aussi des Oiseaulx, some of which were printed by A Lotrian in 1505 were very attenuated versions of the later Bestiaries; the animals they contain are the remains of the larger Bestiaria with some domestic animals thrown in

---

(4) Le Dit de l'Unicorn et du Serpent: remaniement par Guillaume Leclerc. ed. E. Martin in Guillaume Leclerc: Le Besant de Dieu Halle 1869 P. XXXII (no line references given in text)

(5) Idem. Pp. XXXll (No line references given in text.)

(These references are carried over from the previous sheet)

1145

for good measure, doubtless attracted by the mention, although under very different terms, of animals like the Goat and the Wild ass, in the Religious Bestiaries and in the Bestiaria.

The Dits themselves consist of quatrains, 17 in the case of the Dits des Oiseaux, 22 in the case of the Dits des Bestes, which are rhymed on alternate lines, and each of the quatrains and with a moral or a proverb, some times appropriate, sometimes not, but in any case trite and almost meaningless; this is all that is left of the tropological level; the true allegorical or intepretative level has vanished completely and all we are left with are three sad lines of physical-level exposition and one line of homespun philosophy.

Even the physical level has suffered; some of the quatrains contain a very watered-down version of the original Bestiary physical description: the Eagle still carries its young towards the sun whose rays it alone can bear to face, the Pelican still dies for its young; but the Lion, although king of the Beasts, no longer resuscitates its young: it is too concerned with its own fate:

De toutes les bestes suis le roy
Couronne par cruel effort
Peu ce me bault quant j'aperçoy
Que mourir fault foible et forz. (1)

And although the Beaver still castrates itself to avoid capture, gone are the noble sentiments expressed in the Religious Bestiaries:

Pour plus complaire aux creatures
Qui me cherchent pour mettre a mort
Arrache a les dents mes natures
Trop pleure qui n'a reconfort. (2)

---

(1) Le Dictz des Bestes aussi des Oisealx (ed. A. Lotrian 1505) F. 1

(2) Idem. F. 3

A sad end indeed to a noble tradition!

The oldest version known is Ms. Tours 907, which belongs to the XVth century; there is another manuscript at Aosta, and several printed editions. There is also a later, much adulterated version: le Compost et Kalendrier des Bergers in which the order of the Quatrains is altered. (1)

The illustrations used by Lotrian in his printed edition have fared better than the text! The end-papers have illustrations of the Dragon, the Eagle, the Vuivre and the Unicorn, even though this last is not mentioned in the text. The illustration given to the Lion and the Leopard is in fact an old illustration of the Panther, recogniseable by all the animals following it; although this is suitable for the Lion. An illustration for the Aptalon has been given to the Bull, and the ill-fated Beaver is deprived even of his picture, which is given to the Calf, while he has been given the picture of a two-headed Dragon! The rear end-papers contain the pictures of two birds in a tree, which could be a representation of Doves and Paradixion, or of the Turtledove; unidentifiable skeletal fish; a woman turning away from a bird, and a good, accurate representation of the Monkey, carrying one of its young on its back, and the other in front of it.

After this final, decadent version, the French Physiologus/ Bestiary tradition dies, to be resurrected only by Guillaume Apollinaire in the early years of this century. The Latin Bestiaria fare better, being used as authoritatative texts into the XVIIth century, when they in turn were replaced by nature observed in the new craze: empiricism.

---

(1) Les Dits des Oiseaux: ed. J. Morawski in Archivum Romanicum Vol. XlV (1930). P. 119 - 128

Thus the French Bestiary tradition was alive for four hundred years, from the Bestiaire de Philippe de Thaün, c. 1120 to the printed version of Alain Lotrian's Dicts des Bestes et des Oiseaux c. 1505. However, the great century of animal symbolism was undoubtedly the XIIIth, which gave us the Bestiaire de Gervaise, the Bestiaire de Guillaume Leclerc the two Bestiaries by Pierre de Beauvais, the Bestiaire d'Amour de Richard de Fournival, and all their varied offshoots.

Perhaps it is sad, however, to think that the interest generated by the XIIIth century in animal symbolism finally degraded and killed a system of philosophy whose roots went back to the fifth century, and which, until popularised, remained a valid philosophical tool in the hands of those who knew how to use it.

CORRELATION OF INCLUSIONS IN THE BESTIARIES AND THE BESTIAIRES D'AMOUR

Animal	Philippe de Thaün	Gervaise	Guillaume Leclerc	Pierre de Beauvais	Richard de Fournival	Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé
Abeilles	—	—	—	—	—	+
Adamas	■	—	■			
Aigle	■					
Alérions	—	—	—	+	—	—
Amon li Prophetes	—	—	—	+	—	—
Aptalon	■				—	■
Araigne et Mosche	—	—	—	■		
L' Arbre (Barnacle Goose)	—	—	—	+	—	—
Argus le vachier	—	—	—	■		
Aronde	—	—	—	■		
Aspis	■					
Assida	■					
Basilcoq	—	—	—	■		
Caladrius	■					
Castor	■					
Centicore	—	—	—	+	—	—
Cerf	■				—	■
Cetus /Lacovie	■					
Chien	—	—	—	■		
Chouette	—	—	—	—	—	+
Colum	■	—	■			
Coq	—	—	—	—	■	
Corbels	—	■	—	■		
Coucou	—	—	—	—	—	+
Cygne	—	—	—	■		
Dipsas and Prialis	—	■		—	—	—
Dorcon	■	—	■		—	—
Dragon	—	■	—	—	■	

3/1/49

Animal	Philippe de Thaün	Gervaise	Guillaume Leclerc	Pierre de Beauvais	Richard de Fournival	Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé
Ecrivisse	—	—	—	—	—	+
Escoufle	—	—	—	+	—	—
Espech	—	—	—	—	—	—
Essinus	—	—	—	+	—	—
Fénix	—	—	—	—	—	—
Formi	—	—	—	—	—	—
Fullica	—	—	—	—	—	—
Faucon	—	—	—	—	+	—
Goupil	—	—	—	—	—	—
Griffon	—	—	—	+	—	—
Grue	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hareng	—	—	—	—	—	—
Harpie	—	—	—	+	—	—
Heriçun	—	—	—	—	—	—
Home	—	—	—	+	—	—
Huerans	—	—	—	+	—	—
Hydre et Crocodile	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hyena	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hupe	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ibis	—	—	—	—	—	—
Leu	—	—	—	—	—	—
Leus	—	—	—	—	—	—
Liens	—	—	—	—	+	—
Lion	—	—	—	—	—	—
Merle	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mésange	—	—	—	+	—	—
Monosceros	—	—	—	—	—	—
Muscaliet	—	—	—	+	—	—
Mustele	—	—	—	—	—	—

Animal	Philippe de Thaün	Gervaise	Guillaume Leclerc	Pierre de Beauvais	Richard de Fournival	Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé
Nicticorax	▬	–	▬	▬	–	–
Oisel	–	–	–	+	–	–
Olifans	▬	▬	▬	▬	▬	▬
Onager	▬	–	▬	▬	▬	▬
Onoscentaurus	▬	–	–	▬	–	▬
Pantère	▬	▬	▬	▬	▬	▬
Paon	–	–	–	▬	▬	▬
Papegeais	–	–	–	+	–	–
Paradixion	▬	–	▬	▬	–	–
Pellicanus	▬	▬	▬	▬	▬	▬
Perdris	▬	▬	▬	▬	▬	▬
Pic	–	–	–	–	–	+
Plovier	–	–	–	–	+	–
Rat	–	–	–	–	▬	▬
Rossignol	–	–	–	▬	▬	▬
Scorpion	–	–	–	–	–	+
Serena	▬	▬	▬	▬	▬	▬
Serra	▬	▬	▬	▬	▬	▬
Singe	▬	▬	▬	▬	▬	▬
Sylio	▬	▬	▬	▬	▬	▬
Taupe	–	–	–	▬	▬	▬
Tigre	–	–	–	▬	▬	▬
Tiris	–	–	–	▬	▬	▬
Trisnon	–	–	–	+	+	–
Turrobolen	▬	–	▬	▬	–	▬
Turtre	▬	▬	▬	▬	▬	▬
Voltoir	–	–	–	▬	▬	▬
Wivre	–	–	–	+	–	–
Woutre	–	–	–	▬	▬	▬

THE NUMBER OF NUCLEAR ANIMALS ALSO FOUND IN THE 'BESTIAIRES D'AMOUR'

Animal	Philippe de Thaün	Gervaise	Guillaume Leclerc	Pierre de Beauvais	Richard de Fournival	Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé
Aigle						
Adamas			—	—	—	
Aptalon						
Aspis						
Assida						
Caladrius						
Castor						
Cerf				—		
Cetus / Lacovie						
Colum			—			
Dorcon			—	—	—	
Fénix						
Formi				—	—	
Fullica			—	—	—	
Goupil						
Heriçun						
Hydre et Crocodile						
Hyena						
Hupe				—	—	
Ibis						
Lion						
Monosceros						
Mustele						
Nicticorax			—	—	—	
Olifans						
Onager			—			
Onoscentaurus		—		—		

Animal	Philippe de Thaün	Gervaise	Guillaume Leclerc	Pierre de Beauvais	Richard de Fournival	Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé
Pantère	■	■	■	■	■	■
(Paradixion)	■	■	■	—	—	—
Pellicanus	■	■	■	■	■	■
Perdris	■	■	■	■	■	■
Serena	■	■	■	■	■	■
Serra	■	■	■	■	■	■
Singe	■	■	■	■	■	■
Sylio	■	■	■	—	■	■
Turrobolen	■	■	■	—	—	■
Turtre	■	■	■	■	■	■

PART 111 CHAPTER 11

THE HISTORICAL SETTING OF THE BESTIARIES, RELATING THEM AND THEIR MORALISING CONTENT TO THE THOUGHTS AND EVENTS OF THE ERA IN THE RELIGIOUS, MORAL AND SECULAR FIELDS.

A. THE BESTIARIES AND SYMBOLISM.

The Bestiaries written in France during the X11th and X111th centuries, although often translated directly from earlier Latin texts, or based on such works, nevertheless incorporate several features of a religious, moralising or historical nature, which prove them to be images, albeit exaggerated ones, of the period in which they were written. The most important feature representative of their period is the style of philosophical reasoning they employ: the system of symbolism. But within this framework also lie many smaller traits, such as antifeminism, anti-Semitism and asceticism. There is a serious warning against heresy, and, in one Bestiary, severe condemnation of the pettiness which led to and surrounded the Great Interdict of 1208 - 1213.

> "For now we know in part, and we prophesy in part.
> But when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away.
> .....
> For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then I shall know, even as I am known."
>
> (Corinthians 13: V. 9, - 10: 12)

"N'en est rien en cest munt
Qui essample ne dunt,
K'il savreit demander,
Enquerre e espruver." (1)

To comprehend the infinite, touch the inaccessible, understand that which is beyond understanding has been the aim of philosophy from its beginnings; from man's first awareness, of his surroundings; of the world's ability to regenerate and recommence while he can only go onwards; of mysterious phenomena: fire, stars, planets. To seek what philosophers will call the 'Primum mobile'. But man, however gifted with insight, cannot comprehend the "system" he feels exists. He cannot even pinpoint the cause of this system, although he frequently gives it a name: "primum mobile", "God", the 'Absolute Idea'. The 'System' is all too large for him; he cannot envisage the whole; what he can comprehend, however, is that there is such a system. From this, he deduces that natural phenomena have a place in the whole; and that once he can determine the place given, the part played, by each phenomenon, and, even more important, once he can descry the links which bind individual phenomena, then he can find a pattern which he can then use to complete his knowledge of natural phenomena, and progress from there to an understanding of the "first cause".

There are almost as many attempts to find a pattern as there are philosophers; unfortunately, no-one has achieved the objective: ultimate, infinite knowledge; even present-day scientific

---

(1) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire L. 2541 - 4.

researches have not isolated fully the life-factor. Total comprehension has yet to be reached.

The pattern mooted by the Middle Ages - Symbolism - was influenced not only by Christian philosophy, but also by Plato and Aristotle. The relevant elements in their thought (we feel it superfluous to give here an "Aperçu" of the whole philosophies of these two writers) are as follows.

From Plato, Symbolism uses the theory of Ideas: that the ultimate Reality of Ideas, (that is, pure, formless thought) was reflected in a weakened, transitory way in the sensible world; and to reach the unchanging Idea - which was the object of knowledge and philosophy - one had to be able to reach beyond the material world and thus understand the principle that it embodied. Further, "So far as man was concerned, his soul had originally pre-existed as a spiritual substance, in which it had been able to grasp the intelligible directly. Now, however, it could only reach the truth by disengaging it from its material setting in individual things." (1)

Truth, therefore, was something that existed, infinitely, beyond the material world, and was mirrored by this same derivative, the world of sense perception. Therefore, to reach an understanding of the Truth, one collected the data obtainable from natural phenomena and read beyond them to the Absolute Idea.

This concept of the Absolute Idea, however, does not mean that the Absolute Idea was just a more perfected form of the phenomenon; it was rather that this Absolute Idea had in it the

---

(1) G. Leff: Medieval Thought P. 13

essence of what was to be the material embodiment. For example, an earthly lion had an absolute counterpart which contained the essence, not the form, of this earthly lion. Further, as the Absolute Lion was merely an essence, this essence could be found, under a different guise, as another material phenomenon, which would thus have qualities similar to those of a lion. Hence, ultimately, all material phenomena were combined in the universal Absolute Idea.

Thus one link binding natural phenomena was conceived.

Aristotle's analysis, on the other hand, was concerned more with things than with Ideas. What mattered to him was the form with which an Idea (which he termed 'matter' or 'potentiality') was embodied. Potentiality was invalid unless clothed in form; an absolute concept of a lion is useless without the material form of a lion; it is hermetically sealed; only when embodied in the form of a material lion can it become a lion; it is only in this way that can be known, comprehended as a lion. As Leff puts it: "Accordingly, Aristotle saw the whole process of growth in the progressive realisation of matter into the actuality of form." (1)

The importance of these two writers to the Philosophy of symbolism, therefore, is that they give the basis of symbolism in the duality of nature: that is, that a natural phenomenon does not exist in isolation; one must pass beyond such phenomena to the Idea that is incarnated therein; that, as a result, every phenomenon contains some essence of the Absolute; and thus, by piecing together the data obtainable from phenomena by insight and

---

(1) G. Leff: Medieval Thought P. 14

reason (Christian philosphers add: by divine inspiration) one can see emerging the vision of the Absolute one has been seeking.

This is precisely the object that the Christian philosophers had in view: to select what was of essence, in natural phenomena, to sublimate it through several stages of experience and interpretation, to the stage where it affords a glimpse of the Absolute; in Christian terms, a glimpse of God. This was the concept of thinking known as symbolism.

But what, exactly, is meant by the term "symbolism"? How does it differ from personification, allegory, emblems, heraldry? How was symbolism used as a philosophical tool?

What is a Symbol?

On the most superficial level, a symbol can be said to be something that represents something else; for example, the four Apostolic beasts which represent the four Apostles: when we see the four beasts together, we know immediately whom they represent. At this level, too, an emblem is a symbol: the crossed keys seen on a statue tell us it is a statue of St. Peter. A natural object can, also, represent an abstract concept: the red rose is a symbol of love. Here too, personification can be termed symbolism: the statue of Liberty in New York Harbour; justice, blindfolded, with her scales and sword. Heraldry also enters the picture: the White Rose of Yorkshire, the three scimitars of Essex, The Welsh Dragon.

But this kind of symbol is confined to recognition on this level; the interchange goes no deeper; one does not have to pass

beyond the symbol to see what is symbolised.

Also, although such symbols are often linked to what they symbolise by links suggested in the nature of the symbol itself: the blindfolded on "Justice" suggests its impartiality, the sword its promptness to vengeance, there is little in any of these symbols that is truly suggestive of what is symbolised; truly suggestive, that is, without prior knowledge to enable one to recognise its meaning. Thus, to us, the White Rose may symbolise Yorkshire, or be suggestive of the Wars of the Roses, but, to a foreigner unfamiliar with our traditions, the White Rose would have no such significance; it may suggest to him, however, connections which the flower does not hold for us.

Such symbols H. Flanders-Dunbar (1) places on a par with scientific symbols and the non-symbolist, everyday use of language; these he terms "Arbitrary-Association symbols"; that is, the sort of symbol which represents the thing symbolised only on one level of interpretation and only because there is prior knowledge to enable one to recognise the symbol. This is not to say that the symbol cannot become highly emotive or even that the symbol cannot become inseperable from what it symbolises; the fact still remains that, although the symbol may once have had some internal, direct link, this link is now conventional.

For a pattern of thought to try to comprehend by analogy what is incomprehensible, this is obviously too shallow a form of representation to fulfil the role of academic instrument, symbolism's role in the Middle Ages.

H. Flanders-Dunbar (2) admirably defines the two remaining

---

(1) H. Flanders-Dunbar. Symbolism in Medieval Thought. Appendix A. (passim)

(2) H. Flanders-Dunbar. OP. CIT. P. 478

forms of symbolism: descriptive, and insight or intrinsic symbol.

A descriptive symbol is one that uses elements common both to the symbol and to the thing it symbolises. It is usually used in poetry, or as a comparative term, such as "he was a lion of a man", where the idea of the physical and temperamental qualities of the lion is superimposed over the vision of the man, and the vividness of the phrase is enhanced by the use of the animal as symbol instead of the use of adjectives common to both man and lion. Such symbols, comparative symbols, are based on observation and relation of two or more common factors.

This form of symbolism could be taken to be the one used in the Bestiairies; certainly the concept of, say, Christ, is lent immediacy and, initially at least, novelty, by the comparison of Christ and a lion; and there are essences of character and role which invite such comparison; but the element essential to the comparison symbol is lacking: the ability to compare symbol and symbolised on one level, immediately and without searching in either component the common factors which make up the link between symbol and symbolised: for a descriptive symbol to be effective, it needs to be clearly comprehensible and immediate enough to enhance with its vividness the thing symbolised.

Which brings us to the final form of symbolism, largely misunderstood and neglected today, a form of symbolism which relies on thought and analysis for its value; whose symbolic quality is intrinsic in that some aspect of the symbol or its legend embodies some concept of the thing symbolised. This is, as H. Flanders-Dunbar calls it, the insight symbol [1]: "when the physical

---

(1) H. Flanders-Dunbar. OP. CIT. P 478

object is used to suggest something larger and more abstract which that object may help to express."

There we have the essence of the use of symbolism in the Middle ages: it was used as a philosophical tool to try to stretch beyond the physical to what controls, or, in this case, created it: to try to catch a glimpse to God.

Thus, although a lion is used to symbolise Christ, this is not because there is a total, immediate physical or moral resemblance between Christ and a lion; the writer, as it were, looks through the image offered by a lion, and thus tries to render intelligible, by the catalyst of the lion symbol, some aspect or attribute of God, which in some way resembles the aspect of the lion put forward in the symbol.

It is at this point that we realise the importance of Plato's thought to the Medieval mind. Firstly, the use of a symbol to try to grasp a truth beyond immediate comprehension by relating this truth to a material object is very similar in essence to Plato's theory of Absolute Ideas. Both systems seek to connect a physical object to an Idea which transcends it, while at the same time containing its essence; and in the Christian system, is deemed to have created it.

Secondly, the two modes of thought have in common the concept of a superlative essence, beyond man's comprehension; and both hold it possible to arrive at appreciation, if not comprehension, of this essence by studying its material manifestations. Both philosophies recognise the concept basic to the symbol: the inter-dependence of creation.

Unlike later symbols, the symbols used by the medieval world were built up in four levels of truth, each of which complemented and enhanced the others.

The first level was known as the Literal level, at which the physical and moral attributes of the symbol were set forth. As each level of the symbol was vital to the understanding of the others, it follows that the writers believed, if not all the physical attributes of, to use the example of the Bestiaries, an animal as described by the writer's sources, at least enough to be able to build successfully their symbol on such a foundation. Thus we are expected to believe that the lion does sleep with its eyes open, that the cubs are born 'dead' and are resuscitated after three days, that it erases its tracks with its tail, and so on. Without such belief, or at least, "willing suspension of disbelief", the symbol cannot be considered complete on all levels.

The second level was termed the allegorical level, which interprets the attributes of the animal by giving truths in relation to humanity as a whole. Christ can be included in this category by virtue of his position as the highest embodiment of humanity. With reference to Christ, the lion embodies, in its ability to sleep with its eyes open, Christ's incarnation: that, as his earthly body rested (or was crucified), His divinity was alive in the skies:

"Sa char dormoit et reposoit,
Sa deite en ciel velloit." (1)

The third, tropological level instructs the listener in his duty towards his fellow man, and in the conduct advisable for the

---

(1) Gervaise: Bestiaire, ed. P. Meyer in Romania 1 1872 Ll. 117-118

well-being of his soul; it is the moral lesson to be gained from any event. Thus the lion sleeping with its eyes open could be interpreted as man's need to be ever watchful against the machinations of the Evil One; so that he is not caught by sin.

The fourth level, the Anagogical level, refers to the ultimate truth, which is not confined to the world or to eschatalogical time (the Christian equivalent of Plato's Absolute Ideas). Thus, the Lion's watchfulness would indicate God's constant watching and guarding of the universe:

"He who guardeth Israel shall neither slumber nor sleep"(1)

This, then, is how Medieval symbolism is conceived in its most perfected state; each symbol - and this cannot be overstressed - is valid on all four levels simultaneously. Although symbolism is used as a method to reconcile what, on the literal level, is irreconcileable, does not mean that Middle Ages thinkers were casuistic; they did not intend, by these varying levels, that they can be interpreted as an intellectual shifting (the Bestiaries show a great deal of agreement in their various interpretations of an animal); this multiplicity of levels is designed to show that every level of creation is pervaded by the same spirit, and are linked and reconciled in the one, united Being.

However, it is rare that the popularised products of a philosophical system match up to the standard of the system itself. Obviously, the Bestiaries written in France in the X11th and X111th centuries are works based on the symbolic system. The writers are

---

(1) Psalms: ch. 119 v. 4.

quite adamant that the only way to understand the Scriptures is by digging deep to find different levels of interpretation to clarify difficult passages. For them, the idea of interpreting the Scriptures at levels other than the literal is central to the whole of Christian Philosophy. It is, according to Philippe de Thaün, because the Jews take the Scriptures at face value that they renounce Christ and are damned:

"... La letre ocit, ço dit
E li espiriz vit.
Ço est dit pur essample
Qu'en aiez remembrance.
Judeus literature
Tant entent d'escripture
N'entent allegorie
Ne set que signefie;" (1)

The mode of thought certainly has support in the Bible, as Philippe de Thaün does not omit to point out in support of his statement above:

"E pur ço Sainz Pols dit
Par veir en sun escrit,
Lei est espirital
E neient corporal." (2)

Indeed, it seems that the constant insistence in the Bible for interpretative and intuitive study of the words of Christ could, in addition to Origen's teaching, be one of the main factors in the Medieval urge to seek spiritual interpretation of all physical

---

(1) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire Ll. 951 - 8

(2) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire Ll. 947 - 50, referring to: Romans: chap. 7 v. 14

objects. This is what inspired the original writers of the Greek Latin Bestiaries and doubtless played a great part in their transcription into French.

It is for this reason that the type of symbol used in the Bestiaries is the insight symbol - the writer's intent is not to enhance vividness of description in the thing symbolised, but to reach beyond and bring to our comprehension an aspect of God.

But the Bestiaries are nowhere near as complex as the full system of symbolism would seem to suggest. In most cases the symbol is put forward only on two levels, either the literal level plus the allegorical level, or the literal level plus the tropological level; occasionally, we find the literal, allegorical and tropological levels combined, but this is rare, as each section seems to have its own, distinct purpose; either to explain the life of Christ, (the allegorical level) or to give an exemplum based on the legend of a particular animal (the tropological layer). In fact, it is often difficult to decide, because of the layout of the section, whether the allegorical or tropological level is being used, as both levels deal with humanity and its relations, the one to Christ and the other to man. When an exhortation to follow the example is given, the section is obviously resolved onto the tropological level; but when a holy Man's life is held up for example, without any comment, then it becomes difficult to choose between the two. An example of each is given below.

First, let us consider how the Bestiaries construct a symbol. The procedure is straight forward, and is used, with some additions, by all authors.

The symbol itself is complex in that several physical attributes are put forward, or a brief legend is told. The "Signefiement" is then given, in which every physical attribute becomes the embodiment of an allegorical truth. It is not, therefore, so much a case of the lion signifying Christ, but that one of the attributes given to the lion interprets one attribute or aspect of Christ. To clarify this, let us consider several examples of the construction of a symbol, as given by Philippe de Thaün. First, the Monosceros (unicorn), an example of a symbol showing the literal and allegorical levels.

PART 1

THE LITERAL LEVEL

A) PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

1) has one horn in the middle of its forehead.
2) looks like a small deer.

B) LEGEND OF THE UNICORN

1) has to be captured with the aid of a virgin.
2) when one hunts it, one places a maiden, with her corsage open, in a spot where the unicorn is thought to be.
3) the Unicorn comes along, places its head on the maiden's breast, kisses it and falls asleep.
4) hunter either kills the Unicorn or captures it alive.

1) 'Monosceros' in French means 'one horn'. =

"Monosceros griu est,
En franceis un cor est
Beste de tel baillie
Jesu Crist signefie:
Uns Deus est e serat
E fut e permaindrat". (1)

Christ; He is one God and always will be.

2) Maiden = Saint Mary

"La virgine signefie,
Saciez, Sainte Marie." (2)

3) The Virgin's breast = the Holy Chruch

"Par sa mamele entent
Sainte Eglise ensement," (3)

4) The kiss = peace

"E pais par le baisier
Ço deit signefier." (4)

5) The sleep = a sleeping man has the same appearance as a dead man; on the Cross, Christ's manhood died, but as a God, he only slept.

"E om, quant il se dort,
En semblance est de mort:
Deus cum ume dormit
Qu'en la croiz mort sufrit." (5)

To illustrate the sort of symbol which consists of a literal level and a tropological level, let us consider the version of "Aptalon" as found in the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais, Short Version p.iv

---

(1) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire: L 417 - 22
(2) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire: L 435 - 6
(3) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire: Ll. 437 - 8
(4) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire: Ll 439 - 440
(5) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire: Ll. 441 - 444

PART 1

A)

THE LITERAL LEVEL

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

1) so fierce that no hunter dare approach it.

2) has two horns, like a saw, with which it can cut down large trees.

B)

LEGEND OF THE APTALON

1) when the beast is thirsty, it goes to the Euphrates to drink.

2) next to the river is a clump of bushes, full of little twigs.

3) the animal begins to play there and gets its horns caught up in the twigs. It cannot escape, and cries out.

4) the hunter comes up and kills it.

PART 11

Thus you, the Christian, who is studying to be wise and chaste, should shun the Devil, for you have the two horns, which is the understanding of good and evil from the two testaments, with which you can cut away from yourself the vices of the flesh (which are then listed). Therefore, you must avoid drunkenness, because of the vices which ensue, so that the Devil does not kill you - this is the hunter who is always waiting for you. Wine and women separate man from God.

In this example, although the significations of the horns, the twigs and the hunter are given in an allegorical fashion, the bulk of the interpretation is addressed directly to the reader in

the form of an exhortation; unlike the sections of allegory, it is written in the second person, "tu, Crestiens de Dieu," "eschive-toi de Deable", "tu as les dous cornes", etc. The whole tone of the tropological sections is different from that of the allegorical sections: they are more immediate, more urgent, more personal.

However, they do not differ radically from allegorical sections; in the next two examples, Philippe de Thaün's version of the legend of the Aptalon and Guillaume Leclerc's, we shall see how the content of the two sections changes little, but how they differ from the example in tone, as they deal with different levels of the same symbol. Firstly, from the Bestiaire de Philippe de Thaün, we shall see the sort of symbol which is tropological in content, in that it concerns man's behaviour and contains an obvious moral lesson; but allegorical in from in that it treats of man in abstract; it is not a message directed just at the reader, but at the whole of humanity; it is a general message, as opposed to a particular.

PART 1

THE LITERAL LEVEL

A)

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

1) wild beast, cannot be caught or wounded except by trickery
2) has two, pointed, sharp-edged horns with which it can cut down trees.

B)

LEGEND OF THE APTALON

1) seeks the waters of the Euphrates, which comes from Paradise.
2) when it has drunk there, it finds a small bush where it playsand rubs its horns and gets them caught in the thin twigs.

3) Hunter comes along and finds it fast in the bush and kills it.

PART 11 — THE ALLEGORICAL LEVEL

1) Aptalon = man

"Beste de tel baillie
Est om de ceste vie." (1)

2) Two horns = the Old and New Testaments

"Dous leis Deus li dunat
Que om pur cornes at,
La viez e la nuvele
.....
Par quei om pot destruire
Pechié, diable e ire." (2)

3) Trees (which the beast can cut down) = the corruption of the human race and the nine deadly sins (listed)

"Par les arbres entent
Corruptiun de gent
Nof pechiez criminals
Par quei om est mortals," (3)

4) Water = drunkeness

5) Bushes = prostitutes

"E c'est allegorie,
Kar l'eve signefie
Ivrece, e le buissun
Putain par grant raisun;" (4)

---

(1) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire Ll. 799 - 800
(2) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire Ll 801 - 3, 805 - 6
(3) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire Ll, 809 - 812
(4) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire Ll. 831 - 834

6) Hunter = Satan

"Par veneür entent

Sathan ki ume prent.." (1)

Thus we see that, to this point, Philippe de Thaün's version of the Aptalon is an allegory; he himself uses this term (L. 831) yet, although its message is general, it is of particular importance to the individual; Philippe de Thaün therefore reinforces the tropological content by one line in the second person:

"Aiez en remembrance" (2)

This in itself is not sufficient to constitute a tropological level; but it places the symbol half way between the allegorical and the tropological levels.

In the next example, we see how Guillaume Leclerc combines all three levels so far dealt with in his section on the Aptalon; in this, the allegorical levels are clearly defined and separate:

PART 1 — THE LITERAL LEVEL

A) PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

1) has two sharp horns on its head, which can cut down trees
2) so fast that no hunter can catch it
3) lives in the region round the Euphrates

B) LEGEND OF THE APTALON

1) when the Aptalon is thirsty, it goes to the waters of the Euphrates to drink
2) when it has drunk its fill, it goes to play in a thicket near the river

---

(1) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire: L. 835 - 6.
(2) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire: L. 845

3) its horns become entangled and, unable to free itself, it cries out.

4) The hunter hears it and kills it.

PART 11 — THE ALLEGORICAL LEVEL

1) Animal with two horns = man, who has two weapons against evil: the Old and New Testaments.

"Iceste beste signefie
Plusors homes qui sont en vie
Qui ont deus cornes finement :
C'est l'un e l'altre testament.." (1)

2) Drink of Water and twigs = wicked world, here on earth, man is caught in its meshes. Vain glory of the world.

"E quel boisson porreit ceo estre
Fors cest malvais monde terrestre
Qui si est fals e decevant
Ou tant se juent li alquant
Qu'il i sont pris e acrochez?" (2)

3) Hunter = Devil

"Li veneres, ben le sachez,
Est cil qui le fol home chace
Tant qu'il l'ateint en cele place
Soz le boisson e la l'occit
Sanz defense e sanz contredit." (3)

---

(1) Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire: L. 281 - 4

(2) Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire: L. 291 - 5

(3) Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire: L. 296 - 300

Man should therefore be careful and flee the nine deadly sins (listed); otherwise, he will not only lose his earthly life, but will be damned eternally:

"Ha, por Deu, home, garde tei,
Qui en Deu as creance e fei,
.....
Si tes cors ne poez desaerdre,
La vie t'en covendra perdre,
Non pas del cors tant seulement,
Mais cele de l'alme ensement.
Ne semble pas la beste mue
Qui del boisson ne se remue,
Devant qu'ele i est entreprise.
Si ceste essample as ben aprise
E selonc ceo volez ovrer,
Grant ben en porras recovrer." (1)

Thus we have seen how different authors build their symbols. The most usual combination of levels is that of the Literal level, combined with the allegorical level, and we include in the "allegorical" category those symbols which are allegorical in form and tropological in meaning. This is the form favoured by Philippe de Thaün, and Guillaume Leclerc, when he does not add the tropological level as well, as well as Gervaise. Pierre de Beauvais, in both the Long and Short versions of his Bestiary, prefers to use the symbol which he puts forward on the Literal and tropological levels.

---

(1) Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire: L. 329 - 330; 335 - 341

It could be said, therefore, that the Bestiaries are not true examples of the Medieval system of symbolism, and this is true to a certain extent, in that the majority of symbols are constructed on two levels, and the rest on three only. However, one cannot ignore the fact that the symbols used in the Bestiaries are insight symbols, and that they undertake the role of philosophical instrument, however imperfectly. But why are they incomplete? Is this the fault of the transcribers or authors?

It must be remembered that the clerics that compiled the French Bestiaries, although they were working from sources, were not mere adaptors - it is no mean task translating from a well-known language like Latin into a still partially formed French language; several of them were men with more than one work to their credit, especially Guillaume Leclerc, whose Bestiary is perhaps the best informed. As clerics, too, they would be used, not only to listening to but writing symbolic material in sermons and religious treatises, It is, therefore, quite reasonable to assume that they were capable of expounding a symbol on all its levels; it is, after all, a question of putting together assimilated technique and well-known material.

However, one must here, briefly, as the matter will be dealt with in detail elsewhere, take into account the reasons for which the Bestiaries were written, and the uses to which they were put.

The Bestiaries of Pierre de Beauvais and of Philippe de Thaün were written under noble patronage for court persons; it is possible that Henri Beauclerc for whom Philippe de Thaün was

writing, understood symbolic processes, but whether his queen, to whom the work is dedicated, would, is another matter. Philippe de Thaün, possibly, was trying to write a didactic work that was within the comprehension of its probable audience. This is probably true, too, for the other Bestiaries; they are didactic works, certainly, but not on the same scale as the great "Summae" or the major works of Christian theosophy. One of the purposes of the Bestiaries was to illustrate sermons - and the congregation was at best of similar intellectual standing to the writers, but more usually, lacked this amount of instruction. The Bestiaries, therefore, seem to have been designed, at least in some respects, for the purpose of giving clear and memorable instruction to the less-well educated; and for the sake of clarity, it was doubtless easier to have one level, possibly with an exhortation to follow suit, than to confuse their listeners with using all four levels. It is for this reason, too, that the anagogical level is not used; it is by far the most difficult to understand and express, and lies outside the needs of the average congregation.

That the writers realised what they were doing is evident from the terminology that they use. They differentiate between the allegorical level and the tropological level by calling the first the "signification", the "entendemente," and in the case of Philippe de Thaün, the "allegorie"; all words which indicate a need for interpretation of the Literal level, or 'Letre'. The tropological level is indicated by the word "essample", or by a general exhortation to follow the message in the section.

The first of these passages indicates an allegory; the second, a tropological reading:

"Iceste beste sanz dotance
Porte mult grant signefiance.
La mer qui est grant e parfonde,
Signefie cest present monde
Qui mult est malvais e amer." (1)

"Ici deivent essample prendre
Cil qui a Deu se voelent rendre
E qui maignent en bone vie:
Fuir deivent la compagnie
Des femmes ententivement,
E lor charnel apresmement." (2)

This distinction is made by all writers, and always in the same terms, except when Philippe de Thaün uses the term "allegorie".

So far, we have dealt with the allegorical and tropological levels of the insight symbol. Let us now turn to the other level used in the Bestiaries: the Literal level.

This level poses several problems, more complex than those surrounding the other levels. These problems arise from the nature of the material included in this level. Many of the attributes given to the animals are now known to be untrue; in many cases, notably those of the Unicorn and the Phoenix, the animals themselves are mythological. How important, therefore, is the Literal level in view of these facts?

It is, we feel, insulting to the intelligence of Medieval writers to assume that they believed implicitly in all the fabulous beasts described in the Bestiaries, especially in some of the larger ones. However, as we have already seen, the basic philosophy of

---

(1) Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire: L. 421 - 425

(2) Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire: L. 369 - 374

the insight symbol demanded that equal importance be attatched to all levels of the symbol. This indicates at least some willingness to believe in the physical level put forward. It also counters the idea that the important part of the symbol was the signification or the example, and that the authenticity of the Literal level was not considered essential. Indeed, it is this attitude, this unsettling of the balance inherent in symbolism that probably caused its decadence and ultimate discarding as a system of exploratory thought.

We feel that the writers believed a great deal of the material which they used as symbols, and for the most part, the attributes put forward to this end are not beyond the bounds of credibility; for example, lion cubs, if not dead at birth are certainly, like all animals, almost comatose; these two states are easily confused; the legend of the beaver could well be accounted for by its habit of relieving the pressure on its glands containing castoreum against a tree; and the legend of the turtledove is so simple that it could easily be believed. One must also take into account the strength of popular legend; if one hears something often enough, as the legend of the Unicorn and the Fox, one can believe it, especially if the legend cannot be proved untrue.

We have concentrated on the legends given to the animals, not the physical descriptions, for, we feel, it is this part of the literal level that was important, and because it is on the legend that the symbol is based. This is why something as unlovely in its actions as the Hydre can be taken to represent Christ; the physical appearance of a beast is rarely important; that the Hydre (or the

Ichneumon, or even the little bird that does in fact enter a crocodile's mouth) can emerge live is the essential factor.

If one reads the Bestiaries carefully, one realises that the writers are very careful in their choice of attributes which carry symbolic meaning; the more fantastic tales, the stone in the Hyena's eye, the homosexuality of partridges, the Ethiopian ants as large as dogs, the formicaleün, the salamander poisoning a well into which it falls, are included for the sake of completemess and fidelity to sources, as well as just for interest, and do not carry symbolic weight. But there again, several important symbols are both obscure and difficult to believe, and in such cases, one is tempted to think that something like the "Willing suspension of disbelief" came into play, that the spirit of all levels was believed in, and it was this belief that carried the listener over the less credible parts.

At all events, belief of some form in the Literal level was essential, and it is in that factor that one sees the importance of the thought of Aristotle to the Philosophy of symbolism. Because, according to him, matter (the potential being) was meaningless unless it was embodied in form (its physical manifestation). Thus, just as the Literal level of the symbol cannot be termed a symbol until it is combined with the thing it symbolises, so the the thing symbolised incomprehensible, formless and merely potential knowledge before it is embodied in the literal level. When this interplay was destroyed by the thing symbolised taking precedence over the Literal level, the efficacity of the system of symbolism was also destroyed.

12/26

So much for the major philosophical system behind the Bestiaries. However, they also reflect their age in the many minor points of philosophy and moralising traits which they contain.

B: THE MORALISING CONTENT OF THE BESTIARIES

(i) Antifeminism

Of the many moralising traits found in the Bestiaries, let us deal first with Antifeminism.

Antifeminism was a feature of most moralising treatises of the XIIth and XIIIth centuries, where woman was generally seen in the role of Eve, the temptress, the corrupter of man and the cause of his downfall. In many works, the "Eva" aspect of women is balanced by Mary-worship, the "ave" side to woman, the mainspring not only of many works in praise of the Virgin, but of much of the courtly attitude of placing women on a pedestal. The Bestiaries, however, contain little of the "ave" aspect to balance their antifeminist tendencies. The result is a strongly antifeminist flavour; this is not surprising, as all the transcribers were clerics or monks.

However, it is the treatment of such features which gives each Bestiary its individual flavour; although the features are common to all Bestiaries, the manner of presentation, and the vehemence with which a point of view is put forward, vary from writer to writer. It must be pointed out, however, that even a strongly expressed trait may be "inherited" from the Latin tradition, but it is still possible that in handing on this particular prejudice, the French transcriber is showing his agreement in the matter.

Of all the four writers that we are considering, Philippe de Thaün shows the strongest Antifeminist biais. The moralising content of five of his sections is devoted to the subject.

Philippe de Thaün sees women as the downfall of men, and frequently links the ravages wrought by them to those caused by

alcohol. In the section of the "Aptalon", the bushes in which the Aptalon plays after drinking symbolise prostitutes:

"Kar l'eve signefie
Ivrece, e le buissun
Putain, par grant raisun." (1)

In this condition, trapped by drunkenness and vice, the man is easy game for the Devil:

"Par veneür entent
Sathan, ki ume prent
Quant pute l'at lié,
Surpris e engignié." (2)

Philippe de Thaün ends this section with the Biblical reference (3) (Ecclesiasticus 19;2) as a warning:

"E ço dit escripture:
Vins e feme unt nature
Que funt del sage fol
E trebuchier el pol." (4)

Philippe de Thaün's antifeminism is also shown clearly in the section on the Hyena, where another supposed trait of womenkind is illustrated: fickleness. The Hyena, supposedly male and female at the same time, represents the vicious, avaricious and coveteous man who is not as constant and unchanging as he ought to be, but is capricious, as a woman:

"Li ome deit estre estables
E en bien permainables,
Tels deit estre en nature,
Si cum dit escripture;

---

(1) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire: L. 832 - 4

(2) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire: L. 835 - 8

(3) Ecclesiasticus: chap. 19 v.2

(4) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire: L. 841 - 4

E quant est cuveitus

A feme trait des murs:

Om est de ferme curage;

E feme de volage." (1)

"Serena" carries the predictable antifeminist message; although the Serena itself represents the riches of the world, Philippe de Thaün cannot resist adding that women steal from men who have worldly possessions and torture those who no longer have them:

"Li riches om parole,

De lui la fame vole

E les povres destreint

E noe quant se feint." (2)

"Terrobolen" carries even further the idea put forward in "Aptalon", that the proximity of women causes men to burn with unholy passion and thus sever themselves from God:

"Piere de tel baillie

Feme, ume signefie:

Quant il prof a prof sunt

Lur amur les surmunt". (3)

Far from just seeing woman as temptress in her own right, Philippe de Thaün carries his conviction to the extreme and castigates her not only as the surest and quickest way to the Devil:

"Nuls om ne se merveit

Ne il faire le deit

Se diables surprent

Par femes sainte gent." (4)

---

(1) Philippe de Thaún: Bestiaire: L. 1197 - 1204

(2) Philippe de Thaún: Bestiaire: L. 1395 - 1398

(3) Philippe de Thaún: Bestiaire: L. 2859 - 2862

(4) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire: L. 2873 - 2876

but also as his agent and his net for capturing men's souls:

"Adam e Salemun
E Davit e Samsun
Il furent deçeü
E par femes vencu.
Feme est porte a diable
E sa rei cuvenable
Quant de malvais talent
Les sainz umes suprent." (1)

Philippe de Thaün also makes use of the section on the Oliphant a vehicle of antifeminism, not only by giving it the new traditional interpretation of Adam and Eve, but also by accusing the female elephant of having to trick the male into procreation:

"Del fruit premierement
La femele enprent
Pur son masle engignier
E si l'en fait mangier;" (2)

Indeed, the only good thing said in connection with women is the chastity and fidelity of the Turtre, but even so, "Turtre" is not used to symbolise ordinary women, but that architype of all females, the Virgin Mary and Christ's figurative bride, the Church.

This attitude to women displayed by Philippe de Thaün is all the more unlooked for as, in his forward, he not only dedicates the book to Aaliz, the second wife of Henri II, but is lavish in her praise:

---

(1) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire: L. 2879 - 2886

(2) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire: L. 1429 - 1432

"Philippe de Thaün

En franceise raisun

At estrait Bestiaire,

Un livre de Gramaire

Pur l'onur d'une geme

Ki mult est bele feme

E est curteise e sage

De bones murs e large

.....

"Aaliz sis nuns est;

Loënge de Dé est

En Ebreu en verté.

Aaliz, laus de Dé.

N'en os faire loënge

Qu'envire ne me prenge,

Mais qu'el seit remembree

E tüz jurz mais loëe". (1)

Ardent improver of God's cause though Philippe de Thaün may be, he still seems to know on which side his political bread is buttered!

Antifeminism is, in one sense, a moralising trait inherited from the Latin tradition; this is proved by the fact that in every Bestiary the antifeminist propaganda is included in the sections mentioned above. However, the transcribers of the French Bestiaries included this trait of their own free will. This is shown, paradoxically, by their leaving out an antifeminist reading when they chose to include a broadside against a different section

---

(1) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire: L. 1 - 8; 15 - 22

of the community held in even worse odour than women. That they feel free enough to do this proves that, by including a trait, when they could omit it, they personally wish to castigate it.

Personal prejudices, however, seem to vary in strength rather than in content: Guillaume Leclerc still castigates women, but he is not as fierce in his condemnation as Philippe de Thaün: in "Aptalon", for example, the bushes represent the evils of the world in general, not just prostitution:

"Tant fet bel estre desoz l'ombre
Del boisson, ou tant se delitent
Que trop volonters i habitent.
La les tenent les bels mangers,
Les bons beivres, sues e chers,
Les beles femmes, les bels dras,
Les palefreiz amblanz e gras,
L'or e l'argent e la pecune,
Qui tant fet mal a qui l'aüne." (1)

However, he too is very strict in his views on women and his readings are much the same as those of Philippe de Thaün.

Pierre de Beauvais also shows strong antifeminist traits; his condemnation of women is as strong as Philippe de Thaün in the Sections on Serena (where again Guillaume Leclerc places the emphasis on the evils of the world rather than just on women) and Aptalon, where he terminates the reading by quoting .....:

"Li vins e les fames font dessevrer hom de Dieu" (2)

However, there is no indication in Pierre de Beauvais' Bestiary that the female elephant tricks the male, although she makes him eat the

---

(1) Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire: L. 316 - 324

(2) Pierre de Beauvais: Bestiaire (Short Version) P. v L. 5

mandrake; and his interpretation of the Hyena is briefer and less biaised against women: if anything, this section follows Gervaise's (q.v.) reading, and is anti-Semitic rather than antifeminist:

> "Cesti sanble les fius Israel qui au commencement servirent Dieu et apres se donerent es delices du monde et a luxure a continerent les mahomeries."
>
> "Cil qui tel (ie, se tu as avarice en toi) sont, a ceste orde beste sont sanblable car il ne sont home ne fame, ne loial ne trecheor."
>
> "Hom doubles de corage qui n'est estables en vrais voies ne que la Hyene en habit de malle ne de femele."(1)

That Pierre de Beauvais is less quick to blame men's unholy feelings on women is shown in his section on the Terrobolen. Like Philippe de Thaün, he recommends the separation of monks and nuns, but not only does he recognise that not all men fall victim to temptation:

> "En la fin, Sanson e Joseph furent tremprés endoi par fame: li uns vainqui e li autres fu vaincus," (2)

but that women are equally tempted by the Devil. Pierre de Beauvais does not see women, therefore, as Devil's agents in themselves, although he writes that unchasteness will bring about temptation:

> "Car il sont un angle de deable qui toz jors guerroie les justes, non tant seulement les sains homes mais les fames chastes." (3)

Here we have the admission that there are chaste women, who, far from being the Devil's agents, are tempted by him, and resist temptation.

> "Eve e Suzanne furent temprées ;l'une vainqui e l'autre fu vaincu." (4)

---

(1) Pierre de Beauvais: Bestiaire (Short Version) P. xxiii - xxiv (passim)
(2) Pierre de Beauvais: Bestiaire (Short Version) P. v; L. 20 - 21
(3) Pierre de Beauvais: Bestiaire (Short Version) P. v; L. 18 - 20
(4) Pierre de Beauvais: Bestiaire (Short Version) P. vi; L. 1 - 2

Thus Pierre de Beauvais sees man's lapses into vice caused not so much by woman, the Devil's agent, but by weakness of character common to both men and women, a weakness that can be overcome. Even if this character weakness is personified in the "angle de deable", this is a far less antifeminist idea than Philippe de Thaün, where woman is the net spread by the Devil to catch men's souls.

Gervaise also shows antifeminist tendencies, but this factor in his Bestiary is easily overshadowed by his antiSemitism and anti-thespianism.

His section on the Aptalon is strictly antifeminist: wine leads to unchasteness which leads to all sins:

"Quant li hons boit a demesure,
Vins l'a tost enpris en luxure
D'ivrece naisent plusor mal.
E tuit li pechié criminal." (1)

However, his antifeminism in the section on the elephant is no stronger than necessarily follows from the Adam and Eve story; again, there is no mention of the female tricking the male. In his section on the Turtre, he excludes all mention of either the Virgin Mary or the Church; it is the concept of fidelity itself that he extracts and uses in his interpretation.

In "Hyene", Gervaise's antisemitism overrides his anti-feminism. The bisexual nature of the Hyena is mentioned, but its duality is taken to mean the Jew's turning away from God:

---

(1) Gervaise: Bestiaire: L. 483 - 486

"A li poet l'an bien compare(r),
Ce sachiez bien de verité,
Les jens qui d'Israhel issirent.
Premierement a Deu servirent;
A luxure aprés s'atornerent,
Ydres, ymagines (a)orerent.
Cil qui entendent a usure,
A averice e a luxure
E despitent ce que Dex fit,
Ce sont cil de quoi David dit:
'Vir duplex animo inconstans est in omnibus.'" (1)

And in Serena we find, surprisingly, no bias against women, but an unexpectedly vicious attack on all sections of the entertainment world:

"Cil qui aiment tragitaours,
Tumeresses et juglaours,
Cil ensevent, ce n'est pas fable,
La procession au deable." (2)

This interpretation is obviously suggested by the mermaids' singing, accompanied by various instruments; here, however, Gervaise is not expressing a merely personal prejudice, but is following a reading in the Dicta Chrysostomi. Nevertheless, the fact remains that, at one stage of the development of this text, the usual antifeminist trait in this section was replaced by this criticism of court entertainment.

---

(1) Gervaise: Bestiaire: L. 351 - 361

(2) Gervaise: Bestiaire: L. 321 - 325

(ii) Antisemitism

Antisemitism in the Bestiaries is as frequently found as Antifeminism. This view is put forward more coherently than is the more general criticism of women; the Christian writers objected to the Jews on several counts, and each is expressed in a separate section.

Once again we find that a certain section in each Bestiary, for example the section on the Formi, always carries the same criticism; indeed, when dealing with Antisemitism the Bestiaries follow a more rigid pattern than that used for antifeminism; this pattern is broken only by Guillaume Leclerc, as he adds occasional digs against the Jews in sections where the main interpretation is not antisemitist, and by Gervaise, who gives an antisemitic interpretation to a section on the Vuivre, a section which does not appear in the other Bestiaries, and is not, therefore, a nuclear animal.

There are four main accusations levelled at the Jews in the Bestiaries; the most commonly found is that the Jews rejected Christ, who then turned to the Gentiles. This criticism is found in Philippe de Thaün in the sections on the "Caladrius" and on the "Nicticorax". Both sections emphasise that Christ came first to the Jews, and, being rejected, turned to us Gentiles:

"Deus vint Judeus salver,
Nel voldrent receter;
Por ço nus reguardat
E les Judeus laissat;" (1)

The same charge is laid against them by Guillaume Leclerc in

---

(1) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire: L. 2187 - 2190

his section on the "Caladrius", but he is more vehement in his tone; he accuses them of malice, hardness of heart and malice:

"E quant il vit que il morreient
En la nonfei, ou il esteient,
Vit lor malice e lor duresce,
E lor mal quoer e lor peresce,
De lor esgart torna sa face;" (1)

This condemnation appears all the stronger for the contrast it affords to the generous treatment that God had meted out to the Jews:

"Icist verais caladrius
Est nostre salveor Jesus
Qui vint de sa grant majesté,
Por esgarder l'enfermeté
Des Jueus,qu'il out tant amez
E garniz e amonestez
Tantes feiz peüz e gariz,
Tant honorez e encheriz." (2)

Pierre de Beauvais agrees with the above writers, and adds nothing to the reading of either of these sections.

Gervaise does not include a section on the "Nicticorax" and his interpretation of the Caladrius tallies with those found in the other Bestiaries.

The Bestiaries also denounce the Jews for having killed Christ. Philippe de Thaün lances this accusation in his section on the Lion: as does Guillaume Leclerc, in an offhanded way which increases our impression of his antisemitism by seeming to assume that antisemitism

---

(1) Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire: L. 499 - 503

(2) Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire: L. 491 - 498

is a natural element of Christian thought: antisemitism is not even the main message of this particular section; it is included for its own sake, as a further imprecation against the Jews:

"Quant cist lions fu en croiz mis
Par les Jueus, ses enemis,
Qui le jugerent a grant tort,
L'umanité i soffri mort." (1)

Guillaume Leclerc also accuses the Jews of killing Christ in his section on the Unicorn, a section free from antisemitism in the other Bestiaries. Pierre de Beauvais mentions the killing of Christ in his section on the "Formi", and Gervaise in his chapter on the Viuvre;

"Les vuivres qu'ensi s'entrocient
Les felons Juis senefient
Qui nostre creator ocistrent
Et en la seinte crois le mistrent..." (2)

As well as rejecting and killing Christ, the Jews are stigmatised for having fallen away from God's law which they once followed. This charge is not found in Philippe de Thaün, but the rest include it under the section on the Hyena, and accuse the Jews not only of falling away from God, but of falling into sin as a result:

"Cesti sanble les fius Israel qui au commencement servirent Dieu e apres se donerent es delices du monde e a luxure e continerent les mahommeries." (3)

Thus the Jews did not only turn away from God; they subsequently behaved in a manner contrary to all His commandements.

---

(1) Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire: L. 185 - 188

(2) Gervaise: Bestiaire: L. 523 - 526

(3) Pierre de Beauvais: Bestiaire Short Version P. xxiii L.13-16

The final major imputation made against the Jews is that they persisted in regarding the Scriptures in a historic and literal way. This, although perhaps of little lasting importance, was obviously a major bone of contention with the Bestiary writers, whose work and thought is so firmly rooted in the Symbolic tradition of seeking truth at levels other than the literal. These writers regard the Jews' attitude as a stumbling block to salvation; because they do not realise the full meaning and message of the Scriptures, they are damned eternally:

> "Garde l'esperitel sens qui vivifie, que tu ne perisses de fain par la letre qui soit porrie au jor del iver, ce est, au jor du juise. Car li apostres dit: 'Loiz esperitueus est ne mie corporeus.' 'La letre ocit; li esperis vivifie'. Li Jui ensievent la letre et l'esperitel sens despisent. Por ce furent ocirreoz des prophetes, e lor Seigneur meimes livrerent a mort. Et por ce perissent-il de fain, de ci a ore. Car il laissent le grain et voient en la paille. C'est qu'il laissent l'esperitel sens por la letre." (1)

This interpretation is to be found in all the Bestiaries under the section on the "Formi". The regularity and similarity of content of this particular section bears witness to the importance such a seemingly unimportant criticism held for the Jews.

Apart from these major accusations, Guillaume Leclerc, whose Bestiary appears to be the most Antisemitic, adds several minor

---

(1) Pierre de Beauvais: Bestiaire: P.xiv L. 23 - P. xv L.9

criticisms in sections which, in other Bestiaries, contain no antisemitic material. In his section on the Eagle, Guillaume Leclerc divides the classes of belief into three; the Christian, the Pagan, and the Jew, probably indicating that, of these groups, the Jews were the most culpable, as the message was brought to them and they rejected it. In "Onager", we are told that the Onager, symbolising the Devil, will bray when he sees the Sarrasins and the Jews converted to Christianity. Also, he castigates the Jews as being vile and weak:

"Quant il verra les Sarrazins
E les Jueus, qui sont frarins,
En la lei Deu realier,
Donc porra de feim baailler." (1)

Thus we see that, whereas the Bestiary de Philippe de Thaün was weighted against women, the Bestiaire de Guillaume Leclerc contains more antisemitic traits than the other three.

(iii) Orthodoxy

As well as a stern message delivered against the Jews, the Bestiaries contain a warning to heretics and other backsliders. The main exhortation against heresay is found in the Bestiaire de Philippe de Thaün:

"Saciez par Salemun
Sage gent entendum,
E par gabliers entent
Cuveitus, male gent,
E par orge boisdie
Pechie e eresie.
Ki volt a Dé plaisir

---

(1) Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire: L. 1903 - 6

Tricheürs deit guerpir,

Fotin, Sabellium,

Donet, Arriamum;

Icist firent erite

Si avrunt mal merite,

Ne creum lur folie,

Laissum lur eresie." (1)

Gervaise also mentions heresy in his section on the Formi; but he telescopes the message, and heresy seems to refer to the Jews, rather than to the other heretics whose doctrines were popular in the Middle ages:

"Homs, pren toi garde dou furmi,

Garnis toi de bien atresi,

Cerche l'escripture divine;

Fui heresie et sa doctrine." (2)

However, the Bestiaries carry more warnings to the "men of little faith" than warnings against heresy as such. These warnings to backsliders are found mainly in the sections on the "Serra" and on the "Moustoile/Belette". The message is very clear: those who at first receive God's word and do nothing about it, or who start off in holy works and renounce them are doomed to eternal damnation; below are two examples of the way in which this message is put forward, one taken from a section on the Serra and the other from a section on the Belette.

"La beste, dont jeo vos ai dit,

Que par la mer sigle petit,

Puis recreit e chet el parfont,

Signefie plusors, qui sont,

Qui comencent a ben ovrer,

---

(1) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire: L. 1017 - 1030

(2) Gervaise: Bestiaire: L. 825 - 828

A servir Deu e a amer,

E quant il venent es periz

Des granz aises e des deliz

Des coveitises qui granz sont,

E des boisdies de cest mont,

Donc recreient de dreit nager.

Idonc les estoet periller

E chaïr es adversitez,

Es pecchez, es iniquitez,

Qui les traient el fonz aval

Dreit en la maison enfernal." (1)

The warning to backsliders is as awful as the one to heretics.

"Per la beste entendre poons

Ces qui vunt es religions

Voluntiers et qui le sermon

Reçoivent a devocion,

Puis metent tot en obliance

Ne sunt mie fer(t) en creance." (2)

So far, we have considered the Bestiaries in the light of their more negative aspects, Antifeminism, antisemitism, and warnings against heresy and lapses from God's way. However, the Bestiaries have a more positive side, where they exhort the reader to virtue, instead of condemning him for his vices.

The virtues propounded by the Bestiaries are based on the monk's code of poverty, chastity, or at least, continence and self-denial. The keynote of the Bestiaries is austerity and asceticism, two traits predominant in the X11th and X111th centuries.

---

(1) Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire: L. 441 - 456

(2) Gervaise: Bestiaire: L. 1145 - 1150

(iv) Exhortation to Christian virtues

The virtue of poverty is proclaimed by means of showing the damnation that wealth ensures. This teaching is found particularly in the sections on the Aspis, the Serena, the Aptalon, the Cetus/ Lacovie. In each section, the rich man, or the man bent on earthly pleasures is criticised, as these pleasures cut him away from God; his mind is so wrapped up in them that he has no time to consider the meaning of Christianity or to follow its ways. Such doctrine was doubtless popular in times when wealth was so unevenly distributed; to hear that the rich would be damned by their wealth would, presumably, fortify the poorer members of a congregation, while it is to be hoped that the readers of the Bestiaries would take the lesson to heart, heed the warning and give generously to the Church coffers.

The quotation below shows clearly the Bestiary writer's attitude towards the wealthy; his ear is so blocked up with the pleasures of this world, he will not listen to the word of God:

"Tot autresi fait chascun home:
En richeté, ço est la some,
Met grant partié de sa cure,
L'autre en pechie et en luxure.
Luxure l'asome et eslorde
Et la covoitise l'essorbe,
Qui ne vuet point de prechement
De Dieu ne son esloignement." (1)

This sums up the attitude expressed so often in the Bestiaries. Gervaise is possibly more critical of the wealthy and their pleasures than the other writers: not only does he change the meaning of the

---

(1) Gervaise: Bestiaire: L. 1169 - 1176

section on the Serena to a condemnation of the entertainment profession, but he also alters the message of "Assida". In most Bestiaries, the Assida, forgetful of her eggs, leaves them to be hatched out in the sun, is taken to be a figure of the man who leaves his home and his family to follow God's way; Gervaise interprets this section as representative of the man, who covets wealth and hence ignores his creator;

"Et tot autresi sumes nos
Qui les richeces covoitons
Tant que Damidéu oblions." (1)

The next of the monastic virtues preached in the Bestiaries is that of chastity; the influence of women and of any sexual instinct is seen as an impediment to one's life as a Christian. Thus Terrobolen, in all Bestiaries, preaches the need for the separation of monks and nuns:

"Ici deivent essample prendre
Cil qui a Deu se voelent rendre
E qui maignent en bone vie:
Fuir deivent la compaignie
Des femmes ententivement
E lor charnel apresmement,
Que cele flambe e cele ardor
Qui vent de la charnel amor,
N'arde les bens, qui en els sont,
Que Deu, qui est sires del mont,
A en els par sa grace mis:" (2)

---

(1) Gervaise: Bestiaire: L. 974 - 976

(2) Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire: L. 369 - 379

and for chastity in all walks of life, in case we ruin the gift of spiritualty given to us.

That man should free himself from the influence of sexual passion is also advocated in each Bestiary in the section on the Beaver, "Castor", who, in fleeing from the Devil, leaves his reproductive organs behind him. This is interpreted as being representative of the wise man who removes from his life all vices and evil desires, so that the Devil can no longer tempt him out of the path of virtue:

> "Tout autresi cil qui vieut garder les commandemens
> Dieu et vivre netement doit trenchier ses genetaires -
> cē sont toz les vices et toz les māuvais grés geter ou
> visage du veneor - ce est le deable qui toz jors le
> chace. Quant li deables voit que cil est sans vice,
> il s'en retourne, et cil vit a Dieu et n'est pas pris
> de Deable." (1)

On the more positive side, chastity is praised through the medium of the Turtre:

> "Oez dou petit oiselet
> Qui sages est, si se tient net
> Et a son male porte foi.
> Nos qui devons tenir la loi
> Devriens desguerpir luxure,
> Car co est la grenors ordure,
> Et que en home plus habunde
> Et qui plus congie le monde." (2)

---

(1) Pierre de Beauvais: Bestiaire: P.xxii L. 7 - 13

(2) Gervaise: Bestiaire: L. 1097 - 1104

and through several incidental references in "Monosceros": the Unicorn is captured by means of a Virgin only, indicating that Christ gives Himself only to the pure.

An extension to the austere view of absolute chastity is to be found in the denial and withdrawal from the world also advocated by the Bestiaries;

In the section "Assida", Philippe de Thaün, Guillaume Leclerc and Pierre de Beauvais all recommend the action of the Ostrich in neglecting her eggs, and entrusting them to the sun to hatch out. This is representative of the Holy Man who leaves his home and family to be able to love God unrestrainedly:

"Iceste oisele signefie
Le prodhome de seinte vie
Qui lest les choses terrienes
E se prent as celestienes."
.....
"Qui plus de mei aime son pere,
Son fiz ou sa soer ou sa mere,
N'est pas digne de mei aveir." (1)

This love of austerity and self-affliction is reflected in the interpretation of the section on the "Fullica", whose refusal to eat carrion and search for solitude are the model for the Hermit, who hides himself away to pray in peace:

"Oisels de tel baillie
Saint ume signefie
Ki onestement vit,
Issi cum Davit dit,

---

(1) Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire: L. 2623 - 2626; 2645 - 2647.

Ki char laisse a mangier

Pur sa char chastier,

E li pur bien urer

Sultifment volt ester ..." (1)

Furthermore, the Fullica builds its nest where it can be freely lashed by storms; the rougher the storm is, the more joyful is the bird: its sure foothold on rock cannot be shaken: the stronger the temptation, the more joy there is resisting it.

"Le ni qu'en eve fait

U sur piere le lait

Li niz est lius qu'abite

U sainz om u ermite;

Co que en eve est mis

U sur piere est asis,

L'evë est sens en Dé,

Piere estabilité." (2)

Finally, the attitude towards self-discipline is shown in two minor ways; Terrobolen, as we have already seen, advocates the separation of monks and nuns; and the "Elephant" section praises the Elephant for showing remarkable self-restraint in only mating once in every two years.

Thus we see that the virtues put forward by the Bestiaries are austere and concerned with the salvation of one's soul, not with the more social Christian virtues of charity or mercy. Such characteristics are mentioned, but briefly, and usually are merely enumerated with several other Christian virtues:

---

(1) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire: L. 2767 - 2774

(2) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire: L. 2779 - 2786

"li fruiz de l'esperit est charitez, pais, pacience,
Bonte, benigitez, fois, temprance, conscience, chastez
et autres virtus." (1)

Also, as a paradox to the austere doctrine found in "Assida", the section on the "Hupe" contains the message of filial duty: that, like the Hupe, we should take care of ageing parents as lovingly as they tended us when we were young:

"Ces oiseaus ensegre devons
Quant a seinte Eglise venons.
Honorons cex qui nos norrirent;
Rendons lor le bien qu'il nos firent
E pere e mere honorons;
Per droit honorer le(s) devons." (2)

Apart from this rare mention, Pierre de Beauvais commends the mercy of the Lion: an example of behaviour to men of power:

"Il espargne les povres bestes et les menues laist
aler en pais. Ne nul home noast s'il n'a pas grant
faim. Cest essample de misericorde doivent avoir en
aus li haut home qui doivent espargner les povres et
les non-puissans." (3)

Thus we see that the moral message of the Bestiaries is one of warning and of exhortation to prepare oneself, by freeing oneself from the ties, family or financial, of this world, to be judged and admitted to everlasting life. The Bestiaries are concerned with one's souls and with one's relationship with God, not with

---

(1) Pierre de Beauvais: Bestiaire: Short Version. P. xviiL. 16-18

(2) Gervaise: Bestiaire: L. 1003 - 1008

(3) Pierre de Beauvais: Bestiaire: Short Version: P. 3; L. 9 - 13

one's duty to society or to one's fellow man; God and the soul are all that are important.

From the theological viewpoint, the Bestiaries are orthodoxically Catholic - doubtless as a measure to counteract heresy - and contain little that could be termed controversial or that could even be the cause of discussion. Heaven and Hell - and their respective rulers - are represented by conventional personification, which has the effect of making the struggle between God and the Devil, with man as the pawn, more vivid and immediate; the illustrations of Hell in the manuscripts show the usual animal Hell mouth, and, indeed, the Bestiary writers use one animal, the Crocodile, to represent Hell.

There is, too, little Mary-worship and little mention of the Saints; man is not here urged to use intermediaries; the Bestiaries attempt to emphasise man's personal relationship with God by working towards his own salvation by means of a virtuous life.

This reduction of the role of the Virgin Mary and the Saints throws into relief the Bestiary writers' obvious concern with the nature of the Trinity. They stress that this Trinity is one and undivided: that Christ, when He took human flesh, never ceased to be a God:

"Uns Deus est e serat
E fut e permaindrat." (1)

We also find that the Bestiaries emphasise the universality of God,

---

(1) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire: L. 421 - 2

the sun of all life:

"Uns est en deïté,
Tut en humanité;
Deus est tut fundement
E bien de tute gent." (1)

Another theological point dealt with in the Bestiaries is Christ's conquest of death; this is presented in symbolic form in the section on the Hydre and the Crocodile, where the Hydre tears the entrails out of the Crocodile (Hell) and reemerges unscathed:

"Cocadrile a de mort sanblance
E d'enfer a signifiance;
Ydres Jhesu Crist senefie
Qui nos raïnt de mort a vie.
Por ce soffrit mort Dex en fust
Que Mors de toz vaincue fust.
Anfer brisa et desrompi,
.....
La prophecie est avenue:
Mors est en vitoire montee." (2)

and is referred to briefly in several other sections

"Enz en sa mort veillat
Quant par mort mort tuat", (3)

writes Philippe de Thaün in his interpretation of the Lion who sleeps with its eyes open; this sort of reference is to be

---

(1) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire: L. 531 - 4

(2) Gervaise: Bestiaire: L. 293 - 299; 300 - 301

(3) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire L. 333 - 334

found when a section bears the message of Christ's ascent in glory.

Thus we see that the theology underlying the Bestiaries is orthodox, Catholic, and lays stress on the nature of God, His unity with the Son, the Son's dual nature, at once God and human, and on the power of God, not only in Earth, but also over Evil.

The one idiosyncratic treatment of Catholic doctrine is to be found in Philippe de Thaün, who insists on God's need to trick the Devil. This notion, which has strong Manichean leanings, inferring as it does the almost equal power of God and of the Devil, is found in several sections, notably those on the Lion, on the Monosceros and on the Panther. In each of these sections is found the idea that Christ's incarnation, His coming to earth in human flesh, was so that the Devil did not know what was happening:

"Issi Deus se cuvri
Cuntre nostre enemi.
Ne sout que Deus om fu
Devant qu'il l'ot veü." (1)

The idea of trickery is even more strongly expressed in the section on the Unicorn: speaking of Christ's "death" on the Cross after taking human form, he writes:

"Si deçut Deus diable
Par semblant cuvenable.
Diable ume deçut,
Deus om, qu'il ne cumut,
Deçut issi diable

---

(1) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire: L. 191 - 194

Par vertu cuvenable" (1)

This is, however, the only real addition made to standard Catholic theology; it is not to be found in any of the other Bestiaries.

(v) References to events contemporary with the Bestiaries

The final way in which the Bestiaries reflect the age in which they were written is by reference to contemporary events; this is especially true of Guillaume Leclerc who seeks to render more immediate his warnings against sin by condemning the great Interdict in England (1208-1213). This he considers of such importance that he refers to it twice, once in his introduction and again in the section on the Turtre.

In the Introduction, Guillaume Leclerc attacks the Interdict and its accompanying evils very strongly, especially because he is not able to say what he feels about it because of treachery:

"Ceste ovraigne fu fete noeve
El tens que Phelipe tint France
El tens de la grant mesestance
Qu'Engleterre fu entredite
Si qu'il n'i aveit messe dite
Ne cors mis en terre sacree.
De l'entredit ne lui agree,
Que a ceste feiz plus en die,
Por ceo que droiture mendie
E lealte est povre e basse.

---

(1) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire: L. 451 - 456

Tote ceste chose trespasse

Guillaume qui forment s'en doelt,

Que n'ose dire ceo qu'il voelt

De la tricherie qui cort

E en l'une e en l'altre cort." (1)

In the section on the Turtre, which symbolises the Church, Guillaume Leclerc reflects on the contrast between the Church in its true state, loyal to its divine master, and in its present state, a state of war, of wretchedness and fear, which leads some to believe that Christ has deserted it:

"Quant l'auctor, qui rima cest livre,

Deveit entor ici escrivre,

Mult esteit tristes e dolanz:

Car ja aveit esté deus ans

Seinte eglise si dolerose

E si mate e si poorose,

Que maint quidouent par folie,

Que son espos l'eüst guerpie,

Car el n'osout le chef lever;" (2)

The unfortunate state of a country bereft of God is also brought before our eyes:

"Por l'aveir que il gaaignouent

De l'eglise, que il gardouent,

Erent li plus haut a devise

Contre la pais de scinte eglise

Par roistie e par manace

Guerreiant e Deu e sa grace." (3)

---

(1) Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire: L. 10 - 24

(2) Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire: L. 2707 - 2715

(3) Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire: L. 2731 - 2736

This is obviously a subject near to Guillaume Leclerc's heart; not only does he mention it early in his introduction - it is his way of dating the work, and takes second place only to his avowal that he intends the material of his book to be good - but he discusses the matter there at some length. Furthermore, he returns to the subject, once more in depth, and with such intensity of feeling that one cannot fail to be convinced of his sincerity and deep concern about the Interdict.

(The other Bestiaries do not contain a similar reference at this point. It seems probable, therefore, that this passage on the Indictment in Guillaume Leclerc's true viewpoint on the matter, and is not derived from any other source.)

Other slight hints of topicality are to be found in the Bestiaries: the Crusades, which had such an impact on France and French literature at the time, are but poorly represented there, but occasional inferences are to be found: Guillaume Leclerc refers to Sarrasins in the same breath as Jews:

"Quant il verra les Sarrazins
E les Jueus, qui sont frarins,
En la lei Deu realier,
Donc pourra de faim bailler" (1)

and similarly differentiates between Christians, Pagans and Jews at a different point.

Philippe de Thaün does not show much concern for contemporary events, except for his politic introduction. However, in his section on the Formi, where he preaches against heresy, he does

---

(1) Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire: L. 1903 - 1906

include one heretic, Arianus, whom Honoré de Saint Victor, in a similar section, omits. This is possibly because an outbreak of Arriansim occured in Northern France in the XIIth century, which could have influenced Philippe de Thaün's views when writing his Bestiary.

However, despite a lack of direct reference to the Crusades in the Bestiaries, we feel that the prevailing climate of orthodoxy, and the Bestiaries insistence on strict Catholic tenets, its insistence on the all-embracing power of God, on His unity, and on Christ's deity, and on the damnation of all but true believers, was brought about by contemporary events; the Crusades inspired teaching against Pagans and for the need to believe in God, also the feeling that God's side is right, and must prove stronger; possibly some despondency was setting in over the failures of the Crusades, and the Bestiaries supported the Christian side of the struggle. As for heresy, and there were several groups of heretics active in the XIIth and XIIIth centuries, one needs only to point out how opposed the Bestiaries' Catholic view are to Arianism, for example, which denies the unity and consubstantiality of the Trinity, consequently denying the deity of Christ.

PART 111 CHAPTER 111

THE READERSHIP OF THE BESTIARIES

This section looks at the sort of people who read the Bestiaries, at those who possibly had copies made, and those who owned them in later years. Further, we look at other works included in the same volumes as Bestiaries, in order to find out the type of literature the Bestiaries were considered to be, by the compiler or the commissioner of the manuscript copies.

First, it must be said that it has not been possible to identify with any precision a single original owner. Names and dates are found, but no copier signed a manuscript, dated it and gave the name of the person who commissioned it; nor did any owner or patron proudly claim it as his own - and put the date on it! Therefore we are left with the handful of later owners who put their names in the books; these, we feel, can be of some guidance, as books, rare and valuable changed hands comparatively infrequently, and tended to spend most of their early existence in the library of one family or institution. It therefore seems not unlikely that where the identity of a X111th, X1Vth or XVth century owner is known, the manuscript will have been in the same family's hands since it was copied.

Of the thirty five manuscripts described in the earlier part of this thesis, only six have useful indications of ownership. (B.M. Additional: 28260 bears a name, but

"Johannis devantoris alias sapientis"

does not reveal a great deal about the "Johannis" in question.)

The other six, however, are more helpful; and, from the evidence of these six manuscripts, the Bestiary seems to have been a book primarily designed for use in monasteries or convents: four of the six belonged to a convent, monastery or to someone in Holy Orders; a fifth, although belonging to a secular owner, has been lent to a "gardien" in the Dominican Order.

Let us deal first with the exception: the manuscript which bears no evidence of religious ownership: Arsenal 2691. On the fly-leaf of this manuscript are written the following words:

"A Mlle. Ane de Graville. Achette a Rouen."

and "A Monseigneur d'Urfe."

Anne Malet de Graville was the daughter of Louis Malet de Graville, Amiral de France, who himself had an extensive library; the manuscript was therefore in the hands of a family with a literary tradition, and one which was at the time one of the "grande seigneurie".

Some time before 1517, the date of birth of her eldest son, Anne eloped with, and later married, her cousin, Pierre de Balzac, Seigneur d'Entragues. As the manuscript bears Anne's maiden name, it was also in her possession before 1517.

There were five children of the marriage between Anne de Graville and Pierre de Balzac: two boys and three girls.

One of the latter, Jeanne de Balzac, married, in 1532, Claude, Seigneur d'Urfe, and ultimately his mother-in-law's manuscript came into his possession. (1)

---

(1) Anselme (Pierre de Guibors): Histoire Généalogique
Vol. 11 (P. 438); Vol. V11 (P. 870); Vol. V111 (P. 500)

Anne herself had gained some reputation as a literary figure: she was commissioned by la Reine Claude (first wife of François 1 er) to put into "new" French rhyme from Old French Prose the following work: "Le Roman des Amours d'Arcite et de Palemon."

How the manuscript came to be for sale in the first place is not known; but it is more probable that the book came from a nobleman's library than from a monastic one, as few manuscripts from monasteries were sold by public book-sellers, although it is well known that Dominicans preferred to buy books instead of having them copied.

This supposition is borne out to a large extent by the contents of the manuscript itself: these are:

(i) Le Secrez des Secrez - Aristotle
(ii) Le livre de Mellibee et de Prudence, sa femme - Albertano de Brescia
(iii) Traité contre l'Astrologie et la Divination
(iv) Le Bestiaire rymes - Guillaume Leclerc

The Secretz des Secrez was one of the most widely read moral works of the Middle Ages, and contains advice wordly wise rather than theological; Mellibee et Prudence again is a moral treatise. This seems to be a book to appeal to the "honnête homme" of a serious turn of mind; the works are of a moral nature without being too pious.

Another manuscript which appears to have been compiled for a layman is B.N.f.f. 24428. This manuscript bears the inscription:

"Cest livre-ci est a Mestre Nicholas de Lessy, et
le m'a lesdit Mestre preste a moy frere Jehan
Contusse, gardien des Freres mineurs de Sens 1412."

Thus this manuscript was, at this stage, the property of a lawyer, which is fully in accordance with the content, but it is still of interest to the "gardien" of the Frères mineurs.

From the contents, it would seem to be a compendium of Symbolic literature - it contains a Bestiary, Lapidary, and a Volucrary - in addition to two of the best-known works of the Middle Ages: the Image du Monde, by Goussoin de Metz, and the Fables d'Esope by Marie de France. Thus, whoever commissioned the manuscript wanted an anthology of wellknown, semi-scientific (more or less contemporary) works written in terms the layman could understand and enjoy. And the moralising content of the Bestiary, Volucrary and Lapidary would be of interest to the "Gardien"; it has been suggested that Bestiary and Lapidary allegories were used to illustrate sermons.

Of the manuscripts which were in clerical hands, perhaps the best documented is Fitzwilliam: Maclean 123, known as the Nuneaton Book, after the convent to which it once belonged. This manuscript bears evidence that, once acquired by the convent, it remained there for some considerable time, but was nevertheless in individual hands within the convent.

The following inscription, probably the oldest in the manuscript, is found on F. 1:

"Iste liber constat Alicia Ssceynton, et post
ea(m) conventu."

The two most probable ways for a book to pass into a convent library are by bequest and by gift when a member of an educated family took the veil. From the above inscription, it would seem that the Nuneaton book passed into the possession of the convent when Alicia Ssceynton entered it, remained her personal property during her life, and after her death, became the property of the convent.

However, as can be seen from the following inscription, the proprietorship of manuscripts, certainly of this one, passed into the hands of the Mother Superior, that is, they were still in individual hands within the convent:

> "Iste liber constat domine Margarete Sylemon et discipulas suas. Et post mortem suam. Conventu de Noneton."

The contents of this manuscript, although suitable for convent use, are pious works rather than opera of dogmatic theology; the manuscript could well have been commissioned by a layman of devout turn of mind, and considered suitable material either to accompany a girl into a convent or to leave in a bequest to a convent. The other contents are as follows:

(i) The Chasteau d'amour - Robert Grosseteste
(ii) A prose expose of the Paternoster
(iii) An adaptation of the Gospel of Nichodemus
(iv) Prayers and an Office in honour of the Virgin Mary
(v) The Apocalypse in French and Latin.

None of these is too dogmatic for secular use; they are sufficiently pious for convent use.

That the manuscript could, however, have been copied by or commissioned for the convent, is indicated by the nature of the

works contained: all are works with symbolical or interpretative overtones: the Bestiary with its allegorical explanations of the "natures des bestes"; the Chasteau d'Amours, a work in three parts, which depicts, in allegorical form, the creation of the world and the trial of man following his eviction from Paradise in the first part. The second part explores Isaiah and Christ's fulfilment of ancient prophecy; the third part, which deals with the death of Christ contains an expose of the double nature of Christ (a theme treated at length in the Bestiaries), and a final glimpse of Christ in Majesty.

The explanatory theme is found again in the exposé of the Paternoster, and the symbolic in the Apocalypse, the allegorical nature of the Revelation of St. John being widely appreciated.

Thus the works are linked by the type of Medieval Philosopy they contain, and the way it is put forward: whoever did commission the manuscript was certainly interested in the interpretation by allegory of the world of nature and of the scriptures: however, no work is strictly dogmatic in its approach; all are for lay rather than canonical use.

Another Bestiary manuscript which was at one time in use in a convent is B. M. Cotton Nero A (v), in which is found, on F. 82v, the following inscription:

"Liber sc(ien) ce Marie de Holmcoltran"

referring to the Abbey of Holmcoltran in Cumbria, and perhaps once more indicating that manuscripts were a personal legacy within the

convent. However, this manuscript is very different in content from the Nuneaton Book; and it could well have been copied within the convent itself. The manuscript as it now stands consists of two manuscripts originally separate, bound together at an early date, possibly at the convent; for the present, let us consider them separately.

The manuscript which contains the Bestiary also contains the Cumpoz by Philippe de Thaün (the Bestiary is his too); this is the section of the combined manuscript which bears the inscription - which occurs at the end of the Bestiary. The Cumpoz, a calendar of moveable feasts and other astrological and chronometrical information, is uniquely valuable to clerical users; it is of little relevance or interest to the layman. Thus it seems that Li Bestiaire and Li Cumpoz were destined from the start for canonical use; this first part of the ultimate manuscript was most probably copied in the convent itself.

Copied from what source? It is a great distance from Normandy to Cumbria, even though it is known that Philippe de Thaün's family spent some time in England. Yet the manuscript contains Philippe de Thaün's two best-known works: they were deliberately placed together, either in this manuscript or in the manuscript from which this one was taken. It seems that there was an attempt to compile a volume of the works of Philippe de Thaün, and that this manuscript either found its way to Holmcoltran and was copied there, or was seen in some other convent, copied on the spot (the Bestiaire and the Cumpoz are copied in the same hand) and then taken to Holmcoltran.

The second manuscript is a life of Saint Thomas à Becket, written by Herebertum de Bosham; it is in a later hand and copied in long lines instead of one column in the centre of the page. Thus it was obviously separate at one time from the Philippe de Thaün manuscript: the problem is, was it bound to the earlier manuscript in the Convent or when it had left the convent. The albeit slight evidence seems to favour the latter suggestion: for a convent to bind together a compilation of the works of Philippe de Thaün and a life of a saint, of far wider interest, seems illogical; in a convent library, the two would have little to do with each other; in a private library, two manuscripts of a religious nature may well be bound together, with less concern for the specific nature of either one.

As the books were bound together at an early date, is it then possible that the Cumpoz/Bestiaire manuscript did not stay long in the convent? Unfortunately, the manuscript bears no further indication of ownership, so its movements cannot be traced.

A second manuscript of Philippe de Thaün's Bestiaire was also at one stage in monastic hands: Copenhagen : Former Royal Collection 3466; it bears an inscription, in a later hand than that of the text:

"Ex. Lib. Sti. Martini a Campis."

showing that it once belonged to the monastery of St. Martin des Champs. This manuscript contains only the Bestiary, so it must be assumed that this most pious of the Bestiaries readily found acceptance in theological establishments. This is borne out by

the inscription in the last of the three Philippe de Thaun manuscripts: Oxford : Merton Library 249. Here we have only an indication of late ownership - immediately prior to the manuscript becoming part of the Merton College Library, it had previously been in the possession, however briefly, of two bishops:

"Will. Reed, Ep. Cicestr. quem emit a ven. patre
Tho. Tryllek, Ep. Roffensi."

This manuscript bears a later inscription:

"Liber domus ... Walterus Roberti notarius."

F. M. Powicke writes about this manuscript (1):

"This calendar is clearly of English origin, and the later additions, inserted in the last part of the CX111th show that at some time the manuscript belonged to some clerk or monastery in the West Midlands, perhaps to a man in the house of the Luddington family of Warwickshire."

The additional entries include the battles of Lewes and Evesham, the obituaries of St. Modwen of Burton, of William of Stockton, chaplain, of Salomon, arch-deacon of Leicester, and of Rolf of Luddington, Lord of Drayton in Warwickshire, with notes in the margin of the deaths of William of Stockton and Rolf of Luddington.

Mr. Powicke also notes two entries in later hands:

i) C 15 hand: Merton men in Normandy with Henry $\overline{V}$

ii) C 17: obituary of Edward Wood (died 21st May 1655), probably written by his brother Anthony Wood.

There fore the manuscript seems to have spent some time in clerical hands before passing early into the possession of Merton College.

---

(1) F. M. Powicke: The Medieval Books of Merton College
Oxford 1931 P. 178 - 9

Thus, although the inscriptions in the Oxford and Copenhagen manuscripts give no indication of early provenance, they show that all three manuscripts have been in theological hands at one stage of their existence.

The contents, too, of the Oxford manuscript suggest longer association with the church than the evidence of the inscriptions indicates: apart from the Bestiary, the manuscript contains only Papal Bulls, advice from Innocent 111 and Gregory the Great, and Sermons. This would suggest that the manuscript was in fact compiled in a monastery, and at various times: the handwriting changes frequently. It probably arrived in the Bishop's hands when the monastery in question closed and the books in its library were transferred to the nearest cathedral, probably at the Dissolution.

Arsénal 3516 is another manuscript which has been in ecclesiastical hands. According to the inscription on F. 1, it belonged to successive bishops of Thérouanne (canton de St. Omer, Pas de Calais):

> "Ss. Erkembodon, eveque de Therouanne, Omer,
> eveque de Therouanne."

Thus the manuscript was in Artois for some of its existence. It is a X111th century manuscript of the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais, which itself was written during the X111th century. This manuscript, near in time to the writing of the Bestiary, and near in location to the place of origin of its author, could well

be an early copy of the Bestiary, and one that could have been made at Thérouanne.

This ecclesiastical origin is again borne out by the content and format of the manuscript. Like the Oxford manuscript mentioned above, it contains a great quantity of other material, and seems a rag-bag of works assembled at various times. The manuscript is written in sections, and the early parts consist entirely of religious works; lives of saints, bible stories, psalms and pious accounts. Following this section, there are a number of fabliaux, all with moral intent and carrying a theological warning. Finally, there is a section of varied works of a more general nature, including the Bestiary, two Lapidaries, an Elucidarium, the Image du Monde, and finally several works of a historical nature: Histoire de Troie et d'Angleterre, les Sept Sages de Rome, etc; (1)

But whatever its later career, the manuscript most probably started its life in monastic hands, and by and large retained its religious character until the last section, where works of a more worldly-wise nature appear.

The manuscript which frère Jehan Cholet claimed as his:

("Je sui a frere Joham Cholet")

B.N.f.f.25406 presents a fly in the ointment! This manuscript, containing only the Bestiary and the Fables of Marie de France, does not seem immediately suited to the library of a monk. However, both works have a strong moralising content, and, although this manuscript was possibly comissioned by a secular person, it

---

(1) For a full list of the contents of this manuscript, see Part 1, Chapter 11.

is not entirely out of place in clerical possession.

It is easy to see why these two works were copied in the same manuscript: the end product represents a compendium of animal works treated in interpretative fashion; as a book it presents an interesting contrast: the religious moral allegories in the Bestiary, and the more wordly moral teaching of the fables; it is the sort of work to interest a secular reader rather than a religious one; but, like Cotton Nero A (v), it is not entirely unsuitable for clerical use, and doubtless arrived in the hands of frère Jehan Cholet in much the same way as the Cotton manuscript reached Holmcoltran.

The manuscript stayed in the possession of the Church until the assimilation of the Notre Dame library into the Bibliothèque Nationale: it bore the catalogue number: Notre Dame 192.

From the admittedly slight evidence of the above eight manuscripts, we have seen that the Bestiaries were largely for clerical use, but that there were also certain secular readers.

We have seen too, that Bestiaries can be accompanied by very different types of works; ranging from religious treatises, lives of saints, papal Bulls, and Biblical stories, in manuscripts clearly intended for Church use; serious, if secular, works in manuscripts used by the literate public of the time; there are manuscripts where the Bestiary keeps company with light reading: Fabliaux of the more irreverant variety, courtly literature and a chantefable, and finally with works of a historical nature.

While remembering that knowledge was not as compartmentalised in the Middle Ages as it is today it still seems that the Bestiaries

appear in a great variety of roles, and their appeal was by no means limited to theological scholars. Thus, following the guidelines indicated by the eight sample manuscripts, and by analysing the nature of the contents of each manuscript, it should be possible to build up a picture of the readership of the Bestiaries, and the proportion of secular and religious users.

The manuscripts which contain Bestiaries fall basically into the following categories: theological, in which are to be found sermons, offices, theological calendars, the writings of the Church fathers, and advice from Papal or other Church authorities; these are works of too technical a nature to be of interest to secular readers; didactic, manuscripts, which, though still of a religious nature, contain works of a pious nature with works of a more generally informative type; scientific, where the interest seems to lie either in animals, or in the properties of all natural phenomena; also under this heading are included works of an historical or a geographical nature; entertainment, where the accompanying works are largely for amusement: Courtly Romances, Fabliaux, and Lays.

Obviously, there are several manuscripts which do not belong fully to one category or another: with these, it must be considered whether the manuscript was written as one, complete manuscript, or whether there is the possibility that it consists of several sections, each one being, formerly, an individual manuscript.

Where two manuscripts are known to have been bound together, we will look first at the manuscript which originally contained the

Bestiary to determine which other works were originally included with the Bestiary; then look at the second manuscript to see if it bears in the nature of its contents the reasons for its being bound to the other one; and then consider whether the complete manuscript is different in tone from its two component manuscripts.

Those manuscripts which contain only the Bestiary cannot be classified in this way. These are:

Copenhagen : Great Royal Library: Former Royal Collection 3466

Sir Thomas Phillipp's Collection 6739

Manuscripts in the theological section were almost without doubt commissioned for and by monasteries and convents for their own use. Although they also contain works of a less technical nature, such as the lives of Saints, or Biblical paraphrases, the very nature of the theological inclusions is such as to suggest that no-one outside a religious establishment could profitably use them. The best example of a theological manuscript is Merton 249 already mentioned in the preceeding section. Almost all the works contained in this manuscript are of a technical nature: there are three Bulls from Innocent 111, the "De Pastorali Cura" by Gregory the Great and six sermons. The only non-theological inclusion is a letter to Rufinus, advising him not to get married! a monastic collection indeed.

Cotton Nero A v similarly contains a theological work of technical nature, the Cumpoz de Philippe de Thaün; again, this was fully described in the earlier part of this thesis.

3/15

B.N.f.f. 902 contains a collection of works with a strongly Biblical theme: indeed, Folios 1 - 96 consist of several books of the Bible in French; there follow two religious treatises, probably material from which sermons could be drawn, then several accounts of the lives of Saints: George, Nicholas, and Thomas, and the Passion de l'Enfant de Lincoln by Hugh de Lincoln; this seems a strange inclusion for a manuscript found, at least in modern times, in France; the connection with Lincoln is strengthened by the inclusion of the Chastel d'Amour by Robert Grosseteste, here called Robert of Lincoln. However, the manuscript bears no indication of its early movement. The manuscript ends with a paraphrase of the Psalm: Eructavit Cor Meum in honour of Marie de France. (The calendar on Folios 163 - 172 is a later addition, being originally a separate manuscript.)

Linked by the paraphrase of the Psalm, B.N.f.f. 20046 must necessarily accompany B.N. f.f. 902; 20046 contains only the Bestiary and the Psalm, but as the relative positions of the Bestiary and the Psalm are the same in 902, it seems reasonable to suppose that B.N.f.f. 20046 is a copy, or at least is related to B.N.f.f. 902. If this is so; then the Bestiary obviously aroused, in this instance, enough interest for someone to commission a further copy.

Another manuscript which is made up of two originally separate manuscripts and which thus changes character when considered as a single entity is Cambridge: Trinity College O.2.14 (1118). In this case a CXV manuscript of the Secreta Secretorum by Aristotle has been bound with a C X111th manuscript containing a Bestiary and

sermons. These, together with an account of the dedication of a church, indicate strongly that this C X111th manuscript is of monastic origin, and that the Bestiary was included as a source of religious allegory to help in the writing of other sermons. However, it is probable that, at a later date, obviously after the CXV, this manuscript passed into secular hands and was bound with the Secreta Secretorum to form a compendium of philosophical works. It is also possible, of course that by this time, manuscripts were being replaced for normal use by books, and the manuscripts themselves were taking on a historical rather than an inherent interest; in such circumstances, it would be quite probable that two Medieval manuscripts would be bound together.

Fitzwilliam J 20 presents a problem, in that it is(in the same manuscript as the Bestiary) a combination of Biblical works and works devoted to the Virgin, Brunetto Latini's Li Livre dou Tresor, Bestiaure sur natures des Bestes Naturaus, another work by Brunetto Latini on the geographical structure of the world, and Prester John's letter on India. The last items in the manuscript are moral works, but are very short, and may have been added later on existing blank leaves. As the pious works are grouped together at the beginning of the manuscript, and the Brunetto Latini collection, the Bestiary and an Elucidarium again are placed together, it is possible that this manuscript was originally two separate volumes: a collection of works on the Virgin, and a series of works of a symbolic nature, containing a more general nature. This being so, it is probable that the combining of the two manuscripts would have come relatively late; a monastery or convent would have

kept them separate, but a later owner may have felt less hesitation at binding together works of so different a nature, because of their common didactic qualities.

If this manuscript was originally two, then it would no longer come truly under the heading of theological works: the inclusion of Brunetto Latini's works with the Bestiary would immediately place it in the category of scientific manuscripts.

We now come to what is the largest section of Bestiary manuscripts: those containing didactic works. It is difficult to ascribe these manuscripts to a certain type of original owner without some guide from the manuscript itself, as the majority of the works are suited not only to use in religious establishments but also to secular readers of a more serious frame of mind. However, it may be possible to gauge from the lesser inclusions the intentions of the person who commissioned it.

Let us first of all consider those manuscripts which are didactic with strongly religious overtones: works which are moralising in nature, but not Biblical, nor full of technical works,(1) Egerton 613 is illustrative of this quality. It contains a miscellany of works including religious poems and epistles, sentences from the fathers, the Gospel of Nichodemus and three short works containing non-Biblical material pertaining to the Crucifixion. All these writings are certainly suited to convent use; however, there is nothing in them which is too specialised for a pious layman. However, the rather tenuous evidence suggests a lay rather than clerical origin: two of the works relate to people outside the Church. One of the three works about the Crucifixion is the well-

---

(1) British Museum: Egerton 613. For a full list of contents, see: - - Part 1 chapter 11

known account, supposedly true, and certainly found in other manuscripts of how queen Hélène found the Cross on the Hill of Calvary. Such an edifying history is certainly not out of character for a convent; but I feel that were such a work of clerical origin, the main subject being a saint, this would be specified in the title.

Further, folios 3v - 6v contain a letter to a lady on the sufferings of Christ. This has far stronger secular connotations than the preceeding work; it is written specifically to "a lady", and these folios are part of the original miscellany, not an insertion. It is also improbable that this manuscript was copied in its entirity from another source: the articles were added at different times - and certainly in different hands - possibly as the owner found an item of interest in a different manuscript. The "lady" in question, therefore, might well have been the owner of the manuscript, and the piece included for her benefit by her spiritual counsellor.

There is nothing to indicate that this manuscript did not find its way into clerical hands; however, the only trace of its later movements is in a note indicating that it was bought by Sotheby's in 1856, and that its previous owner was a Mr. W. Bentham of Gower Street.

Philipp's 4156 presents a similar collection of moralising works, including La Bible d'Herman de Valenciennes, the Disciplina clericalis by Petrus Alphonsus, and the EnseignemensTrebor by Robert de Hô. Again, these are completely in accordance with clerical use, but are also useful to the "honnête homme", desirous

of obtaining wisdom other than worldly. Also contained, however, are the fragments of two Romances, Partenopeus de Blois (180 lines of it) and the Roman de Brut by Wace (7,141 lines). It is possible that the latter was bound to the manuscript at a later date because of its fragmentary condition; and the former seems to be an attempt at filling empty space profitably. But the very condition of these two pieces again hints of secular proprietorship: on the whole, monastic manuscripts seem to have been more carefully copied and maintained, with few fragmentary inclusions.

Another didactic collection of works was to be found in British Museum: Royal 16 E V111, missing since 1879. Again, in addition to the Bestiary, this work contains the "Disciplina clericalis," but this time in metrical form, and entitled "Le livre de la Proverbe" or the Chastoiement d'un pere a son fils." These are accompanied by the Voyage of Charlemagne to the Holy Land by Titus. In this case also there are a number of later inclusions, chiefly songs and a French imitation of the Prose "Missus Gabriel de Celis", and this number of short, miscellaneous inclusions, chiefly secular in nature, indicate that this manuscript was in lay hands.

The two remaining manuscripts which can be basically classified as didactic - Montpellier H437 and Moreau 1716 - present more of a problem, as they both contain works of so varied a nature that they would seem to fall into all categories at once!

Moreau 1716 is a vast anthology which can be analysed into sections which could be equated to manuscripts originally separate but bound together to form the final volume. The first nineteen inclusions - folios 1 - 170 - contain seven works definitely by

Pierre de Beauvais, including his Bestiaire, and another three are probably by him; this could indicate that this section of Moreau 1716 was an encyclopaedia of the works of Pierre de Beauvais.

The 35 works in this manuscript can be classified as possible:

Nos. 1 - 19 - moral and didactic (plus "Hestoire de Charlemagne" by Pierre de Beauvais

Nos. 20 - 28 - religious, but not Biblical - suitable for the library of an "Honnête homme".

No. 29 - History (of the Albigensian crusade)

Nos. 30 - 36 - Songs and romances

The very ease with which this manuscript can be divided into these sections indicates that it is a late combination of manuscripts. If this is the case, then the section containing the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais is moral and didactic in nature, and is one of those works which could have originated either in a monastery or have been commissioned for a secular reader. It seems, for reasons already discussed in relation to other manuscripts, that the combination of the various manuscripts took place in a non-monastic library.

Montpellier H 437 (Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais: Long Version) is equally indeterminate; but the overall tone of the manuscript is didactic, with little to suggest monastic origin. The other contents, Roman de la Creation de Monde and the Image du Monde are works more in keeping with a secular reader with an interest in improving his knowledge and his soul. Despite its present location in the Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médécine, the other contents are not consistent with scientific usage, and

it is therefore unlikely that, though the manuscript may well have been in academic hands, it were used as a scientific manual on the 'propriétés des choses'.

However, there are several manuscripts which could have been used for scientific instruction. These manuscripts, which for the purposes of classification, can be termed 'scientific', contain Lapidaries, volucraries and other works concerned with natural phenomena.

B.N.f.f. 24428 is the best example of this compendium of animal lore, natural histry. It contains L'Image de Monde, Li Volucraires (Omon) , Li Bestiaires de Guillaume, Leclerc, Li Lapidaires de Marbode (transcribed by Guillaume Leclerc) and the Fables d'Esope by Marie de France. I have already mentioned this manuscript earlier in the chapter, but as it is very much illustrative of the scientific style of manuscript, I feel it merits further consideration here. That this book was used at one stage more for entertainment than instruction is indicated by the amount of wear sustained by ff. 89 - 114 (the Fables) However, it is possible that during the compilation of this manuscript, a process which was achieved gradually, as is proved by the number of different styles of handwriting, the Fables were "attracted" to the manuscript by its similarity to the Bestiary. As this manuscript belonged early in its existence to a lawyer, it is unlikely that it was "used" as a scientific manual; it was most probably read for interest and kept for show, as it is the most richly illustrated of the manuscripts studied in this chapter.

We come now to three manuscripts whose contents and style are similar, and it is quite possible that at least two are linked directly, the XVth century manuscript being copied from the XIIIth century one.

These manuscripts are B.N.F.f. 14964, 14969 and 14970. Even their modern catalogue number may suggest proximity of origin.

B.N.F.f. 14964, dated, though in a later hand, at 1265, contains l'Image de Monde (the work gives the title "Le Livre dou Clergie en Roumans, a mappe monde painted and overlaid with gold leaf), Guillaume Leclerc's Bestiaires and Marbode's Lapidaires again transcribed into French verse by Guillaume Leclerc. This manuscript thus forms an illustrated work on natural phenomena, of interest primarily to a secular owner, although such works and such compendia are not unknown in ecclesiastic libraries.

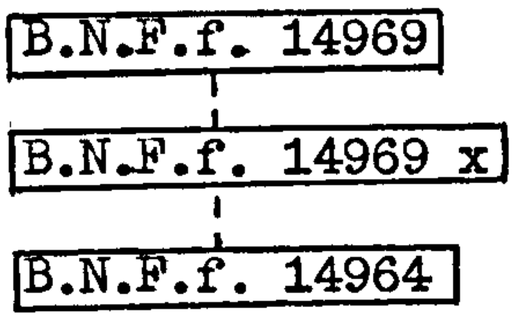
The CXVth manuscript, B.N.F.f. 14970, again richly illustrated, seems to have been copied from the above manuscript. Its present day contents are:

Bestiares - poème de Guillaume Leclerc

Lapidaires - de Marbode, transcribed into French verse by Guillaume Leclerc.

At the end of the manuscript is the Mappe Monde peinte found in B.N.F.f. 14964, and a note in the Fonds Français catalogue states that this Mappe Monde peinte originally terminated the Mappe Monde (Image dou Monde) by Gautier de Metz. Thus in its original state, B.N.F.f. 14970 reproduced exactly the contents of B.N.F.f. 14964, and in the same order. As in B.N.F.f. 14964, the Bestiary alone in B.N.F.f. 14970 is illustrated, and even the miniatures bear a certain resemblance to those in the earlier manuscript.

B.N.F.f. 14969, one of the best manuscripts of the Bestiaire de Guillaume Leclerc, appears to be related to the two previous manuscripts, but the links are less obvious, as the Image du Monde and the Mappe Monde peinte are not included. Unfortunately, this manuscript is not dated; it is described in the catalogue as belonging to the X111th century, but no further indication is proffered. It is possible, though,without a definitive date, there is no evidence to support this, that this is the earliest of the three manuscripts (the quality of the text endorses this theory) and that when B.N.F.f. was copied, possibly directly, possibly from a manuscript similar to B.N.F.f. 14969, (see below) the Image du Monde was added from another source.



That B.N.F.f. was copied from such a source is also denoted by the absence of illustration in the Lapidary (fols. 73 - 85). In B.N.F.f. 14969, spaces are left for illustration to be carried out later; in B.N.F.f. 14964 and B.N.F.f. 14970, no such spaces are left. The copyists of the later manuscripts did not consider it useful to copy the blank spaces, as the future illuminators were without the necessary guidance from marginal notes or earlier illustrations to undertake the task of illustrating these manuscripts: the scent was cold.

It is possible that B.N.F.f. 24428 also is a copy of B.N.F.f. 14964 or B.N.F.f. 14970; the three basic items, the Image du Monde the Bestiaire by Guillaume Leclerc, and the Lapidaire, again in the

verse transcription by Guillaume Leclerc, are contained in B.N.F.f. 24428. However, a Volucrary has been added in front of the Bestiary and the Fables d'Esope, by Marie de France, at the end. It is not impossible to find reasons for the inclusion of these works; on the contrary; however, direct evidence is, as usual, lacking.

Moving away from works which have a scientific nature, we come to a manuscript, Bodleian 912, which contains a mixture mostly of a historical nature, but which is difficult to place in any category: the varied nature of the works is such that the binding of these two works, the Bestiary and the Flores Historiarium seems random, and possibly carried out at a date when manuscripts were valued merely for their historic nature.

If this is the case, it offers little help in the determining of the purpose of the manuscript which originally contained the Bestiary. However, it may have been at an early stage in medical hands as written into the Bestiary manuscript there is a short rhyming poem on the rules of health; but again, this could have been copied in by anyone. The manuscript to which this has been bound, containing the Flores Historiarium also includes distichs and stanzas on various kings, underlining the historical nature of this manuscript.

Of all the combinations of manuscripts later bound together, this seems the most unreasoned and least based on content. Thus its inclusion in the "scientific" section is precarious, and basically determined by the poem added to it.

A similar case occurs in Bodleian Douce 132 where a Bestiary

manuscript with medical receipts in Latin has been bound with another, containing the Romance of Horn, the Chateau d'Amour, by Robert Grosseteste, and the Fables of Marie de France.

In this instance, the combination of the two manuscripts seems less random, as it brings together two works frequently found in conjunction, the Bestiary and the Fables. However, it could still be a late, and therefore, non-cataloguing combination, as this double manuscript formed at one stage the first part of an even larger manuscript separated by Douce.

By far the smallest category is that in which a Bestiary is included with works with a clear element of entertainment. However, it is obvious that this category would be enlarged were one to include manuscripts from the preceeding sections which contain only the Bestiary and the Fables by Marie de France.

The most important manuscript which comes into this category is B.N.F.f. 2168, a volume with many varied works in it, including Aucassin and Nicolete, de l'Atre Perillous,several Laïs by Marie de France, her Fables and some Fabliaux. The only religious inclusion is "Li Lucidaires en Roumans", and the only didactic work Les Quinze Signes. The variety of its content and of the handwriting styles indicates that this manuscript was built up gradually, possibly over a number of years as its owner found something of interest and had it copied.

The reasons for including the Bestiary are uncertain. It could be that the owner read the Bestiary shortly after having a copy made of the Fables of Marie de France, and was interested to find a work of basically similar nature. However, nothing is

indicative of the manner in which the Bestiary came to be copied.

Perhaps the strangest combination occurs in Rothschild LV2. 24 (formerly Barrois (now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)). Here, with the addition of several Laïs, the Bestiary de Guillaume Leclerc accompanies Li Roumans de la Rose (Jehan de Meung et Guillaume de Lorris). Again, there seems no good reason for these two works to be copied into the same manuscript, unless the link is the symbolic overtones of both works.

Finally, in Cotton Vespasian A V11 we find the Bestiary combined with Ipomedon, and with a Vision of St. Paul in verse. There is nothing which indicates a reason for the inclusion of these two works in the same manuscript.

Thus we see that the greater number of manuscripts were intended for didactic use of some sort, either, as is the case with the largest group of manuscripts, in religious hands or in the library of an "honnête homme".

However, if we look at the nature of the Bestiary from the point of view of logical combinations of material, and indeed, of linked manuscripts, the scientific group present a more unified and orderly category, with more attempts definitely to compile works on one subject - natural history, for example, alone.

This impression is strengthened if we look at the number of times an individual work occurs in the same Manuscript as a Bestiary. Once again, works which come under the heading of scientific treatises are clearly most common. The most frequent companion to a Bestiary

is the "Image dou Monde" by Gautier de Metz. This appears with a Bestiary in at least seven manuscripts, including one of the scientific "family" of manuscripts, B.N.F.f. 14964, and originally in one of the others. In all cases, also, these two works have been placed together as they were copied, and not bound together later.

The second most frequent inclusion with a Bestiary is its logical companion, a lapidary. Marbode's Lapidary appears four times, and there are two others, whose authors are not named, which are found with Bestiaries. Strangely, there are only one or two Isopets, and in only one Bestiary manuscript do we find 'Li Bestiaires d'Amour' de Richart de Fournival, in B.N.F.f. 1444, The same applies to 'Li Livres dou Tresor', by Brunetto Latini, which coexists with a Bestiary in Fitzwilliam J20. There are several works which appear more than once in a Bestiary manuscript. The most frequent of these are the Secret, Secretorum, by Aristotle, Li Chasteaus d'Amour by Robert Grosseteste, Les Sept Sages de Rome, the Fables by Marie de France, La Bible d'Hermann de Valenciennes and the Chronicle of the Pseudo-Turpin, Le Voyage de Charlemagne.

From the point of view of religious works, only an Elucidarium occurs frequently with a Bestiary; and, as no author is specified, it is possible that these are not the same work each time. The most frequent titled religious work accompanying a Bestiary is the Quinze Signes.

Thus again we see that, although Bestiaries are mainly found in religious manuscripts, the scientific manuscripts are more cohesive and form a clearer pattern of the type of works which were considered suitable together with a Bestiary.

So far, we have looked at the problem of ownership from the internal evidence available in a manuscript. To present a fuller picture, we must now turn to evidence provided by catalogues of ancient libraries, to see how many of them contained Bestiaries or similar works on animals. As this is only a guide to the Libraries which housed Bestiaries, not an attempt to discern the provenance of certain manuscripts, we have widened the range of Bestiaries to include Latin ones, as these, we feel, help to clarify the position. We have also taken into consideration the classification given to these manuscripts in their libraries. The following list of Libraries is clearly a brief sample to be used as a guide; it is not intended to be exhausive, merely indicative; it does, however, include a Royal Library, a monastic library and a University Library.

Let us turn first to the Library of Canterbury Cathedral (1). Out of 698 works catalogued towards the end of the C 13 and the beginning of the C 14, 10 were Bestiaries or Lapidaries. The works with which they were classified does, however, throw light on the problem of the use of such works, and the type of works they were considered to be.

In a section devoted to medicine we find the following entry:

---

(1) E. Edwards: Memoirs of Libraries LONDON 1859 P. 162, 171, 191 - 2, 219, 281, 375 - 6, 389.

Vol. CCV1: In hoc volumine continentur:
Practica medicinalia
Liber Ajacis Regis arabum de virtutibus
Liber de naturis Bestiarum 1 and 2
Liber de naturis Lapidum 1 and 2
Liber de Sculptura Lapidum 1

Further in volume CCV11, we find:

Libellus de virtutibus Lapidum
Tractatus Alfani Salenitanensis de quibusdam questionibus medicinalibus
Dinamedus Galieni
Alexander Sophista: de curis humani corporis.

However, to illustrate the ambiguous role of the Bestiary even to a medieval documentor, distinguishing from Bestiaries combined with works pertaining to the health of the body, we turn to those pertaining to our spiritual wellbeing:

Vol. CCLXV1

Liber de Animalibus
Liber de anima
Sermo 'ade prioris'
Moralium dogma.

The shift of emphasis from the analysis of the properties of beasts and stones towards its theological interpretation becomes increasingly apparent in the next few works:

Vol CCCLXXV11

Marbotus de natura lapidam
Libellus de Jona, propheta, versifice.
Marboduis de ornamentis verborum
Questiones de omni historia
Enigma Dionisii
Libellus de versibus scriptis intra sepulchrum domini
Tractatus de offertorio misse
De triphonia ecclesiae.

VOL. CCCLXXX11

Liber de grammatica
Exposito simboli Niceni
Ysidorus de summo bono
Notule super Lucam
Notule super sententias
Lapidarius
Expositio quorumdam verborum psalterii
Liber de X11 Lapidibus preciosis
Diversa notabilia de theologia
Libellus de introductione dialectice
Summa Reymundi de casibus abbriviata.

Finally, we see a book on beasts in company with less theological but still ethical and philosopical works:

VOL. DCV111

Liber ethicorum
Topica Aristotelis
Liber de animalibus
Logica vetus.

The compiler of this catalogue also gives insight into the way manuscripts came to be copied: (P. 281 Op. cit.)

> "By the care of this abbot almost all these books are now transcribed; some, indeed, mentioned by St. Augustin in his book of retractions he has not met with; but he is ever inquisitive after all the religious writings he can possibly hear of, so that the Pomposian church is become the most renowned in Italy" (1)

He further mentions literary missions to other monasteries and that monks did buy manuscripts; indeed, the mendicants preferred purchase to transcription.

---

(1) quoted by Edwards from Henricus Clericus: Diarium Italicum in Henley's translation Pp. 62 - 65.

To turn to the Library of the Sorbonne. Here we find, under the heading Libri Naturales non commentati the following Bestiaries and Libri de Animalibus:

a) Liber de animalibus, ex. legato Magistri G. de Abbatisville: incipit fol. 2 'sicut cepcio'. Sol. LX. (now B.N.F.L. 16162)

b) Liber bestiarum, esposiciones super Trenis et super aliis libris veteris testamenti, ex legato magistri R. de Sorbona. Sol. X

Under the heading Libri naturales commentati:

a) Liber de animalibus veteris translacionis, ex legato Magistri Lawrencii des Quesnes.

Under the heading Libri Mixti Philosophorum:

a) Item bestiaruim, ex legato magistri Egidii de Tillia de Gandavo.

Finally in the Grande Librarie of the Sorbonne, under the heading Libri Naturales, the following works are catalogued:

a) Bestiarium utile ad predicacionem. Incipit: "Leo fortissimus bestiarum"

b) Ejusdem (id est: Aristotelis) de animalibus libri X1X

c) Liber Avicenne de animalibus libri X1X. Secundum translacionem Michaelis Scoti.

The Bestiaries as such are, with the one exception a B or B/s manuscript, untraced: the works on a similar theme by Aristotle and Avicenna, though interesting in themselves can here be of use only for the categories under which they are classified; none of the works fall into a theological register; most are books of natural history; the one exception is under the rather disjointed heading of mixed philosophy. Thus, non-theological academic sources seem to regard the Bestiary as a work on natural phenomena, and

stressing the physical attributes of a particular animal rather than its moralising interpretation.

As well as the above Bestiaries, the Libraries of the Sorbonne included the following works:

7: works on plants and vegetables in other works on natural phenomena, including the magnum opus by Albertus Magnus.
3: herbiaries (medical)
2: lapidaries (one by Albertus Magnus)
2: Fables by Aesop/Avianus
1: Eytmologiarum (Isidore de Seville)

Next we must consider Royal and Noble libraries, represented by the Librarie de Louvre, and those of the Dukes of Burgundy, and Charles V.

In the Inventaire de Louvre taken in 1373 (1), we find catalogued the following Bestiaries, Bestiaries d'Amour and Lapidaries.

Vol 331. a) Le livre du Faicts et de la Passion St. Denys
b) Des xjm. martirs
c) Les anz de la nativité nostre Segnors.
d) La cronologie des pappez, Empereurs et Roys de France et les temps qu'ils ont regné, et d'aucuns des Fricz qu'en leurs temps sont advenus.
e) La Passion Nostre sires
f) La vie notre dame, rimes.
g) Partie du Bestiaire en Prose et sans comment.
h) Autres nobles en François moralisés en Latin.
i) Les sieurs regnants de Dampmartin, rymes.
j) La Patenostre exposée, en prose.

38. (Bestiaire de Richard de Fournival)

Le Livre dou Tresor
Le Bestiaire
L'Image du Monde
tout figuré et hystorié, em prose, bienescrit en langage Picart. (2)

---

(1) Van Praet: Inventoire ou Catalogue des Livres de l'Ancienne Bibliothèque de Louvre. Paris 1836. Pp.69, passim.

(2) Although these two manuscripts bear certain similarities to extant Manuscripts of the Bestiaires by Pierre de Beauvais and Richard de Fournival, it is not possible to identify them.

Vol. 94. Le Livre Dou Tresor.

121. Les Fables Isopet
Le Bestiaire Maistre Richard de Fournival Ystorie
et ryme (1)

182. Le Lappidaire, en un cayer couvert de parchemin,
bien script.
(Marbode's Lapidary, in French)

290. Un livre de Chançons
Les Faiz de la Terre d'Outremer
Le Bestiaire
Robert le Diable
Vies de Plusieurs Saints
Le Miracle de Theophile
De Jehan L'Evangeliste
et autres choses rymés.

(This manuscript seems similar to Arsénal 3561, (q.v.) but the medieval inventory is not sufficiently detailed to make any definite assertions)

380. Le Lappidaire en prose de livre courant.

438. Le Bestiaire maistre Richard de Fournival d'Amours
Le Compost
L'Image du Monde
Le Tournoiement Antecrist aveques plusieurs chançons
noteez.
que fist un moine de S. Germain des Pres.

457. Bestiaire et chançons en langage Picart (Richart de
Fournival)

460. La nature des Pierez en un petit livret.

475. Un petit livret du Bestiaire, historie et ryme.

476. L'Image du monde Ryme.

From the library of the Duc de Guyenne, there came in 1409 a duplicate of 438 (above) and two Livres dou Tresor dit Maistre Brunet Latin.

In addition, this library held one more Livre dou Tresor and two more Image dou monde.

---

(1) 'Bestiaire d'Amour' ed. Arvid Thordstein? (could be!)

Further, a note on P. 31 reads thus:

"On connoit un autre Bestiaire d'un nommé Guillaume, clerc normand, composé aussi dans le trèizième siècle et se trouvant en manuscript parmi ceux de l'Eglise de Paris n. 2736 fol. 74

The Library of the Duc de Berry is sadly deficient in Bestiaries and similar works: he has only one Bestiary classified under 'moral works':

'un livre des dis des philosophes et de la vie de plusieurs sains avec le Bestiaire.'

He also owned 5 mappe - mondes
4 'de proprietatibus rerum'
2 Livres dou Tresor - with the name Jehan de Mehun given
1 Herbiaire.

The Dukes of Burgundy, according to the 'Inventaire de l'Ancienne Bibliothèque des Ducs de Bourgogne'(1), owned two Bestiaries and two Lapidaries:

Item: Le livre de Bestiaire

Item: Le livre de Bestiaire et de St Jehan-Paul.

Item: Le livre de la propriete des pierres

Item: Un altre livre appelle 'Lapidaire' contenant altre livre, fermant a ung fermillet d'argent.

No classification is given for these.

---

(1) E.G. Peignot: Catalogue des Livres des Ducs de Bourgogne Seconde édition, augmentée du Catalogue des Dominicains Dijon 1841

In the Inventory of 1420 of the library of the Dukes of Burgundy under Jean sans Peur, we find, classified roughly as religious literature:

Bestiaire de Guillaume le Clerc de Normandie (1)

In the inventory of 1467 (Philippe le Bon) classified under "chapelle: librairie meslee:"

Bestiaire d'Amours de Richard de Fournival (2)

Finally, under Philippe le Hardi, we find, without classification:

Bestiaire (the one from the 1420 Inventory)
Bestiaire d'Amours, partie en rime, partie en prose
Le Livre de Bestiaire et de Mappemonde
Puissance d'Amours et Natures des Bestes. (3)

(The last two items being by Richard de Fournival)

The library also contained:

2 lapidaires

2 Images du monde

Thus again, we see that Bestiaries were all things to all men: religious establishments took their classification from the theological content; university and others from the physical detail given. It would seem, therefore, that the main interest in the Bestiaries was religious; however, this does not give the whole picture, as so many Bestiaries patently offered wider fields of information.

Finally, let us look at the catalogue of the Cathedral at Amiens, of special interest because it was compiled by the author of 'Le Bestiaire d'Amours', Richard de Fournival. Unfortunately

---

(1) Doutrepont: G, La Littérature Française à la Cour des Ducs de Bourgogne. Paris 1909. P. 203

(2) Ibid. P. 204

(3) Ibid. P. 272 - 3

for those seeking a source of inspiration for the Bestiaire d'Amours' close at hand, the catalogue, Biblionomia, contains no French Bestiaries or Herbiaries. However, it does contain some works by Greek and Latin writers, on the natures of plants and animals, most of which are scientific or medical in character.

Vol. 134. Dyascordis: liber de virtutibus herbarum, composition - ibus olerum nec non es ex hystoria de rerum confectione et pygmentorum virtute.

61. (i) Aristotelis: medici perypathetici domini philosophorum
(ii) libri naturales videlices liber de physico auditu, sive de physico negotio, qui est de causis et principiis naturalium
(iii) liber de celo et mundo
(iv) liber de propritatibus celi et mundi
(v) liber de generatione, corruptione et mixtione.
(vi) liber de metheorin
(vii) liber de vegetatibus et plantis
(xiii) liber de anima
etc.

62. & 63. Eiusdem (i.e. de Albatiali Aviscenni) liber in cogitatione naturarum animalibus.

One minor point that arises from the study of the Old Libraries and their complement of Bestiaries is that they rarely specify which Bestiary they possess. That at least one cataloguer knew of the existence of the 'Bestiaire'de Guillaume Le Normand as well as of his 'own' Bestiary shows that the Medieval librarians knew there was more than one Bestiary; however, the Bestiaries are generally catalogued as 'le Bestiaire', the two exceptions where indication of the nature of the Bestiary is given being in the Bibliothèque du Louvre catalogue, where the Bestiaries are mentioned as being 'en prose et

sans comment' and 'em prose, bien escrit en langage Picart.' Always bearing in mind that there could have been another prose, Picard Bestiary that is now lost without trace, these references would seem to indicate the Bestiary of Pierre de Beauvais.

The anonymity is probably due to the fact that the Bestiary authors were not well-known in the same way as Marbode was - his name is sometimes specified. Nor did the didactic Bestiaries provoke interest in their authors in the same way as the 'Bestiaire d'Amour Rime' did in Richard de Fournival, a name frequently found. But then, fame and fortune was not the aim of these learned gentlemen!

Their fortune, if any, is not recorded; their fame attested to in only a handful of manuscripts; but during how many centuries was some record of their work made?

The Bestiaries were written - transcribed is probably a more apposite term - over a period of 100 years; this time gap, however, is falsely extended by the Bestiaire de Philippe de Thaün, written somewhere around 1110 - 1120; the other three come together in the space of approximately twenty years; the Bestiaire de Guillaume Leclerc, 1208 - 1210 (dated from textual evidence), that of Gervaise sometime during the early years of the XIIIth century, (1) and the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais, in both versions, before 1218, date of death of Robert de Dreux, mentioned in one of the manuscripts; Malines, Bibliothèque de Seminaire 32. (2) Thus, apart from the

---

(1) P. Meyer: Le Bestiaire de Gervaise from 'Romania' Vol. 1 date 1875. P. 423

(2) F. McCulloch. Op. Cit. Page 66

Bestiaire of Philippe de Thaün, the Medieval French Bestiary is a XIIIth century phenomenon, existing in three basic forms and certain adaptations, the most important of which being the 'Bestiaire d'Amours' by Richard de Fournival, another XIIIth century work.

But how long did the pure version of the Bestiaries survive? The evidence is based largely on the remaining manuscripts, the latest of which is Arsénal 2691, which, according to the catalogue of the Bibliothèque de l'Arsénal, belongs to the XVth century, although this is a date arrived at by handwriting evidence alone; the manuscript is not dated. It is a manuscript of the Bestiaire de Guillaume Leclerc.

There are three manuscripts bearing XIVth century dates:

B.N.F.f. 20046 (1338)

Bodleian 912 (1306)

Cambridge: Fitzwilliam J20 (1323)

and another which is considered in the Bibliothèque Nationale catalogue to be of the XIVth century:

B.N.F.f. 14970

There are two manuscripts whose dates could be XIVth century; one is catalogued as late XIIIth or XIVth century:

B.N.F.f. 25406

the other seems at one time to have been the subject of some controversy; the Bibliothèque Nationale catalogue dates it,

B.N.F.f. 902

as XIVth century; Paulin Paris considered that the manuscript was XIIIth century and Cahier places it at the beginning of the XIIIth century.

Finally, there is one manuscript which bears an early XVth century date (1412), but at the end of a note stating the ownership of the manuscript and the fact that it had been lent out:

> 'Cest livre-ci est a mestre Nicholas de Lessy, et le m'a lesdit mestre Nicholas preste a moy frere. Jehan Contusse, gardien des Freres Mineurs de Sens 1412'.

Therefore this manuscript could belong to the XVth century; it is more likely to belong to the XIVth.

So, of a total of 32 manuscripts, one is XVth century, possibly 7 are XIVth, and the remaining 24 are XIIIth century; so the XIIIth century in effect saw the rise and decline of the popularity of the Bestiaries.

To turn briefly to the Bestiaire de Philippe de Thaün. This precursor to the main French Bestiary tradition was transcribed at the height of popularity of the Latin Bestiaries, and this is its probable "raison d'être": a learned king on the French/English throne (Henri II, nicknamed 'Beauclerc'), desirous of seeing a popular Latin work transmuted into French. However, its memory lasted as long as that of Guillaume Leclerc's Bestiary: there is a XIVth century manuscript of the Bestiary of Philippe de Thaün:

Copenhagen: Former Royal collection 3466.

However, the tradition did not die out in the XIVth - XVth centuries. (By 'the tradition' in this instance, I refer to the popular, short form Bestiaries, not the massive 'de Natura Rerum' of Albertus Magnus and Alexander Neckhann, which continued to be held as authoratative by learned men until the XVIIth century). The tradition of these short books on birds and beasts was kept alive,

ironically, by the work that probably killed the moral Bestiaries: the Bestiaire d'Amour de Richard de Fournival, and its many off-shoots, the Bestiaire d'Amours en vers and the many versions of the Dictz des Bestes et des Oyseaulx, short, non-moralising works on animals, which gave only their physical attributes. The best-known of these is the Cambrai Bestiary, a XIIIth century prose adaptation of the 'Bestiaire d'Amours', (1) and this, in its turn, accounts largely for the origin and form of the late C13 Provençal adaptation 'son las naturas d'alcus auzels et d'alcunas bestias.(2)

Once more, it is the derivatives which survive the originals; although the Bestiaire d'Amour by Richard de Fournival was copied well into the C XVth, I can find no reference to a printed edition. However, its closest relative, the Bestiaire d'Amours en vers survived not only into print but into the XVIth century! There are references to these two editions in both Brunet (3) and in Graesse (4):

'Sensuyt le Bestiaires d'Amour: moralise sur les Bestes et Oyseaulx la tout par figure et hystorye. Imprimme nouuellement a Paris'. Sans date. (Trepperel) in -4° Gothique (2.8 ff non chiffres a 2 col. de 42 vers. Aven figures en bois)

(sold to the La Vallière collection for 5 francs;)

Reprime Paris par Alain Lotrain 1529 in -4° Goth.

The remaining survivors are all short adaptations which are all linked. Brunet refers to the following work; which is unusual in

---

(1) E. B. Ham: The Cambray Bestiary. Modern Philology Vol XXXVI 1959.

(2) Published by Bartsch: Provenzalisches Lesebuch (Elberfeld) 1855 pp 162 - 6
Published by Appel: Provenzalisches Chrestomathie (Leipzic) 1920 pp 201 - 4

(3) E. Brunet: Manuel de Librarie Vol. 1. P. 831

(4) J.G.T. Graesse: Trésor des Livres Rares et Précieux Vol. 1 London, Paris, Geneva 1859

that it is a Dictz des Bestes only; in all other editions, it is accompanied by the Dictz des Oiseaus.

Les Dictz des Bestes, petit in -4° Goth.

The note given by Brunet reads as follows:

> Cette édition sans lieu ni date mais imprimée vers 1500.
>
> Elle contient seulment 4ff. dontle dernier est tout blanc.
>
> Sur le premier f. se lit le titre ci dessus, accompagné du monogramme de l'imprimeur. Cet opuscule en vers est terminé au verso du 3 ème. f. par les mots: "ci finissent les ditz des bestes". Les dictz des Osyeaux qui si trouvent dans d'autres éditions de ce petit ouvrage ne font pas partie de celle-ci.
>
> Vendu: 6 liv. 16 sh. 6 d. Heber. Resold in 1841 for 52 fr.
>
> Nodier bought it for 55. (1)

Graesse mentions a similar volume, sold to/by Yemeniz for 315 francs.

> Ditz les, de Bestes sans lieu ni date in -4° Gothique 4ff. (2)

Of the combined works, the Dictz des Bestes et les Dictz des Oyseaulx, there seems to be a number of copies: Trepperel brought one out, which Brunet describes thus:

> Il existe une édition de ces deux pièces, in -4°, en caractères gothiques, avec la marque de J. Trepperel. Savoir: "Les Dictz des Bestes, en 4ff et ceux des oiseaux en 6ff dont un blanc". (3)

A Lyonnais press printed two editions of the Dictz des Oyseaulx and one of the Dictz des Bestes. Graesse refers to one of the Dictz des Oyseaulx thus: (4)

---

(1) Brunet: Op. Cit. Vol 11 P. 763

(2) Graesse: Op. Cit. Supplément P. 252

(3) Brunet: Op. Cit. Vol 11 P. 763

(4) Graesse: Op. cit. Supplément P. 252

Une édition des dictz joyeux des oiseaulx, s.l.n.d. in -4° Goth. (6 ff) imprimée avec les caractères du livre des Quatres Choses, sortie d'une presse lyonnaise au XV^ème siècle. Vendue 225 fr. Yemeniz.

This could be the same edition as referred to below by Brunet, with the exception that the edition mentioned in Graesse has 6ff, and the one in Brunet 5ff. (with a note in Brunet to that effect)

Les Ditz des Bestes (sans lieu ni date) in - 4° Gothique 4 ff. Ce recto du dernier f. n'a que 21 lignes et le verso est blanc.

Les Ditz joyeux des oiseaux (s.l.n.d.) in - 4° Gothique 5 ff. (pas 6):

2 éditions lyonnaises de la fin du XV^ème siècle, imprimées avec les mêmes caractères que le livre des Quatre choses. La première, maroquin rouge 210 fr. et la deuxième, même reliure, 200 fr. Caulhava. (1)

The final three copies of this kind of work contain work on both the beasts and the birds. Two of them are from the same edition, but one is badly defective. Brunet describes it as follows:

Les Dictz des oyseuax et des bestes par hystores. (Au recto du dernier f.: imprime a chaalons par Estienne Bally, imprimeur demourant devant nre dame en vaulx pres la grosse teste.

Pet. in - 4° goth. feuillets non chiffrés. Illuminated.

Brunet (2) adds a note to the effect that each of the 4 pages in the book has a picture of a bird, with a quatrain in French

---

(1) Brunet. Op. Cit. Vol. II P. 763

(2) Brunet. Op. Cit. Vol. II P. 763

pertaining to it. There is a second quatrain about an animal, but this has no accompanying picture . Graesse describes another copy from this edition, pointing out that Brunet had access only to a defective copy. The description given by Graesse(1) is identical to the one by Brunet given above, except for the addition of these words:

Av. des bords et fig. en bois.

The final example known to Brunet of these later Bestiaries is very similar to the last two described above. He catalogues it thus:

Les dictz des bestes e aussi des oyseaulx .

Cy finissent les dictz des oyseaulx, nouuellement imprime a Paris en la rue neufue nostre Dame a lescu de France.

Petit in - 8° goth. figure en bois.

Brunet writes that this edition has only 12 folios, but is illustrated with 48 woodcuts, of which 39 are followed by a quatrain descriptive of the animal which the drawing represents. A facsimile reprint of 40 copies was produced in Paris in 1830.

Thus we come to the end of the Bestiary tradition, in French, both in Manuscript and printed form. The Latin Bestiaria were to continue as books of reference until the XV11th centruy, when the empirical system of scientific study became widely used.

---

(1) Graesse: Op. Cit. Supplement P. 252

What patterns, therefore, emerge from the study of the Bestiary manuscripts?

Firstly, from the evidence of the manuscripts which contain Bestiaries and other works, we can see that a numerical majority of Bestiary volumes were considered to be works of a serious didactic nature, a smaller number were for precise theological study, and a very small number were for entertainment. However, the few manuscripts which seem commissioned for scientific purposes show the greatest cohesion and continuity as a family group; it is as though some minds orientated towards the natural history element in the Bestiaries had broken away entirely from the traditional view of the Bestiary and had taken a new look at its potential; interesting themselves more, it seems in the physical nature of the birds and beasts than in the moral interpretations.

In doing this, they included with the Bestiaries other works of a very similar nature and built up volumes which reveal much about the Medieval mind and its view of knowledge. We see that specialisation, as we know it today, was alien to the Medieval mind; even men whose minds were concerned above all with the physical nature of creation would also be interested in the moralising content; the growth of the idea of separating scientific and theological knowledge had not developed beyond its earliest stages. Had this process of separation been further advanced, I feel sure that there would be more works similar to the later Cambray Bestiary, from which all moralising content has been omitted.

13/45

Thus, when we define a manuscript as being primarily of scientific interest, we must never lose sight of the fact that the Medieval patrons themselves would not have been so restrictive in their definitions. However, different patrons seemed to be more attracted to one element in a Bestiary than another, although this must be seen in terms of degrees of interest, not of absolutes.

This new look at the Bestiaries can be seen to be at once the end and the beginning of a Bestiary tradition. It foretells the end of the Bestiary as a didactic work, in which the stress was laid on the moralising content, the tradition which can be traced back to the extant forms of the Greek Physiologus; it announces the next stage in the Bestiary tradition, the derivatives of the Bestiaries, which retain the physical attributes and either omit the moralising element or radically alter its nature. Among the derivatives we find the Bestiaire d'Amours, by Richard de Fournival, the work which by its popularity, eclipsed the religious Bestiaries, while at the same time keeping their memory alive. There is the verse adaptation, the Bestiaire d'Amours ryme, and a Provençal version. Finally, we can see the remnants of the tradition being adapted to a single subject, the Virgin Mary. This adaptation is nearer in spirit to the religious Bestiaries, but closer to the Bestiaire d'Amour in that there is only one subject in the interpretations; in both the Bestiaires d'Amour and the Bestiary in honour of the Virgin Mary, each animal discussed is used to portray a different facet of one person, whereas in the Religious Bestiaries, each animal represents either a completely different person (Christ, God and the Devil) or

373 46

a separate personality trait, not necessarily connected with any other attribute symbolised in any other animal.

With the relaxation in the moralising tradition, we find a general decrease of interest in this facet of the work, so that the form of the Bestiary that survived long enough to be printed is indeed a distant descendant, with many fewer animals and no moralising content.

The Bestiary/Physiologus tradition had remained intact for nearly a thousand years although for a great period of time, it had lain dormant. During the X111th century, the religious Bestiary was translated into the vernacular, and became popular as a work of Symbolism. There is no doubt that, at the beginning of its success, the Bestiary tradition was regarded very much in the same way as it had been as a Latin work; but the translation of the work was the beginning of the end. There is no more unity, no more oneness of thought; even Pierre de Beauvais, who wrote one version of his Bestiary in the pure tradition, felt the need to expand the work; the compilers of the Third and Fourth Family Latin manuscripts had felt the same need; perhaps the tradition, to which even the Bestiary writers clung, - that of following implicitly one's source material, - was being questioned by the more impatient writers and transcribers, who felt a need to create from given material, instead of just copying it. Certainly, some such reasons motivated Richard de Fournival, who created a new, individual work inside the traditional Bestiary framework.

Once such factors become involved in any tradition, it is weakened, and quickly decays. It is perhaps significant that al-

though the Physiologus tradition had survived for 900 years before being translated into French, the Bestiary form was dead in 300 years after this, and even so, had been almost unrecognisable for at least 100 years.

The manner in which the tradition died out underlines the original purpose of the Bestiary: it was a moralising, didactic work. To regard it as a scientific work, slight though the shift in emphasis was, served as the thin end of a wedge that ultimately destroyed the old Physiologus/Bestiary tradition in French. It is interesting to note that in Latin, where there was no change of emphasis, where the works, remained true to the Physiologus tradition in those chapters which were of Physiologus origin, (new additions were often not moralised) the Bestiarium was considered to be a work of importance until the XV11th Century, and was quoted as being a sound doctrinal source.

It is therefore clear from the study of the volumes which contained Bestiaries that these works, originally meant for didactic purposes, came to be regarded with uncertainty, as can be seen by the large variety of headings they were classified under in Medieval libraries, and thus finally lost their distinctive moralising tone and became books to be read for the descriptions of animals they contained, instead of being pondered over, as they once were, for their solemn exposition of the Scriptures by means of Symbolic interpretation.

PART THREE, CHAPTER FOUR

THE ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

The miniatures in this chapter have been taken from the following manuscripts: B.N.F.fr. 14969, B.N.F.fr. 14964, B.N.F.fr. 14964, B.N.F.fr. 1444, B.N.F.fr. 24428. These manuscripts are representative of the types of illustration, and show on the one hand the great similarity found in the depiction of certain animals, and the wide disparity in the portrayal of others.

Certain beasts, for example the various birds and the ant, are difficult to depict, and the miniatures on these subjects are generally undistinguished and, indeed, in the case of the birds, indistinguishable the one from the other. Therefore, this chapter does not include an illustration of every one of the nuclear animals, merely of those whose written, physical description is interesting, of those where there is great similarity in all pictures; and those where the portrait does not resemble the description written in the text.

Also, different illustrators display different techniques in their miniatures, therefore the five manuscripts were chosen because they are illustrative of these techniques: we see the composite picture, where the miniaturist has attempted to portray in the one miniature the physical attributes and the moral interpretation of an animal; the minature which portrays the legend attatched to an animal, perhaps accompanied, as in B.N.F.fr. 14969, by a separate picture which illustrates the moral meaning; and finally, the miniature which is a more or less accurate representation, of a photographic nature, of the animal.

1) The Lion. Mss. B.N.F.fr. 14969, 14964, 14970, 24428

Ms. 14969 contains the miniature most representative of the text: it contains, from left to right, a cock, to illustrate the lion's fear of this animal; a second lion, shown fighting a third lion, is deep and strong of chest, as the text informs us; in the centre we see the major attribute of the lion: its ability to resuscitate its young after three days. The action takes place on a slope representing the hills in which the lion is said to live.

This comprehensive illustrator has omitted only two facts from the whole legend: the lion's fear of the squeaking of chariot wheels and of fire; and the lion's habit of erasing its tracks with its tail to evade the hunter.

The illustrator of Ms. 24428 makes this hunting scene the foreground of his miniature, which is remarkable for the peculiar orange figure in the top left-hand corner, a figure not apparently explained by any of the moral or physical attributes given to the lion. Nor does it seem to be a representation of God, who could be portrayed as the central character in the interpretation.

These miniatures make no attempt to portray the meaning of the lion: this is unusual for Ms. 24428, which usually has composite pictures illustrating the physical and moral attributes of an animal. In Ms. 14969 the illustration of the 'nature' of the Lion is accompanied by a miniature representing the symbolical meaning.

The remaining two manuscripts, Ms. 14964 and Ms. 14970 demonstrate the process of simplification which continually took place in the Bestiary tradition, in texts as in illustrations. Ms. 14964 illustrates the main physical attribute of the lion: its ability

PAGE

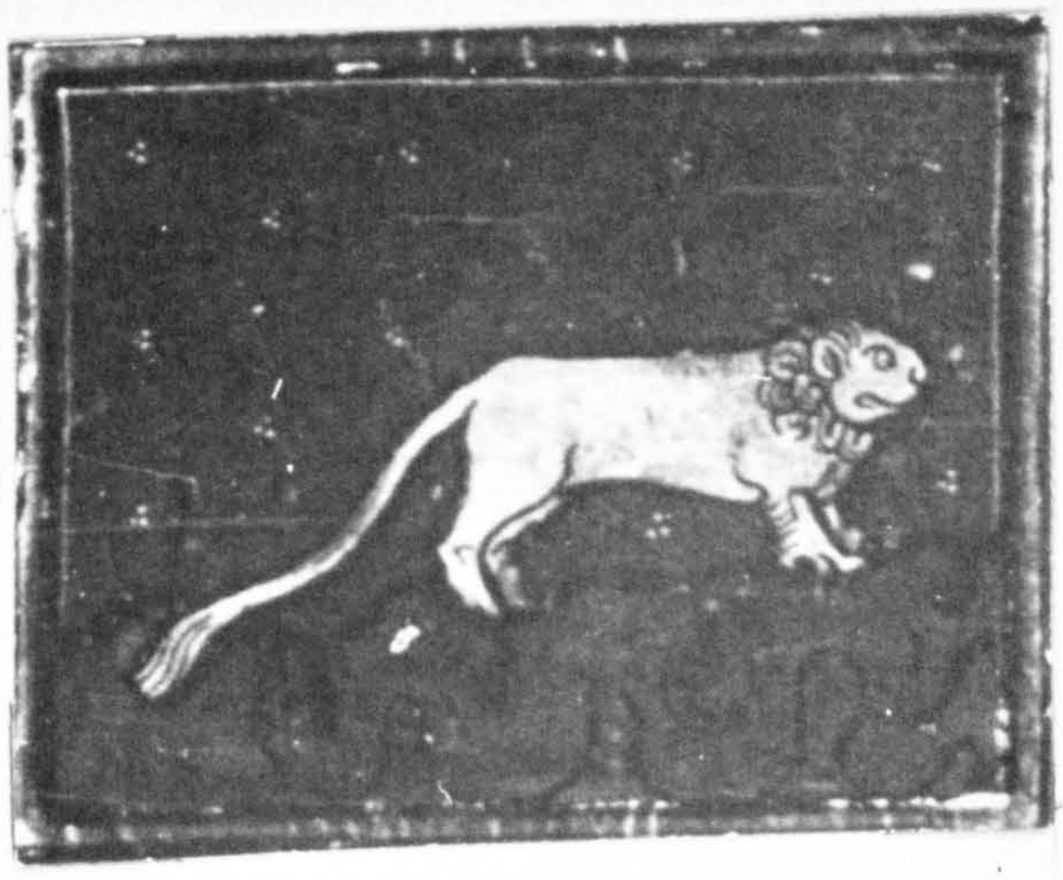
NUMBERING

AS ORIGINAL

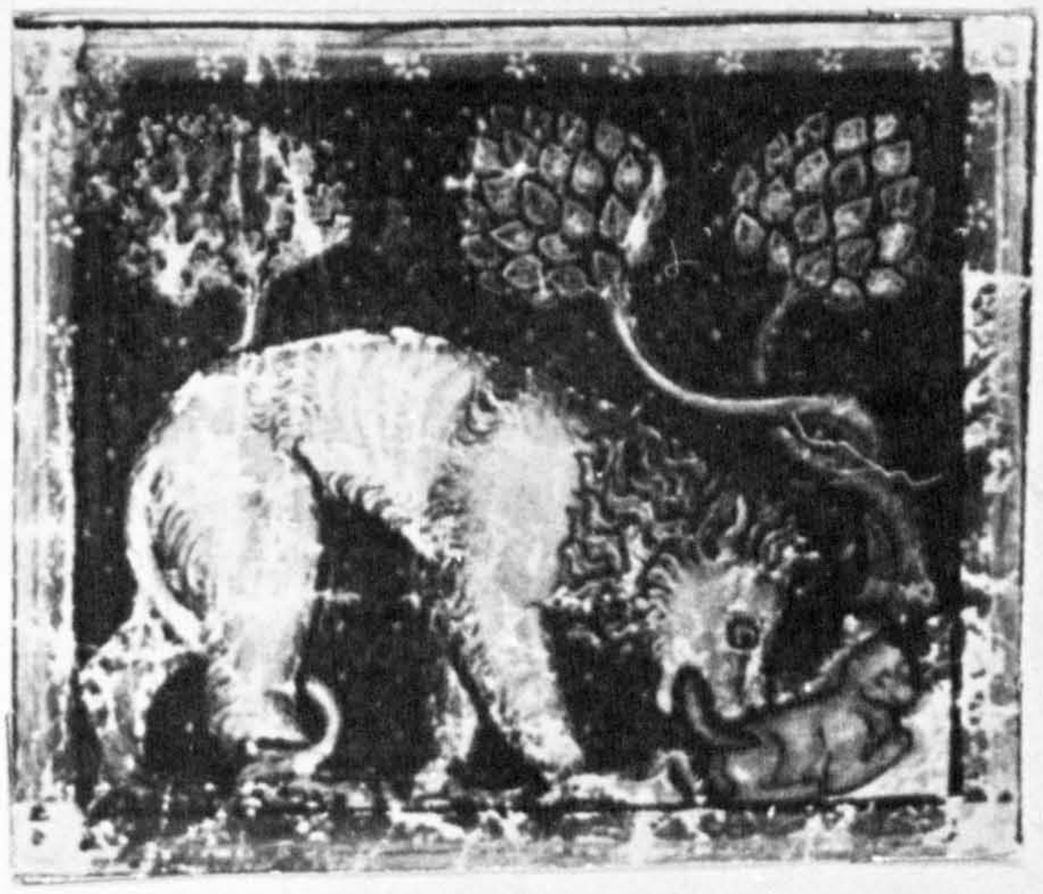
THE LION

B.N.F.fr. 14969

B.N.F.fr. 24428



B.N.F.fr. 14970



B.N.F.fr. 14964

B.N.F.fr. 14969(interpretation)

4/3

to resuscitate its young. This is a striking, well-composed miniature, showing a lion, who is accurately drawn, even if his hind-quarters resemble those of a polar-bear! The choice seems to lie between fidelity to detail, as in Ms. 14969, and an arresting quality, provided by good drawing and concentration on the key incident.

In Ms. 14970, we merely see a lion: this is a 'photographic' miniature which does not attempt to represent the text in any way.

Was this illustrator's portrait determined by his lack of knowledge of the text concerned? It is probable; and by the same token, we may assume that the illustrator of Ms. 14969 either read the text before he illustrated it or he had the content carefully explained to him, since Ms. 14969 does not contain written instructions for the copyist, unless these were in the space now filled by the miniature.

2) The Antelope (Aptalon) Ms. B.N.F.fr. 14969, 14964, 24428, 14970

Both manuscripts 14969 and 14964 give a beautiful illustration of the main part of the legend of the Antelope: the animal is portrayed caught in the bushes, after drinking the waters of the river at its feet; a hunter portrayed in both manuscripts as a knight and especially in Ms. 14964, extremely well drawn, is running the poor beast through with a spear (Ms. 14964) or a sword (Ms. 14969). Theantelope's two sharp horns are very clear in both miniatures, although the species of beast shown in Ms. 14964 must serve to re-open the debate over the identity of the 'Aptalon': the animal portrayed in Ms. 14964 fits the written description in the text, but in no way resembles the more usual representation of this creature, an antelope, as exemplified in Ms. 14970, which, again, is a straight-forward picture of the animal without any reference to its activities or to the symbolic interpretation ascribed to it in the text.

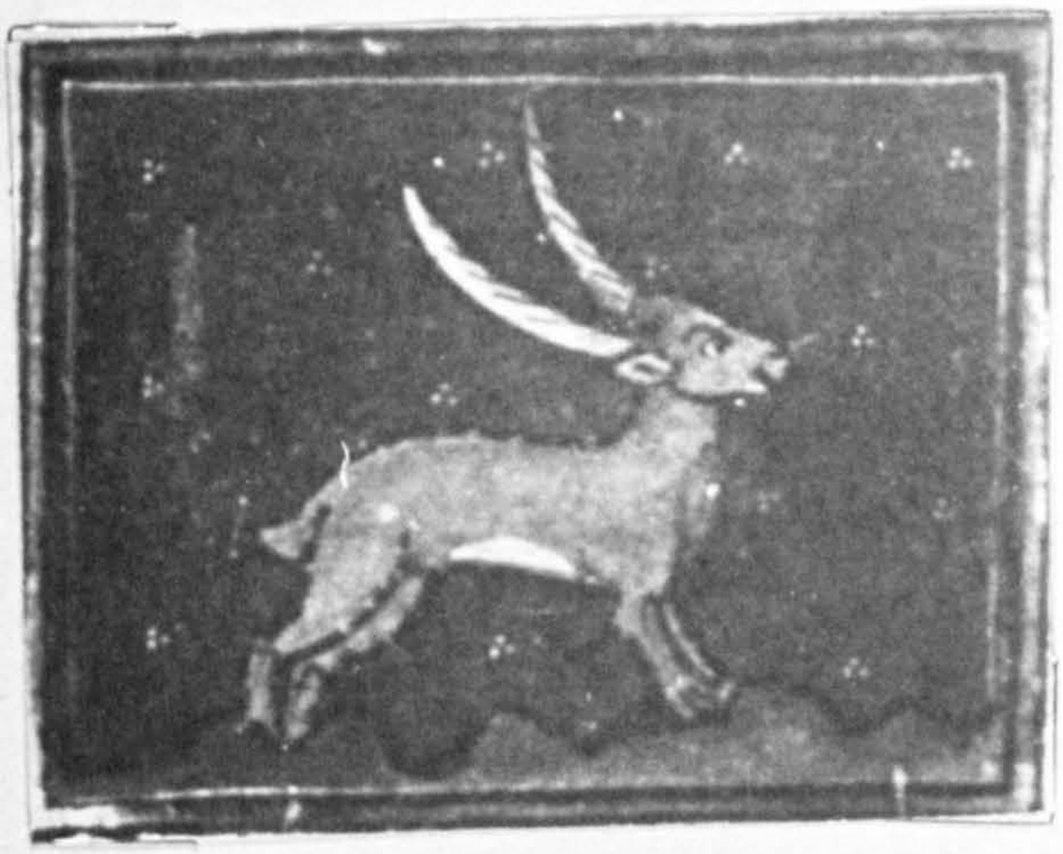
The miniature in Ms. 24428 is interesting because, although it is less striking and decorative than those in Ms. 14969 and Ms. 14964, it is nevertheless a good representation of the legend, and the seated couple on the left indicate the symbolic interpre-tation: drink and wicked women cause man's moral downfall and spiritual death.

This message is also illustrated in a separate miniature in Ms. 14969, which shows a monk preaching against amusements, while a devil herds away the erstwhile merrymakers at a feast.

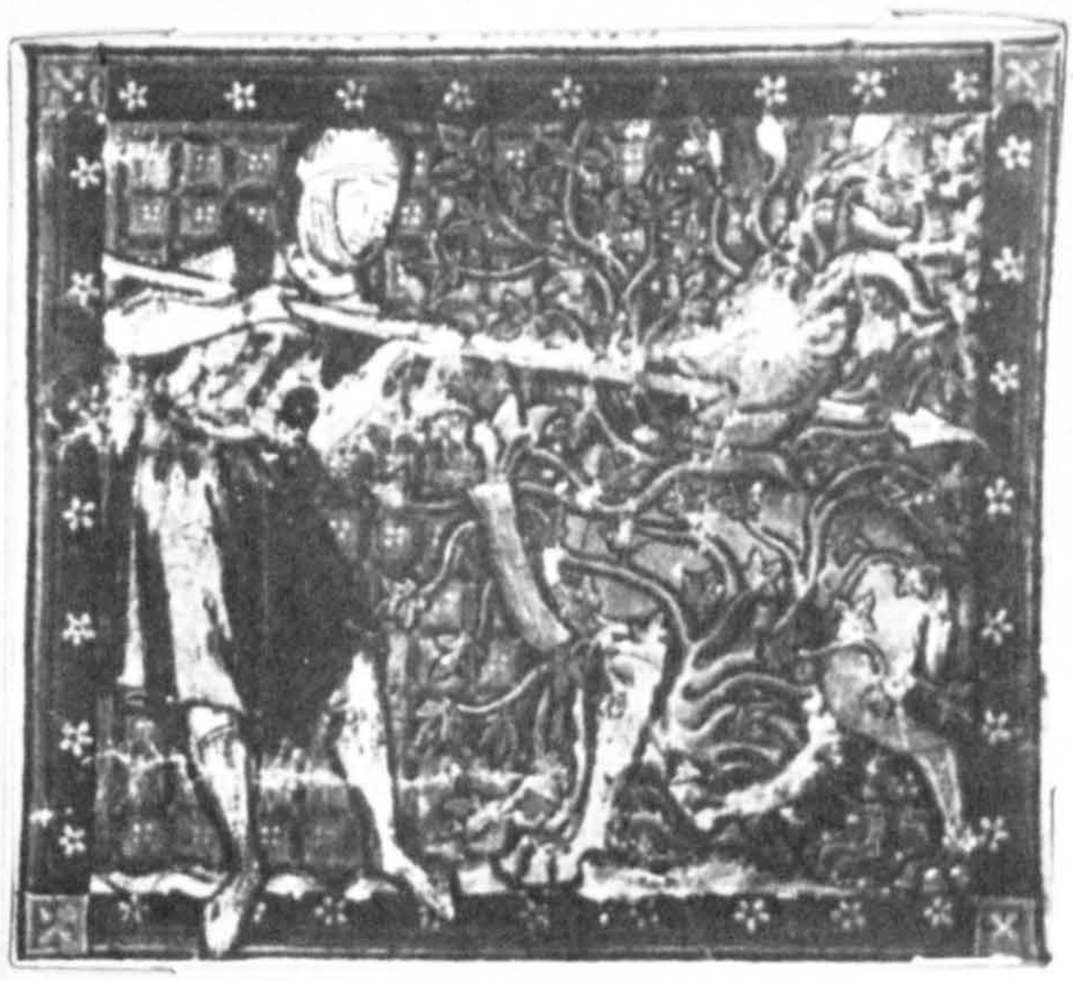
THE ANTELOPE

B.N.F.fr. 14969

B.N.F.fr. 24428



B.N.F.fr. 14970



B.N.F.fr. 14964

4/5

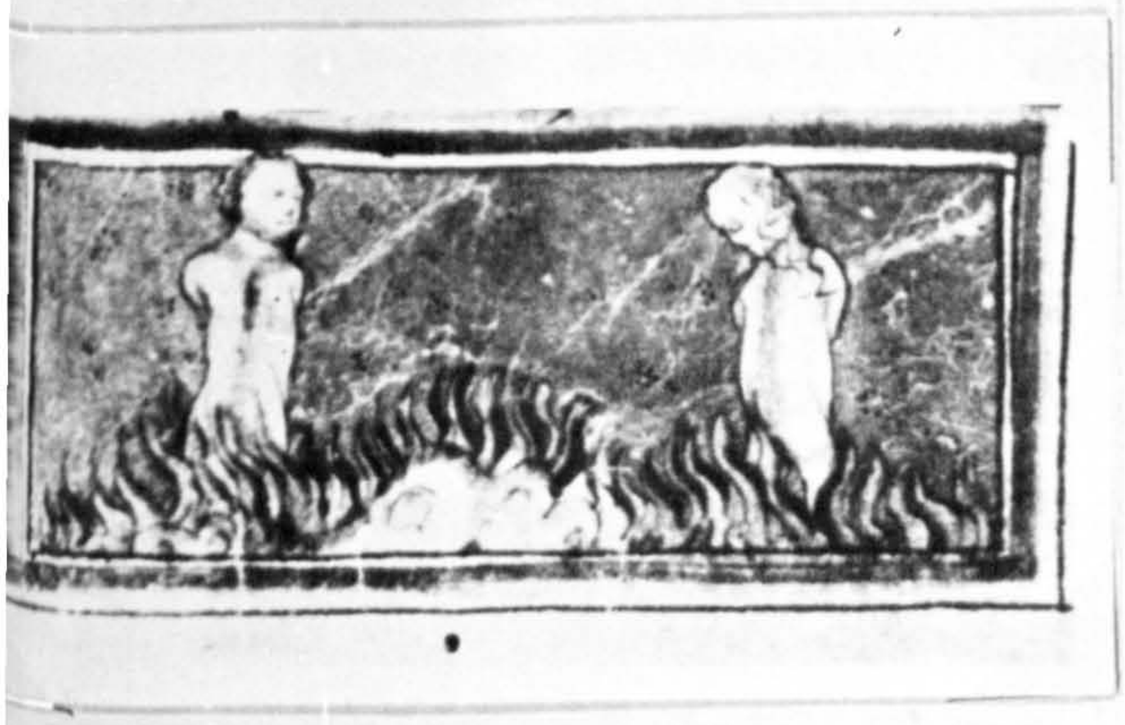
3) <u>The Burning Stones (Terrobolen) Ms. B.N.F.fr. 14969, 14964, 1444, 24428</u>.

The most striking representation of this difficult subject is to be found in Ms. 14964, in which the illustrator plays down the fact that he is meant to portray two stones, contenting himself with a vague, sandy range of hills to depict the mountain on which these stones are situated, according to the legend, and concentrating our attention on the inflammatory effect of the 'rapprochement' of men and women. Mss. 14969 and 1444 both portray the stones as being male and female in form as well as in nature and surround them in flames. Ms. 14969 is not a true representation of the text, because the figures are far apart, and should therefore, according to tradition, have ceased to burn.

The miniature in Ms. 14969 is accompanied by another showing Christ blessing monks and nuns, illustrative of the text's advice that good men and good women should be kept apart.

The composite miniature in Ms. 24428 is clearer in its representation of the meaning than of the legend itself, which is portrayed merely as a vague mountain with two blue stones, presumably separated, as they are not burning. To the left, a woman has her hair cut prior to becoming a nun; to the left, a man, obviously inflamed by something (possibly the woman having her hair cut) is being restrained by a man in a plain gown of monkish cut, but worn with a crown, not a cowl - the crown possibly being representative of the ultimate reward for virtue.

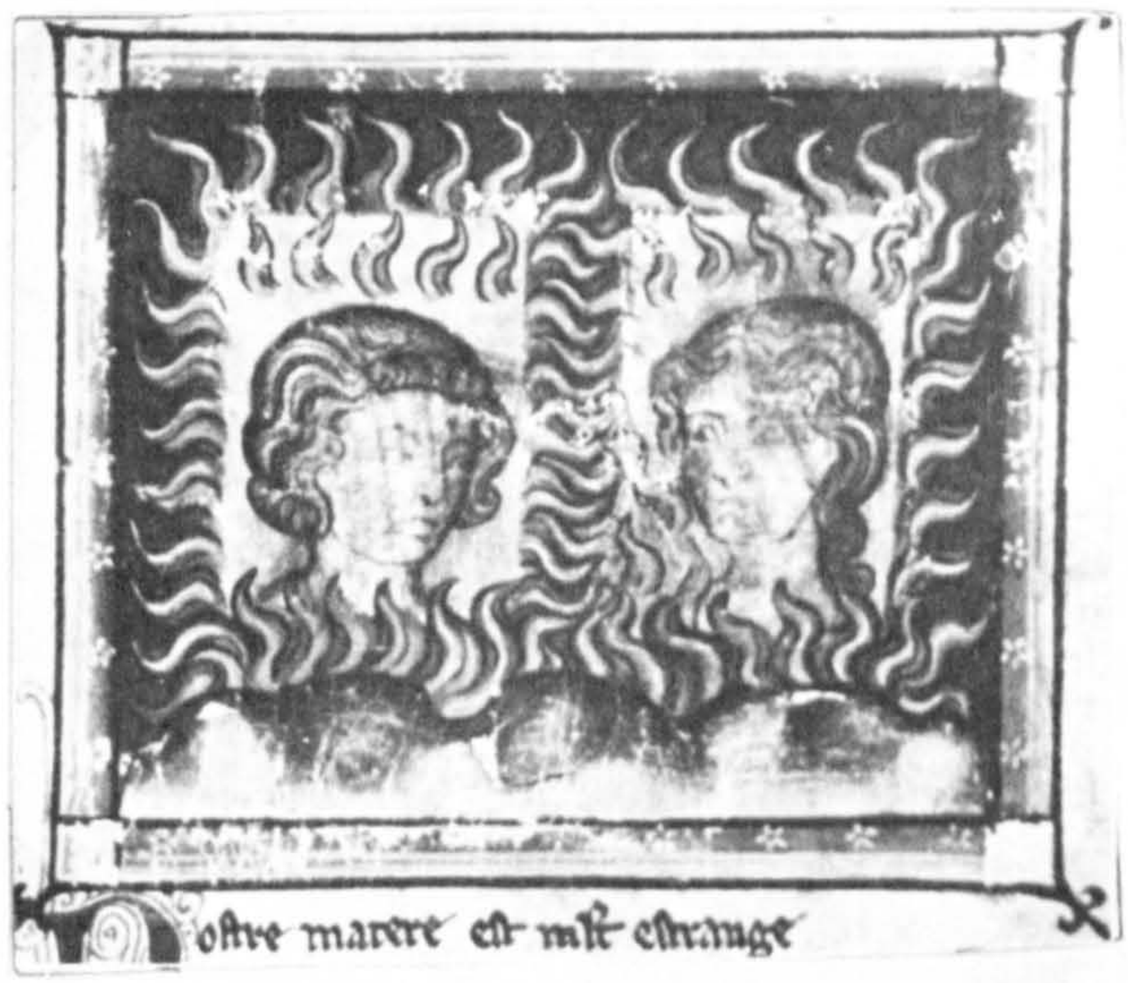
TERROBOLEN



B.N.F.fr. 14969

B.N.F.fr. 24428

B.N.F.fr. 1444



B.N.F.fr. 14964

B.N.F.fr. 14969 (interpretation)

4) Serra: A sea-monster. Ms. B.N.F.fr. 14969, 14964, 24428, 14970

The first of the fabulous monsters, and indeed the illustrators of Ms. 14969 and 14964 rise magnificently to the occasion, giving us well-conceived monsters which comply with the only demand given in the text: that it should have wings. Both miniatures show the monster attacking the ship, but neither attempt to show the completion of the legend: the way in which the serra deprives the vessel of wind, causing it to sink, and how the serra sinks, like its prey, to the sea-floor.

The representation of the serra in Ms. 14970 is disappointing, as it consists merely of one of the illustrator's 'standard' birds with slightly larger wings.

The illustrator of Ms. 24428 has tried hard to portray both the action and the interpretation, but has not really succeeded in either: we see a rather foolish-looking monster, ready to pounce on the sailor that has fallen into a woman's clasp, while the three good men and true who have not strayed from the path of virtue sail past the monster, who is powerless to harm them, just as the Devil has no influence over the just.

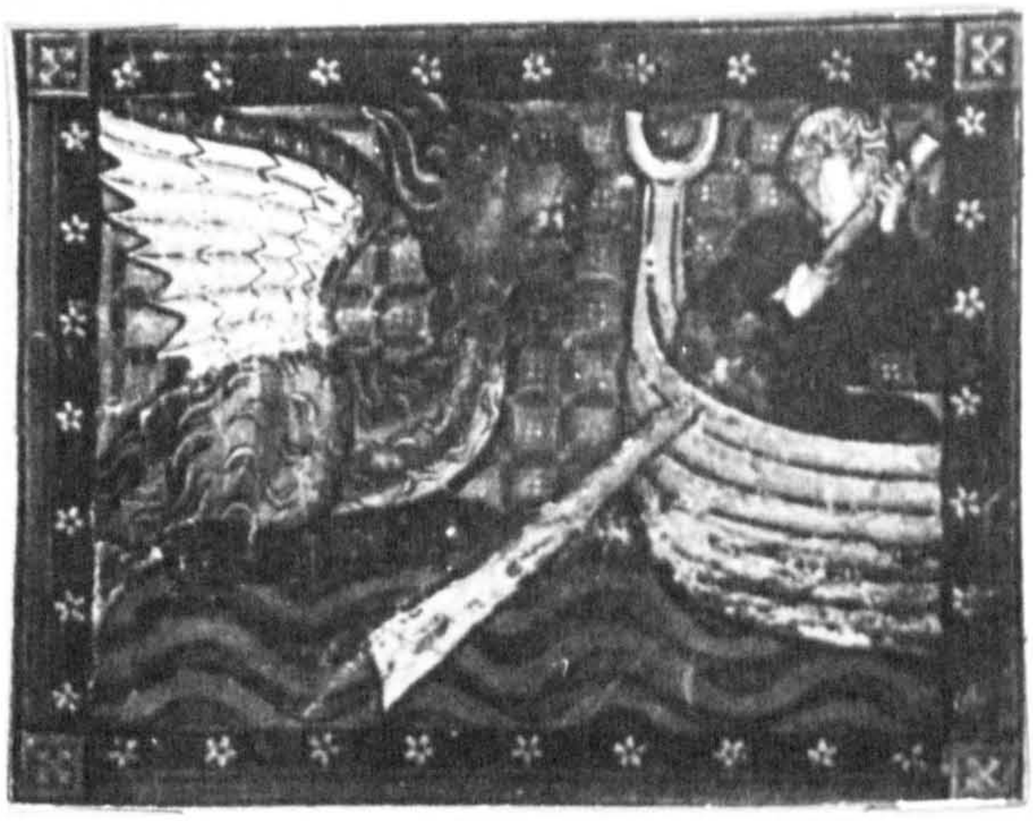
Ms. 14969 contains a miniature representative of the symbolic interpretation: bishops, monks, kings, all of whom have heard God's word and have later turned away from it are ushered, or thrown, into a gaping animal hell-mouth. The good men are represented by a monk, heedless of all but the good book he is reading.

SERRA : A SEA-MONSTER

B.N.F.fr. 14969

B.N.F.fr. 24428

B.N.F.fr. 14970



B.N.F.fr. 14964

B.N.F.fr. 14969 (interpretation)

3/k/7

5) The Caladrius Ms. B.N.F.fr. 14969, 14964, 1444, 24428, 14970.

The best representation of the legend attributed to this bird is the miniature in Ms. 14969. This is the only picture to show both sides of the picture: not only that a man at whom the caladrius looks will recover, but a man from whom the Caladrius turns away will die.

Ms. 14964 and 14970 both show the optimistic aspect of the legend - the quality of representation being better in Ms. 14964, because Ms. 14970 shows a blue caladrius, whereas the text specifies that this is a white bird, looking at a woman. Once again, it seems that this illustrator was briefed inadequately, whereas the illustrator of Ms. 14969 was either extremely well briefed, or went to the trouble of reading the text.

Ms. 1444 depicts a white bird, and it is possible that the miniaturist was working from a picture of a dove, as the supposed caladrius bears a twig in its beak, irrelevant to the caladrius, but symbolic of the subsiding of the waters when seen in connection with the dove.

Ms. 24428 shows a caladrius looking at a man, who is therefore to recover, and on the left is a representation of Christ, looking away from one man, who is, therefore, supposedly damned despite his halo, and towards another figure, who is saved. However the halo on the first figure casts doubts upon this interpretation. The second figure could be a woman, which would make this a crucifixion scene, with Mary, the Mother of Christ, and St. John

4552

B.N.F.fr. 14969

B.N.F.fr. 24428

B.N.F.fr. 14970

B.N.F.fr. 14964

B.N.F.fr. 1444

B.N.F.fr. 14969

in attendance. This is irrelevant to the symbolic interpretation of the caladrius, and the only reason for its inclusion would seem to be that Christ has his head turned towards one of the figures and away from the other.

The miniature giving the symbolic interpretation in Ms. 14969 is a far more accurate representation of the text. Christ turns away from his erstwhile chosen people, the Jews, who are consequently damned, and can be identified by their pointed caps, descending into an animal hell-mouth. They are accompanied by the wealthy, portrayed as magnificently clad devils, from whom also Christ averts his gaze. He turns, however, to those who humbly pray to Him.

6) <u>The Eagle . Mss.B.N.F.fr. 14969, 14964, 1444, 14970</u>

The rather complex legend about this bird is but poorly represented in all the manuscripts. The fullest illustration is the miniature in Ms. 14969, which depicts two eagles, one presenting its eaglets to the sun to test their resoluteness, and, true to the legend, two eaglets pass the test; the other cannot bear the sun's direct rays and will therefore be disowned. The eagle on the left is renewing its youth at the fountain of youth, and it is this attribute which the illustrator of Ms. 14964 chooses to present to us. This fountain resembles a well, but the eagle's wings are superbly drawn.

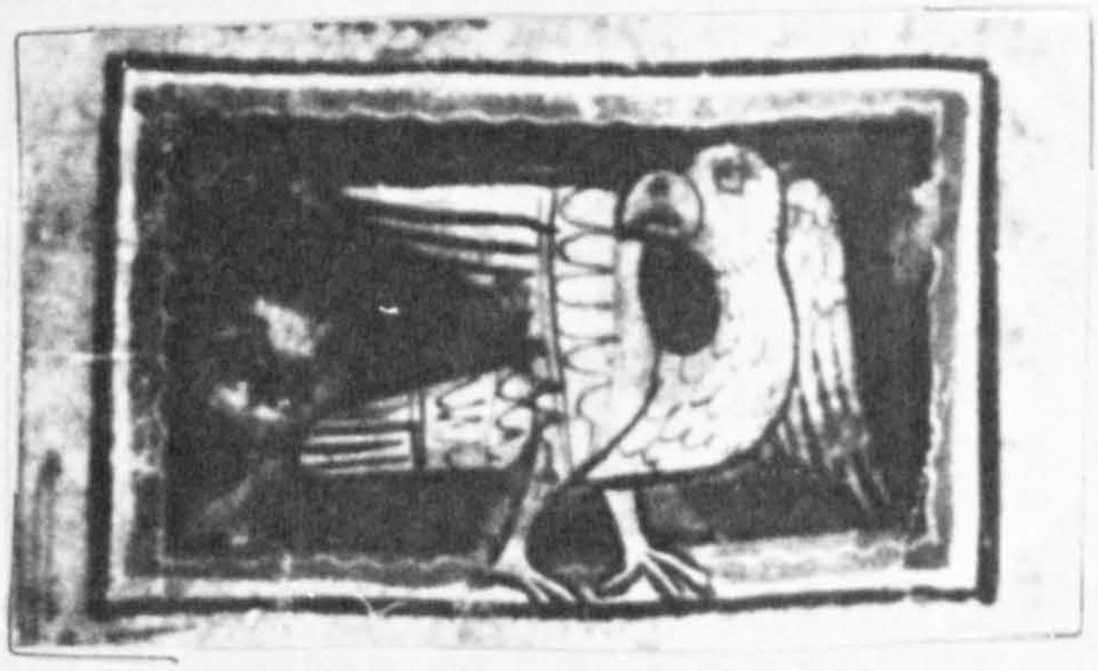
Unfortunately, the eagle in Ms. 1444 is not so accurate, and indeed resembles in no small way the Caladrius from the same manuscript.

The eagle in Ms. 14970 is drawn against a rocky background, but otherwise the miniature does not attempt to portray any of the legend. However, the eagle itself is more naturalistic than the one in Ms. 1444.

The illustration of the symbolic interpretation in Ms. 14969 is not entirely accurate as the allegorical level in this section is weak: the eagle represents Christ, the king of all birds represents the king of all men. The illustrator embroiders this theme by showing not only the coronation of Christ, but his rejection of the Jews, who, barred from heaven by an angel, are herded off to Hell by a Devil.

THE EAGLE

B.N.F.fr. 14969



B.N.F.fr. 1444

B.N.F.fr. 14970

B.N.F.fr. 14964

B.N.F.fr. 14969 (interpretation)

7) <u>The Phoenix Mss.B.N.F.fr. 14969, 14970, 24428</u>

Although this is such a famous bird the illustrations are once again disappointing. Ms. 14964, unfortunately does not contain one, and the one in Ms. 1444 is very indistinct.

The miniature in Ms. 24428 is perhaps the best representation of the text, because although it does not try to give the symbolic interpretation of the beast, it does portray two parts of the legend: on the right of the picture, the Phoenix presents itself to the monk of Heliopolis; on the left a new, white phoenix takes flight out of the old one which is burning.

In the miniature from Ms. 14969, we see no attempt to portray the resurrection of the Phoenix: merely the Phoenix being burned. There is, in accordance with the legend, a monk in attendance.

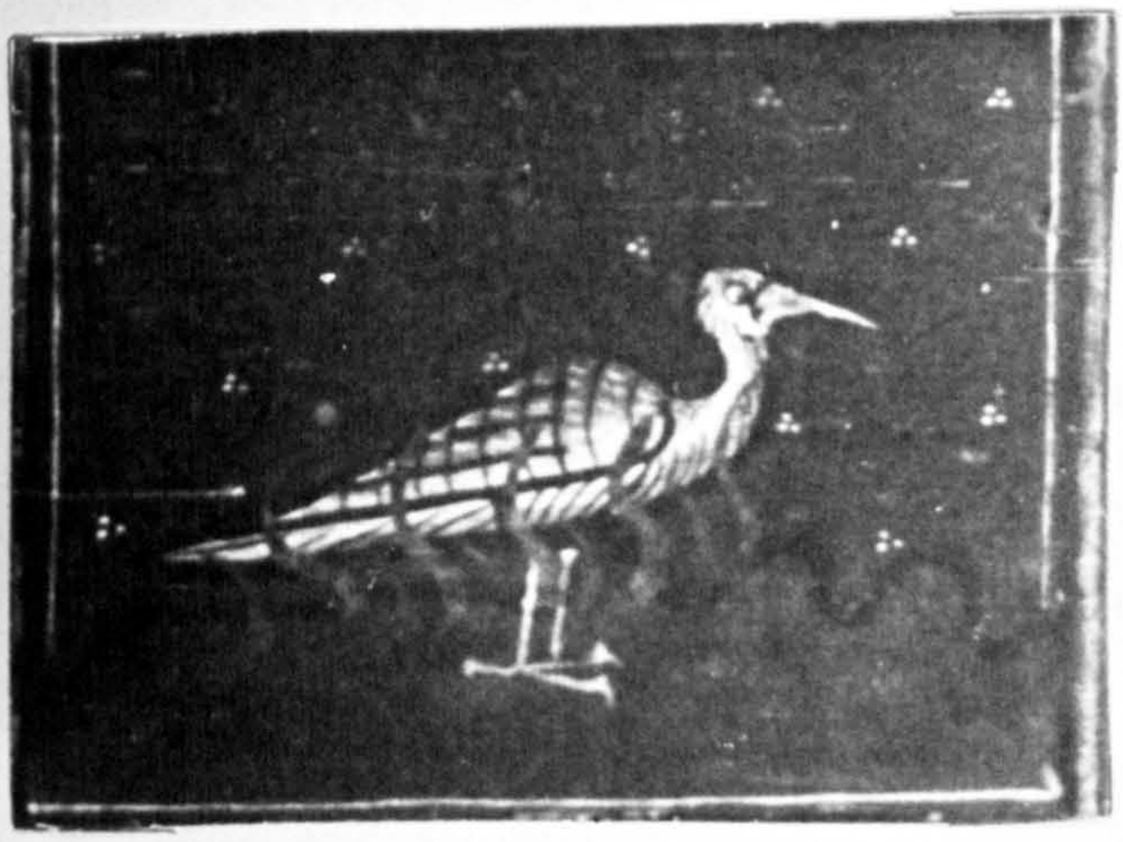
Ms. 14970 merely shows a rather cross white bird, not unlike a stork in appearance. There is no monk, no altar: the only indication of the identity of the bird is the flames licking around it.

The interpretation of the bird is depicted in some detail in Ms. 14969, which shows the death of Christ, His conquering of death and Hell and His ascent, reborn like the Phoenix, into Heaven.

1592

B.N.F.fr. 14969

B.N.F.fr. 24428



B.N.F.fr. 14970

B.N.F.fr. 14969

(interpretation)

8) The Fox. Ms. 14969, 1444, 14970

It is perhaps as well that the Fox is so celebrated in non-Bestiary circles, as his pictorial representations in these manuscripts do less than justice to a legend that is perhaps the best-known of all those told about animals.

The illustration in Ms. 14969 seems to owe something to the Roman de Renart; there are three foxes depicted, the one on the left has a cock in its mouth; the one in the centre is gazing longingly at a hen and a cock. The third fox illustrates the main attribute of the Bestiary tradition: the fox's habit of feigning death to attract its prey.

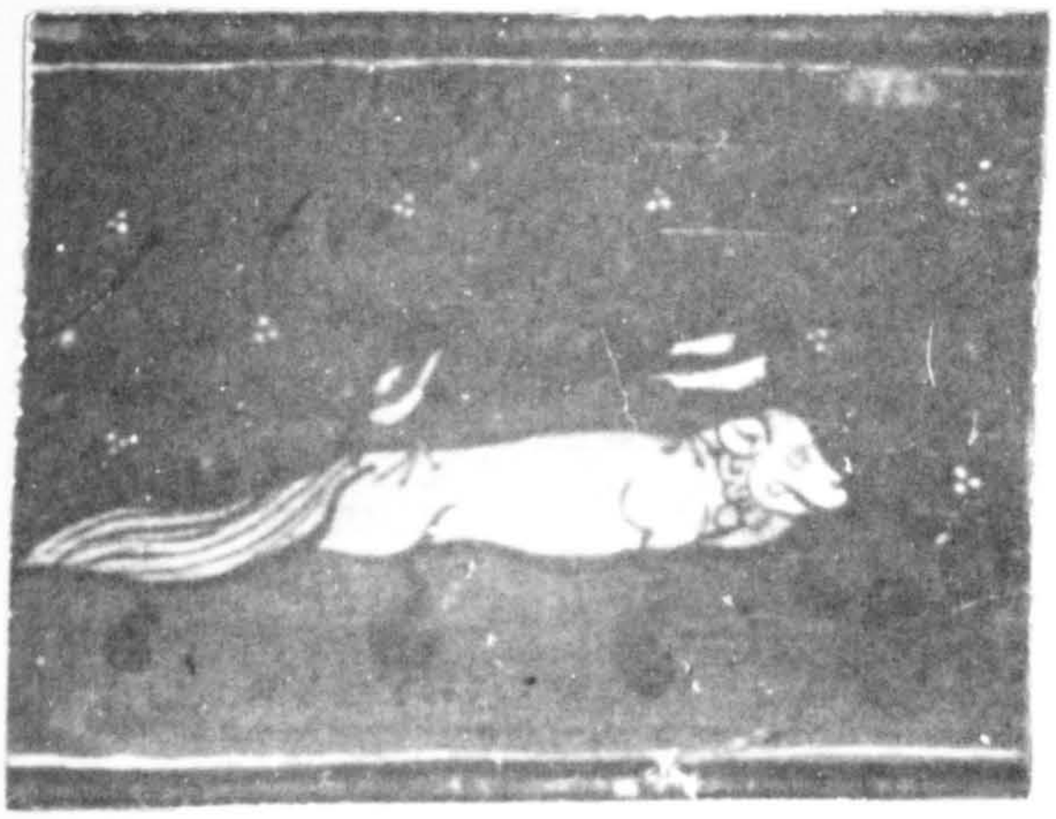
This attribute is also faithfully portrayed in Ms. 1444, where a supine fox has three birds hovering tantalisingly near its jaws. However, Ms. 14970 shows a most peculiar fox, with a clear brush but a lion's head and mane, with two black and white birds perched on its back in comparative safety. For this fox, although its tongue is hanging out as prescribed in the text, is prone.

The interpretation is well depicted in Ms. 14969, where men, enjoying all kinds of pleasures, especially music, as represented by a man playing a viol, are herded off, unsuspecting, to an animal hell-mouth. The exhortation included - to be mindful constantly of God - is portrayed by six monks in prayer to God depicted in an aureole.

THE FOX

B.N.F.fr. 14969

B.N.F.fr. 1444



B.N.F.fr. 14970

B.N.F.fr. 14969

(interpretation)

9) <u>The Unicorn. Ms. B.N.F.fr. 14969, 1444, 14970</u>.

Unfortunately, Ms. 14964 does not contain an illustration of this mythical beast; however those which do, depict the legend of the capture of the Unicorn with a great degree of similarity - and in the case of Ms. 14969 and 1444 without much clarity! Indeed, they give no clue, beyond the obvious, of what the Medieval illustrator understood by the name 'Unicorn'. What is clear, however, is that none of the manuscript illustrators we are studying here - (and I include the illustrator of Ms. 24428, although the minature was too poor to reproduce photographically) saw the Unicorn as the elegant white horse-with-a-horn to which we have all become accustomed; in Ms. 14969, 24428 and 1444, the Unicorn is brown; the only recognisable feature, and even this is clear only in Ms. 14969, is its horn. Ms. 14970 has perhaps the clearest portrait: a white, goat-like creature with the new traditional twisted horn, which in this case bends backwards.

From the point of view of textual accuracy only Ms. 24428 really depicts the legend as it is given in the <u>Bestiaire de Guillaume Leclerc</u>, which specifically states that the Unicorn is tied up and led before the king, whereas the illustrations in Ms. 14969, 1444 and 14970 clearly show the Unicorn being run through with a sword, and presumably killed.

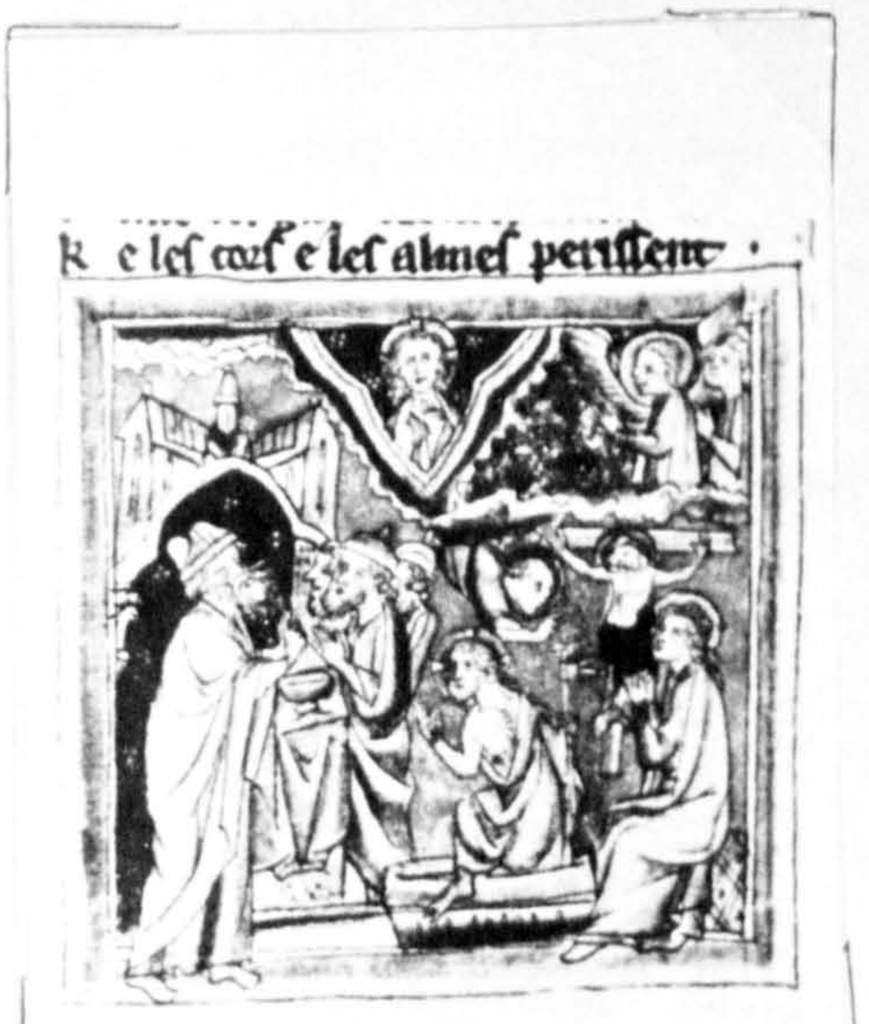
The interpretation: the Virgin Birth and the God-made-man followed by the Resurrection, is dealt with adequately, if confusedly, in Ms. 14969.

THE UNICORN

B.N.F.fr. 14969

B.N.F.fr. 1444

B.N.F.fr. 14970



B.N.F.fr. 14969

(interpretation)

2/L/13

10) The Beaver. Ms. B.N.F.fr. 14969, 14970, 24428

The miniatures from Ms. 14969, 14970 are both very accurate representations of the text concerning this animal Both, however, show only the first part of this legend: there is no attempt to portray the second scene in which the Beaver, chased once more by a hunter, turns to show itself bereft of the desired trophy - a scene vital to the message in that it shows that a good man is permanently out of the Devil's grasp. It would, seem, therefore, that the illustrators either did not know of this second part of the legend; or they were more interested in the more striking first part, and careless of the imbalance created which would upset the stability of the symbol.

However, it is also clear from these two illustrations that the miniaturists knew what a beaver looked like - no mean feat in pre-Disney times, when one of the nearest habitats of the Beaver was the Black Sea. The beavers here are represented with their characteristic broad, flat tails and webbed feet: in other representations of the period the illustrator draws his information from the passage in the Bestiary which describes the Beaver as being the size of dogs, and in fact represents the Beaver as a canine animal. It is because of this misunderstanding that I feel that the 'curled dog' illustrated in the Sketchbook of Villard de Honnecourt could also be a Beaver; the position is right; unfortunately, the most important aspect of the legend is missing, so the question remains undecided. However, to look at it from the other point of view, why should a dog be represented in that very position? (1)

---

(1) The Sketchbook of Villard de Honnecourt:

THE BEAVER

B.N.F.fr. 14969

B.N.F.fr. 24428

B.N.F.fr. 14970

B.N.F.fr. 14969

(interpretation)

The miniatures from Ms. 14969 and Ms. 14970 are sufficiently similar, given the individual styles of the two illustrators, to give rise to speculation about a common source for this illustration, an impression strengthened by the accuracy of the drawing and the rareness of the animal. Do we here see further proof that the more remote, exotic or unreal the animal, the more faithful are their literary and artistic representations, possibly because the source is of necessity a book and not real life?

The miniature supposedly representing the Beaver in Ms. 24428 is interesting because it is not a drawing of a Beaver at all; we see here an illustrator's error: he omitted the picture of the Beaver and drew the next animal, the Hyena, instead. It is impossible to know if he realised his mistake: it is probable he did, because the next picture, of the Hyena, in its correct place, is almost identical, but more complete, as if he realised the picture he was doing for the Beaver was wrong, left it and went onto the next, hoping that no-one would notice!

11) <u>The Hydre and the Crocodile. Ms. B.N.F.fr. 14969, 14970, 14964, 24428</u>

The Hydre, although not perhaps mythological, is as yet unidentified, and we therefore would expect the variety of illustration invited by the vague 'une maniere est de la serpent' which is all the text provides as guidance. Crocodiles are not mythological, and accounts of them must have been brought back by Crusaders; however, there is no more uniformity in the portrayal of this animal than there is in that of the Hydre. The ox-like shape given to this beast is doubtless a misinterpretation of the text which says it is like an <u>ox in size</u>.

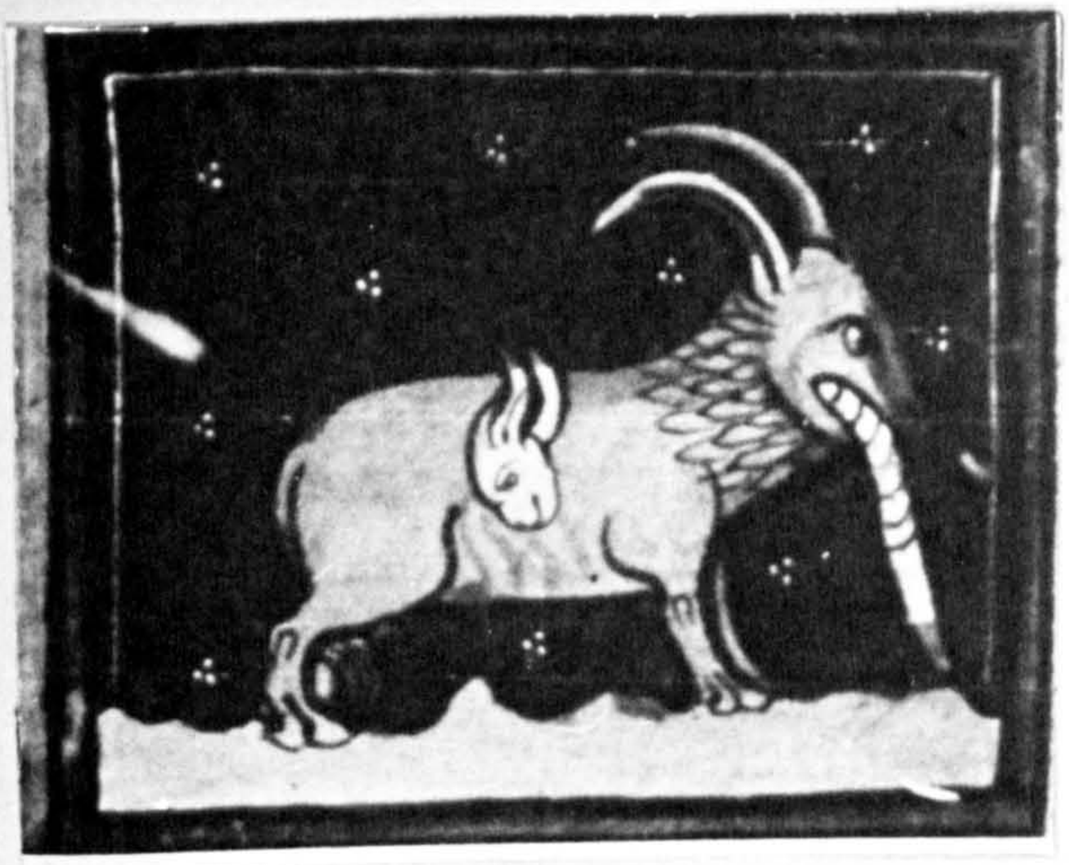
Otherwise Ms. 24428 and 14970 provide us with the best representation of the text as they show the Hydre emerging from the stomach region of the beast as well as entering it via the mouth. The miniature in Ms. 14969 attempts to portray both, but the Hydre, a magnificent specimen before its entrance, seems to be having difficulties in its exit. The crocodile, also drawn with imagination, is faithful to the rather vague textual description, even down to the faintly - discernible legendary tear - which, here it may be excused for shedding!

The rather mutilated drawing in Ms. 24428 is very similar in its representation of the physical attributes of the beasts as the other manuscripts. The moral interpretation, accurate to the text, shows the Risen Christ leading people out of an animal Hell-mouth, which He kills with a spear surmounted with a Cross. Ms. 14969 has a miniature representing very much the same scene; and this

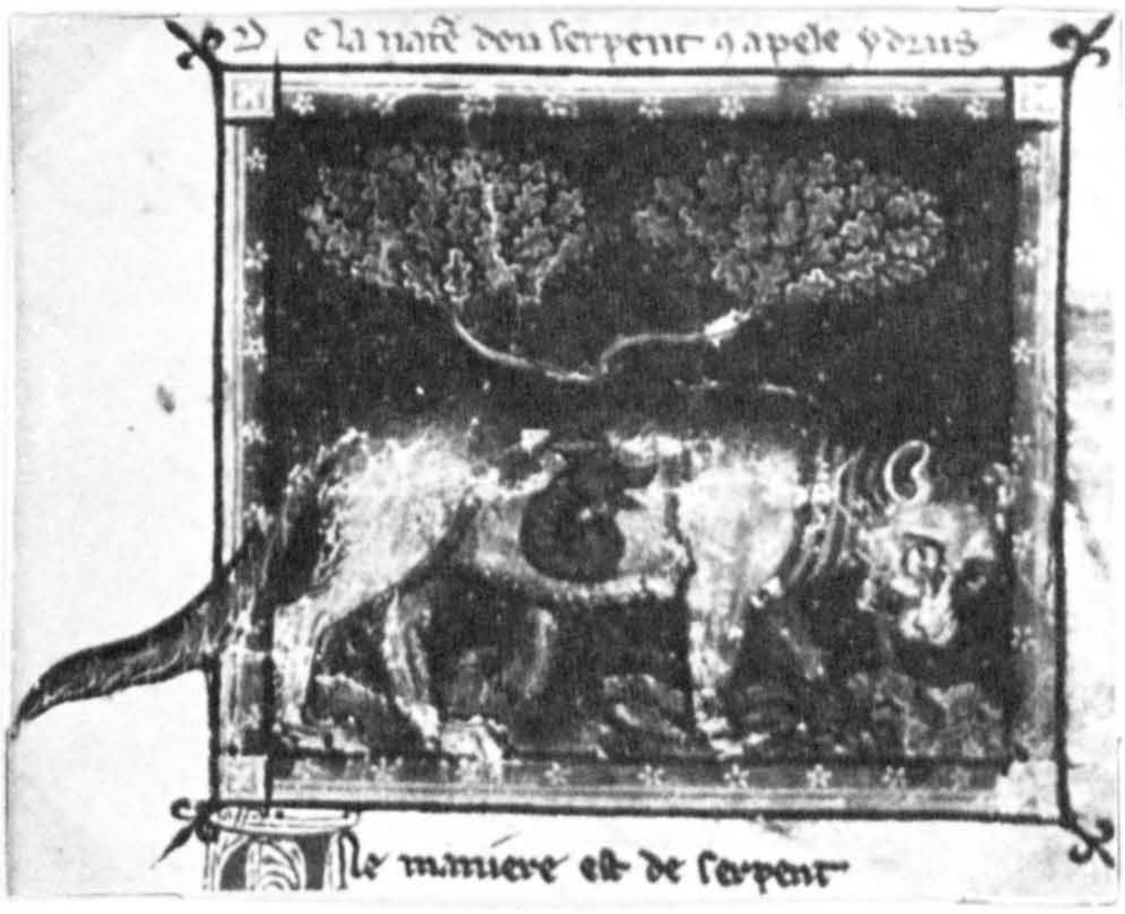
HYDRE AND CROCODILE

B.N.F.fr. 14969

B.N.F.fr. 24428



B.N.F.fr. 14970



B.N.F.fr. 14964

B.N.F.fr. 14969

3/4/76

picture is one of the most striking and full of movement in the manuscript illustrations.

The miniature in Ms. 1444, unfortunately too multilated to be clearly reproduced, is interesting in that it attempts to portray the textual enjoinder that the Crocodile moves its upper jaw and keeps its lower one stationary: the miniaturist has portrayed a dog-like crocodile with the head attatched upside down, so that the ears and eyes point to the floor and the normal bottom jaw is uppermost. The illustration is clumsy, and serves best to portray the confusion in the miniaturist's mind when faced with the textual description.

12) <u>The Monkey. Ms. B.N.F.fr. 14969, 14970, 1444, 14964</u>

Ms. 14964 contains the best pictorial representation of the legend: in it, we see the monkey, with its two young, being pursued by two hounds, and about to put down its favourite, that is, the one it carries in its arms.

Ms. 14969 also attempts to portray the two aspects of the physical legend, but, although we see the monkey lovingly handing its favourite to another monkey, and then running away bearing the other on its back, at no time do we see the monkey carrying both its off-spring, nor do we see anything in active pursuance.

Ms. 14970, however, does show the monkey, with both of its young, being chased, and presumably about to pull one of them down.

Ms. 1444 as usual makes no attempt to portray the action of the text, and contents itself with a picture of a rather puzzled-looking monkey.

Although the Monkey is not a European animal, and cannot have been too widely known, the Monkey is, in each manuscript, accurately drawn, due perhaps to the knowledge of the Barbery Apes at Gibraltar, and perhaps to the presence of monkeys in the zoo set up by Henry 1.

The monkeys are all without tails, if not following the textual directions, at least depicting them accurately. The legend, most adequately expressed in the <u>Bestiaire de Philippe de Thaün</u>, maintains that the ugliness of the monkey's tail-less posterior is indicative of the 'bad end' to which it will come.

THE MONKEY

B.N.F.fr. 14969

B.N.F.fr. 1444

B.N.F.fr. 14970

B.N.F.fr. 14964

B.N.F.fr. 14969 (interpretation)

4/18

The miniature in Ms. 14969, which depicts the moralistic interpretation in fact embroiders on the allegory of the monkey/devil. It includes a condemnation of earthly joys, hinting at the 'bad end' which will come to those who ignore God's word.

3/4 19

13) <u>The Panther. Ms. B.N.F.fr. 14969, 14970, 14964, 1444</u>

Only the illustrator of Ms. 1444 portrayed the Panther as feline; in Ms. 14969, the Panther resembles a bull - it has no horns but definitely has cloven hooves; the Panther in Ms. 14964 is an elegant, horse-like creature, whereas the illuminator of Ms. 14970 saw the Panther as being an animal, rather like an ass, but with unnaturally elongated ears which resemble horns.

This said, the best representation of the text is found in Ms. 14969, where a variety of attractively drawn animals gather around the Panther; the detail in this picture is charming: the squirrel in the tree is eating a nut, the hare is really life-like, and we even have another Unicorn and monkey. The dragon, too, is pleasant - very reminiscent of the drawing of the Hydre in the same manuscript. Ms. 14969 is the only one of the four here shown which attempts to depict the sweet odour issuing from the mouth of the Panther.

The other manuscripts all only show half the legend; Ms. 14964 and 14970 concentrate on the Panther's powers of attraction to other animals, although neither show the variety of species we see in Ms. 14969 - indeed Ms. 14970 shows only a couple of sheep - who are notorious anyway for their predilliction for following <u>any</u> leader - hardly the sort of followers Guillaume Leclerc would like to attract for Christ!

Ms. 1444 shows the Dragon burying its head, in a rather ostrich-like way, but the Dragon is most powerfully drawn. It is clear the illustrator enjoyed drawing this Dragon - he drew us another, perhaps so that we can see the missing head!

4672

THE PANTHER

B.N.F.fr. 14969

B.N.F.fr. 1444

B.N.F.fr. 14970

B.N.F.fr. 14964

B.N.F.fr. 14969 (interpretation)

3/4/20

The Panther represents Christ and the way in which He attracts people from all nations of the world to Him, so the illustrator has presented this by a series of tiny scenes leading up to the death, descent into Hell and Resurrection of Christ. Again, the picture is very detailed - nothing is left to the imagination, and however tiny the scene, everything is clear and possible to interpret.

3/4/21

14) The Whale. Ms. B.N.F.fr. 14969, 14970, 14964, 1444

Ms. 14969 is the only one clearly to represent the legend of the whale: in this miniature, we see the sailors, complete down to a couple of ship's cats, seeking an island; they pitch their tent by accident on a whale's back, and indeed, the whale really does have a pained expression! We do not, however, see the whale dive and drown the sailors. The small fish seen swimming into the whale's mouth also are part of the legend: these fish are attracted to the whale as the animals are to the Panther, but with a very different kind of result!

However good the representation of the text, it is obvious that this illustrator, in common with the other three, had never seen a whale.

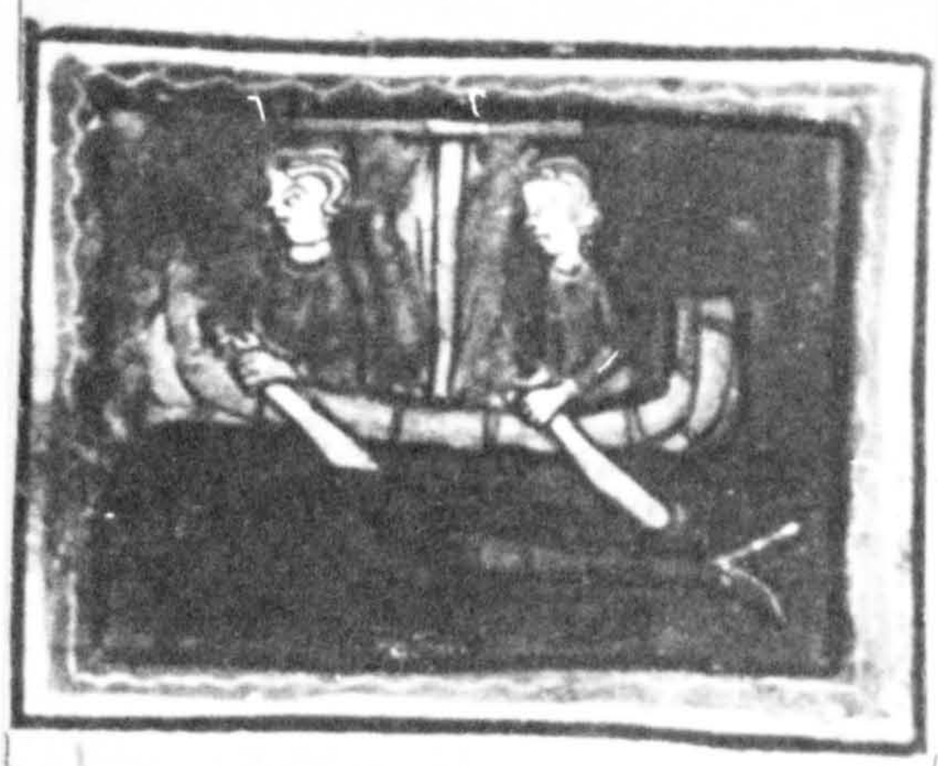
In Ms. 14964, the whale, a gigantic fish is shown attracting the smaller fish, but we do not see the sailors mistaking it for an island. Ms. 1444 does represent the sailors, but we see them in their boat on top of the whale, which is so obliterated as to be almost invisible. However, where Ms. 1444 is concerned even this amount of textual accuracy is rare!

The moral interpretation - that of the transience of the good things of this life and the ease with which we are deceived and condemned to Hell - is clearly portrayed in the miniature from Ms. 14969. The joys of the flesh and their fleeting pleasures, depicted in the centre are portrayed with their results (at the foot of the picture), while the reward for virtue is seen at the top.

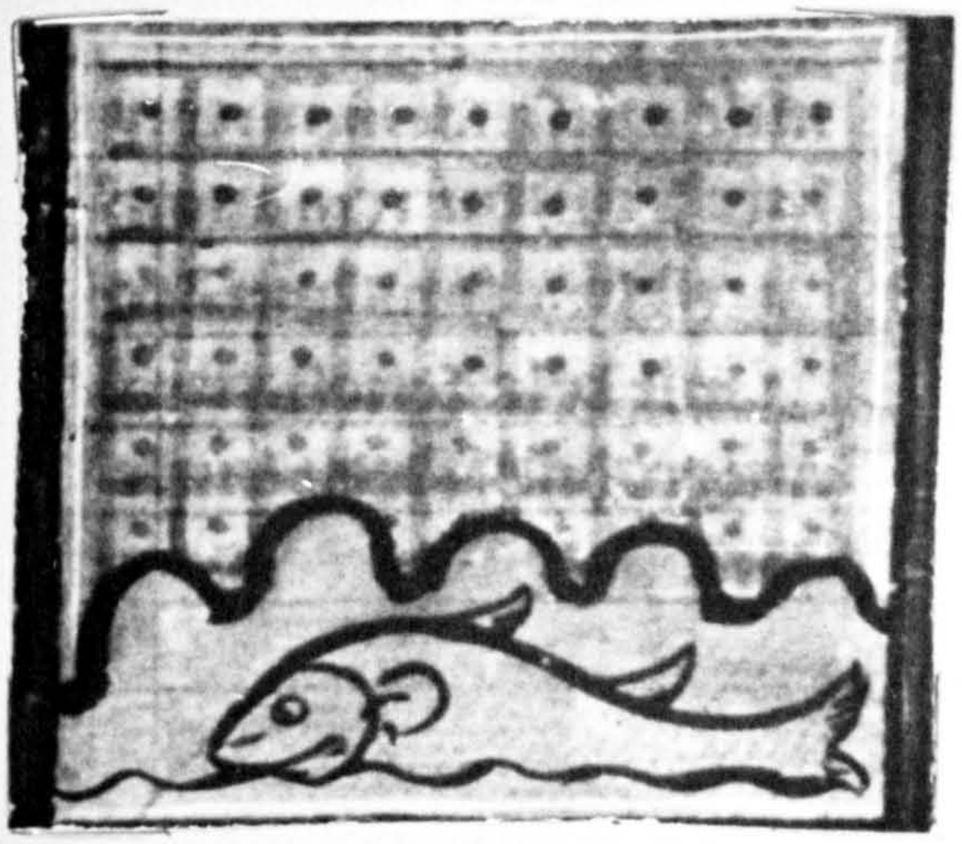
4692

THE WHALE

B.N.F.fr. 14969



B.N.F.fr. 1444



B.N.F.fr. 14970

B.N.F.fr. 14964

B.N.F.fr. 14969 (interpretation)

15) <u>The Salamander All Manuscripts</u>.

The illustrations of the Salamander fall into two basic categories: those that represent the Salamander correctly as a lizard, and those that do not.

Among the former - Ms. 14969, 14964 and 24428 - Ms. 14969 again represents the text with the greatest amount of accuracy: we see three facets of the abilities of the salamander: firstly, to live in flames, secondly to climb into trees and poison the fruit, thirdly to fall subsequently into a stream and poison the water.

Ms. 14964 shows merely a salamander clearly surviving in flames, while Ms. 24428 combines the salamander, barely discernible in the top right hand corner, with part of the interpretation, the three men in the fiery furnace. On the left of the picture, we see the logical conclusion of the message of the Salamander: that the man who puts his trust in God is safe against fire and harm.

This combination is also found in the miniature representing the interpretation of the Salamander from Ms. 14969. To the right, we have Nabugadonsor supervising the three men in the furnace, and on the left the sword representing God's protection is being given to some monks.

Ms. 14970 quite clearly represents the Salamander as a white bird, recognisable only from the flames licking round it. This representation is contrary to the text which clearly states that the Salamander is like a lizard.

Textual evidence is also ignored by the illustrator of Ms. 1444, who portrays a large, winged, feline as his Salamander.

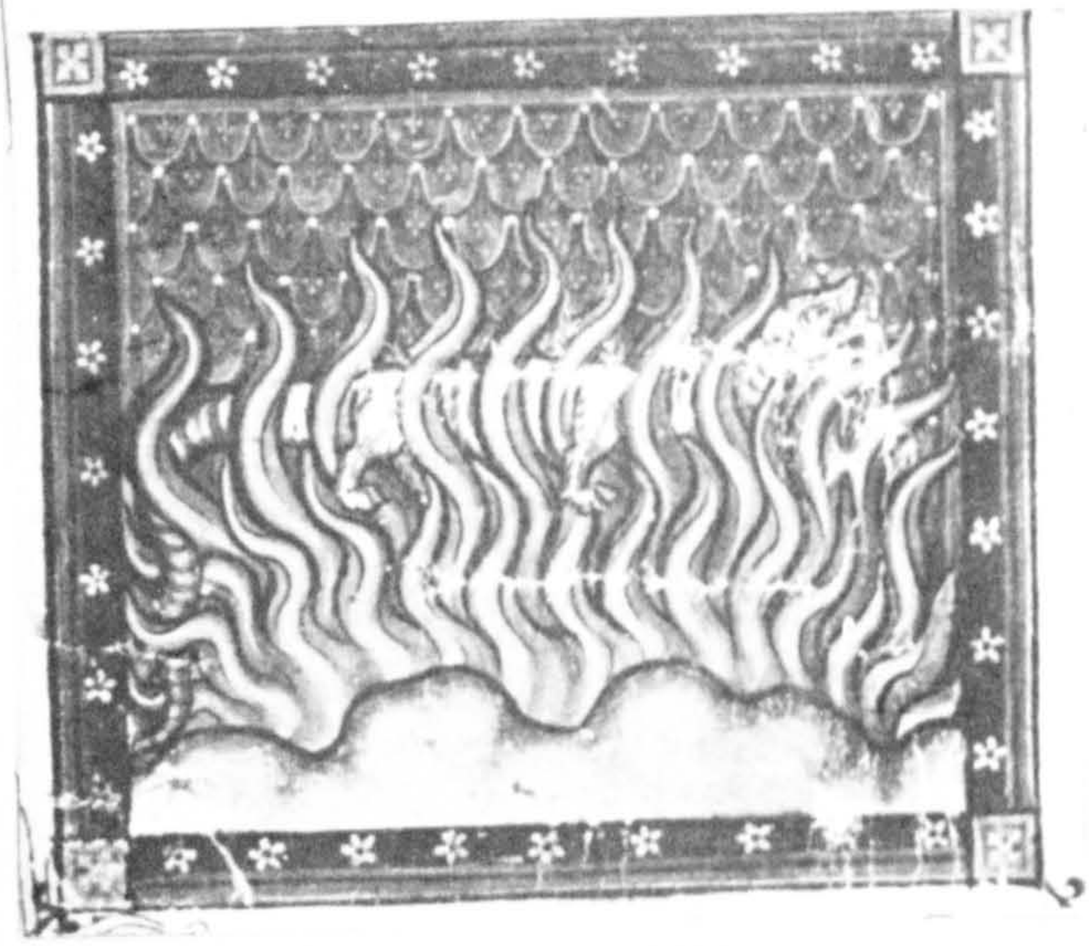
4702

THE SALAMANDER

B.N.F.fr. 14969

B.N.F.fr. 24428

B.N.F.fr. 14970



B.N.F.fr. 14964

B.N.F.fr. 1444

B.N.F.fr. 14969

(interpretation)

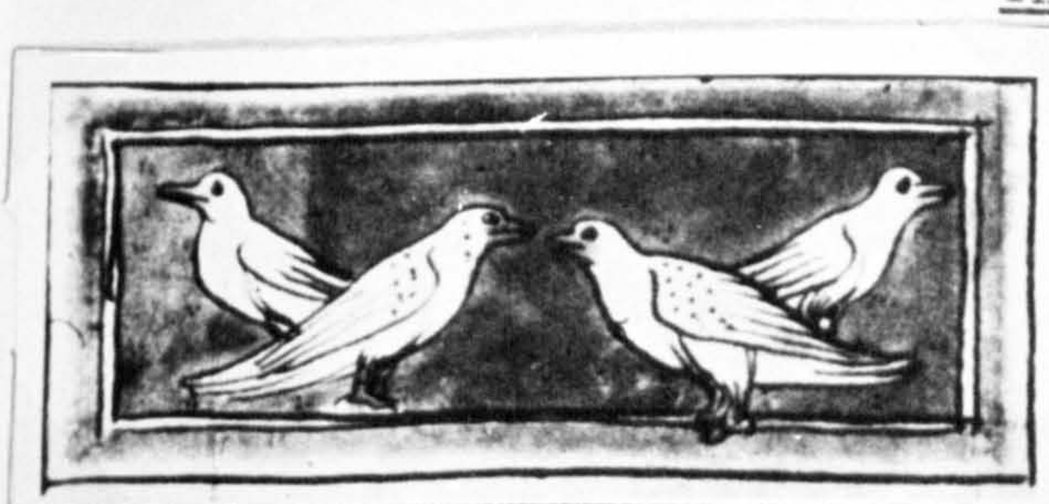
16) The Dove. Ms. B.N.F.fr. 14969, 1444, 14970, 14964.

Perhaps the most accurate representation of the text is again to be found in Ms. 14969, which shows the wise doves seated in safety on the tree, Paradixion, but the heedless dove on the right, who has strayed from its shelter, has been captured by the Dragon. This is an excellent representation of the legend of the Doves and the Paradixion tree - like most of the others the illustrator of Ms. 14969 had difficulty in portraying the various coloured doves in a satisfying way, and so the best illustration of the Dove is to be found in its relationship with the Paradixion Tree and the serpent.

Although Ms. 14969 portrays the text most faithfully, the miniature in Ms. 14964 is more satisfying because of the striking picture of a dragon, who is merely lying in wait and has not succeeded in catching one of the doves.

From Ms. 1444, we have included a miniature portraying some of the different coloured doves - a picture which is perhaps the best from the point of view of technique, but similar in content to all the others. However, there is also in this manuscript a miniature representing Paradixion, and, although it is not as faithful to the text - the doves are standing, seemingly with impunity, on the ground - this is compensated for by another magnificent dragon, which seems to be the 'forte' of this particular illustrator.

Ms. 14970 does not show the doves and Paradixion, merely two doves, and the interest in the picture is provided by the dovecote, drawn in some detail, and possibly one known to the



B.N.F.fr. 14969

B.N.F.fr 24428

B.N.F.fr. 14970

B.N.F.fr. 1444

B.N.F.fr 14969 (interpretation)

illustrator.

The miniature in Ms. 14969 illustrating the interpretation is a highly intricate picture, easily the most intricate miniature in the Bestiary, and it resembles a triptych with eight miniatures on it.

The scenes are: 1) (Top left): the Annunciation

2) (Bottom left): the Baptism of Christ - the interpretation of the white dove

3) the Pentecost scene - bringing the Holy Spirit to the Disciples (St. Peter being readily identifiable by his key)

4) the Crucifixion scene (the meaning of the red dove being Christ's passion)

5) the Garden of Eden (portraying the meaning of the Paradixion Tree)

6) Christ overcoming death.

7) Elias (the interpretation of the 'air-coloured dove) (top right) watching Elijah being taken up into heaven and receiving his mantel.

8) Jonah (the ash-coloured dove) emerging from the fish towards land.

This is a very bold attempt to portray all the very complex facets of the Dove with its many meanings; and, despite the number of scenes involved, each scene is clearly recognisable and drawn in great detail. In its technique, that is, in the minute detail and the skill in compressing the entire meaning of a particular dove into one section of a miniature, this picture shows the influence of stained glass windows and from altar pieces. It is a fine work of illustration.

DOVES AND THE PARADIXION TREE

B.N.F.fr. 14969

B.N.F.fr. 14964

B.N.F.fr. 1444

17) The Mandrake. Ms. B.N.F.fr. 14969, 14970, 1444, 24428.

Again, the illustration which depicts most accurately the text is the one in Ms. 14969: all aspects of the legend are represented: the man blocking his ears lest the sound of the mandrakes scream drive him mad: the dog who alone can pick this plant and then only at the cost of great discomfort to itself; the plants, male and female, distinguishable by their leaves: everything is there; an excellent illustration - if not artistically satisfying as one might desire. But then, the miniaturist's aim is to illustrate the text, not to produce a work of art.

The miniature in Ms. 24428 also illustrates the text adequately: the man is there, the dog and the two roots, again differentiated (just) by their leaves.

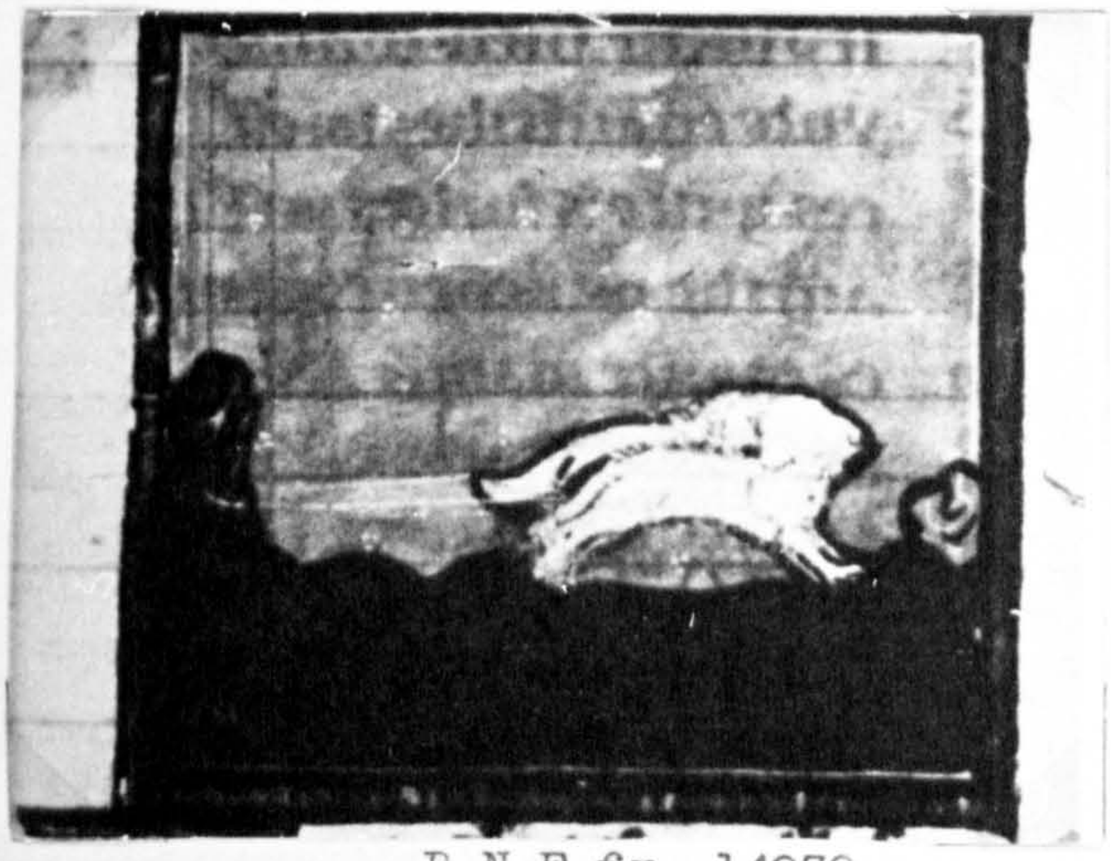
No such attempt has been made in Ms. 14970. Indeed, it is with difficulty that one recognises the subject matter. It seems that this miniature is a copy of an earlier one, already obliterated, and that the miniaturist held to that, rather than attempt to read the text.

The illustrator of Ms. 1444 illustrates even less of the legend; all we see are a man and a woman standing in soil: these are the plants; the dog and the man are completely omitted. This miniature illustrates some of the difficulties in depicting a beast without attempting to give the legend: unless the subject itself is striking, the illustration is always pedestrian and often uninformative, as is the case with most of the bird illustrations.

THE MANDRAKE

B.N.F.fr. 14969

B.N.F.fr. 24428



B.N.F.fr. 14970

B.N.F.fr. 1444

B.N.F.fr. 14969 (interpretation)

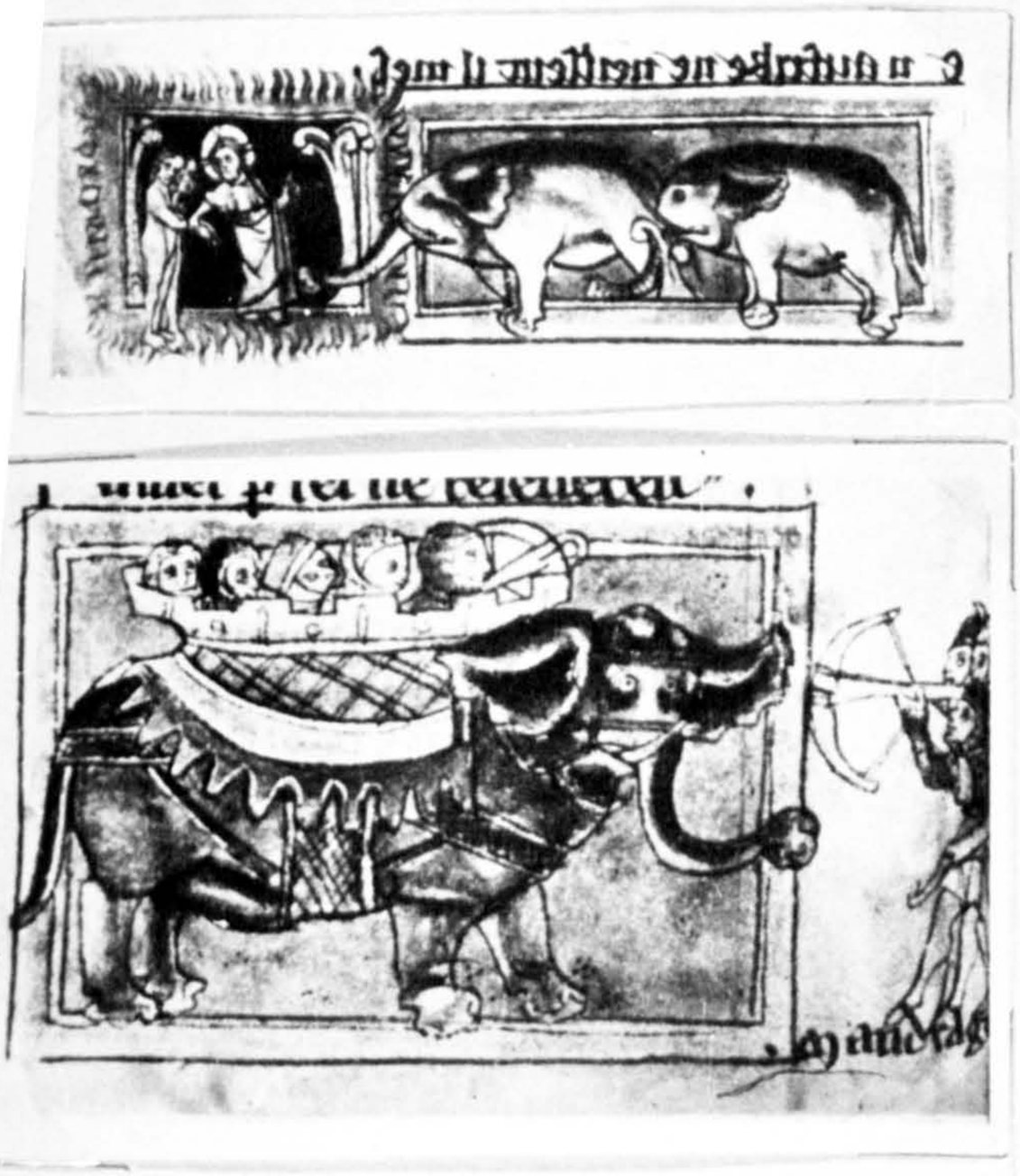
Indeed we see the full range of illustrative skill represented in the pictures of this beast: from the clear, text-based illustration in Ms. 14969 to the unimaginative and inadequate attempt, in Ms. 1444, to draw the mandrake alone - and its failure because of the dullness of the subject matter.

Unfortunately, the miniature in Ms. 14969 which represents the meaning of the mandrake meets a difficult obstacle: no meaning is directly attatched to this subject: instead, Guillaume Leclerc praises its medicinal powers: and this is doubtless what inspired the illustration which portrays Christ's resurrection - the ultimate in feats of healing!

Thus we come to the end of the sets of miniatures. However, there are certain others which, although there were not sufficient of a given animal to draw comparisons, still have some interest. Most are taken, needless to say, from Ms. 14969 on account of their illustrative qualities.

The two representations of the Elephant (Ms. 24428 and Ms. 14969) have been included to show the exact extent of the Medieval French knowledge of the appearance of the Elephant. Certainly, illustrations must have legion: these we see here are at many removes from the original: their size was legendary, as both miniatures prove: the trunk "boël" as Philippe de Thaün calls it, also well-known. But other details varied in accuracy: compare the ears in both miniatures: Ms. 14969 clearly depicts the ears in correct proportion to the body; those in Ms. 24428 are an attempt to fulfil a description such as "like a bull, but much bigger", hence also the cloven hooves; whereas Ms. 14969 shows

THE ELEPHANT



B.N.F.fr. 14969

B.N.F.fr. 24428

THE HYENA

B.N.F.fr. 1444

correctly-shaped, if vague, feet. The Elephant and Castle was known. We see this by the soldiers in the howdah in Ms. 14969. This Indian method of fighting betrays the Eastern, not African, origins of the legend, and gives some support to the rather tenuous theory that much beast legend had its roots in Sanscrit.

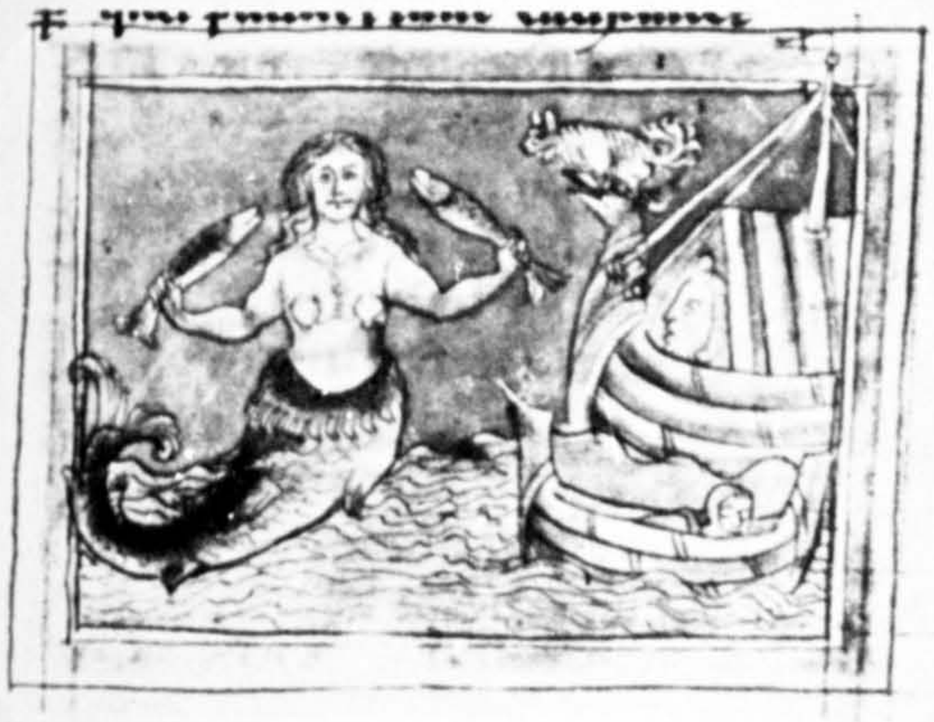
The Hyena (from Ms. 1444) is included because of its ambiguity: the Hyena might be in the process of ingesting a human corpse, but it is rare that Ms. 1444 depicts a legend: it tends to concentrate on portraits of the subject matter alone. Therefore it is possible, as the head seems female, that the illustrator is trying to convey the supposed bisexuality of the beast. Without further evidence, a final conclusion is impossible: both possibilities must remain open to consideration.

The Mermaid (Ms. 14969 and Ms. 1444 - unfortunately the only clear prints available of this subject,) is included to shed light on the discussion, current in Medieval times and our own, about the lower end of a mermaid. Several Bestiaries mention eagles claws; others a tail; Ms. 14969 shows a most definite tail: so, too, do Ms. 14970 and 24428, although the miniatures are not clear enough to reproduce. Ms. 1444 looks like a fish tail - it is submerged in water, which at once makes it difficult to be conclusive and reduces the probability of claws! It seems, then, that many illustrators imagined mermaids according to the pattern of the Classical Nereid - that is, with a fish's tail. The illustrator's sense of humour is shown, in Ms. 14969, by the inclusion of the ship's cat, eagerly straining after the fish!

The Wild Ass is representative of a highly complex legend which derives from the merging of two traditions, the Classical and the Physiologus. The illustrator of Ms. 14969 proves yet again his fidelity to the text by representing all the facets of the legend; the Physiologus Wild Ass (top right) braying twelve times to mark the Equinox (one can see lines issuing from its mouth to represent sound, just as there were in the illustration of the Panther); the Classical Wild Ass, jealously emasculating its male offspring, while the mother attempts to hide another young male. This is a clear representation of the text, again at the expense of artistic quality.

However, the illustrator of Ms. 14969 has the chance to prove his artistic abilities in his miniature of the Owl - a fine illustration, full of life, if a bit cross-eyed!, and of the Goat - accurate and lively. One can almost sense the relief the illustrator felt when faced by a straightforward legend attatched to an every-day beast!

THE MERMAID



B.N.F.fr. 14969

B.N.F.fr. 1444

THE WILD ASS

B.N.F.fr. 14969

B.N.F.fr. 24428

THE OWL

B.N.F.fr. 14969

3/4/29

How much influence, if any, did the Bestiaries have on ecclesiastical architecture? The answer is very little direct influence, when unsupported by another, more famous source. Most churches contain foxes involved in many, not all-together flattering situations (1), many have lions, representing the Devil, as they do in the Bible, however, rather than God, pelicans and eagles, too are found, but legends concerning these are found in sources other than the Bestiaries. The same is true of the Dove, who is usually accompanying Noah or John the Baptist. Biblical associations, therefore, take precedence over Bestiary material; and the popularity of fox-lore is once more demonstrated.

When representations of non-Biblical animals are found, they are more likely to be the peculiar hybrids which served, as gargoyles outside, to frighten off the Devil. Inside, they served presumably the same purpose, but their function is less clear, and probably most of them are there for decoration alone.'

---

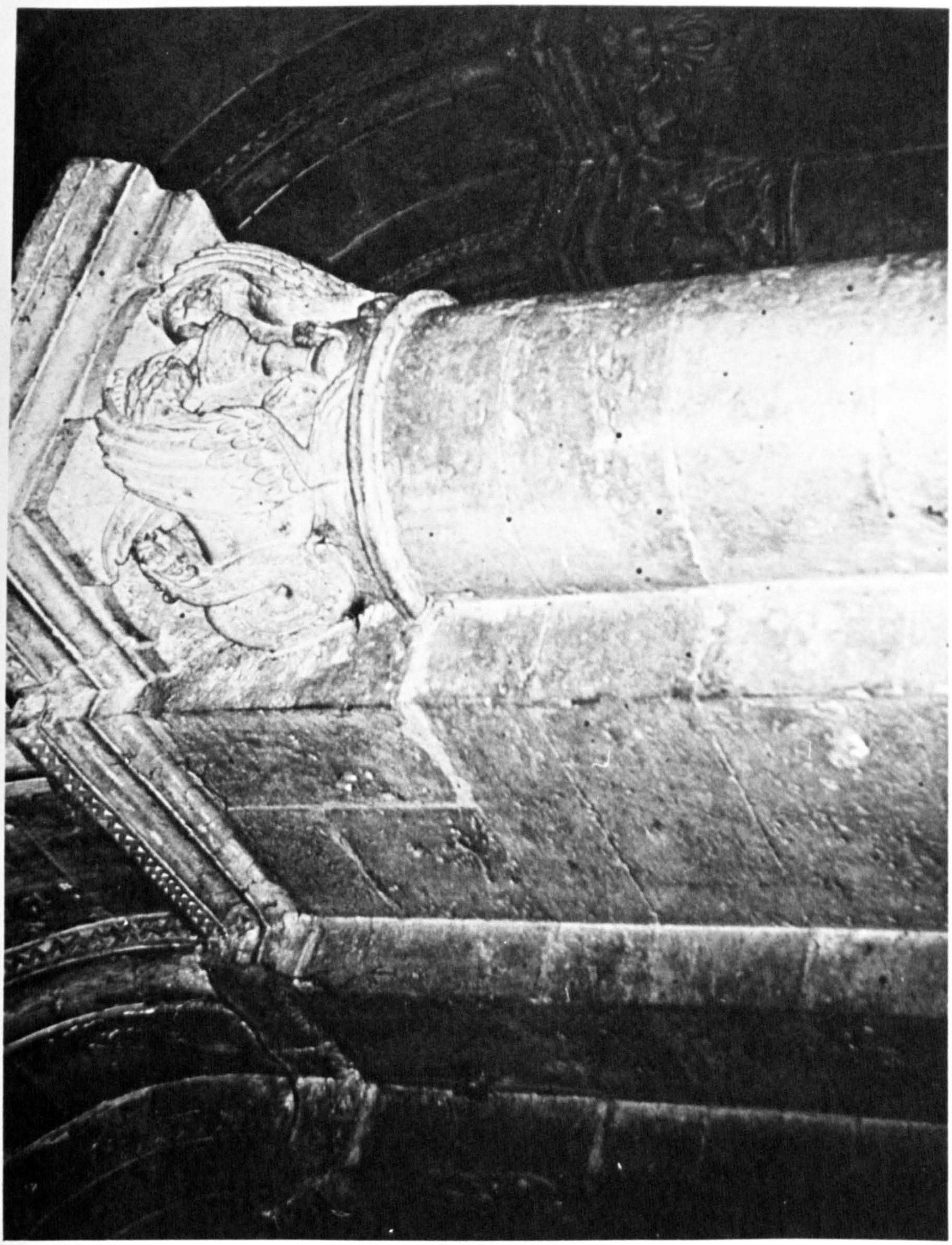
(1) K. Varty: Reynard the Fox. (passim)

Such is probably the case whith this first illustration, a hybrid of eagle, lion and serpent, photographed just inside the Cathedral of Chartres. There is no such animal in the Bible or the Bestiaries; however, the cup from which the pair seem to be drinking is not unlike the fountain of youth at which the eagle drinks as it is represented in certain Bestiary manuscripts - though not, however, in any featured in this chapter. All such a resemblance achieves is to place Bestiary miniatures firmly within the main traditions of Medieval religious illustration.

This same purpose is served by the second photograph, also taken at Chartres which bears, in style, a great deal of similarity to the Bestiary manuscript representations of the Aptalon. However, it is not that comparison which is the most important. What we have here is a symbolical miniature raised, as it were, to sculpture. Immediately, the scene portrays a hunter, killing a lion, who has attacked another animal. However, the scene is a symbol: the hunter is Christ, the Lion the Devil and the other animal Man. That a symbolical scene of this nature is placed in a prominent position attests to the extent of the symbolical tradition in the Middle Ages: the Clergy and the Stonewrights at least were aware of it, and used it in their works.

4794

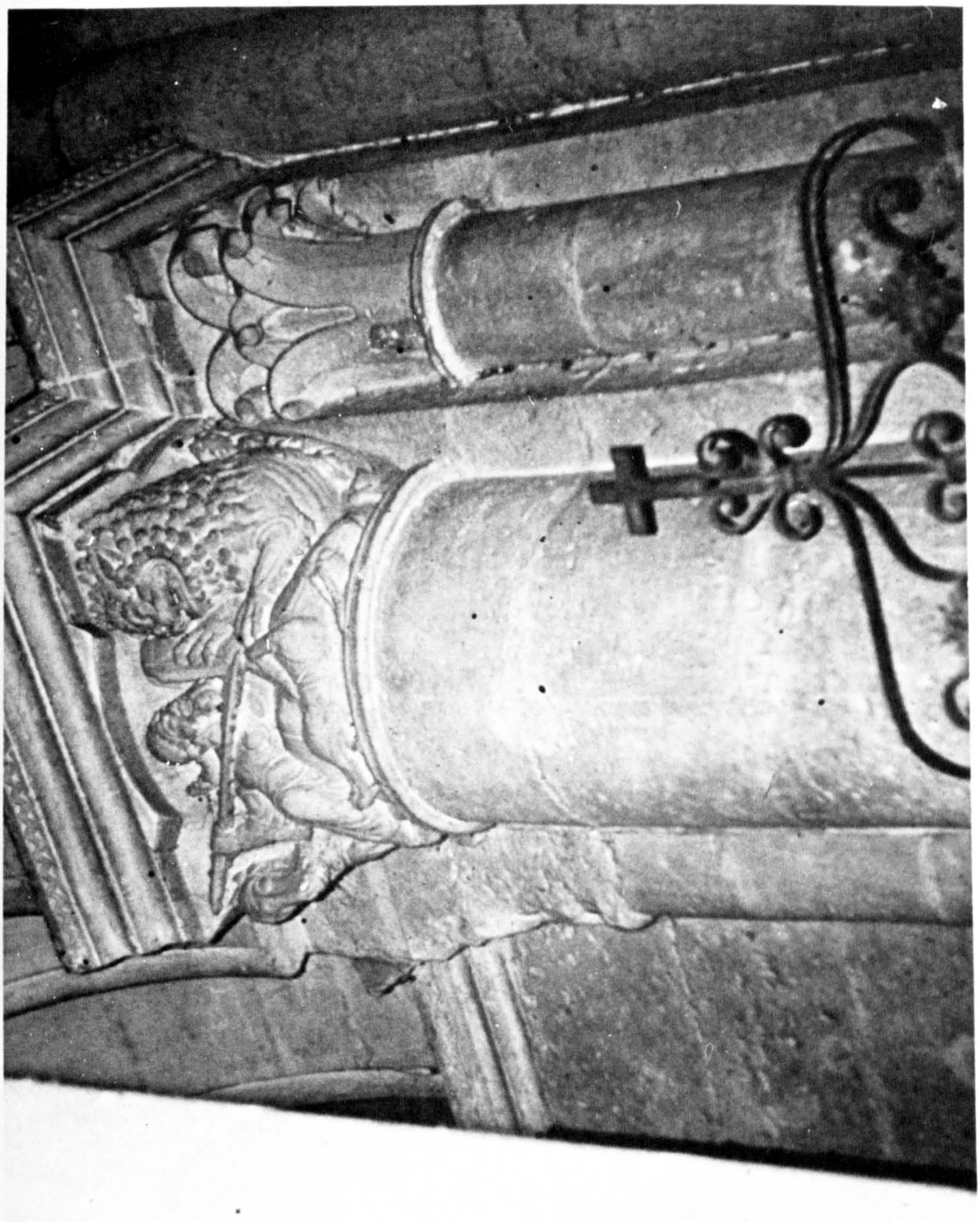
CHARTRES CATHEDRAL



HYBRID: EAGLE, LION, SERPENT

4766

CHARTRES CATHEDRAL



SYMBOLIC SCENE: FIGURING HUNTER, LION

AND OTHER UNIDENTIFIED BEAST

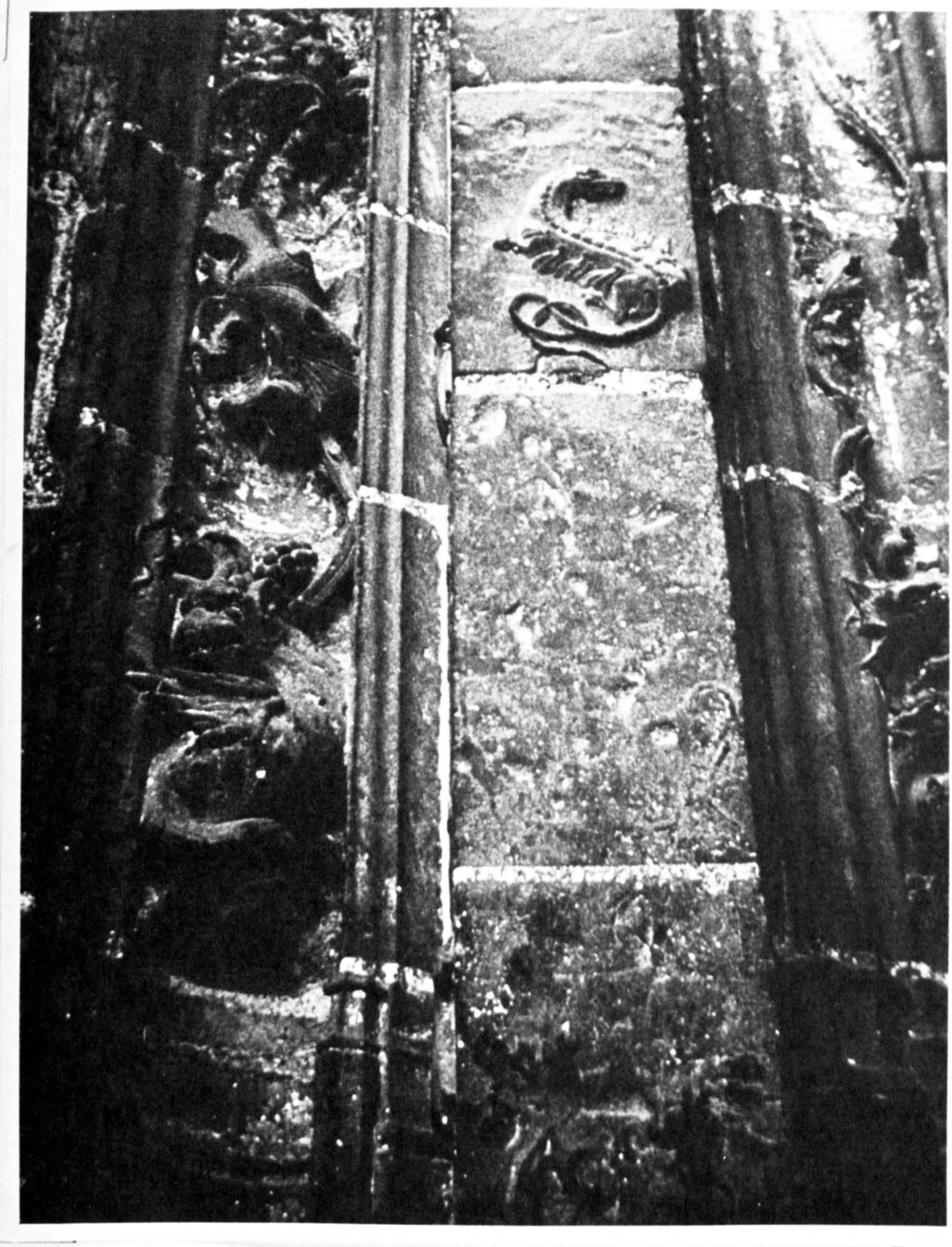
Salamanders are found in great numbers crawling over cathedral walls and most, certainly, are the salamander of François I, as they are in the first of these two photographs, taken at Beauvais Cathedral. The two sets of sculptures occur on the same wall; the sculptor of what is probably the later one, bearing the royal crest, knew there was another salamander, a commoner! Why is the other without royal arms - and why is it in a slightly different position? Could it be a Bestiary Salamander?

1792

BEAUVAIS CATHEDRAL

SALAMANDER OF FRANÇOIS 1er

BEAUVAIS CATHEDRAL



'COMMONER' SALAMANDER

These two aquatic creatures are hard to identify; they are not the otherwise ubiquitous dolphins; they are not whales or Jonah-esque 'great fish'. They are fierce - they have sharp, wicked teeth. It is not likely that they are direct attempts to illustrate the Bestiary Serra, but I feel that there is an influence of this nature at work in their conception.

BEAUVAIS CATHEDRAL

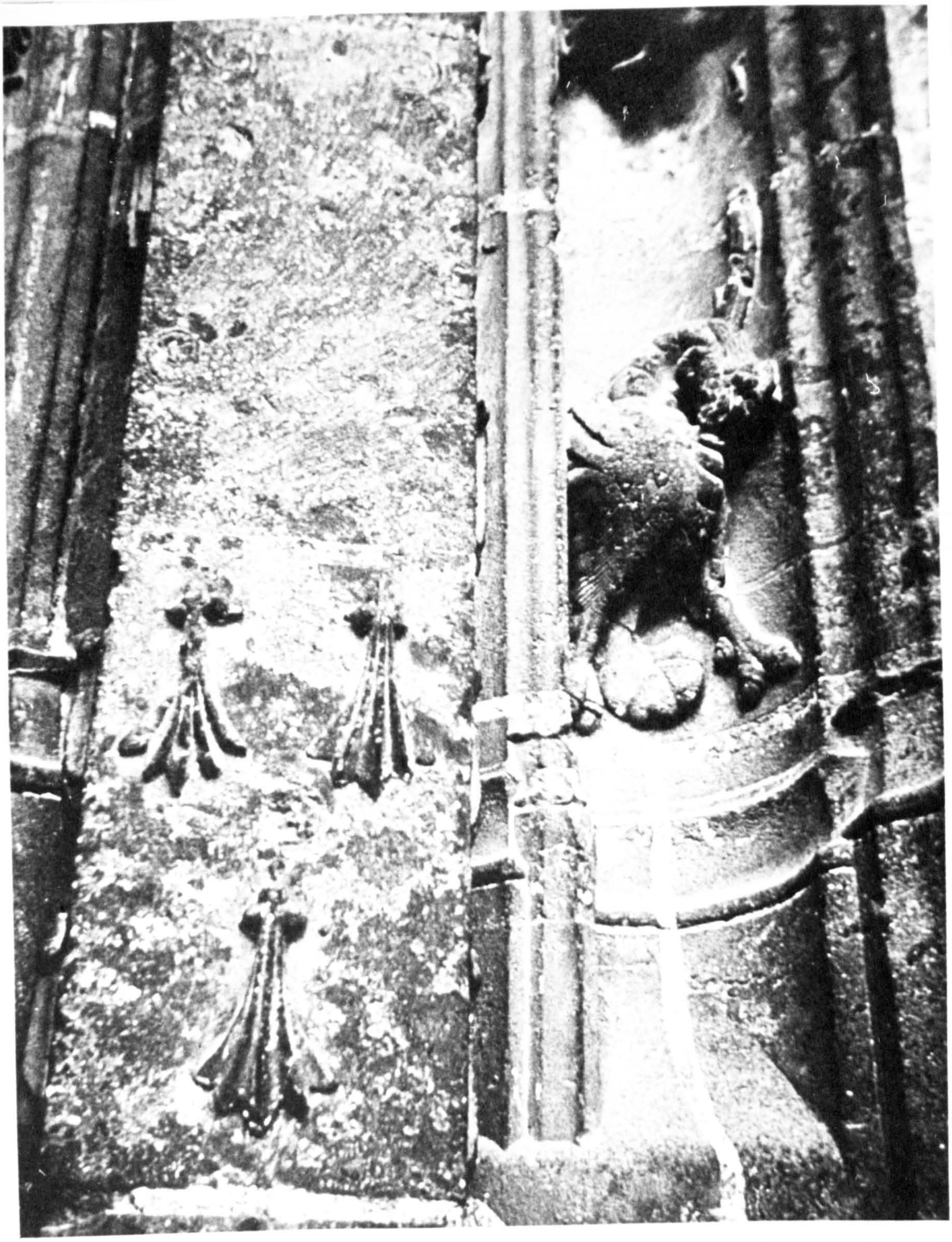
FIERCE FISH

However, the remaining animals in this section do seem to illustrate Bestiary creatures, although, again, the Bestiaries are not the sole source of information about them.

The first of these illustrations is of a Basilcock, famed for its fatal stare, and described in the Long Version of the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais, though not in any of the other Bestiaries. However, it is not certain that is directly because of the Bestiary that this beast is found sculpted at Beauvais: the legend of the Basilisk was a popular one, and one that has survived, independant of Bestiary interest, until the present day.

4512

BEAUVAIS CATHEDRAL



BASILCOCK

The Monkey is an animal which features in all the Bestiaries, and is always described as having no tail, indicative of his future 'bad end'. However, despite this similarity, the Monkey from Beauvais desplays none of the Bestiary attributes - it has neither of its young with it, and is not being chased. But monkeys, though known in France, were rare, and the presence of one sculptured at Beauvais suggests a possible influence - especially when we remember that certain Bestiary manuscripts also depicted the animal alone, without any of the Bestiary legend.

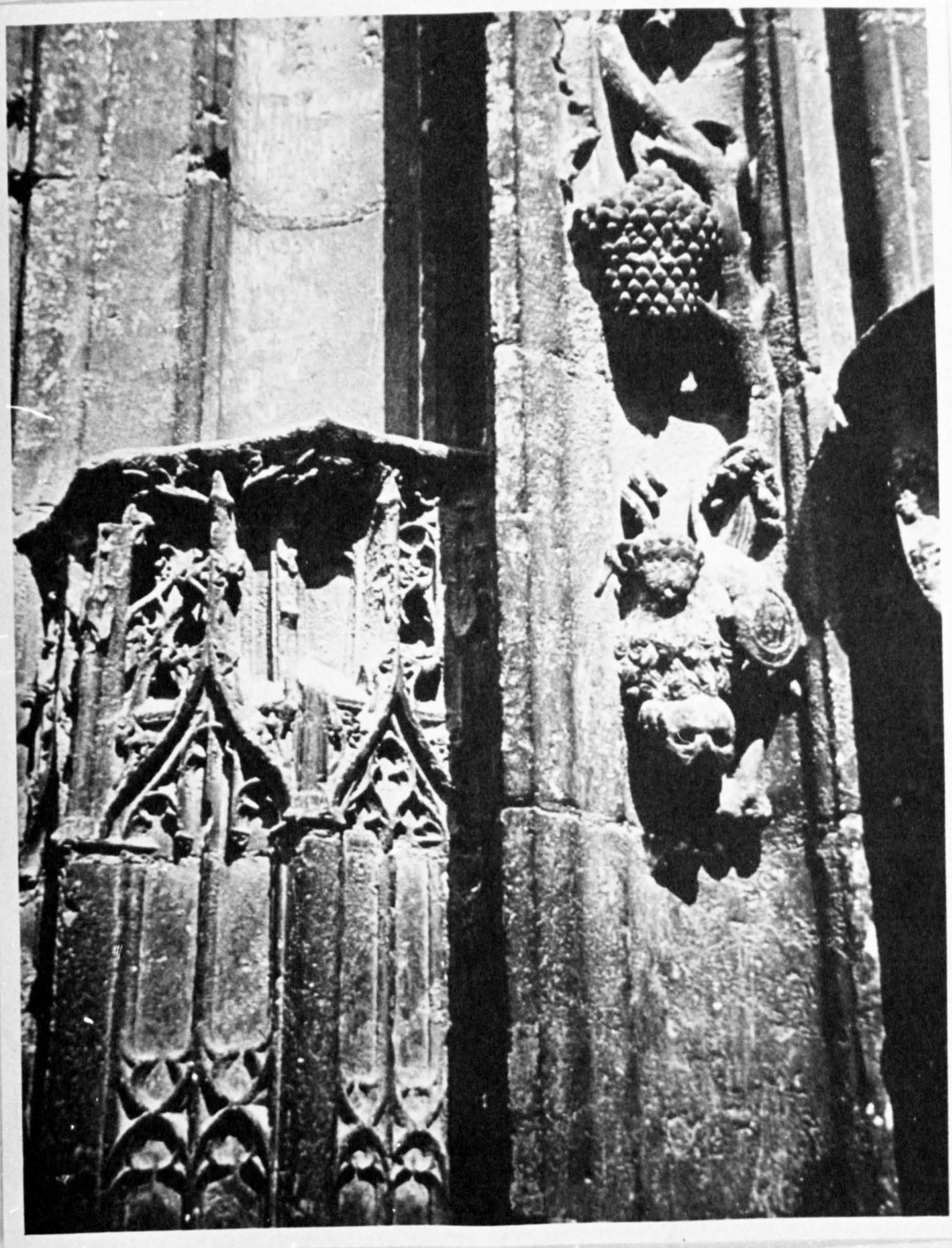
BEAUVAIS CATHEDRAL

MONKEY

The lion and its cub, shown opposite, approach more nearly the Bestiary tradition. The inclusion of the cub indicates that this Lion belongs to the Bestiary tradition of the lion's ability to resuscitate its young, rather to the Devil/Lion symbol we saw earlier at Chartres. Unfortunately, the Lion and cub are not in the same position as they were in the Bestiaries - the lion is not shown actively resusitating its young - so any concrete evidence of a direct Bestiary link is unfortunately missing.

4832

BEAUVAIS CATHEDRAL



LION AND CUB

With the remaining beasts, we are more fortunate - they do resemble the Bestiary attributes to some degree - the little scene, from Chartres, grouped at the foot of a pillar is of Paradixion, the Dragon is clear in the photograph, but, at an angle impossible to photograph, one can also see a tree and two doves. Doves, as we have already admitted are common Biblical birds. To show them complete with Dragon and Tree is at once to link them with the Bestiaries.

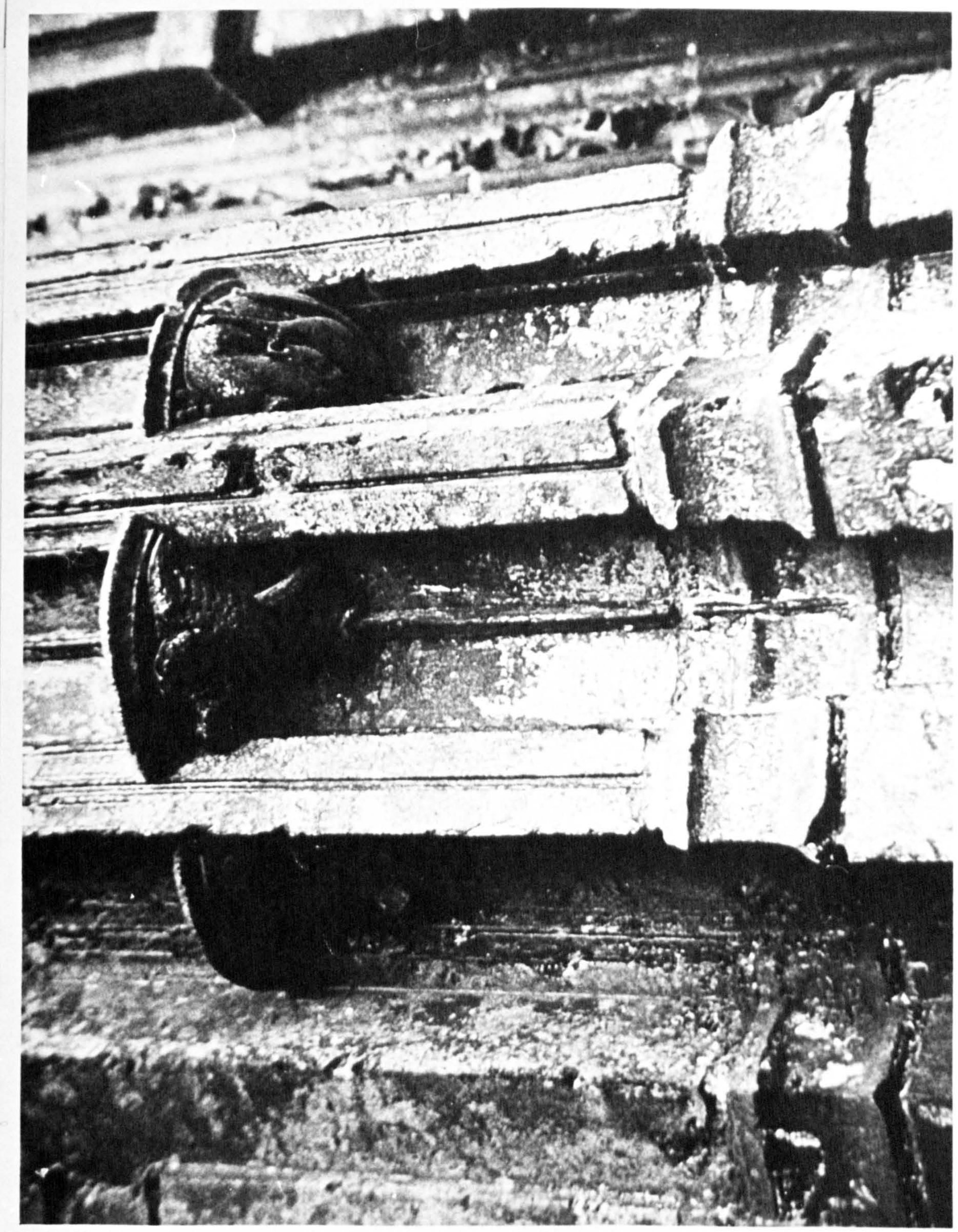
CHARTRES CATHEDRAL

DOVES AND PARADIXION

The Beauvais eagle is unremarkable, and has no link with the Bestiaries other than the curious, web-footed creature sculpted next to it! From its attitude and its actions, it can only be a Beaver - an animal not mentioned in the Bible, not associated with any well-known work of literature, and without our current knowledge of Canada, not widely known; yet a Beaver, doing exactly what it is reputed to do! Let us look also at the reproduction from the Sketchbook of Villard de Honnecourt. This sketch has been entitled: 'curled dog'. But, given that, in many Bestiary miniatures, the Beaver is depicted as being like a dog, is it not possible that the animal in such a curious position is a Beaver? For a dog, the position is unnatural; for a Beaver, it follows the legend. Perhaps, therefore, Villard de Honnecourt planned to use the Beaver on a Cathedral, just as we see it sculpted at Beauvais.

Thus we see that while the Bestiaries have no proven direct link with ecclesiastical sculpture, and although most animals can be traced to the Bible or to the popular folk legends, such as Renard the Fox, some animals remain untraceable and inexplicable, save through reference to that other source of animal symbolism, the Bestiaries.

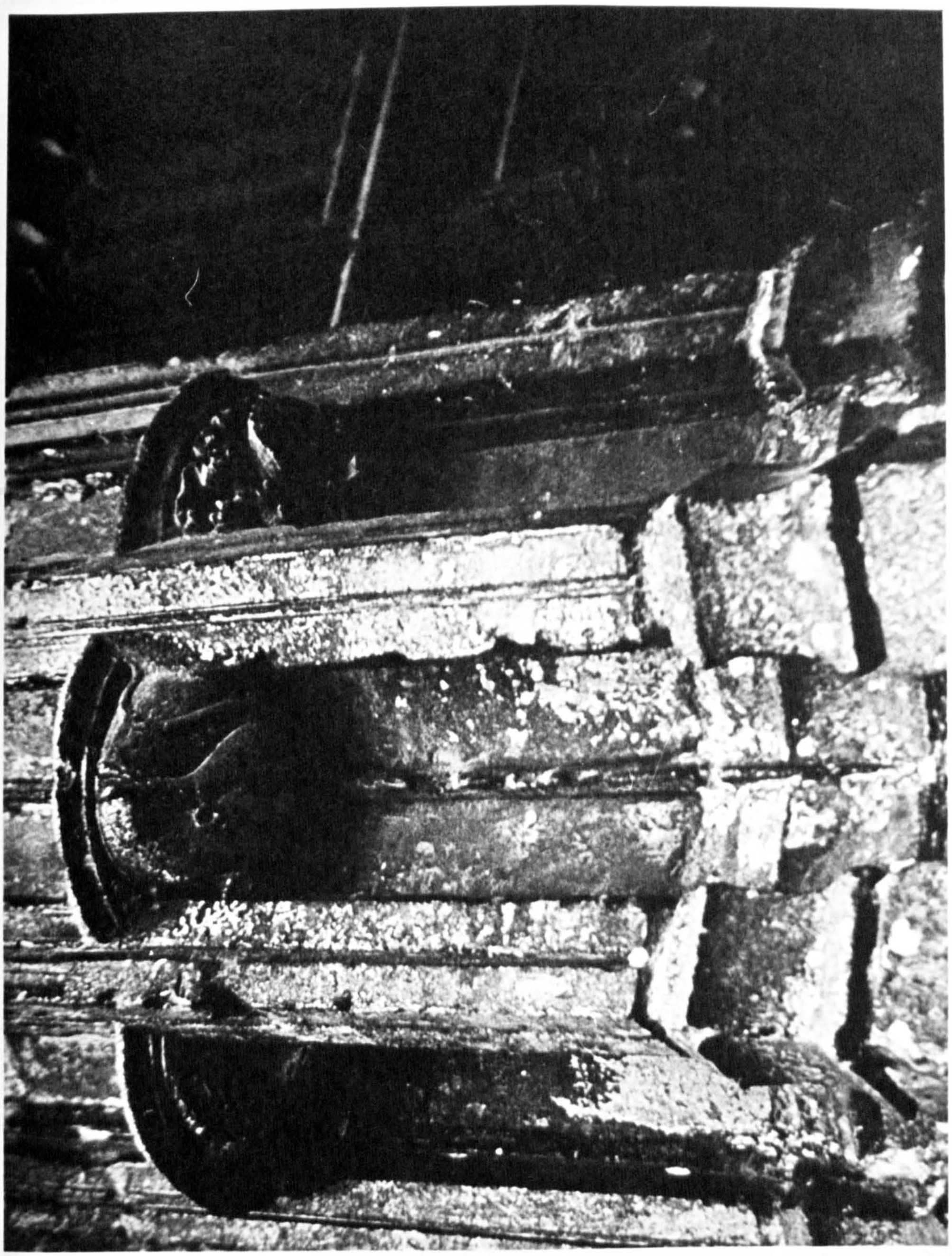
BEAUVAIS CATHEDRAL



EAGLE AND BEAVER (1)

4856

BEAUVAIS CATHEDRAL



BEAVER (2)

THE SKETCHBOOK OF VILLARD DE HONNECOURT

'CURLED DOG'

5/1

PART 111 CHAPTER V

THE STYLE OF THE BESTIARIES

In this chapter, we are concerned with the medium, i.e., prose or verse, in which the Bestiaries are written; also with literary techniques, including the use of Biblical quotations, and the various methods of developing a theme. In addition, we examine the lay-out of the various sections and the individual ways of drawing attention to the symbolic value of the beast described.

As we have seen, the Bestiaries resemble each other in descriptive and moralising content, in the animals they present and the symbolic interpretations drawn from them. However, each Bestiary is an individual entity: looking at an isolated quotation, it is possible to say from which Bestiary it is taken. The main factor which determines the character of the Bestiary is, of course, style, under all its various facets; and, although the Bestiaries cannot be held up as masterpieces of style nevertheless the particular problems facing the author of an encyclopaedic work who wishes to present his material to a popular audience throw an interesting light on the stylistic achievements of these adaptors. Three of the Bestiaries, those of Philippe de Thaün, Gervaise and Guillaume Leclerc are written in verse; the fourth, that of Pierre de Beauvais is written, in both the Long and the Short Versions, in prose.

Though they are written in verse, the three Bestiaries can hardly be termed poetry; they rhyme and scan, though often not without some contriving, to the detriment of clarity, but apart from that, there is little which would label them poetry. In fact, they are good examples of verse used as a purely narrative medium; the medium is totally subjugated to content.

The Bestiary of Philippe de Thaün is written in rhyming couplets; unusually, Philippe de Thaün changes his metre at line 2889. Until that point, he uses a metre of six syllables to the verse, a peculiar cramped metre, a very unusual length of line, which does not permit of much expansion of thought or of ease of composition. Even Philippe de Thaün seems to tire of this rather limiting style; as he changes his metre, he writes:

"Or vail (je) mun metre muer
Pur ma raisun mielz ordener." (1)

However, having chosen this particular metre, Philippe de Thaün adheres to it faithfully: enjambement is rare, found only in 38 or so instances, a number which may be increased by the incidence of cases where the meaning is continued onto the next line of a rhyming couplet:

"Içe que l'aigle prent
ses oisels belement." (2)

Many examples of broken couplets, however, are spread over three lines:

"Pur ces deit estuper
Ses oreilles // guarder
Qu'il n'en oie le cri" (3)

Usually, the phrase containing the broken couplet commences at the first line of a rhyming couplet:

"E li draguns crient tant
L'arbre // que tant ne quant
N'i ose aprismier
Ne a l'umbre atuchier." (4)

---

(1) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire ll. 2889 - 90

(2) Idem: Bestiaire ll 2093 - 4

(3) Idem: Bestiaire ll 1601 - 3

(4) Idem: Bestiaire ll 2439 - 42

but it can happen that the broken couplet commences on the second line of a couplet and continue to embrace the next couple:

"Kar l'eve signefie
Ivrece // e le luisson
Putain, // par grant raison" (1)

However, Philippe de Thaün is usually capable of controlling his content to fit the six-syllable line correctly, with the break at the end of the line coinciding with the end of a clause:

"Dous leis Deus li dunat
Que om pur cornes at,
La viez e la nuvele,
Ki mult est sainte et bele" (2)

Where a broken couplet occurs, and the meaning does not fill the whole of the next line, the ensuing caesura falls usually after the second syllable (cf. examples already given ll. 2480 - 2, ll. 832 - 4), although examples of the caesura occurring after the fourth syllable are not unknown (eg. ll. 1601 - 3).

There are also several examples of mid-line caesura, though these are not as common as the caesura after the second syllable:

"Li angele e Nostre Sire
Respundent: // Pur martire" (3)

It is also possible, although rare, that the caesura occurs after the first syllable:

"Ki fereient dolenz
Mainz // se regner poeient" (4)

---

(1) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire l. 832 - 4

(2) Idem: Bestiaire L. 801 - 4

(3) Idem: Bestiaire L. 215 - 6

(4) Idem: Bestiaire L. 142 - 9

Of a sample of 21 caesurae, 10 fell after the second syllable, 7 after the third, and two each after the fourth and first.

As this is an early text (circa 1121) it is not surprising to find assonant rhymes as well as proper rhymes. M. E. Walberg (1) gives a comprehensive list; it will suffice here to give an example:

"As bestes qu'il desire
Dunt volt faire sa prise" (2)

Otherwise, Philippe de Thaün follows closely his chosen verse scheme; although occasionally, he has to

"afaitier (rime) de mos concuilliz hors du verité" (3)

as Pierre de Beauvais would put it, and use padding to achieve the rhyme:

"En marz u en avril
Ço fait l'oisel gentil" (4)

Also, Philippe does not hesitate to break one of the foremost rules of versification by using the same word, with the same meaning, in both halves of a rhyming couplet:

"Aaliz sis nuns est:
Loenge de Dé est" (5)

Philippe de Thaün's adherence to his metre frequently forces him into using "padding" phrases such as "co dit", "sachiez", "co crei", "en verite":

"La virgine signefie,
Saciez, Sainte Marie" (6)

As there is little poetry about Philippe de Thaün's verse, one does not look for imagery (as the term is commonly understood) in his

---

(1) M. E. Walberg: op. cit. P. xviii
(2) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire l. 101 - 2
(3) Pierre de Beauvais: Bestiaire P. (i) ll. 7 - 9
(4) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire ll. 2275 - 6
(5) Idem: Bestiaire l. 15 - 16
(6) Idem: Bestiaire l. 435 - 6

Bestiary, especially as it would seem pale beside the grandeur of ecclesiastic symbolism; however, one rather amusing image is to be found in the section on the "Colum", though it is doubtful whether it was included for its own sake: it is more than probable that, once more, this was included to provide a rhyme:

"Lorés (i.e. on the tree) sunt en repos
Tant cum sunt des rains clos" (1)

Philippe de Thaün's manner of terminating his sections is as abrupt as his chosen metre. There is no gentle running down of the material: he says all he has to say, then announces that he does not want to say anything further on that subject, but will pass onto another:

"Mais de ceste raisun
Ne ferai plus sermun,
Kar or voit cumencier
D'altre beste a traitier" (2)

This in fact is verbose for Philippe de Thaün; his more usual formula is:

"N'en voil or plus traitier;
Altre voil cumencier" (3)

This ending is used eight times in all; other couplets, similar in meaning, account for another thirteen! Another favourite termination exhorts the reader to remember the meaning of what he has just read:

"Aiez en remembrance,
Ço est signefiance " (4)

This particular couplet is found five times, and other similar phrases,

---

(1) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire l. 2483 - 4
(2) Idem: Bestiaire l. 389 - 92
(3) Idem: Bestiaire l. 579 - 80
(4) Idem: Bestiaire l. 631 - 2

especially

"E içọ signefie
Beste de tel baillie" (1)

provide the closing lines of another four sections. Other endings equally abrupt, include:

"Içọ dit Bestiaire,
Un livre de gramaire" (2)

and the rather odd-sounding,

"Deus nus otreit le sen
De la turtre! Amen." (3)

These endings, together with the cramped versification, give the Bestiary its abrupt and rather inelegant tone. More than anything, the brusque endings indicate how ill at ease Philippe de Thaün is in his medium, and how he considers the content to be the most important factor.

A rather pompous and admonitory tone is lent to the Bestiary by the inclusion of phrases possibly borrowed from a spell in the Pulpit, such as

"Mais oz tu, om de Dé,
Entent auctorité
E oies escripture" (4)

and by his frequent use of "saciez" to introduce the allegorical interpretation:

"Saciez par Salemun
Sage gent entendum" (5)

Thus the overall impression given by the Bestiaire de Philippe de

---

(1) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire l. 459 - 60
(2) Idem: l. 1957 - 8
(3) Idem: l. 2573 - 4
(4) Idem: l. 959 - 61
(5) Idem: l. 1017 - 18

Thaün is one of uniformity to the point of monotony, of pompousness and abruptness, but above all, one of a man not totally involved in the medium he is using. Indeed, he is using it only because it is the common medium of the time; he would probably have felt more confident had either he or his source used the medium of prose, however, the verse medium was the most commonly used between the 12th and 15th century, and Philippe de Thaün merely followed the tradition.

Gervaise, whom P. Meyer considers

> "... un rimeur pieux et mediocre comme il y en eut beaucoup" (1)

uses an octosyllabic rhyming couplet structure, which he manipulates with greater ease than does Philippe de Thaün with his six syllable line. Again, this Bestiary presents an example of poetic structure being used for mere narrative ends. Besides this, Gervaise has his own views on the subject of versification, which he formulates in his introductory passage:

> "Son tens gaste qui met sa cure
> En vanité dont Dex n'a cure;
> Et tot autresi de legier
> Porroit l'on d'estoire traitier
> Controver mançonges, e fables
> Sunt delitouses et plaisables
> Celui qui la mançonge traite,
> Quant il plus ment et plus li haite
> Por ce que il enbelist son dit
> Mais celui qui verité dit
> Et selonc divine escriture

(1) P. Meyer: Le Bestiaire de Gervaise in Romania Vol. 1 P. 422

Covient sevre la letreüre;

Se l'estoire estoit corronpue

Tote avroit sa poine perdue." (1)

Having thus protected himself against such criticism as M. Meyer's, Gervaise proceeds to clothe the content of his Bestiary in verse far more varied and elegant than any found in Philippe de Thaun.

His use of his metre is more fluent than Philippe de Thaun's; he makes frequent use of broken couplet occasionally breaking the following line:

"Et tot autresi de legier

Porroit l'on d'estoire traitier

Con trouver mançonges, // e fables

Sunt delitouses et plaisables" (2)

Occasionally, Gervaise sacrifices ease to rhyme, giving an awkward tournure to the line:

"Por ce n'en doit un pas mengier" (3)

However his verse is usually lucid and simple. Of course, to provide rhymes and to give padding to some lines, he has recourse to the insertion of phrases whose content is negligeable; his favourite appears to be "ce n'est pas fable", (providing a convenient rhyme for "deable"), but he also employs "ce m'est vis", "c'est la some", and "n'en dotez mie", but such phrases are less common in Gervaise than in Philippe de Thaün.

In general, Gervaise's rhymes are better, more varied and less monotonous than Philippe de Thaün's; he rarely repeats pairs of rhymes, and only occasionally does he use the same word at the end of both lines in a couplet. Even when he does, he is using the word

---

(1) Gervaise: Bestiaire l. 14 - 28

(2) Idem: l. 17 - 20

(3) Idem: l. 1139

either in two meanings:

"Quant Deaubles estoit archanges,
Lai sus amont, avoi les anges" (1)

or with differing grammatical functions:

"Il n'avoit en aus fol pensé
N'ensanble n'avoient pensé" (2)

where the first "pensé" is a noun, and the second the Past Participle of "Penser".

In all, Gervaise uses the same word twice in a couplet only half a dozen times; the only true use of the same word in the same meaning is as follows:

"Singes est de laide figure
De deable a forme et figure" (3)

Gervaise's omissions of rhymes, too, are infrequent: there are in fact three:

"E la tiercë est de dragons,
Qui sunt felons et vërimous" (4)

As this is a later text than that of Philippe de Thaün, one would expect a lower incidence of assonance, and this is in fact the case. There are, in fact, only two; (one of these, even, is doubtful):

"Car Damidex maïmes dist
E l'evangelistes l'escrit" (5)

Even this one, however, could be discounted on the grounds that the written form of "dist" no longer tallied with its pronounciation, which was progressing towards the modern [di].

This development stage is obvious in another rhyme:

---

(1) Gervaise: Bestiaire l. 367 - 8
(2) Idem: l. 409 - 10
(3) Idem: l. 361 - 2
(4) Idem: l. 505 - 6
(5) Idem: l. 979 - 80

"Icil oiseaus est oblious
Et tot autresi sumes nos" (1)

Where the "nos" is clearly progressing towards the modern pronunciation [nu].

A further sound change is indicated by the frequency with which Gervaise rhymes "unt" with "ont" - although this is also indicative of possible North-Western origin in either Gervaise or the copyist of this particular manuscript.

"Ja de rien ne lor mesfarunt
Ne de lor grains ne lor touront" (2)

With the exception of the above group of rhymes, most of Gervaise's rhymes are visual as well as aural. There are only few exceptions to this rule: he rhymes "andre" with "endre", for example:

"Venerres ne la porroit prandre;
Ne l'ose soulement atendre" (3)

which is simply a matter of spelling. In addition there are four very strong rhymes which could almost be termed "rimes riches": "aprandre" - "prandre" - l. 3 - 4; "chacier" - "tracier" l. 63 - 64; "trueve" - "prueve" - l. 71 - 72; "pechiez" - "entechiez" l. 79 - 80.

Gervaise does not seem to be at a loss for a rhyme very often; the only very obvious, and rather comical example is the use of "aïrous" (bad-tempered) to describe a hedgehog!:

"Mult est ardiz et aïrous
Trestot le cors ha espinous" (4)

As a general rule, Gervaise ends a section, that is, the "chapter" on a particular creature, and its subdivisions, the physical description and the allegorical interpretation, on the second line of a

---

(1) Gervaise: Bestiaire l. 973 - 4
(2) Idem: l. 767 - 8
(3) Idem: l. 453 - 4
(4) Idem: l. 731 - 2

rhyming couplet; the one exception to this occurs in the section on the "Chamoil", where the end of the physical description falls on the first line of a couplet, whose second line forms the beginning of the interpretation.

Gervaise terminates most sections with a Biblical quotation in Latin, which provides a dignified and mentally satisfying ending. Where he does not include a Biblical quotation, Gervaise finishes with an exhortation based on the foregoing chapter. Indeed, Gervaise's Bestiary has a less pompous tone than Philippe de Thaün's, largely through his use of the first person plural:

> "Ces oiseaus ensegre devons
> Quant a seinte Eglise venons,
> Honorons cex qui nos norrirent;
> Rendons lor le bien qu'il nos firent
> Et pere et mere honorons;
> Per droit honorer le(s) devons." (1)

as opposed to Philippe de Thaün's preferred admonition:

> "Ço est signefiance
> Aiez en remembrance" (2)

Thus, the Bestiaire de Gervaise is a more gentle work than that by Philippe de Thaün. Its overall impression is one of better versification than the earlier work, although we must not forget that the language in which Philippe de Thaün was writing was but developing: it is the first Anglo-Norman text; the dialect of the Isle de France, which Gervaise employs was better established, certainly by the time Gervaise was writing, a century later than Philippe de Thaün. Even so, Gervaise still seems more at ease in his medium than Philippe de

---

(1) Gervaise: Bestiaire l. 1003 - 1008

(2) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire l. 2595 - 6

Thaün, though once again, he is writing in verse because it was the common medium, not because of any poetic inspirations.

When one turns to the Bestiaire de Guillaume Leclerc, one realises straight away that, from the technical point of view, this work is greatly superior to either the Bestiaire de Philippe de Thaün or the Bestiaire de Gervaise. It is hard to pinpoint the cause of this superiority; for the most part, it is simply a recognition of the greater mastery with which he handles his verse, of the greater number of rhetorical traits which he employs, of the ease and fluency with which he writes.

From the technical aspect, Guillaume Leclerc leaves little to be desired; he writes his verse in octo-syllabic rhyming couplets; he never fails to rhyme these couplets. The majority of rhymes are strong, rhyming not only the final sound, but the preceding one:

"Qui fist l'arche le tabernacle
E por qui Deu fist tant miracle" (1)

although there are some rhymes, few in number, which are doubtful or weak: the most common rhyme factor in this group is "e""acute", a not impossible rhyme, but weak in comparison to the rest of Guillaume Leclerc's work:

"Qui se porveit el tens d'esté
Si qu'en iver en a plenté." (2)

Occasionally, the quest for a rhyme does lead Guillaume Leclerc into

---

(1) Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire l. 77 - 78

(2) Idem: l. 877 - 8

difficulties, and results in a clumsy or unfortunate tournure:

"Une beste est, qui a non serre
E qui n'abite mie en terre
Mes en cele grant mer abite;
Ceste beste n'est pas petite,
Ainz est durement corporue" (1)

In one place, he uses a dimimutive to assure the rhyme:

"E lier en un fesselet
E sor un bel alter les met" (2)

The repetition in the final word of the couplet is found only seventeen times; however, Guillaume Leclerc with only one exception, varies either the meaning or the grammatical function:

"Onques hom tel beste ne vit
Car en terre e en ewe vit" (3)

"De la tricherie qui cort
E en l'une e en l'altre cort" (4)

Non-visual rhymes are also rare; he rhymes "esparne" - "superne" (l.3915) and the "on" - "orn" endings on several occasions, but his rhymes are usually both aural and visual.

Like both the earlier writers, Guillaume Leclerc uses padding phrases, the most common being: "si com jeo di", "onc ne fu tex", "jeol vos plevis", the second one providing a useful rhyme for both "Ibex".

The impression one has of Guillaume Leclerc's Bestiary is one of fluency of writing, of ease in his medium. This effect is pro-

---

(1) Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire l. 399 - 403
(2) Idem: l. 759 - 60
(3) Idem: l. 1663 - 4
(4) Idem: l. 23 - 24

duced largely by subtle use of enjambement and the caesura: this permits him to lay emphasis on words he wants to stress, and conveys the suggestion of fluency:

"Ne devom mettre en obliance
Le dit ne la signefiance
Del cerf, // qui estrangement oevre
Quant il mangue la coloevre,
Ceo est, quant il est enveillez" (1)

Guillaume Leclerc also uses the technique, rare in the other Bestiaries, of placing the caesura in the first line of two linked by enjambment, again effectively from the point of view of stress:

"Ne ja, // si grant feim ne l'aspreie,
A nul home mal ne fera" (2)

Another passage, illustrative of the aforementioned points, and one which shows clearly Guillaume Leclerc's good management of his verse is found in lines 437 - 440:

"Parmi cest monde vont siglant
Li prodhome, // lor nef menant
Si dreit, // que li fel adverser
Ne les poet faire periller" (3)

One feels Guillaume Leclerc's confidence in the handling of both his content and his medium: he feels capable of putting across his message without recourse to phrases like "Aiez en remembrance" - he feels that an exhortation at the end is sufficient; he has no need to prod his audience to attention with frequent reminders of the need to retain his words.

---

(1) Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire l. 2737 - 41

(2) Idem: l. 228 - 9

(3) Idem: l. 437 - 440

His confidence in his medium is shown not just by the tone of his work, but also by his own words on the subject, which he refers to in two places: at the beginning, and during one of his addenda, "Le Besant Dieu". At the beginning, he states his intention of writing a good book (compare this with Gervais's apology for his style, above P. 3 v.), not just good in content, but a "bon dit" - by definition, a good piece of work in verse: it is to be a work good in content and form, taken from a good Latin original

"Livre de bon començaille
Qui avra bone definaille,
E bon dit e bon matire
Voelt Guillame en romanz escrire
De bon latin ou il le troeve." (1)

He also points out that it is meant to rhyme properly

"Rimez ert par consonancie" (2)

At the end, in his first additional parable, he thanks God for the gift of fluency in speech:

"Quant Deu m'a doné de bel dire
La grace, ne m'en dei targer,
Mes son besant creistre e charger". (3)

One feels, too, that Guillaume Leclerc feels comfortable expressing himself in writing; he is one of those writers who "write as they speak", and his experience in the pulpit has no doubt contributed to his ease of communication in writing. Also he has unlike the earlier two writers more literary experience; The 'Bestiaire' is not his only work. This is shown in the number of rhetorical

---

(1) Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire l. 5 - 9

(2) Idem: l. 33

(3) Idem: l. 3562 - 4

devices, carefully placed and used to great effect.

The first of these is imagery. Not content to be writing a work on symbolism, Guillaume Leclerc feel obliged to use its "poor relation" to enrich his verse: he likens Christ's death and passion to a boat coming to port after a long and tormenting voyage:

"Com il fu el sepulcre mis
Com il pramist a ses amis
Qu'al terz jor levereit de mort,
Coment la nef vint donc a port,
Qui tant out esté en torment." (1)

The next most important facet is the use of the device of rhetorical question and rhetorical repetition, known as "frequentatio", a device immortalised by Francois Villon

"E savez vos, qui li granz sont?" (2)
"Ou est hui lealté e fei?,
Ou est almosne e charité?
Ou est dreiture e verité,
Chasteté e religion?
Ou est merci, ou est pardon?
Ou est honor, ou est largesce?
Ou est amor, ou est simplesce?
Ou est dolçor e corteisie,
Ou est pité, ou est aïe?
Ou est veirdit ne jugement
Qui vers le loier ne se prent? (3)

Other devices Guillaume Leclerc employs to involve his readers more

---

(1) Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire l. 123 - 7

(2) Idem: l. 2329

(3) Idem: l. 4046 - 4056

closely involves direct addressing of the reader:

"Seignors, pernom garde al formi" (1)

"Tu crestiens, qui en Deu creiz" (2)

But while appealing thus to his readers, he does not seem to berate them in the same way as Philippe de Thaün would. He also uses dialogue between God and the Devil, (Philippe de Thaün also uses this technique) which helps to bring the incident to life:

"E quant nostre sire vint la
Li diables li demanda:
"Fiz Deu, porquei venis si tost,
Por tormenter nos e nostre ost?"
Ceste parole en oiant dist,
E nostre sire li enquist,
Non pas por ceo qu'il ne seüst
Quel non cil diables eüst,
E cil respondi: "Legïon,
Mil somes, qui de ceo servom". (3)

Also, he includes monologue, letting the character speak for himself, instead of always using the third person:

"Puis si a dit: "Alez, richesces,
A mil e cinquante diables" (4)

This exclamation is richer than would be found in the Bestiaries of Gervaise and Philippe de Thaün, and is not lacking in humour, a substance in short supply in the Bestiaries as a genre. All Philippe de Thaün manages in the way of light relief is a rather pedantic pun:

"Quant est en mal pensé
Serra l'a dunc seré;" (5)

---

(1) Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire l. 929
(2) Idem: L. 941
(3) Idem: L. 2769 - 2778
(4) Idem: L. 2544 - 5
(5) Philippe de Thaun: Bestiaire. L. 1725 - 6

Gervaise does not include any: Guillaume Leclerc however realises the revitalising qualities of a smile in the right place: at the end of a particularly lengthy section, that on the Dove, he remarks:

"Or avez oï des coloms
Le chapitre, qui ben est lons,
E si ben l'avez retenu
Mult vos en est melz avenu" (1)

A clerical jocosity, perhaps, but still welcome!

Guillaume Leclerc desplays at times a certain sardonic humour, especially when referring to the moral imperfections of the time. Comparing the behaviour of his incontinent contempories to the constancy and virtue of the Turtledove he writes:

"Ne sont mie de tel nature
Plusors genz qui el secle sont:
Car ja a un ne se tendront
Espos ne espose a son per.
Quant l'un vent de l'altre enterrer,
Ainz que mangé ait deus repaz
Voelt altre aveir entre ses braz" (2)

Guillaume Leclerc's vividness is not confined to humour; in common with many Medieval writers, notably Villon, he writes eloquently, almost with relish, on the physical aspects of death:

"Mais quant la mort vers lui s'adresce,
Qui le gaite gule baee,
Donc est remese sa podriee:
Le cors est en terre enhulez
De vers mangez et defolez" (3)

---

(1) Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire l. 3167 - 70
(2) Idem: l. 2682 - 88
(3) Idem: l. 3632 - 6

Guillaume Leclerc uses one technique, also found in 'Le Couronnement de Louis'; that of a long prayer which serves to build up tension. In Le Couronnement de Louis, the prayer comes before the battle with Corsolt; in Guillaume Leclerc's work, it forms an introduction to the work proper.

Contemporary allusion, as we have already seen briefly, plays an important part in the instructive content of le Bestiaire de Guillaume Leclerc: it is also used merely to add extra interest and to hold the reader's attention:

"Seignors or oez que ceo monte:
Ja entendriez vos un conte
D'Arthur ou de Charle ou d'Oger." (1)

"Assez avez oï fabler
Coment Renart soleit embler
Des gelines Costeins de Noes.
Volonters fist trosser ses joes
Lí gopiz en totes saisons
De gelines e de chapons" (2)

This latter forms an excellent introduction to the section on the Fox, which carries a description of the Fox's activity similar to one in "Le Roman de Renart", one which has apparently been recently substantiated by a Russian documentary film: the Fox rolls in red earth and feigns death to catch his prey.

Finally Guillaume Leclerc's confidence is shown in his ability to engage with his reader on the personal level without losing authority or dignity. This is the ultimate proof of his capabilities as a preacher, and of his experience of pulpit work:

---

(1) Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire l. 563 - 5

(2) Idem: l. 1307 - 1312

"Or vos criom por Deu merci,
Si nos i avom chose dite
Qui deive estre a bonté escrite,
Que vos i prengez essamplaire
E de ben dire e de ben faire,
E si dite i avom faillance
Par nonsens ou par obliance
Por amor Deu vos demandom
De la nonsavance pardon
E de l'obliance altresi.(1)

Thus we see that in technique and tone the Bestiary de Guillaume Leclerc is superior in richness and confidence to those of Gervaise and Philippe de Thaün. Yet for all his expertise in his medium, Guillaume Leclerc is still writing verse because it seems the natural medium for a work of this nature, not because of any poetic pretensions he may have.

We now turn to the one Prose Bestiary in Medieval French that, in two versions, has been handed down to us.

(The following analysis is based on the Short Version of the Bestiary de Pierre de Beauvais, considered by Lauchert (2), P. Meyer (3), Faral (4) and by F. McCulloch (5) to be the older of the two versions).

Pierre de Beauvais, in writing his Bestiary in prose, is consciously breaking new ground, in rejecting the verse format of the other Bestiaries. It is possible, though, that he was working from a verse original, which would also help to explain his introductory note on his medium. He has chosen prose, he writes, because it is

---

(1) Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire L. 3444 - 3454
(2) Lauchert, Friedrich: Geschichte des Physiologus. Strassburg 1889
(3) P. Meyer: Les Bestiaires in Histoire Littéraire de la France Vol. xxxiv (1914) P. 362 - 390
(4) Faral, Edmond, "La Queue de poisson des Sirènes. Romania LXXIV (1953)
(5) F. McCulloch . Op. Cit. P. 67

a more honest medium that does not have to meet the exigencies of rhyme and metre that can lead to inaccuracy and loss of clarity:

> "Et por ce que rime se vieut afaitier de moz concuilliz hors de verite, mist-il (i.e. Pierre) sans rime cest livre selonc le Latin du livre ...." (1)

As we can see from the above introduction, Pierre de Beauvais does not make it clear whether he was working from a prose or a verse original.

Pierre de Beauvais' style is terse; he is brief, not only because he has no need to pad his phrases to make them scan, but also because he seems to feel the need to give only the facts, as briefly as possible. See, for example, how much "factual" information he packs into the section below, with its short sentences and lack of digression:

> "Li lyons a trois manieres en soy. Li frons et la queue demostre lor corage. Lor ver us est ou piz, lor fermetés ou chief. Ils s'espoentent des espeus des veneors et crement mult li cri des rues des charretes, et criement mult plus feu. Ja soit ce qu'il soit cremuz de toz. Il creant le blanc coc." (2)

This passage, too, is representative of the style of Pierre de Beauvais: a straightforward style, with usually simple sentence structure; his sentences contain enough material to be called in technical terms, complex sentences, but we do not often lose track of his meaning:

> "Quant il avient que cele beste a soif, elle vient a une eve qui a non Euphrates et boit ilec." (3)

---

(1) Pierre de Beauvais: Bestiaire 834 P. i l. 7 - 9

(2) Idem: P. iii l. 15 - 21

(3) Idem: P. iv l. 10 - 11

This is an example of a complex sentence in which the meaning is completely lucid.

Pierre de Beauvais' manner of preaching is similar to the one found in Philippe de Thaün's Bestiary: he addresses himself, in an admonitory tone, to the reader at the beginning of the intepretation: this can be taken to represent the tropological level:

> "Tout autresi tu, Crestiens de Dieu, qui estudies estre sages et chastes et vivre espiritelment, eschive toy du deable, car tu as les dous cornes." (1)

This use of the tropological level gives Pierre de Beauvais' Bestiary a more united tone than the peremptory additions found in Philippe de Thaün. Indeed, Pierre de Beauvais is the only one of the four writers, to use the tropological level to any extent.

A further feature of Pierre de Beauvais' style is his 'tournure' which shows strong Biblical influence, even when he is not directly quoting the Bible. This gives his prose a feeling of grandeur and dignity, an effect not dissimilar to seventeenth century English writings which show the influence of the Standard Version of the Bible.

A stylistic feature of all four Bestiaries is frequent use of Biblical quotation. In the verse Bestiaries, the writers take great care to render these quotations as accurately as possible in the medium and indeed the result is that one can easily trace the quotations.

Gervaise is the only one to use Latin quotations: these he places at the end of sections, although occasionally, as in the section on the elephant, he intersperses them in the text, as the quotation

---

(1) Pierre de Beauvais: Bestiaire 834 P. iv l. 18 - 20

becomes appropriate:

"Vivre les covint a dolor

En poine, en tristece, en plor

ET EDUXIT ME DE LACU MISERIE ET DE ...

Jhesu Crist qui le monde fit

Por ce pechié nostre char prist

Et de la palu nos traist fors

Plus estoiens soillie que pors

ET STATUIT SUPRA PETRUM PEDES MEOS DICENS : SIC ORABIS." (1)

Pierre de Beauvais frequently begins - and ends - his sections with Biblical quotations; these are, however, translated into medieval French, and he occasionally gives the chapter reference:

"David dit en la saintisme siaume premiere: "Je sui sanblabes au pelican" (2)

This formula occurs when the attributes given to a bird or animal in the Bestiary correspond in some way to a quotation from the Bible concerning this bird or animal. (This excludes animals such as the goat and the ass, which, although found in the Bestiaries, and frequently mentioned in the Bible, do not show any factors common to the two works.) For example, in the Bible, Jeremiah says, (Jeremiah 12 - 19) that for the man who lives obscenely will be the lot of the hyena; also Deuteronomy (14 : 7) classes the hyena among the beasts not to be eaten. Both these quotations are included at the beginning of Pierre de Beauvais' section on the Hyena:

"Une beste est qui est apelee Hyene. La Loi desfent qu'on n'en menjue de li, por ce qu'ele est orde beste. Di li dit Jeremies li prophetes:- "Li habis del Hyene: eritages a celi quiordèneementvit", (3)

---

(1) Gervaise: Bestiaire l. 429 - 434

(2) Pierre de Beauvais: Bestiaire p. viii. l. 12 - 13
834

(3) Idem: p. xxiii l. 6 - 10

5/24

Pierre de Beauvais quoting Phisiologes, then goes on to explain why the animal is an "orde beste" - because of its bisexuality.

In all, Pierre de Beauvais uses 124 Biblical quotations or close textual references in his text, including five references to specific events and parables longer than a sentence. Several of these quotations appear more than once, and some are composed by running together two verses together to form a stronger quotation.

However, once one has said this one must recognise the accuracy of the quotation in this Bestiary, even though some citations are used out of context to enhance their relevancy. There are very few verses that it is not possible to trace; most of these are very vague, "one-line" quotations, which could come from several parts of the Bible.

The quotations are taken either from the Vulgate - the common Bible of the time - or from the Septuaginta; and it is in this version of the Bible that one finds reference to the more obscure animals to whom the Bestiaries give Biblical reference: the Caladrius, the Serena, the Honocentaurus, the reference in Jeremiah to the Hyena, the Panther, Partridge, the Ostrich, and two obscure references to the Diamond. The Bestiaries, also make use of the Apochryphae, notably the Books of Suzannah, Ecclesiasticus and the Wisdom of Solomon.

Although we have hitherto concentrated on the Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais on this question of Biblical quotations, it is because this Bestiary is representative, from the point of view of accuracy and of quotations used, of the four Bestiaries under consideration. The evident similarity between the Bestiaries in this

matter can be shown in tabular form (see Table 1 Chapter 7), which underlines above all the basic similarity of the Bestiaires de Pierre de Beauvais and of Guillaume Leclerc. It also indicates the most popular quotations, several of which occur in the same section in each Bestiary, showing a clear tradition of Biblical reference in the Bestiary genre.

The great number of Biblical quotations has two important implications. The first is that the Bestiary is firmly rooted in one Medieval tradition: the need to give source references to give support and credibility to one's arguments; it is for this reason too that the Bestiaries frequently refer to their other sources, the Physiologus and Isidore de Seville. Theirs was the mentality which required everything to be endorsed by foregoing works: only in the carrying on of tradition and the submission to earlier authority could truth be found.

The second factor is the tone, the atmosphere that so many Biblical quotations give to a work: one feels, often, that the writers are groping for a "point d'appui", that they are searching for approbation, for belief, and that these quotations are necessary "props" for their ideas. Possibly, too, this could indicate that the authors themselves were none too convinced of the veracity of their material.

When one looks at the Bestiaries as a genre, one has the impression of a certain uniformity of physical layout. The only difference between the various manuscript layouts is that some manuscripts are illustrated, whereas others are not. Thus, while

E/26

the textual content of a Bestiary is almost mandatory, illustration of the manuscripts is not a "sine qua non". The works are all divided into major sections, one for every animal or bird, which in turn are subdivided into shorter sections: the literal physical level composing the one; the interpretative, allegorical level the second; any tropological material is placed third; or this can be replaced by further literal-level, unsymbolised material. This rule is ubiquitous; each writer obeys it.

But the layout can be further analysed; most sections (and here we are referring to all four French Bestiaries) start with a quotation, from the Bible, Physiologus or Isidore de Seville;

"Le cers at tel nature,
Si cum dit escripture
Qu'il vait fosse querant
U serpent seit gisant" (1)

"Trois natures ha li lions
E trois significations,
Ce nos reconte l'escriture" (2)

"Uns oiseaus est qui est apele Hupe, dont Phisiologes dit que ..." (3)

There then follows the literal exposition of the animal, its appearance, its activities. (The quotation is often swallowed up in this section as the two are obviously the same material; the reference to the source then follows further on):

"Centaurus est une autre beste,
Poitrine, espaules, mains, teste
Ha tot ensi comë ont home
Asne resanble, c'est la some

---

(1) Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire l. 721 - 4
(2) Gervaise: Bestiaire l. 59 - 61
(3) Pierre de Beauvais: Bestiaire p. xii, l. 21 - 22

Aval per desoz la centu(i)re.

Moult est de mauvaise nature" (1)

The exposition section is followed by the section giving the allegorical interpretation:

"A icestui sanblable sunt

Li home qui .ii. langues ont,

Qui amonestent faire bien

Et si n'en vuelent faire rien.

Itel sunt li faus ypocrite:

De parole senblent hermite;

Mult sunt devant la gent plaisant

Et deriere fel et tirant.

Nuns hons ne se puet d'aus gaitier."(2)

Some sections, in all the authors, finish here (there seems to be no strict ruling as to the third section), most however have an exhortation added, showing the reader how he may best profit from what he has just read; either by direct, second person exhortation or by warning the reader of what happens if he ignores the warning by portraying the fate of another.

"Hom de Dieu, eschieve tant com tu puez que tu ne soiez trovez de fors ceste maison, ne que li coulon fors de l'ombre, que li dragons ne te devort - c'est li deables par cui Judas fu devorés si tost comme il oissi de Dieu." (3)

This, then is the "Formula" for a Bestiary section; it varies little apart from telescoping part 1 into part 2 and occasionally combining an exhortation with the allegorical level (it is possible,

---

(1) Gervaise: Bestiaire l. 329 - 334

(2) Idem: l. 335 - 43

(3) Pierre de Beauvais: Bestiaire p. xliii, l. 8 - 12

too to have a tropological level instead of an allegorical level). It is obvious therefore that the writers of the Bestiaries (either the French transcriptions or the Latin originals) were working from a fixed model, which they knew well. This model was the Medieval Vernacular Homily.

This homily, as Mr. C. A. Robson (1) informs us, shows an "tripartite, exegetic" structure which was set out as follows: verse of scripture, spiritual interpretation, exhortation. This structure carried over into the Bestiaries, reveals the "twelfth century concern for clarity of expression" and a "consciously expository approach to the subject matter." The Bestiaries, as we have already seen (Ch. 4 above) are, like the sermons, concerned with development in depth through several layers of symbolic thought, rather than with extended linear development.

The similarities between the Bestiary layout (as analysed above) and the sermon structure can be clearly seen if one refers to the reproduction (from Robson's work) of the Ephiphany sermon and the sermon for the Sunday after Pentecost. Both like the section on the Hyene (Appendix A. P. 19) begin with a quotation from the Bible; there then follows the full explanation of the quotation on the literal level: this gives the "story line"; then follows the exposition of the symbolism; and each ends with a homily to explain how one should use the information to one's best advantage.

Thus we see that style in the Bestiaries can be reduced to three elements: the medium, the narrative techniques and the structure. As we have seen, the structure remains constant, the medium is merely

---

(1) C. A. Robson: Maurice of Sully and the Medieval Vernacular Homily (passim) esp. P. 27

used; in no case is it expolited to its fullest advantage. Therefore, the individuality of the authors can be expressed only via narrative technique; however, this is still lacking in most of the Bestiaries; the only author to have a satisfying technique is the one whose work, for readability and impact, stands clear of the others: Guillaume Leclerc.

AFTERWORD

AFTERWORD

The French Bestiaries of the Xllth and Xlllth centuries mark the end of a tradition which can be traced back for at least a thousand years, although there can be little doubt that many of the legends are a great deal older than that. But the tradition as such ends with the last Bestiary manuscripts to be produced in the XVth century and with the few early XVlth century printed editions, containing derivative but attenuated quatrains.

Although the Bestiary was never a 'best-seller', the fact that it survives in several manuscripts and five different versions in Medieval French alone attests to a certain interest in the genre. Perhaps this interest was initially clerical, but it is clear that other readers used the Bestiaries, possibly for the physical descriptions alone.

Just how odd were the Medieval scholars to believe in the physical descriptions of the beasts, or in certain of their reputed activities? Or indeed, did they believe in them at all? I feel that, in an active sense, they neither believed nor disbelieved in them; they were too concerned with the symbol as a whole and with the blending of the various levels to bother with the improbability of some of the reported facts. Also, their mentality was such that, even if they questioned privately a written source, they would be unlikely openly to criticise it.

However, their ideas are not totally lost today.

We may feel very superior because we do not believe in the existence of the Unicorn, the Phoenix or the Dragon, but we still use them and their modern equivalents!

A well-known bank has as its symbol a black horse, and makes striking advertising capital out of it; there can be little better advertisement for a fire insurance company than a bird which rises out of its own ashes; and presumably the interest received from certain Unit Trusts is as fabulous as the beast used to distinguish them! Modern advertisers are as alive to the possibilities of reinforcing a message by using beast symbolism as the Greek/Alexandrine compiler who put together the original Physiologus, and the Medieval clerics who translated the Latin texts into French.

We today would be as lost without animal symbolism as our more 'gullible' predecessors. Perhaps we have not come as far as we had thought in our modern world of empiricism.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BESTIARY MANUSCRIPTS

BESTIAIRE DE PHILIPPE DE THAUN

London: British Museum Cotton Nero A V : f. 41 - 82

Oxford: Merton College 249 : f. 1 - 10

Copenhagen: Royal Library (Former Royal Collection) 3466 : f. 3 - 51

BESTIAIRE DE GERVAISE

London: British Museum Additional 28260 : f. 84 - 100

BESTIAIRE DE GUILLAUME LECLERC

Paris: Bibliothèque nationale Fonds français 14969 : f. 1 - 72

" " " " " 2168 : f. 189 - 209

" " " " " 25406 : f. 1 - 30

" " " " " 14964 : f. 118 - 181

" " " " " 1444 : f. 240 - 256

" " " " " 14970 : f. 1 - 34

" " " " " 24428 : f. 53 - 78

" " " " " 902 : f. 136 - 158

" " " " " 20046 : f. 1 - 35

Paris: Bibliothèque nationale Rothschild IV. 2.24 : f. 140 - 163

London: British Museum Egerton 613 : f. 31 - 58

" " " Royal 16 E VIII : f. 2 - 71

" " " Cotton Vespasian A VII : f. 2 - 31

Oxford: Bodleian Library Douce 132 : f. 63 - 85

" " " 912 : f. 1 - 15

Cambridge : Fitzwilliam J 20 : f. 56 - 73

" " McLean 123 : f. 30 - 66

BESTIAIRE DE GUILLAUME LECLERC (contd.)

Cambridge: Trinity College O.2.14(2) : f. 32 - 66

Lyon: Palais des Arts 78 : f. 36 - 58

Phillipps' Collection 4156 : f. 153 - 179

Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 2691 : f. 62 - 95

Vatican Regina 1682 : f.4 - 26

BESTIAIRE DE PIERRE DE BEAUVAIS: LONG VERSION

Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 3516 : f. L98 - 212

Montpellier: Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médecine H437(1)

Vatican Regina 1323 : f. 2 - 36

Phillipps' Collection 6739: f. 1 - 51

BESTIAIRE DE PIERRE DE BEAUVAIS: SHORT VERSION

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale Fonds français 834 : f. 39 - 49

" " " " " 944 : f. 14 - 33

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale Fonds Moreau 1716 : f. 21 - 30

Malines: Bibliothèque du Séminaire 32 : f. 1 - 32(2)

EDITIONS OF BESTIARIES AND CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WORKS

Philippe de Thaün: Bestiaire: ed. E. Walberg. Paris and Lund 1900

Gervaise: Bestiaire: ed. P. Meyer in Romania Vol. 1 (1872), p. 420 - 43

Guillaume Leclerc: Bestiaire: ed. R. Reinsch: Das Thierbuch des Normann Dichters Guillaume Leclerc, nach den Hss. von London, Paris und Berlin: Leipzic 1890

---

(1) No folio references given in catalogue

(2) This manuscript was destroyed by enemy action in 1940

EDITIONS OF BESTIARIES AND CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WORKS (contd.)

Pierre de Beauvais: Bestiaire: ed. C. Cahier in Mélanges d'Archéologie, d'Histoire et de Littérature: vols. 2 - 4 Paris 1847 - 56

Faral, E.: La Queue de poisson des Sirènes in Romania Vol. LXXlV (1953)

Jodogne, O.: A propos d'un manuscrit du Bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais in the Annuaire pédagogique de l'Université de Louvain 1931

Krappe, A.H.: The Historical Background of Philippe de Thaün's Bestiary: in Modern Language Notes Vol. LlX (1944) New Jersey 1944

Mann, N.F.: Der 'Bestiaire Divin' des Guillaume Leclerc in Französischen Studien: Vl Heft lll. Heilbronn 1888

McCulloch, F.: Medieval Latin and French Bestiaries: in University of North Carolina Studies in Romance Languages and Literature N. 33. Chapel Hill 1962

LATIN TEXTS

Plinius Secundus: Naturalis Historia Libri Vlll - Xl in Loeb Classical Library. English translation by W.H.S. Jones. London, Cambridge (Mass.) 1938

Honoré de Saint-Victor: De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus: ed. J. Migne in Patrologia Latina Vol. CLXXVll. Paris 1844 - 64

Isidore of Seville: Etymologiæ: ed. W.M. Linsay in S.C.B.O. Oxford 1911

OTHER TEXTS OF A SYMBOLIC NATURE

Richard de Fournival: Li Bestiaires d'Amour de Richard de Fournival et li Response du Bestiaire.: ed. C. Segre Milan, Naples 1957

OTHER TEXTS OF A SYMBOLIC NATURE (contd.)

Le Bestiaire d'Amour Rimé: ed. A. Thordstein in Études Romanes de Lund No. 2. Lund, Copenhagen 1941

Le Bestiaire d'Amours en Vers (attributed to Richard de Fournival) ed. A. Langfors in Mém. Soc. Néo-Philol. de Helsingfors Vol. Vll, 1924. P. 291 - 317

Greek Physiologus: ed. F. Sbordone: Ricerche sulle Fonti e sulla Composizione del Physiologus Greco. Naples 1936

Latin Physiologus: ed. F. J. Carmody: Physiologus Latinus Versio Y in University of Carolina Publications in Classical Philology: Vol. 12 n. 7

Hommel, F.: Die Aethiopische Uebersetzung des Physiologus Leipzic 1877

Tyschen: Physiologus Syrus. Rostock 1795

Lauchert, F.: Geschichte des Physiologus. Strassburg 1889

Perry, B.E.: Physiologus: in Real-Encyclopaedie der Classischen Altumwissenschaft: ed. Pauly-Wissowa Vol. XXXlX. Halband 1941

Wellman, E.: Der Physiologus: eine Religionsgeschichlicht-Naturwissenschaftliche Untersuchung in Philologus Supplementband XXll (1930)

Dicta Chrysostomi: ed. F. Wilhelm in Münchener Archiv fÜr Philologie des Mittelalters und der Renaissance Vol. 8b. Munich 1920 - 21

Glossary of Ansileubus: ed. J.B. Pitra in Spicilegium Solesmense Vol. 3. Paris 1852 - 58

Les Dits des Oiseaux: ed. J. Morawski in Archivum Romanicum Vol. XlV 1930. P. 119 - 128

Ein Tosco-Venezian Bestiarius: ed. M. Goldstaub and R. Wendriner Halle 1892

Eine Mittelnieder Fränkische Uebertragung des Bestiaires d'Amours

ed. J. Holmberg im Uppsala Universitets Arsskrift: 1925

Vol. 1. Uppsala 1925

Cambrai Bestiary: ed. E.B. Ham in Modern Philology: Vol. XXXVI

Los Angeles 1959

The Bestiary: ed. M.R. James in History: New Series vol. XVI

n. 61. P. 1 - 11. Oxford 1928

Bastin, J.: Recueil général des Isopets. Paris 1929

Brunetto Latini: Li Livres dou Tresor: ed. P. Chabaille in

Collection de Documents inédits. Paris 1863

Brunetto Latini: Il Tesoro: in Bologna: Reale commissione

pe testi di lingua nelle provincie dell'Emilia.

Collezione di opere inedite o rare. Bologna 1878

Brunetto Latini: Li Livres dou Tresor: ed. F.J. Carmody in

University of California Publications in Modern Philology

Vol. 22. Berkely and Los Angeles 1948

Poème moralisé sur les propriétés des choses: ed. G. Reynaud

in Romania Vol. 14 1885

Dit de l'Unicorne et du Serpent: une version bourguignonne

ed. S. Andolf in Mélanges offerts à M. J. Melander

P. 82 - 108. Uppsala 1943

Dit de l'Unicorne et du Serpent: en vieux Picart:

ed. M.F. Wollenberg. Berlin 1862

Dit de l'Unicorne et du Serpent: remaniement par Guillaume Leclerc

ed. E. Martin in Guillaume Leclerc: Le Besant de Dieu

Halle 1869

Son las naturas d'alcus auzels et d'alcunas bestias:

Bartsch: Provenzalisches Lesebuch. Elberfield 1855

Appel: Provenzalisches Chrestomathie. Leipzic 1920

OTHER TEXTS OF A SYMBOLIC NATURE (contd.)

Waddell, H.: Beasts and Saints: 8th edition. London 1960

Meyer, P.: Les Bestiaires: in Histoire littéraire de la France Vol. XXXlV. Paris 1914

White, T.H.: The Bestiary: a Book of Beasts: New York 1954

Plantaire in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary: ed. M.A. Savoie in Catholic University of America: Department ofRomance Languages and Literature Publications. N. 9

Pannier, L.: Les Lapidaires français du Moyen-Age: in Ecole pratique des Hautes Études, Bibliothèque Sciences philologiques et historiques. Paris 1882

Studer, P. and Evans, J.: Anglo-Norman Lapidaries. Paris 1924

EARLY PRINTED EDITION

Les Dictz des Bestes et aussi des Oyseaulx: ed. and printed by A. Lotrian. Paris 1505

WORKS OF CRITICISM CONCERNING SYMBOLISM

Ayzac, F.: Mémoire sur 32 statues symboliques observées dans la partie haute des tourelles de St. Dénis: in Revue de l'Architecture et des Travaux publics Vol. Vll. Paris 1849

Collins, A.H.: Animal Symbolism in English Church Architecture London 1913

Druce, G.C.: The Medieval Bestiaries and their Influence on Medieval Art: in British Archeological Journal 1919 - 20 nos. 25 - 26

Flanders-Dunbar, H.: Symbolism in Medieval Thought Yale University Press, New Haven 1929

WORKS OF CRITICISM CONCERNING SYMBOLISM (contd.)

Evans, J.P.: Animal Symbolism in Ecclesiastical Architecture
London, 1896

Ghil, R.: Les dates et les Œuvres: Symbolisme et Poèsie scientifique. Paris 1923

Haig, J.: Symbolism: or mind, matter, language as the elements of thinking and reasoning, and as the necessary factors of human knowledge. Edinburgh, London, 1869

Heath, H.S.: The Romance of Symbolism. London 1909

Hervieux, H. von L.: Les Fabulistes latins Vol. 1.
2nd. edition. Paris 1893 - 4

Klingender, F.D.: Animals in Art and Thought to the End of the Middle Ages. London 1971

Langlois, Ch-V.: La Connaissance de la Nature en France au Moyen-Age: Vol. 111, P. 1 - 43. Paris 1927

Romilly-Allen, J.: On the Norman Doorway at Alne in Yorkshire in Journal of the British Archeological Association
Vol. XL11 1886

Webber, F.R.: Church Symbolism: an explanation of the more important symbols of the Old and New Testaments, the primitive, the Medieval and the modern Church.
Cleveland 1927

OTHER MEDIEVAL TEXTS

Le Mystere d'Adam: ed. V. Luzarche. Tours 1854

Aldobrandino de Sienne: Le Régime du Corps: ed. L. Landouzy and R. Pépin. Paris 1911

L'Atre Perilleux: ed. B. Woledge in S.A.T.F. Paris 1936

C'est d'Aucassin et de Nicholete: facsimile edition by F.W. Bourdillon. Oxford 1896

Bédier, J. and Aubry, P.: Les Chansons de Croisade. Paris 1909

OTHER MEDIEVAL TEXTS (contd.)

Charlemagne: ed. F. Michel. Paris 1836

Elucidarium: - L'Elucidarium et les Lucidaires: ed. Y. Lefèvre in Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome.: fasc. 180. Paris 1954

- Li Lucidaire: ed. J. Nachbin. Paris 1918

Guillaume, le Clerc de Normandie: Le Besant de Dieu: ed. E. Martin. Halle 1869

Helinandus: Les Vers de la Mort: ed. F. Wulff and E. Walberg in S.A.T.F. Paris 1905

Jaques de Vitry: The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jaques de Vitry: ed. T.F. Crane London 1890

John, Prester: Prester John: the Letter and the Legend: ed. V. Slessarev. University of Minnesota 1959

Le Livre de Philosophie et de Moralité: ed. J.C. Payen in Romania Vol. LXXXVIII (1966)

Metz, Goussoin de Gautier de: L'Image du Monde: ed. O.H. Prior Lausanne, Paris 1913

Michel, F.: Laïs inédits des XIIème et XIIIème Siècles. Paris 1836

Morris, R.: An Old English Miscellany in Early English Text Society. London 1872 and 1927

Richard de Fournival: Biblionomia: ed. H. Omont in Manuscrits divers mélangés. Paris 1905

Robert Grosseteste: Chasteau d'Amour: ed. J. Murray. Paris 1918

Rome, les Sept Sages de Rome: ed. J. Misrahi. Paris 1933

Thomas: the Romance of Horn: ed. M.K. Pope for A.N.T.S. Oxford 1955.

Wace: la Vie de Saint Nicholas: ed. J. Ronsjo for Études Romanes de Lund. Lund, Copenhagen 1942

GENERAL WORKS

Anselme (Pierre de Guibors): Histoire Généalogique:

Vol. 11 (P. 438); vol. V11 (P. 870); vol. X111 (P. 500)

Paris 1726 - 33

Bossuat, R.: Le Roman de Renart. Paris 1957

Brooke, C.: The Twelfth Century Renaissance. London 1969

Brunet, J.C.: Manuel du Librairie et de l'Amateur de Livres

4th edition. Paris 1842 - 1844

Bulletin critique de Littérature, d'Histoire et de Théologie

Vol. Xl. Paris 1890

Bulletin du Bibliophile: gen. ed. M. Nodier. 3rd series n.7

Paris 1836

Cartier, J-P.: Histoire de la Croisade contre les Albigeois.

Paris 1968

Chevalier, C.U.J.: Répertoire des Sources historiques du

Moyen-Age. Paris 1905 - 7. Facsimile: New York 1959

Claudin, A.: Histoire de l'Imprimerie en France XVème - XVIème

Siècles: Vols. 1 - 2. Paris 1900 - 1914

Delisle, L.: Le Cabinet des Manuscrits: Paris 1868 - 81

Doutrepont, G.: La Littérature française à la Cour des

Ducs de Bourgogne. Paris, 1905, 1906, etc.

Edwards, E.: Mémoirs of Libraries. London 1859

Evans, J.: Life in Medieval France. London 1969

Friedman, L.J.: Iconography of Joinville's 'Credo' in

Med. Ac. of America. Cambridge (Mass.) 1958

Gardner, A.: Studies in John the Scot (Erigena).

London, New York 1900

Graesse, J.G.T.: Trésor des Livres rares et précieux: Vol. 1

London, Paris, Geneva 1859

Haskins, C.H.: Studies in Medieval Culture. Oxford 1929

GENERAL WORKS (contd.)

Hefele, C.J.: A History of the Christian Councils Vol. 1
Edinburgh 1871 - 1896

Jundt, A.: Histoire de Pantheïsme populaire au Moyen-Age et au XVIème Siècle. Strassburg 1875

Leff, G.: Medieval Thought from St. Augustin to Ockham
Aylesbury 1958. Reprinted 1962, 1965, 1968. Pelican 1970

Legge, M.D.: Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background
Oxford, 1963

Lewis, C.S.: Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature
(Article 3: Imagination and Thought in the Middle Ages)
Cambridge 1969

Lewis, C.S.: The Discarded Image. Cambridge 1964

Mallet, G.: Inventaire ou Catalogue des Livres de l'ancienne Bibliothèque du Louvre: ed. J.B.B. von Praet. Paris 1836

Meredith-Jones, C.: The Conventional Saracen of the Songs of Geste
in Speculum Vol. XVII (1942). P. 201 - 225.
Cambridge, (Mass.) 1942

Meyer, M.P.: Notice sur deux anciens manuscrits français
from Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale Vol. XXXIII Part 1. Paris 1889
also: Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits Vol. XXXIII
Part 2. P. 114 - 124 and P. 195 - 208

Michel, F.: Rapports au Ministrè in Collection de Documents inédits. Paris 1835 - 1838

Munby, A.N.L.: Phillipps Studies. Cambridge University Press
1951 - 60

Ogden, C.K. and Richards, I.A.: The Meaning of Meaning.
London, New York 1923

Omont, H.: Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Sir T. Phillipps récemment acquis pour la Bibliothèque nationale. Paris 1901, 1903, 1908.

Paris, G.: Mélanges de la Littérature française du Moyen-Age Paris 1912

Paris, P.: Les Manuscrits français Vol. Vll. Paris.

Peignot, E.G.: Catalogue des Livres des Ducs de Bourgogne: 2ème édition, augmentée du Catalogue des Dominicains Dijon 1841

Phillipps, Sir T.: Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum. Middle Hill 1837 - 67

Powicke, F.M.: The Medieval Books of Merton College. Oxford 1931

Renouard, P.: Imprimeurs parisiens. Paris 1898

Robson, C.A.: Maurice of Sully and the Medieval Vernacular Homily. Oxford 1952

Savage, E.A.: Old English Libraries. Reprint: London, New York 1970

Sotheby and Cº: Biblioteca Phillippica: Catalogue of Manuscripts on papyrus, vellum and paper, Part 5. London 1969

Sudre, L.: Les Sources du Roman de Renart. Paris 1893

Taylor, H.O.: The Medieval Mind: a history of the devel pment of thought and emotion in the Middle Ages: 2 vols. 3rd edition: New York 1919

Ward, D.: Catalogue of Romances.

APPENDIX A

LE BESTIAIRE DE PIERRE DE BEAUVAIS

SHORT VERSION - MS. B.N.F.F. 834

Ci commence li Bestiaires, uns bons livres que on *fol.39b* l
apelle Bestiaire, et por ce est apelés ainsi qu'il parle
des natures des bestes. Car toute la creature que Dieus
crea en terre, crea il por home et por prendre essample 4
de creance, de foi en eles.

En cest livre translater de Latim en Roumans mist
lonc travail Pierres, qui volontiers le fist. Et por ce
que rime se vieut afaitier de moz concuilliz hors de 8
verité, mist il sans rime cest livre, selonc le Latin
du livre que Phisiologes, uns bons clers d'Athenes, traita,
et Jehans Crisostomis en choisi en les natures des bestes
et des oisiaus. Si parole ci premierement a l'entendement 12
des esperitueus escritures.

Et commence du lyon, por ce que il est rois de toutes
les bestes. Si font bien a oïr et a entendre et a retenir.

Selonc les Proprietez du Lyon

Jacob, quant il beneesqui Judas, son fil, dist: 16
"Judas, mes fius, est chaiaus du lyon, qui le
resuscitera." (1)

Phisiologes dit que li lyons a trois natures. La premiere

---

(1) Genesis : chap. 49 v. 9

est qui hante volontiers es mons; et s'il avient que venerres le quiere, il sent l'odor et cuevre de sa queue derrier|son dos ses traces en quecunques liu que fol. 39c il va, que li venerres qui le suit ne truisse par ses trasses le liu ou il converce, et qu'il ne le pregne.

Autresi li Sauverres esperitueus, li hom de la lignie Juda, racine de Jesse, fius de David,(1) envoiez del soverain Pere, covri as atendans les trasses de lor deité. Et ce est qu'il a neuf ordres es cieux, et Il est tout en neuf ordres, et tout li neuf ordre sont en Lui. Et si est angles avec les angles, et archangles avec les archangles, poestés avec les poéstés.

Et quant Il descendi en la Virge, qu'Il sauva le pechié de l'umain lignage, et monta aprés es sains cieus a son Pere, li angle qui es cieus estoient disoient es(4) angles qui montoient avec Lui:

"Qui est cis roys de gloire?"(2)

Il lor respondirent donc:

"Ce est li Sires de vertus meimes, li rois gloire."

La seconde vertu du lyon est que quant [dort](5) si oil vellent, voirement sont overt. Si com es Cantiques tesmoigne li vrais Espous, qui dist:

"Je dors et mes cuers vielle." (3)

---

(1) Isaiah : chap. 11 v.1
Matthew: chap. 1 vv. 5,6,17,20

2) Psalms : chap. 24 Vv. 8, 10.

(3) Song of Sol. : chap. 5 v. 2

(4) es (sic) = as

(5) meaning indicates omission of "dort"

C'est estimologie: mes Sires dormi en la Crois et sa
Deités velloit:

"Donc ne dormi mie, ne ne dormira cil qui
garde Israel."(1),(3)

Ce est, Il ne laira removoir de foi ne dormir ceus qui sont Dieu creant.

La tierce vertu du lion si est: quant la lyonesse enfante son faon, ele l'a mort, et si li garde trois jors. Au tiers jor vient li lions si l'alaine et sofle(4) tant qu'il li met vie par son alene. Ausi li pius Peres resuscita de mort au tiers jor son saint Fil, nostre Seigneur, Jhesu Crist. Dont Jacob dist ça devant:

"Il dormi ensemens comme li lyons et
comme li chaiaus du lyon."(2)

'Lyon' en griu, c'est rois en Latin. Li lyons a trois manieres en soy. Li frons et la queue demostre *fol. 393.* lor corage. Lor vertus est ou piz, lor fermetés ou chief. Ils s'espoentent des espeus des veneors, et crement mult li cri des rues des charretes, et criement mult plus feu. Ja soit ce qu'il soit cremuz de toz. Il creant le blanc coc.

Li hom si a une partie de la nature des lyons, car il ne ce correcera ja s'il n'est blecié; et par assidueus assamples est demostrée sa grant misericorde.

---

(1) Psalms: chap. 121 v.4

(2) Numbers: chap. 24 v. 9 (Septuaginta version)

(3) text not clear: Moreau 1715 reads "Jerusalem".

(4) Written incorrectly as: "si la laine et sofle".

Il espargne les povres bestes et les menues laist ales en pais. Ne nul home n'ocist s'il n'a grant fain. Cest assemple de misericorde doivent avoir en aus li haut home qui doivent espargnier les povres et les non-puissans.

Del Antula

Une beste est qui est apelée Antula. Ceste beste est si crueus que nus venerres ne l'ose aprochier. Ele a dous cornes sanblans a une serre, dont ele trenche les plus grans arbres de la forés ou ele converse, et abat. Quant il avient que cele beste a soef, ele vient a une eve qui a non Euphrates et boit ilec. Joste ce flueve est uns lius quie est apeléz Evenchine, plains de menues vergelles, soutius et deliées. La beste commence iluec a jouer, et ses cornes en sen jouer s'enlacent en ses cornes tant de menues vergeles qu'ele ne s'en puet destordre, et crie donc. Et li venerres vient donc, si l'ocist.

Tout autresi tu, Crestiens de Dieu, qui estudies estre sages et chastes et vivre espiritelment, eschive toy du deable, car tu as les dous cornes. Ce sont dui: entendement de bien et de mal, qui senefient les dui Testamens - de la viez Loy et de la novelle - par coi tu puez trenchier et oster de seur toy les plantes des menues vergelles; ce sont li vice corporel: avoutire, fornicacions, avarice, envie, orgueil, omecide, detractions, ivrece, luxure, en toute autre maniere de

fol. 40 a

pechié. Dont s'esjoïssent li angle de toy, et toutes les vertus du siel. Por ce te dois tu bien garder d'ivrece, que par le delit de luxure ne soiez enlaciez, que li Diables ne t'ocie: ce est li venerres qui toz jors te gaite. Li vins et les fames font dessevrer home de Dieu.(1)

Selonc les Proprietez de Dous Pierres Ardanz

Deux pierres sont qui rendent feu en une mont d'orient, qui en griu sont apelées Terebolen. L'une si est males et l'autre femelle. Quant ces dous pierres sont loins l'une de l'autre, si ne rendent point de feu. Et quant la femele est par aventure au male aproïchié, erranment rendent feu si grant qu'il sanble que toutes les choses ardent qui sont entor le mont.

A cest assample vous, Crestien, fil de Dieu, qui en ceste vie estes, prenez garde de vous, si vous dessevres des fames, que par lor aprochement ne pregne a la fois le Deables feu et qu'il ne degast les biens que Dieus a mis en vos.

Car il sont un angle de Deable qui toz jors guerroie les justes; non tant seulement les sains homes, mais les fames chastes. En la fin, Sanson et Joseph furent trempré(4) endoi par fame:(2, 3) li uns vainqui et li autres fu vaincus.

---

(1) Ecclesiasticus : chap. 19 v.2

(2) Judges ; chap. 16 (passim.)

(3) Genesis : chap. 39 Vv. 7 - 23.

(4) tremprés, tremprées : a scribal error, combining 'trompé' and 'tenté', the correct reading

Eve et Susanne (1, 2) furent tremprées: l'une vainqui et l'autre fu vaincue. Por ce devons garder nos corages et amonester les devins commandemens: car la morz de fame|por coi li pechiez commança dés le commencement - c'est dés Adam, de ci que ore fait desuer et esbruler les cuers des ceus qui sont n'i obédiant.

fol. 40b.

Selon les Proprietez de la Serre

Une beste est en mer qui est apelée Serre, et a moult tres grans eles. Quant ele voit la nef a tout son voille, ele lieve les eles a venir contre la nef. Si comme ele estrive a venir contre la nef de xxx. estages ou de xl., ele recroist por le grant travail, traist a li ses eles. Les ondes de la mer l'enportent donc lassée en parfont au liu dont ele vint.

La mers porte la sanblance de cest siecle. Les nes senefient les justes qui sans nul peril passerent de foi parmi les tormens et les tempestes du monde et vainquirent les morteus ondes. Ce sont les contraires poéstés de cest siecle. La serre qui vient corre contre les nes senefient ceus qui commencent a manoir en bones oevres et aprés si defaillent, et vaincu de plusors vices: ce est de covoitise, d'orgueil, d'ivresse, de luxufe et de maint autre vice qui les traient en enfer, si come

---

(1) Genesis: chap. 3 v. 1 - 6

(2) Susannah : chap. 1 V. 20 - 22

les ondes de la mer traient la Serre au fons. Et cil qui permainent en lor bon commancement de ci a la fin, il erent sauf.[1] Iteus est la sanblance de la beste qui est poissons de mer; sanblans a la beste criée ou monde.

Selon les Proprietez del Caladre

Uns oisiaus est qui est apeles Caladre. De cest oisel est escris en un des livres Moïsi, qui est apelés Deuteronomius, con n'en doit mengier.[2] Phisiologes |dit de *fol. 40 c* cest oisel qu'il est toz blans, ne nule noirté n'a en lui. La cuisse del Caladre sane le ruil de ieuz. Ja, cist est trovés en remis liu. S'aucuns est enfermeté, par la Caladre est conëüz c'il vivra ou morra. Si l'enfermetez de l'ome est a mort, si tost com li Caladres le voit, il torne ses ieuz du malade, et donc est conëüs qu'il morra. Et si l'enfermetez n'apartient a mort, li Caladres esgarde l'enferm, et toutes les enfermetez de lui aüne ën soi; et puis vole en l'air vers le solail et ait toutes les enfermetez del enferm.

Cist Caladres porte la sanblance notre Seigneur Jhesu Crist, qui toz est blans, ne nule noirté n'a en Lui. Si comme Il meismes tesmoigne en l'Evengile qui dit:

"a Moi vint li princes de cest monde et si ne trova en Moy nul mal."[3]

---

(1) Matthew: chap. 24 v. 13

(2) Deuteronomy: chap. 14 v. 18 (Septuaginta)

(3) John : chap. 14 v. 30

"Cil qui ne fist onques pechié, n'en qui bouche nule boufoie ne fu trovee."(1)

Il vint des sains cieus a l'enferm pueple des Juis. Il trestorna dans sa face por lor mescreance, et torna ses ieuz vers nous et a nos gens et osta toutes nos enfermetez et nos pechiez quant Il fu levez en la sainte Croiz. Et quant Il s'en monta es cieus, Il mena notre chaitive char et si nos dona dons. Car cil qui ne le croient, ne qui le crurent mie. Dont Il dit en l'Evangile:

"Tous ceus qui li reçurent, donra-Il postéz d'estre fil de Dieu, a ceus voirement qui croient en son nom."(2)

Du Pelican

David dit en la saintisme siaume premiere:

"Je sui sanblabes au pelican"(3)

Phisiologes dit du Pelican qu'il aime mult ses oiselez. fol. 40d. Quant il sont né et creü, il fierent lor pere en mi la face; et li peres, iriez, refiert aus et les ocist. Au tiers jor fiert son costé et se couche sor les oiseles morz, et espant le sanc de son costé sor aus et ainsi les suscite de mort.

Tout ausi nostre Sires Jhesu Crist dit par Ysaïe le prophete:

"Je criai mes fius et il me despirent."(4)

Voirement, li vrais Crierres, qui toutes creatures cria

---

(1) 1 Peter: chap. 2 v. 22

(2) Psalms : chap. 68 v. 18
Ephesians : chap. 4 v. 8

(3) Psalms : chap. 102 v. 6

(4) Isaiah : chap. 1 v. 2

quant nous n'estions mie, nos fist, et nous Le ferons en la face. Car nos servons a totes creatures qu'Il fist, ne mie au Creator. Por ce monta nostre Sires Jhesu Crist en la Sainte Croiz et soffri a ovrir son saint costé dont sans et eve oissi por nostre salu en vie pardurable. L'aigue si est grace de batesme. Li sans est li galices du Novel Testament que notre Sires reçut en ses mains et beneit qui graces rendans, et dona nos en remission de nos pechiez.

Selon les Proprietez du Niticorax

David dist en ceste meime siaume:

"Je sui si comme li Niticorax;" (1)

Phisiologes dit: li Niticorax aime les tenebres plus que le jor. La sanblance du Niticorax a li pueples des Juis qui debouterent nostre Seigneur quant Il vint por aus sauver, et distrent:

"Nos n'avons roy fors Cesare. Cestui, ne savons qui il est." (2)

Et por ce amerent-il plus tenebres que le jor.

Donc se torna nostre Sires a nos gens, et enlumina nous qui estions en tenebres et en la region de mort. (3) Et adonqu^s nous fu nee lumiere. De ce dit li Sauverres par le prophete:

"Li pueples que je ne conui me servi." (4)

---

(1) Psalms : chap. 102 v. 6

(2) John : chap. 19 v. 15

(3) Isaiah : chap. 9 v. 2

Matthew : chap. 4 v. 16

(4) Psalms : chap. 18 v.43

Du pueple des Juis

"Qui mieus amerent les tenebres que la lumiere"(1) fol. 41 a.

dist nostre Sires:

"Jui, fil estrange, sont envielli."(2)

car il sosterent de lor droite sente, et por ce heent la veue si comme li Niticorax fait le jor.

Selon les Proprietez de l'Aigle

David dit ou setisme siaume secont:

"Sa iovance ert renovelee si comme cele de l'aigle."(3)

Phisiologes dit que l'aigle a tel nature que quant il enviellist, ses eles sont pesans et si oeil oscur et plain de ruil. Donc quiert une fontaine et plunge soi ens par trois fois. Erranment sont ses eles renovelées et si oeil esclarci, et il est toz renovelés comme devant et vole en haut vers le soleil. Iluec art ses eles et le ruil de ses ieuz par les rais du solail. Aprés descent en la fontaine.

Pre[](6)garde tu, Crestien quieus qu(5)tu soiez, et tu, Juis ou paiens qui vestus ies des viez vestemens, qui li oeil du cuer sont plain de ruil: quiert l'esperitel fontaine de Dieu qui dist:

"Qui n'est renes d'eve et du saint Esperit, il ne puet entrer ou regne des cieus. Qui bautisiez ert ou non du Pere et du Fil et du saint Esperit"(4)

---

(1) John : chap. 3 v. 19

(2) Psalms : chap. 18 - a reference rather than a quotation.

(3) Psalms: chap. 103 v. 5

(4) John : chap. 3 v. 3 (5) "qu" - written thus.

(6) ms. omits nasal. abrev.

et levera les ieus de son cuer a Dieu, qui est vrais
Solaus de justice, il ert renovelez si com li aigles
et verra autresi cler.

Quant li angle(2) est haut, il voit les poissons
en la mer ou en l'eve douce. Il esgarde le solail, il
ne flechist mie ses ieus por la clarté du rai. Quant
li aigliaus(3), il les porte contre le solail, pendent
a ses ongles. Ceus que il voit tenir ses ieus contre
le solail, il les garde dignement comme les siens; et
ceus qui flechissent contre le solail lor ieuz, giete
fors et renie. Autresi tient Dieus es siens ceus | qui fol. 41 b
bien le croient, et de ceus n'a il cure qui ne le
vuelent veoir ne conoistre, car il nes tient pas a
vrais fiuz.

Selon les Proprietez del Fenis

Uns oisiaus est qui est apelez fenix. La sanblance de
l'oisel porte nostre Sires Jhesu Criz qui dit en l'Evangile:

"J'ai poesté de metre m'ame et reprendre la."(1)

Por ces paroles Le vodrent lapider les Juis qui les paroles
n'entendoient mie.

Li fenis converse en Inde. De lui dit Phisiologes que
quant il a vescu cinq cens anz, il entre entre les arbres
qui sont apele Liban, et iluec raemplist ses eles de douces
odors de vergeles des Libans qui en aporte. Et fait ou mois
de mars ou d'avril un estrint de feu et puis volete entor

---

(1) John: chap. 10 v. 17 - 18 (2) "angle": the sense gives "aigle"

(3) some words seem to be missing here; the words are at the end of the line

l'estrint encontre le solail, si que li estrinz esprent par le voletement de ses eles, et ainsi s'art ilueques; et de la cendre renaist il meimes au tiers jor, toz noviaus.

Tout ausi li Sauverres du monde, nostre Sires Jhesu Criz resuscita au tiers jor, comme noviaus et comme voirs hom et voirs Dieus. Puis que li fenix a poeste de motefier soi et revivre, ne se doit nus merveillier de la parole que Dieus dit ça devant:

"j'ay poest de metre m'ame et de reprandre la."(1)

Car quant Il descendi es cieus, Il raempli de ses eles de trois dous aromatisemens. Les eles, c'est li noviaus Testamens et li viez qui raempli des aromatisemens: c'est des cens esperitueus. Dont Il dit:

"Je ne ving mie deslier la Loi, mes aemplir."(2)

Il est dit en la Loi:

"Honore ton pere et ta mere; ta vie sera alongié sur terre."

Et de rechief:

"Qui maudira | son pere et sa mere, il morra de mort."(3) fol. 41c

[D]el Hup[e] (4)

Uns oisiaus est qui est apelee hupe, dont Phisiologes dit que quant li oiselet voient lor pere et lor mere envieillir, qu'il ne puent voler, adonc les viez panes de lor pere et de lor mere prenent, si les norrissent sor

---

(1) John: chap. 10 v. 17

(2) Matthew: chap. 5 v. 17

(3) Deuteronomy: chap. 5 v. 16
Exodus: chap. 20 v. 12

(4) the section on the Hupe has no rubric

lor eles tant que lor penes sont recreües, et lor oil renluminé, et renovelé tout lor cors, tant qu'il puent vecir et voler si comme devant. Dont rendent li peres et la mere grans graces a lor oiselez qui tant piument les ont secorez. Et les oiseles dient:

"Si comme vous norresistes d'enfance et meisistes grant paine en nos, si vos devont (2) nous servir en votre viellece."

Puis que cist osel, ou il n'a point d'entendement, font ce, bien doit li hom, ou il a entendement, servir et honorer son pere et sa mere.

Selon les Proprietez du Formi

Salemons dit du formi (1) que nous prenons bien garde a li, car ja soit ce qu'il soit petiz et de petit forme, mult repont et porte de forment en este. Phisiologes dit que li formis a trois natures. La premiere est quant il issent de lor fosse, il vont ordeneement et quierent les graines de quel semence que se soit et aportent a lor fosse. Li autre formi qui vont querre les graines et n'en ont nul, quant il vont encontre les autres formis qui les grains emportent, il ne dient mie:

"Dones-nous de votre avaine"

mais cil vont querre par les traces avec lor oes, et aportent en lor abit.

---

(1) A reference to Proverbs 6, chap. 6 - 8; chap. 30 v 25

(2) 'devont' - sic. 'Devom' would be a more accurate rendering.

Puis que ces besteletes qui sens entendement sont 541
et tienent si sagement et nule n'en remaint fole, tu,
Crestiens qui raisnable entendement as, bien doiz ci folio 41 d.
prendre garde. Car les cinq vierges (1) qui avoient
raison furent foles par negligence, quant eles durent
ensivre les cinq sages et prendre en lor vaissiaus de
l'oille dont eles pristrent, qu'eles ne requesissent
par soffrante es cinq sages quant eles distrent:
"Donez-nous de votre oile."
Bien deussent ensivre le sens du formi. Mais
endementieres qu'eles en alerent querent, li Espous
vint; si remestrent comes foles, dehors, estaintes
lor lampes. Ce devons garder que nos lampes soient
garnies d'oile: ce est que notre cuers soient plain
de bones vertus et de bones oevres; que nous soions
avec l'Espous: ce est avec notre Seigneur.

Quant li formis met ses grains en sa fosse, il
les devise en dous parties, que l'une ne defaille en
l'iver. Et tu, Crestiens de Dieu, partiz ausi
l'escripture du viez Testament en dous parties. Ce
est selonc l'estoire et selonc l'esperitel
entendement. Depart la veritez de la figure; dessoivre
les esperitueues choses des corporeus. Garde
l'esperitel sens qui vivifie, que tu ne perisses de
fain par la letre qui spit porrie au jor del iver,

---

(1) Matthew : chap. 25 v. 1 - 13

542

ce est, au jor du juise. Car li Apostres dit:

"Loiz esperitueus est ne mie corporeus." (1)

"La letre ocit; li esperis vivifie." (2)

Li Jui ensievent la letre et l'esperitel sens despisent. Por ce furent ocirreoz des prophetes, et lor Seigneur meimes livrerent a mort. Et por ce perissent-il de fain, de ci a ore. Car il laissent le graim et voient en la paille. C'est qu'il laissent l'esperitel sens por le letre.

Ci Parle des Proprietez de la Seraine

fol. 42 a

Isaiez dit:

"La seraine et li deables et li herisons et honocentors habiteront en lor maisons."(3)

Li honocentors, com apele la Sagetaire, est diz por ce qu'il est moitié hom et moitié asne. Li hom portent la sanblance qu'il ont double cuers et doubles paroles. C'est quant dient bien devant et mal derriere.

Phisiologes dit que la seraine porte sanblance de fame de ci au nonbril et la partie aval est d'oisel. La seraine a si dous chant qu'ele deçoit ceaus qui nagent en mer et atrait a li par grant douçor de son chant, et lor fait oblier si qu'il s'endorment. Quant les voit endormis, eles les assaillent et ocient.

---

(1) Romans: chap. 7 v. 14 (not a very accurate quotation)

(2) 2 Corinthians: chap. 3 v. 6

(3) Isaiah : chap. 13 V. 22 (Septuaginta reading)

Ausi est de ceus, cil qui sont es richeces de cest siecle et es delis endormis, que lor aversaire ocient - ce sont li Deable. Les seraines senefient les fames qui atraient les homes et ocient par lor blandissemens et par lor decevans paroles, tant qu'eles les mainent a poverte ou a mort. Les eles de la seraine est l'amors de la fame qui tost va et vient.

Ci Parle des Proprietez du Heriçon

Phisiologes dit que li heriçons porte la sanblance du porcel alaitant. Li heriçons est dehors tous espineus. Quant ce vient ou tans que li raisin sont, il entre en la vigne, et la ou il voit la bele crape, il monte sus et sequeut la crape si que li raisin chieent a terre. Aprés descent et si s'envolope es raisins tant qu'il sont tout fichié en lui, si les porte a ses faons.

Tu, Crestiens de Dieu, garde-toi du heriçon: cest li deables qui est espineus, si est plains de gaitemens, que la cure et li delis des temporeus | biens est en ses *fol. 426.* espines, et qu'il ne te face viande es bestes, et que t'ame ne soit nue et vuide et vaine, si com li ses qui remaint sans les raisins, que tu ne cries aprés:

"Je gardai mauvaisement ma vigne."(1)

---

(1) Song of Solomon : chap. 1 v. 6

Ci Parle des Proprietez del Ybex

Uns oisiaus est qui est apelez ybex. De cestui dit Phisiologes qui[1][3] n'est mie nez oisiaus car il vit toz jors de charoignes qu'il trueve sor les rivages de la mer ou d'autres eves, et quiert par nuit et par jor les mors poissons, ou la charoigne qui, porrie, est getee fors de l'eve. Car il n'ose entrer en l'eve por ce qu'il n'ose, ne ne set noer. Ne il ne set, ne il ne met nule paine a aprandre por le delit des charoignes, et por ce ne pooit aler es hautes ondes ou li poisson sont net et ou il peust vivre netement. Ains fuit les pures eves.

Tu, hom Crestien, qui d'eve et de saint Esperit ies nez, entre les esperitueus choses - c'est en la hautece du mestier Dieu - et ilec prent les esperitueus choses et les esperitueus viandes et les netes, que li Apostre raconte qui dit:

"Li fruiz de l'esperit est charitez, pais, pacience, bonte, benignitez, fois, temprance, conscience, chastez et autres vertus."[1]

Et se tu ne vieus entrer es hautes eves por prandre les esperitueus viandes, donc eres-tu encraissiés par defors des ordes charoignes et des morteus. Dont li Apostres dit:

"Les oevres de la char sont apertes. Quieus sont eles? Fornicaciouns, luxure, avarice, covoitise."[2]

---

(1) Galatians : chap. 5 v. 22

(2) Galatians : chap. 5 v 19

(3) ms. qui

Ce sont les charneus et les morteus viandes | dont les fol. 42 c 1
malignеuses armes sont norries a soffrir paine. Tu,
Crestien, apren a noer en ceste mer, ce est, en ce
monde ou il a tant de bestes ranpans qu'il n'en est 4
nombres: c'est de contrarietez. Ne tu ne puez
sormonter se par signe de la Croiz [non](3). Quant tu oureras,
ten tes mains es cieus, car la vertu de la Croiz
deffent toutes oevres les ourans qui dit: 8

"Sire, saignie est la lumiere de ton vout
sur nous.(1)

Car celi soleus n'estendoit ses rais, il ne luiroit
mie; et la lune, cele ne se descovroit; li oisel 12
meimes ne porroient voler s'il n'estendoient lor eles;
ne les nes removoir se li voile n'estoient tendu au
vent. C'est a dire: ne poons vaincre les contraires
ondes de ceste mer - ce sont les volontés de cest 16
monde - se nostre voille ne sont drecié et levé; ce
est se notre cuer ne sont leve en bones oevre.

Car, quant comme Moïses tenoit ses mains droites
et levees, tant vainctoit il Amaleth et son pueple 20
qui contre lui ert. Et quant il les tenoient basses,
donc vaincoit Amaleth.(2) Ce est a entendre: tant com
nos nos tenons droit en bones vertus, tant vaincons-
nos Amaleth, ce est le Deable. Et quant nos retraions 24

---

(1) Psalms: 4 v. 6; 44 v. 3; 89 v. 15 (imprecise)

(2) Exodus : chap. 17 vv. 8 - 16, esp. V. 11

(3) ms. omits non.

nos cuers de bien faire, donc nos vaint li Deables.

Li Saint sont figure a cest essample, qui sormonterent la mer - ce est le monde-, et vindrent au droit port - ce est, es cieux. Cil qui ne sevent noer esperitelement noient es morteus oevres, et sont forclos du celestiel regne; et, mors, perissent avec les mors. Dont dit Dieus en l'Evangile:

"Laissiez les mors ensepelir les mors."(1)

Ci Parle des Proprietez du Gourpil.

fol.42 a.

Le gourpiux est moult tricherres et plains d'engien. Ne nule ore ne va droite voie. Phisiologes dit: quant il a fain et il ne trueve que mengier, il s'envolope en rouge terre, toz envers com s'il fust mors et retient sa laine(2) et enfle soi, qu'il ne soufle noient. La langue traite fors. Li oisel qui le voient si enflé et si rouge gesir envers, goule baee, il cuident qu'il soit mors si s'asieent sor lui, et il les prent donc et mengue.

Li gorpius porte la figure du Deable. Car il se fait estre mors a toz vivans selonc la char. Se li Deables a les pecheors en son goitron, il est mors as parfaiz en foi. Cil qui travaillier vuelent en ses oevres, il desirrant estre entraissie des chars et des oevres du

---

(1) Matthew : chap. 8 v. 22
Luke : chap. 9 v. 60

(2) 'sa laine' : meaning would read 's'alaine'

Deable. Qui sont eles? Fournicaciouns, homecides, larrecins, faus tesmoins.(1) Dont li Apostres dit:

"Se nous vivons selonc la char, nous morrons.
Se nous mortefions la char, nous vivrons."(2)

Cil qui charnelment vivent sont parsonier du Deable et perirunt avec lui. Dont David dit:

"Il entrerunt es bassestes de la terre et ierent livré es mains d'espée."(3)

Ci Parle des Proprietez del Unicorne

Une beste est qui est apelee en griu 'monocheros', c'est en latin 'unicorne'. Phisiologes dit que l'unicorne a tel nature: qu'ele est petite beste et sans bouche. Ele a une corne en mi son chief, et est si crueus que nus hom ne le puet prandre se par ceste maniere non qui vous ert ci dite. Li veneors amainent une meschine vierge la ou ele converse et l'a siet en une chaire, seule ou bois. Si tost comme l'unicorne la voit, ele s'en dort en son giron. Ainsi faitierement est prise des veneors et menee au rois au palais. fol. 43a

Tout autresi nostre Sires Jhesu Crist, esperitueus Unicorne, descendi en la Vierge, et par la char qu'il vesti por nous, pris des Juis et menez devant Pilate et presentes a Herode, et puis crucifies en la Sainte Crois, comme cil

---

(1) Galatians : chap. 5 v. 19

(2) Romans : chap. 8 v. 13

(3) Psalms : chap. 63 vv. 9 - 10

qui devant iert a son Pere,(1) nient veables a nos, 518

dont Il meimes dit el siaume:

"Ma corne iert assaucié si come l'unicorne."(2)

Ce qu'il dit ici que l'unicorne a une corne en mi son 4

chief senefie que li Sauverres dit:

"Je et mes Peres somes tuit un."(3)

Les cieus de Crist, si est Dieu.

Ce que la beste est crueus, c'est que poestés, 8

ni dominaciouns, ne enfers ne puet entendre la puissance

de Dieu. Ce qu'il dit ci, que l'unicorne est petite,

c'est a entendre qu'Il s'umilia por nos par l'Incarnacion,

dont Il meimes dit: 12

"Aprens de moi que je suis soues et humiles de cuer."(4)

Ci Parle des Proprietez del Castre

Une beste est qui est apelee Castre. Ce est li

bievres qui mult est souez beste. Si genetaire ont

mecine et porfitent mult a plusors enfermetés. 16

Phisiologes dit que li Castres a tel nature que quant

le venerres le chace, il esgarde toz jors darrier soi,

et quant il voit le veneor aprochier de lui, il trenche

a ses dens ses genetaires et les giete devant le vis au 20

---

(1) Matthew : chap. 27; Mark : chap. 15

Luke : chap. 23 ; John : chap. 18, 19

(2) Psalms : chap. 92 v. 10

(3) John : chap. 5 v. 30

(4) Matthew : chap. 11 v. 29

veneor. Li venerres les reçoit et ne le suit plus, 1

mais | retourne s'en. S'il avient que autres *fol. 436.*

venerres chast puis celui meimes castre, quant il

voit qu'il ne s'en puet eschaper, il mostre au veneor 4

qu'il a trenchiez ses genetaires. Quant li venerres

voit qu'il n'en a nul, il s'en torne.

Tout autresi cil [qui](4) vieut garder les commandemens

Dieu et vivre netement doit trenchier ses genetaires - 8

ce sont toz les vices et toz les mauvais grez- geter

ou visage du veneor - ce est le Deable qui toz jors

le chace. Quant li Deables voit que cil est sans vice,

il s'en retourne, et cil vit a Dieu et n'est pas pris 12

de Deable, qui dit:

"je l'ensivrrai et prendrai le."(1)

Por ce tu, Crestiens, ne dois avoir oevre qui

apartieigne au Deable, que tu puisses dire a Dieu 16

seürement:

"A moi vint li Princes du monde et si n'i trova

nul mal."(2)

Li Apostre nos demostre, qui dit: 20

"Rendons a Dieu ce que nous li devons."(3)

Ce est fruiz esperitueus, queus est charitez, pacience,

pais, continence, en bones oevres permanoir, en aumones,

---

(1) Psalms : chap. 18 v. 37

(2) John : chap. 14 v. 30

(3) Matthew : chap. 22 v. 21; Mark : chap. 12 v. 17

Luke : chap. 20 v. 25

(4) Ms. ci

en visiter les malades, en la cure des povres et en
la loenge de Dieu.(1) Ainsi resanblerons le castre,
qui oste de sor li ses genetaires; ce est que nos
aurons osté les vices de seur nous.

Ci Parle des Proprietez del Hyene

Une beste est qui est apelee hyene. La Loy deffent
que on n'en menjue de li por ce qu'ele est orde beste.(2)
De li dit Jeremies li prophetes:

"Li habis del hyene - eritages a celi qui
ordeneement vit.(3)

Phisiologes dit que la hyene a dous natures: a la
fois se contient | comme malles, a la foiz comme femele, *fol. 43c.*
et por ce est orde beste. Cesti sanble les fius Israel
qui au commencement servirent Dieu et apres se donerent
es delices du monde et a luxure et continerent les
mahomeries; et por ce dit li prophetes que signagogue
resanble cele orde beste.(4)

Tu, Crestiens, queconques tu soies, se tu as avarice
en toi: servises d'avarice est racine de toz maus, (5)

---

(1) Galatians: chap. 5 v. 22

(2) Deuteronomy : chap. 14 v. 7

(3) Jeremiah : chap. 12 v. 19 (Septuaginta version)

(4) Not an actual quotation, though largely derived
from Jeremiah

(5) 1 Timothy : chap. 6 v. 10

-selonc l'Apotre qui dit: cil qui tel sont, a ceste orde
beste sont sanblable, car il ne sont home ne fame, ne
loial ne trecheor,(1) ains sont de ceus que Salemons dit:

"Hom doubles de corage qui n'est estables
en vrais voies ne que la hyene en habit
de malle ne de femele."(2)

Notre Sires dit en l'Evangile ci ceus:(4)

"Vos ne poez servir a Dieu et au Deable ensanble."(3)

Ci Parle des Proprietez del Hydre

Une beste est en l'eve, qui est apelee ydres. Phisiologes dist de cestui qu'ele het moult le cocodrile. Et si a este(5) nature et ceste costume, que quant li ydre voit le cocodrile sor la rive de l'eve dormant, il va et si se loie de boue qui puisse legierement corre par les eves. Quant li cocodriles voit l'ydre, il li cort seure et l'englout tout vif. Li ydres qui est engloutis tout vis depiece toutes les entrailles du cocodrile, et si s'en ist toz vis.

Autresi mors et enfers portent la figure du cocodrile qui het l'ydre - c'est notre Seigneur. Car nostre Sires Jhesu Crist, quant Il prist char en la Vierge, et Il fu

---

(1) This quotation, supposedly from St.Paul, is untraced.

(2) James : chap. 1 v. 8

(3) Matthew: chap. 6 v. 24; Luke : chap. 16 v. 13

(4) "ci ceus": probably should be "a ceus."

(5) "este": should read "ceste"

penés en la Crois, Il entra el cocodrile - ce est, en enfer - et le derompi tout, et geta hors ses amis. Dont li Evangelistres dit: fol. 43. d.

"Enfers, je serai tes morz."(1)

Ci Parle des proprietez de la Chievre.

Une beste est qui est apelé en griu "dragon"(4) C'est en latin "chievre". Phisiologes dit qu'ele aime mult les haus mons, et païst volontiers es pendans des mons. Ceste beste est mult cler veant et moult voit loins. S'ele voit en autre region ceus qui errant, ele conoistra bien s'il sont veneor ou errant.

Tout ausi aime notre Sire Jhesu Crist les haus mons; c'est les prophetes et les apostres et les patriarches et les homes bons. Dont es cantiques dit:

"Il vint sailiant sor les mons."(2)

Et si comme la chievre paist es pendans des mons, tout autresi notre Sires est peüs en Sainte Eglise. Car les bones oevres des Crestiens et les aumones des feuz sont viandes de Dieu. Dont Il dit:

"Je fameillai, et vos me donastes a mengier;
j'oi soif, et vous me donastes a boire."(3)

---

(1) Hosea : chap. 13 v. 14

(2) Song of Solomon : chap. 2 v. 8

(3) Matthew : chap. 25 v. 35

(4) 'dragon' a misinterpretation. The word should be 'dorcon'.

Par les pendens des mons poons entendre Sainte Eglise qui est establie par les divers lius du monde. Si come la beste voit cler de loins et conoit, tout autresi si comme l'Escriture dit:

"Est Dieus Sires de toute science."(1)

et toutes les divines choses qui sont en sa maisté cria-il et fist. Il governe tout et voit tout et garde tout, et devant ce que nos cuers naisse aucune chose en dit, ou en fait, ou en pensee, le congnoist Dieu, et voit ançois. Notre Sires conut la traison Judas devant ce que il la pensast. Dont Il dit:

"Juda, tu trais par le baiser le Fil de la Vierge."(2)

Bien entendre devons a ceste sanblance.

Ci Parle des Proprietez de l'Asne Sauvage.

Une beste est qui est apelee anes sauvages. Dont *fol. 44a* Phisiologes dit:

" Ca vingt-cinquieme jours du mois de mars
muit douze fois la nuit et ensement ou jor."

Par ce puet estre coneûs li equinoxes. Car li ane sauvage conoissent bien les nonbres des ores par lor muiemens.

Li anes sauvages a la figure du Deable. Car quant

---

(1) 1 Samuel : chap. 2 v. 3

(2) Luke : chap. 22 v. 48

il seut le jor et la nuit celestre - c'est quant il voit le pueple qui maint en la nuit, c'est en pechié, convertir a Dieu et estre oel a la foi des patriarches et des prophetes - dont muit li anes. C'est li Deables qui quiert la viande qui perdi. Dont Jacob dit:

"Ja, li anes sauvages ne criera s'il ne desirre pasture."(1)

En autre lieu rendi Sainz Pierres du Deable:

"Notre aversaires nous environe si come li lyons, que il quiert qui devort."(2)

Ci Parle des Proprietez du Singe

Une beste est qui est apelee singes. Phisiologes dit que li singes a la figure du Deable. Si comme li singes a chief et nient de queue, et toz est lais et orribles et devant et derriere, tout autresi a li Deables, et se n'a point de queue. C'est qu'il ont commencement es cieus avec les angles, mais por ce qui fu ypocrites et trecherres par dedans, perdi il le chief. La queue qu'il n'a mie, c'est qu'il perira toz en la fin. Si comme il perdi el commencement es cieus. Dont Sains Pous dit:

"Cesti ocirra nostre Sires par l'esperit de la bouche."(3)

---

(1) Job : chap. 6 v. 5

(2) 1 Peter : chap. 5 v. 8

(3) 2 Thessalonians : chap. 2 V. 8

Ci Parle des Proprietez del Fulica

Uns oisiaus est qui est apelez fulica. Cist oisiaus est entendans et sages de sor toz oisiaus. Il ne gouste de charoigne ne nuliu ne vole, ains demore de ci en la fin, et maint en un seul liu, et iluec a sa viande. fol. 44 b

Tout autresi li bon qui gardent la volonté de Dieu et vivent en un seul liu et ne vont ne ça ne la errant, si comme cil font qui vont contre foi, ne ne remplissent seculers desirriers. Ne que l'oisiaus menjue de nul char, mes en un liu se tient: c'est en Sainte Eglise, et iluec parmaint de ci qu'en la fin. Dont Dieus dit en l'Evangile:

"Qui de ci en la fin se tendra a moi, il est saus."(1)

Et sil qui en Sainte Eglise recevront le pain de Vie, il ert refais des saintes viandes: c'est des douces paroles de Dieu. Dont l'Escriture dit:

"De seul pain ne vit mie li home, mais de la parole Dieu."(2)

Ci Parle des Proprietez de la Panthere

Une beste est qui est apelee panthere, coloree de moult diverses colors, bele de grant beauté, et moult soes. Phisiologes dit que ceste beste, que li

---

(1) Matthew : chap. 24 v. 13

(2) Deuteronomy : chap. 8 v. 3

dragons la het moult. Quant le penthere menjue, ele se saoule de diverses viandes. Aprés se repont en sa fosse et dert. Tiers jor aprés, s'esveille et lieve soi et giete donc ung grant mujemen. Comme les bestes oïent la vois, eles s'asanblant toutes, celes qui loins sont et pres, et sivent la soef odor qui ist de la bouche. Mais li dragons, quant il oït sa vois, il fremist toz de paor et repont soi es fosses de la terre, por ce qu'il ne puet soffrir l'odor de la bouche, qui si est soues, ains remaint iluec en perecis et vanis ausi comme s'il fust mors, por la douce odor de la bouche en queconques liu qu'ele va.

Tout autresi nostre Sires Jhesu|Crist, vrais *fol. 44 c*
Pentheres, trait a soi par sa sainte Incarnation l'umain lignage, que li dragons - c'est li Deables - tenoit en mort. Dont David li prophetes dit:

"Il, montans es haus cieus, prist et mena
nostre chaitivete, et mist dons en homes."(1)

La panthere qui toutes diverses viandes use, est que nostre Sires tout l'umain lignage et toutes les gens et les pueples osta du lieu au Deable, quant il descendi des cieus et nos acompaigna a sa bonté et

---

(1) Psalms : chap. 68 v. 18

nos fist ses fiuz, et raempli ce que li Premerains avait devant dit:

"Je sui ausi comme la penthere."(1)

La penthere est coloree de diverses colors. Si com Salemons dit de nostre Seignor Jhesu Crist, qui est:

"sapience de Dieu, esperis entendables, sains, uns seuls, monteplorans, soutius, movable, certains, purs, vrais, soues, aimans bien, covenables, qui nule chose de bien ne devee afaire, pius, fers, estables sor poissans, esgardans toutes choses, feisans tout. Plus movables de sapience."(2)

Ce qu'il dit ci:

"Crist est Sapience de Dieu"(2)

tesmoigne li maistres de verités, Sainz Pous, qui dit:

"Nous prechons Jhesu Crist crucifié."(3)

Ce que la penthere est bele: dit David de Crist:

"Il est biaus de forme devant les fius des homes."(4)

---

(1) Hosea : chap. 5 v. 14 (Septuaginta Version)

(2) Wisdom of Solomon : chap. 7 vv. 21 - 24

(3) 1 Corinthians : chap. 1 v. 23

(4) Psalms: chap. 45 v. 2

Ce que la penthere est moult privee: de ce dit Ysaies:

"Esjoi-toi et esleece, fille Syon, fille de Jherusalem, pieça, car tes Rois vient a toi, qui te sauvera."(1)

Ce que la penthere menjue et ele est saoule, erranment se repose et dort: autresi notre Sires Jhesu Criz, puis qu'il fu saoulez des *fol. 44 a.* escharnissemens des Juis, des tormens, des bufes, des torceneries, des espines, des estopissemens, des clous fichiez en les mains quant il le pendirent en Crois et il L'abeverent de fiel et d'aisil et trespercierent les costes de la lance, Jhesu Criz, de toz ces dons s'endorme et reposa ou sepulchre trois jours et descendi en enfers et tua iluec le dragon - c'est le Deable - qui est Anemis a nos tous.

Ce que la penthere s'esvielle au tiers jor et giete grans mujemens dont la douce odor de sa bouche espant : autresi Jhesu Crist resuscita de mort au tiers jor. Erranment escria, si que li sons de Li fu oïz issans en toute terre, et les

---

(1) Isaiah: chap. 62 v. 11

paroles de Lui escontrées de la reonde terre,

disans:

"Esjoissiez vous, et ne doutez mie,
car j'ai vaincu le monde."(1)

En autre liu redit:

"Peres, ce que tu me donas, ai gardé,
et nus ne perira, fors le Fels, de
perdicion."(2)

En autre liu redit:

"Je vois a mon Pere et votre Pere,
mon Dieu et votre Dieu."(3)

Et ainsi:

"Viendrai a vos, et ne vos lairai
mie orphenins.(4)

Et en la fin de l'Evangile redit:

"Je sui avoec vos toz jors, de ci
en la fin du siecle."(5)

Ce que de la bouche de la penthere est issi la douce odor par coi toutes les bestes qui sont loins et pres la sievent, c'est que nos toz, et pres et loins, si come li Jui a la foie, avoient sens de bestes, qui pechierent par la Loy qu'il tenoient; et les gens qui loins erent, por ce qu'il erent sens loi. Nos qui somes la vois, et somes rampli et recrié

---

(1) John: chap. 16 v. 33

(2) John: chap. 18 v. 9

(3) John: chap. 20 v. 17

(4) John: chap. 14 v. 18

(5) Matthew: chap. 28 v. 20

de la douce odor - c'est de ses commandemens - l'ensivons.Si com li prophetes dit:

"Sire, desor la douçor du miel sont tes paroles douces en ma bouche, et en mes oies de sès douçors."(1)

fol. 45a

C'est des commandemens. Dit David:

"Grace est espandue en tes levres; por ce te benefs, qui Dieus ies pardurablement."(2)

Et Salemons es Cantiques dit:

"L'odors de tes oignemens est odorables seur toz laitucines."(3)

Li oignement de Crist sont li laitucine - ce sont li commandement de Dieu - qui sont sor toz aromatisemens odorable. Car les paroles de Dieu esléessent les cuers qui le reçoivent.

"Sires, tes nons est dous sor toz aromatisemens, et por ce nos jovenceles corre apres tes commandemens."(4)

C'est les armes renovelées par bautesme qui li Rois nos en maint en Jherusalem, cité de Dieu et mons de toz sains.

---

(1) Psalms: chap. 119 v. 103

(2) Psalms: chap. 45 v. 2

(3) Song of Solomon: chap. 4 v. 10

(4) Song of Solomon: chap. 1 v. 3

De la Nature de la Conie[1]

Une beste est marine qui est apelee lacoines, et de la terre la coigne. Moult est grans, et a sor son cuir sablon autretel come celui qui est sor le rivage de la mer. Ceste beste est liie[2], et eslieve sor son dos les ondes de la mer a mout, si que cil qui les nés mainent croient que ce soit isle qui si soit plaine de sablon. Il arrivent iluec et descendent sor la beste et fichent lors peus et loient lor nés entor. Aprés font grant feu et cuisent lor viande sor le sablon autresi comme sor terre. Quant la beste voit la chalor du feu, ele se plunge ou parfont de la mer et traist les nés | aprés li. Ainsi sont *fol. 456.* peries.

Autresi sont mené a mort cil qui sont mes creant et qui ne conoissent l'engien du Deable, et cil qui metent lor esperence en Li et saillent en ses oevres. Si com cil loierent lor nés a la beste: il sont plungié ou pardurable feu d'enfé.

La seconde nature de ceste beste est teus: quant ele a fain, ele bée la goule et rent une odor

---

(1) la Conie: a confusion of a common word ' and 'lacoives' or 'lacovie', the French rendering of 'cetus', a whale.

(2) Liié : obviously not 'joyful', but the meaning of this word is uncertain.

moult souef oillant. Si tost come li menu poisson sentent cele odor, il assanblent en sa goule, et come ele est bien raemplie de ses menus poissons, ele clot la goule et les engloutit toz.

Autresi sont cil qui sont de povre foi, qui par les delis et par les odors des lecherie sont englouti du Deable si com li menu poisson de la beste. Li greignor poisson eschievent de li et ne le vuelent apichier. Autresi cil qui ont Dieu en lor pensées sont grant envers Li et si sont parfait. Il cognoissent les agaiz du Deable et se gardent de Li apichier. Li douteus hom et li povres de foi, entendementiers qu'il vont aprés les deliz du Deables es luxures, il sont deceü. Dont l'Escriture dit:

"Cil qui se delitent es odors seculers
qui vaines sont, il mainent lor armes
ou perpetuel trebuchement d'Enfer."(1)

De la Pertris

Uns oisiaus est qui est apelez pertriz, si trecherresse mult est. Si com dit Jeremies li prophetes:

"La pertris cria et assambla, ne qu'ele n'enfanta mie."(2)

---

(1) Proverbs: chap. 27 v. 9 (Septuaginta version)

(2) Jeremiah: chap. 17 v. 11 (Septuaginta version)

Phisiologes dit que la pertris est moult sage, car ele prent les estranges oes - c'est les oes des autres pertris - et norrit. Ains n'a point de fruit | par sa boisdié. Car quant ele amaine les *fol.45c.* estrages poucins, ele les pert si tost come il voient et oient la voiz de lor mere qui les oes poust, tout erranment s'en vont a li et repaissent a lor naturel mere. Par droit c'est donc traveillié en vain des estranges poucins et remaint seule et vaine.

Ceste essample ensievent li Deable qui les generacions du sovrain Creator s'esforce toz jors de ravir; et s'il puet assembler les nonsachans et ceus qui vigor et sens n'ont, il les norrist de corporeus delices. Et li petit poucin, ce sont cil qui sont sans trecherie. Quant il oent la parole de Dieu, il prennent par la force de lor esperitueus choses, eles esvolent a loir veoir Pere - ce est a Dieu - et commandent soi a li et donent, si come li poucin a lor naturel mere. Ainsi faitement reçoit Dieus por s'amour ceus sous l'ombre de ses eles; c'est sous Sainte Eglise a qui Il les done a norrir.

De la Mostoile

De la moutoile comande la Lois (1) c'on n'en menjuce, car ele est orde beste. Phisiologes dit qu'ele reçoit semence de male par la bouche; ainsi l'a dedans soi. Et ou tans qu'ele doit faouner, ele le rent par l'oreille. Autresi sont li féel en Dieu, qui volontiers reçoivent la semence de la parole Dieu. Mais il deviennent puis n'i obédient, qu'il entrelaissent ce qu'il ont oï de Dieu. Ja, cist qui sont tel ne resanblent mie a la moustoile; mais un serpent qui est apelee aspis, qui les oreilles estoupe qu'il n'oie l'enchanteor.

Del Aspis

Phisiologes [dist] que cis serpens, aspis, est *fol. 45d.* de tel nature que ce aucuns enchanterres vient a la fosse ou il habite, et il l'enchante par ses charnes, qu'il isse de sa fosse ou il habite, il met son chief a terre et joint l'une oreille a la terre et l'autre estoupe de sa coe, qu'il n'oie la vois de l'enchanteor. Itel et de tele maniere sont li riche homes qui l'oreille metent es terriens desirriers et l'autre estopent de lor pechiez. Li serpens qui est apelez aspis estoupe seulement ses oreilles; mais li riche

---

(1) Leviticus: chap. 11 v. 29

home cloent lor ieux des terriennes covertures·
-c'est des covoitises - si qu'il n'ont oreille
dont il puissent oïr, ne ne vuelent oïr les
commandemens de Dieu, ne oeil dont il puissent
veoir vers le ciel. Mais cil qui ne veulent ore
oïr, L'orront au jour de juise quant Il dira:

"Vous malçoit! Dessevrés vous de Moy el
pardurable feu qui est apareilliez es
Deables et as lor angles."(1)

De l'Acida

Une beste est qui est apelee assida. De ceste
beste dit Jeremies li prophetes:

"Assida: ceste beste conut es ciel son tans."(2)

Phisiologes dit que ceste beste assida a eles,
mais ele ne vole mie contre oisel. Piéz a sanblables
a piéz de chamout. Quant tans vient que ceste beste
doit avoir eles et ieus, ele lieve ses ieus vers le
ciel et esgarde se l'estoile qui est apelee Virgile
est ou ciel. Car ele repont ses ieus quent cele
estoille est nee en terre. C'est quant blé florissent,
qu'estez est envers le mois de joing. Adonc cele beste
assida, quant ele voit cele estoile, ele fuet en terre fol. 46a.

---

(1) Matthew : chap. 25 v. 41

(2) Jeremiah: chap. 8 v. 7

et met iluec ses oes et covre les de sablon.

Quant ele se part du liu, erranment les oblie et n'i repaire plus car ele est natureument oblieuse, et por ce repont ele ses oes enxcel tamps et covre les de sablon, que la chalors du tans et temperance de l'air, par le grant eschaufement du sablon amaint en les oes poucins, autresi comme ele fesist s'ele les covait.

Ainsi faitement ceste beste, assida, conoist son tans et eslieve ses ieuz vers le ciel et oblie sa lignie et les terriennes choses et ensuit les biens triens celestieus. Dont li Apostres dit:

"J'obli ce qui est arriere,"
- ce est la chose terrienne -
"et estre a venir au souverain liu
ou nous somes apelé."(1)

Et notre Sires dit en l'Evangile:

"Qui aime pere et mere et enfans plus que Moy, il n'est mie dignes de Moy."(2)

De la Tortre

Uns oisiaus est qui est apelez tortre, dont l'Escriture dit:

---

(1) Philippians : chap. 3 v. 13, 14

(2) Matt. chap. 10 v. 37

"La voiz de la tortre est oïe en notre terre."(1)

Phisiologes dit que la tortre aime moult son male et vit chastement avec lui et lui seul garde sa foi. S'il avient que li males soit pris d'otoir ou de faucon, ele ne se joint puis a autre malle, mais toz tans desirre celui qu'ele a perdu, et a esperance en li et en son recordement; et ou desirrier de lui par maint duques en la fin.

Vous toutes, armes des feuz, oïez si grant chastée est trovée en si petit oisel. Quiconques tenra la persono de la tortre ou non del arme, il enserra la chastée de lui. Tieus est la Sainte Eglise. Car ainc puis que ses Sires fu crucifiéz, et il resuscita au tiers jour et monta es cieus, ne s'a joinst ainç | puis a autre, mais au desirrier de *fol. 46b.* Li et en l'amor de Li et en la charité de Lui parmaint de ci qu'en la fin.

Dont nostre Sires Jhesu Crist dit:

"Qui parmainra en Moi de ci ci la fin (4) il ert saus."(2)

Et David li prophetes dit ou siaume:

"Tien-toi com hom et conforte ton cuer et aten Dame Dieu."(3)

---

(1) Song of Solomon: chap. 2 v. 2

(2) Matt. Chap. 24 v. 13, chap. v. 22; Mark: chap. 13 v. 13

(3) Psalms: chap. 27 v. 14

(4) ci ci: the second 'ci' is a mistake for 'a'.

La tortre fuit les maisons des homes et autresi devons-nous fuir les delis du monde et demorer es esperitueus biens.

Du Cerf

"Si come li cerf desirre es fontaines des eves corre, ausi desire m'arme a Toi, Dieus."(1)

Phisiologes dit que la ou li cerf set le serpent, il va et enple sa bouche d'eve et espant la el pertuis la ou li serpens est; et par l'espirement de sa bouche le trait fors, si le foule a ses piéz et ocist.

Tout ausi nostre Sires Jhesu Criz, quant il vit le Deable habitant en l'umaine nacion, il espandí la fontaine de sapience en aus, laquele le anciens Deable ne pot soffrir. Quant il vit Jhesum en la contrée des Gerasseniens, il corut a toute s'ost de deables en honte habitant et dit:

"Ca il entre moi et moi, Fius de Dieu,
tu venis nous tormenter devant le tans."(2)

Dont li demanda Dieu:

" Conmant as-tu non?"

Il Li respondi:

"Legio est mes nons."(2)

---

(1) Psalms: chap. 42 v. 1

(2) Matt: chap. 8 v. 28 - 32; Mark chap. 5 v. 1 - 14
Luke: chap. 8 v. 26 - 34.

Il pria notre Sire Seigneur Jhesu Crist qu'Il ne les fesist mie aler en abisme. Iluec avoit uns grant foul de pors paissans. Li Deables disoient:

"Se Tu nous getes, met nos en les pors."

Et notre Sires lor commanda erranment. Tantost issirent d'omes | et entrerent es pors. Lués *fol. 46c* trebucherent en la mers tout li porc et furent tout noié. Moult fuit li Deables la Voiz de Dieu.(1) Dont li Apostres dit:

"Lui ocirra Jhesu Crist par l'esperit de sa bouche."(2)

Li cers hante volontiers es haus mons. L'escriture dit que li mont sont li apostre et li prophetes (3) et li cers sont li bon home et li feël qui par les apostres et par les prophetes et par prestres jeunent es conisances de Dieu. Dont Il escrit el siaume:

"Je lieve mes ieuz es mons dont aïe me venra."(4)

---

(1) Matthew: chap. 8 v. 28 - 32; Mark: chap. 5 v. 1 - 15
Luke : chap. 8 v. 26 - 34

(2) 2 Thessalonians: chap. 2 v. 8

(3) Micah: chap. 3 v. 6; chap. 4 v. 1

(4) Psalms : chap. 121 v. 1

570

De la Salemandre

Une beste est qui est apelee en griu 'salemandre'. Ceste beste a samblans a laïsarde et coloree de moult de colors. Phisiologes dit que c'ele chiet par aventure en ung grant feu bien ardant, il estaïndera erranment.

Ceste beste senefie les justes homes de Dieu.

Si come Ananias fu en la fornaisa(4) ardent, et Azarias et Misael, que li feux n'atoucha onques, ains s'en oissirent tout sain, noient brulé, si comme Daniel li prophetes, esclaire et sains.(1)

Pous li apostre:

"Tout li Saint estaindrent li feu; par foi il estouperent les bouches des lyons;" (2)

C'est: il sormonterent les cruautéz des tyrans.

Autresi cil qui querra en Dieu, fëelment permenra en bones oevres, il trespassera la force du feu, que la flambe ne l'atouchera. Dont Isaïez li prophetes dit:

"Tu, homs bons en Dieu, trespasse par se feu; la flambe ne t'atouchera mie."(3)

---

(1) Daniel: chap. 3 (passim)

(2) Hebrews: chap. 11 v. 32 - 34

(3) Isaiah: chap. 43 v. 2

(4) fornaisa : sic. The 'a' is obviously a mistake for 'e', attracted by the 'a' of 'ardent'.

De la Tanrine Coulor(5)

| Tanrine color senefie les trois enfants qui fol. 46a.
amerent mult l'esperit de Dieu quant il distrent
a Nabugodonosor:

"Sachiez bien que nos ne cultiverons
mie tes dieux et que nos n'a orrons
mie c'image(6) d'or."(1)

La colors meline senefie Hesyne, un qui reçut
de son maistre Helye qui ravis fu el ciel, son
mantel, qui estoit d'une beste qui ot a non moulete,
- c'est chièvre.(2)

La color blanche senefie Saint Jehan qui
bautisa Jhesu Crist. Dont Ysaïes li prophetes dit:

"Lavez! Vous soiez net. Ostes le mal de vos
cogitacions en sus de mes ieuz. Aprenez bien
a faire."(3)

"Et si notre pechié sont noir, il iert
blans comme noif."(4)

---

(1) Daniel:chap. 3 v. 18 (2) 2 Kings chap. 2 v. 11 -14

(3) Isaiah: chap. 1 v. 16 (4) Isaiah:chap. 1 v. 18

(5) Tanrine coulor: a misreading for the 'tanrine coulon' which is found in the other Bestiaries at this point.

(6) c'image: written 'cimage'

De Saint Jehan dit notre Sires:

"En les homes nés de fames ne fu graindre
de Saint Jehan Bautiste."(1)

Car il mostra nostre Seigneur au doit quant il Li dit:

"Veez a l'aignel de Dieu qui oste les
pechiez du monde."(2)

La color stephanine senefie Saint Estiene, li premiers que puis que li apostre reçurent mort.(3) Le Saint Esperit deservi primes par martire, a avoir la destre de son Pere.

La rouge colors senefie la passion notre Seigneur, dont li Evnangiles(5) dit:

"Li Jui vestirent notre Seigneur de
rouge mantel."(4)

Et Ysaïes en autre liu dit:

"Qui est cil qui vient de Edom"
- ce est, du monde -
"tainz les vestemens de bosra."(5)
- ce est, de sanc. Et es Cantiques redit:

---

(1) Matt. chap. 11 v. 11 (2) John: chap. 1 v. 29

(3) Acts: chap. 7 v. 58 (4) Mark: chap. 15 v. 17

(5)evnangile - sic. John: chap. 19 v. 2

"Mes sires est rouges et blans."(1)

Blans en virginité, rouges en martire, par coi
il rachata tous les créans en Lui de son precieus
sanc, ou non du Pere et du Fil et du Saint | Esperit, fol. 47a. 4
qui vit et regne ou siecle des siecles.

Du Coulon

Une autre sanblance est si mostrée du coulon.
Uns arbres est in Inde qui est apeles en griu
'paredixion', et en latin 'environ destre.' Li
fruiz de cel arbre est moult douz et soez. Li coulon
se delitent mult en l'arbre car il ce refont du
fruit de li et reposent sous l'onbre. Uns dragons
est moult la crueus, qui het les coulons et li
coulon lui; et autretant comme li coulon hëent le
serpent, et fuient de lui, autretant het il l'arbre,
qu'il n'ose passer ne aprochier l'onbre. Quant li
dragons agaitie uns des coulons a prendre, il agaite
de loins l'arbre, et en queconques parties l'ombre
s'estent, ou a destre ou a senestre, il eschieve
toutes eures l'ombre et fuit. Li coulon sevent
bien que li dragons het l'arbre et l'ombre, et
n'i ose aprochier. Il conversent et demorent sor

---

(1) Song of Solomon: chap. 5 v. 10

l'arbre por les agaiz du dragon. Car tant com il sont sous l'arbre, n'en puet il nus prendre. S'il avient que aucuns des colons soit desseures de l'arbre et li dragons le trueve hors del ombre, erranment le ravist et devore.

Nous Crestien qui savons de cest arbre, qui est apelez 'environ destre' por ce que nule chose destre n'i est - c'est qu'il est tous plains de biens. La destre de l'arbre, c'est li Fius Dieu. Dont Il meimes dit:

"Li arbres est conetis par le fruit."(1)

Li ombres de l'arbre, c'est li Sains Esperis. Si come Sainz Gabrieus dit, li angles a nostre Dame Sainte Marie:

"Li Sains Esperit venra en toy."(2)

Li coulon, ce sont li fëel, si comme Dieus dit en l'Evangile:

"Soiez | simples come coulon et sage come serpens."(3) fol. 47 b

Simples que vos ne facies nul mal; sages que vous ne soiez pris par les agais du dragon - c'est du Deable.

---

(1) Matt: chap. 12 v. 33

(2) Luke: chap. 1 v. 35

(3) Matt. 10 v. 16

Hom de Dieu, esgarde toi! Permain en foi commune. Tien toi iluec et demore et habite en la foi du Pere et du Fil et du Saint Esperit, et en la vertu de Sainte Eglise. Dont li Siaumistres dit:

"Moult est bone chose et joieuse de habiter gent ensanble en une volonté."(1)

Hom de Dieu! eschieve tant com tu puez que tu ne soiez trovez de fors ceste maison, ne que li coulons fors de l'ombre, que li dragons ne te devort - c'est li Deables par cui Judas fu devorés si tost com il oissi de Dieu.

De la Nature del Oliphant

Une beste est qui est apelee oliphant. Phisiologes dit que moult a en lui grant sens. Ou temps que li males vieut engendrer lignie, il va vers oriant a toute la femele prés de paradis ou Adans fu nés. Iluec est uns arbres qui est nomez Mandagloire. La femele menjue premierement du fruit da(2) l'arbre. Aprés en done au malle qu'il en menjuce. Si tost com il en a mengié, andui vienent ensanble et

---

(1) Psalms : chap. 133 v. 1

(2) "da" : sic.

erranment conçoit la femele. Quant li tans vient qu'elle doit faouner, ele va en un estanc et entre en l'eve de ci as mameles et iluec enfante soz l'eve por le dragon qui toz jours l'agaite. Car c'il la trovoit fors de l'eve, il la devorroit. Li malles ne se part de lui tant com ele faoune, ains la garde por le serpent.

Cist dui elephant, li malles et la femele, portent la sanblance d'Adan | et d'Aive, qui erent *fol. 47c* en Paradis devant le mors de la pome, avironée de gloire, nient de mal sachant, ne desirrant de covoitise ne d'asanblement. Comme sa moillier menja de la pome du deveé arbre, ele en dona a Adam. Si tost com il en ot mengié, il furent bouté fors de Paradis et geté en l'estanc plains de multes[2] - c'est en cest monde qui est plains de mondes[3], d'aversités et de maus et de tormens. Dont David dit:

"Sauvez-moi, Sires, car les eves
entrent de ci ça m'ame."[1]

---

(1) Psalms: chap. 69 v. 1

(2) multes: sic. Although the meaning is not clear.

(3) mondes: again, a probable misreading, influenced by the word 'monde' occuring earlier in the sentence.

Et autre liu redit:

"Je atendens atendi Dame Dieu, et Il
entendi et regarda. Of mes paroles
et geta de lai de misaire."(1)

Quant Adans fu fors de Paradis, il conut sa feme et engendra Cain, et por ce descendi notre Sires comme pius et misericors des sain de son Pere, et prist notre char et mena fors del estanc de misere et establi sor pierres nos piez, et envoia en notre bouche chant novel, quant Il nous enseigna a orer, c'est a dire:

"Pater noster qui es en celis."(2)

Ices meimes oré li Apostres qui dit:

"Dieu de pais nous santifie en
parfaite oevre."(3)

et notre esperis entiers en notre cors, et notre ame soit gardee sans que tele au jour de juise.

La piaus et li os del elephant sont de tel vertu que s'on les ait, il enchasient les serpens. Ne nule chose nuisable et envenimee n'i puet durer ne demorer. Autresi cil qui sont es

---

(1) Psalms: chap.40 v. 1 - 2

(2) Matt.: chap. 6 v. 9; Luke: chap. 11 v. 2

(3) Hebrews: chap. 13 v. 21

oevres Damedieu et es commandemans. Il tienent lor cuers purs et nés que nule male cogitacions n'i puet entrer.

De la Nature de la Chievre Sauvage

fol. 47a.

Amos li prophetes dit:

"Je n'iere mie fieus des prophetes de chievres."(1)

C'est ce que li Sauverres dit de Soy par li prophetes:

"Je n'iere mie prophetes, mes Dieus, engendrés de Dieu, fieus es entrailles de Dieu, du Pere."(2)

Ensement dit:

"Je ne fu mie fieus de prophete, mais Fieus de Dieu le vray."(3)

Et quant Il fu envoiés du Saint son Pere, et Il prist humaine char, dont fu il paistre de chievres - c'est pastres del humain lignage conversant en pechié, les gens qui le cruerent et crurent en Lui, Il les fist oilles. Cil qui ne le reçurent remestrent en pechié. Si comme li bouquet peissant ou desert, le moïerce senefie li cors de Crist qui destrainstrent en la Sainte Crois et Il l'ocist par mort tous les pechiéz de notre char et vivifia nos par son saint sanc.

---

(1) Amos: chap. 7 v. 14 (2) Amos: chap. 7 v. 14 (?)

(3) Ibid.

Quant Il fu ferus en son costé de la lance, il
en oissi sanc et eve qui nous est eslanemens de
batesme et rachetemens de nos pechiéz.

Del Aimant

Phisiologes dit que une pierre est qui est
apelee aiment et est en mont d'oriant. Ele luit
par nuit et ne mie par jour, car li solaus li
tolt la clarté. Por ce ne puet estre trovee fors
par nuit. Ceste pierre ne la puet sormonter ne
fuz ne fers ne pierre. De cesti dit li prophetes:

"Je vi l'ome estre desur le mur d'aimant
et en sa main une pierre d'aimant."(1)

La pierre, c'est Cris. C'est li vrais Aimans qui
esta sor les vivez pierres - ce sont li apostre,
li prophete, li martir que fuz ne pierres ne fers
ne puet sormonter. De celle vraïe pierre d'aimant
sont dites les autres pierres 'aimantines', si com
du nom de Crist sont apelé Crestien. Ce|que li fol.48a
Apostres dit:

"Je vi l'ome desur le mur d'aimant,
en sa main une pierre d'aimant."(1)

Li aimans, c'est li Fius Dieu et d'ome qui prist

---

(1) Amos: chap. 7 v. 7 (Septuaginta Version)

en la Sainte Vierge Marie notre char. Ce qu'il
dist qu'il tenoit en sa main l'aimant, c'est Il
tenoit Lui meimes en la gloire. De ce li mons
d'oriant ou la pierre d'aimant est trovee, senefie
Dieu le Pere, de Cui tout bien naissant. Dont
Saint Pol dit:

"Il seus est sans mortalité."(1)

Ou quel la pierre est trovee, c'est Crist est el
Pere et li Fius dont Il meimes dit:

"Je sui ou Pere et li Peres est en Moy."(2)

Ce que l'air par jour senefie: li descendemens
nostre Seignor et s'Incarnacions qui fu celee es
celestieus vertus, car quant Il monta es cieus
aprés la Surrection, li ange qui estoient es cieus
remés e ceulz qui montoient avec Lui:

"Qui est cis Rois de gloire qui vient,
a tout son vestement rouge de sanc?"(3)

Ce que la pierre est trovee par nuit senefie
qu'Il descendi es tenebres de cest monde et
enlumina l'umain lignage qui seoit en l'aunis
-c'est en la region de mort, dont li

---

(1) This quote, supposedly from St. Paul, is untraced.

(2) John: chap. 14 v. 10 - 11.

(3) John: chap. 14 v. 9

(4) Isaiah: chap. 63 v. 1 (Septuaginta Version.)

Prophetes dit:

"Por ce que Tu enluminas ma lanterne,
Sire Dieu, enlumine mes tenebres."(1)

Notre Sires voirement enlumina la lanterne, par son saint sacrement, que li Deables avoit estainte. C'est l'ame et li corps que li Sires vivifia par la mistere de la Crois qui est salus a tout le monde. Ce que fers ne puet sormonter la pierre, c'est que nule creature ne puet rien encontre Dieu, car par Lui sont toutes choses faites; sans Lui n'est faite nule chose.(2)

Du Leu

Toulz cis mots de 'ravissement' vient, fol. 486.
et por ce par droit sont apelees les foles femes 'leuves', qu'elles degastent les bons de lor amans.

Le leus est fors ou piz et foibles es rains; il ne puet flechir son chief arriere s'il ne tourne son corps tout. A la foie vit il de proie, a la foie vit de vent. La louve faune ou mois de mai quant il tonne, nient en autre temps.

---

(1) Psalms: chap. 18 v. 28

(2) John : chap. 1 v. 3

(I)

Li sens de lui est teus que quant ele a ses faons, ele ne querra ja proie por lui prés de lui, mais loins. S'il avient qu'ele voit par nuit querre proie, ele va souef au bresil as brebis autresi comme ung chiens apris. Ele va toz dis contre vent que li chien par aventure ne sentent le flair de s'alaine, qu'il n'esveille les pasteurs. Et s'ele marche sor aucun reon ou sor chose qui noise face, elle mort moult durement son pié. Si oeil luisant par nuit come chandoile.

Li leus senefie le Deable, car il a toutes eures envie sor l'umain lignage et avirone les cogitacions des féaus, qu'il destine lor ames. Ce que li leus est fors devant et foibles es manbres derriere senefie li Diables meimes qui avant fu es cieus anges et oré est mauvais defors. Li oeil du leu qui luisant par nuit: ce sont les oevres du Deable qui font beles et plaisans as foles gens et a ceus qui sont avugle des ieux du cuer.

Ce que la leuve ne prent proie fors loins quant elle norrist ses faons, c'est que li Deables norrist des temporeus biens ceuls qui c'esloignent des bonnes eures. Si com il fu dit de Saint Job a qui li Deables toli toutes les

corporeus sustances:

"Qui le peust dessevrer de Dieu?"(1) fol. 43c.

Ce que li leus ne puet flechier son col sans tout son cors, c'est que li Deables ne se puet a nul bien torner.

Li hom a qui li leus tout sa force toute de crier quant il le voit, il perte l'aïe d'aucun qui loins est. Donc mete li hom ses dras a ses piéz et si les defoult et fiere doua pierres en ses doud mains. Adonc toudra au leu sa force et son hardement et finra et sis remenra seurs.

Esperitel entendement a ci, et par alegorie covient le sens dire. Par le leu entendons li Deable, par les vestemens que li hom defoule a ses piéz entendons qu'il met jus par confession ses pechiéz. Par les pierres qu'il fiert d'une main en autre entendons les apostres et les autres sains, notre Seigneus meimes.

Nous estions, devant ce que notre Sires nasqui por nous de la Vierge, en la poesté au Deable et avoins perdu la voiz de crier - c'est a parler de Dieu. Car Dieus ne voit mie nous pour nos pechiéz, ne n'apelions nul sains en aide. Mais

---

(1) Romans: chap. 8 v.35

puis que Dieus nous envoia son saint Fil, nous desposames par bautesme l'ancien home; dont ferimes nous les pierres d'une main en l'autre. C'est que nous prions les Sains l'un aprés l'autre qu'il nous aident vers Dieu.

Du Chien

Plusors manieres sont de chiens. Li ung prennent les bestes, li autre les oisiaus, li autre gaitent les mainsons, et por ce aiment lor seignor.

Dont il avient ja que ung richez hom fu pris de ses anemis, et si chien le ramenerent devant tous les anemis. Itele amour a en chien.

La langue | de li sane sa plaie par lechier. *fol. 48 d.*

Li chiens a tel nature qu'il remenjue ce qu'il rent.

S'il avient qu'il trespast eve et il ait pain ou char en sa bouche, et il en voit l'ombre, il cuide que ce soit autre, si oevre la bouche por prandre et celi pert qu'il tient.

Ce que li chiens sane par sa langue sa plaie: ce sont li prestre qui lechent nos plaies - ce sont nos pechiéz - par lor langues - ce est par lor prechement de confession. Ce que li chiens loiez et plaiez ou ventre dedans, et sa langue

ce est que la parole notre Seigneur esuie les secrez du cuer de l'ome.

Ce que li chiens menjue petit, c'est que li homs doit eschiver trop mengier et trop boire. Par nule autre n'asaut li anemis si tost le Crestien com par la cloterie de la bouche.

Ce que li chiens repaire a ce qui a rendu, ce sont cil qui repairent a lor pechié dont il erent confés.

Ce que li chiens laist chaïr en l'eve ce qu'il tient en sa goule par la covoitise de l'ombre qu'il voit, ce sont li non sachant et li fol home qui par la covoitise de la chose qu'il ne conoissent laissent ce qui lor propres est. Dont il avient qu'il ne pueent ataindre ce qu'il covoitent et de perdent ce qu'il guerpissent.

APPENDIX B

27

IN QUINTA DOMINICA POST PENTECOSTEN. *Preceptor, per totam noctem laborantes, nichil cepimus; in verbo autem tuo laxabo rete.* Nos trovons lisant en la sainte evangile d'ui, que Nostre Sire Deus, endementres qu'il ala corporelment par terre, estoit une fois dalés un estanc qui estoit apelés Genesarés; si avoit iluekes deus nés, dont l'une estoit mon segnor saint Piere; e ensegnoit iluec
49v le pueple qui estoit aluec venus por oïr sa parole. | E quant il ot parlé, si dist a mon segnor saint Piere: 'Menés' fist il 'la nef en l'eve plus en parfont, e lasciés vos rois a prendre des piscons'. E mes sire sains Pieres e si compaignon avoient tote la nuit traveillié iluekes por piscons prendre, si n'avoient rien pris; si respondi mes sire sains Pieres a Nostre Segnor, e si li dist: '*Preceptor, per totam noctem, etc.*, commanderes' fist il, 'tote nuit avons travaillié, si n'avons rien pris : ore a ton commandement geterai la roi'. Si geta mes sire sains Pieres la rois : si prist tant poisons que la rois en rompi, e que cil qui estoient en la nef ne le porent traire a els; si apelerent les hommes qui estoient en l'autre nef; e cil i vindrent, si lor aidierent, e traisent la rois amont, si ot tant de poisons qu'il en emplirent andeus lor nés. <E quant mes sire sains Pieres vit le miracle que Nostre Sire avoit faite : si dist: 'Sire' fist il, is t'ent de ci, quar jo sui hom pecieres, ne ne sui dignes que tu soies dejoste moi'. 'N'aiés mie paor' dist Nostre Sire, 'que des ore mais pesceras tu les hommes'. E mes sire sains Pieres e li autre laisierent ilueques lor nés e lor rois, si le sivirent.>[1]

Segnor, oiés que ço senefie. [L'eve senefie cest siecle] quar ausi com li aigue est escolorable, ausi est cis siecles muables e trespassables; li eve ondoie e ne puet estre en pais, e cis siecles est tos jors en tribol. Mes sire sains Pieres e li autre pesceor senefient
50r les buens mestres e les buens preeceor[s] de sainte Eglise; les rois senefient les saintes predications que l'on dit;[2] li piscon senefient les peceors e les peceresses; quar totes les ores que nos vos disons la parole Deu, por vos ensaignier comment vos devés croire e amer e servir Damedeu : getons nos nos rois. <Ore nos besegneroit donques que Nostre Sire Deus nos aidast, e ensegnast, si com il fist mon segnor saint Piere, en quel liu e quant nos devrions geter la rois, ço est quant e as quels nos devomes dire sa parole. Jo croi bien que nos faillons, tele ore est, a prendre des poisons, quant nos getomes nos rois; quar tele ore est que nus ne s'amende de tos cels qui nos oent, por rien que nos saçons dire. Quar ço savons nos bien certainement, que diables a si avuglé les pluisors gens : qu'il ne vuelent entendre le bien, si com l'Escripture dist del malvais homme: *Noluit intelligere ut bene*

9 sacies 29 mestiers; pesceor

coses, ço sont li pecié; e par sainte vie e par bones uevres vos renovelés, que vos puisiés estre digne d'avoir le glorie que Deus otroie a cels qui lui aiment.> *Quod nobis prestare, etc.*

2

SERMO IN EPYPHANIA DOMINI. *Cum natus esset Jesus in Bethleem in diebus Herodis regis, ecce magi venerunt ab Oriente Jerosolymam, dicentes: Ubi est qui natus est rex Judeorum? Vidimus enim stellam*
10v *eius in Oriente et venimus | adorare eum.* Nos lisomes en le sainte evangile d'ui <que quant Nostre Sire Deus fu nés de Nostre Dame sainte Marie en la cité de Bethleem> que l'estoile qui estoit demostrance de sa naisence aparut hui as trois rois de paienime <vers soleil levant: e com il virent sa naiscence, si prisent conseil entr'eus qu'il iroient por lui aorer, e qu'il li offerroient or e encens e myrre: e com il orent apareillies lor offrandes> si sivirent l'estoile qui aloit devant els jusqu'en Jerusalem. Ilueques si parlerent a Herode, e li demanderent u estoit li rois des Juis qui estoit nés; e quant Herodes oï qu'il i avoit roi qui devoit estre rois des Juis, si fu molt torblés e coreciés, e tote sa gens;[1] quar il cuidoit qu'il perdist par lui le regne terrien,[2] e tos ses lingnages. Lors manda les clers qui savoient les escriptures, si lor demanda u Cris naistroit; e il respondirent: 'En Bethleem: quar issi fu il dit e promis anciienement par les prophetes'. E com Erodes oï ço, si parla as trois rois, e si lor dist: 'Alés' fist il 'en Bethleem, e si querés l'enfant; e quant vos l'averés trové, si l'aorés, e puis si revenés par moi, e lors si l'irai aorer'.[3] EXPOSITIO: Segnor,
11r *iço ne disoit pas Herodes por ço qu'il le volsist aorer, mais | il le disoit por ço qu'il le voloit ocire, s'il le poïst trover.*[4]—Li roi s'en alerent, e si sivirent l'estoile qui aloit devant els dusqu'ele vint sor le maison u Nostre Sire estoit. Iluec s'arestut l'estoile, e quant ço virent li roi, si entrerent en la maison; e com il troverent Nostre Segnor, si l'aorerent, e si li offrirent offrandes. Quels offrandes? Or, e encens, e myrre. La nuit aprés, lor aparut li angeles Nostre Segnor en songes, e si lor dist e manda qu'il ne retornascent pas par Erode, mais par autre voie s'en repairascent en lor païs: e il si firent.[5] <Segnor, c'est li glorios miracles de la naiscence Nostre Segnor que nos reconte li evangiles d'ui; e vos poés bien entendre, par la parole de ceste evangile, que l'on doit hui plus faire offrandes qu'en autre jor; e de ce vos donent essample li troi roi paien, qui vinrent de lontaines terres Nostre Segnor requerre e lui faire offrande.> E par ço qu'il offrirent or, qui est covenables dons a roi, demostrerent il qu'il avoïent

37 otroia

11 ihel'rm 21 Segnor EXPOSITIO Segnor 32 recontes

586

creance qu'il estoit vrais rois; e par [ço] qu'il offrirent encens, que l'on offroit anciienement a sacrefisse Deu : demostrerent qu'il avoient creance qu'il estoit voirs Dex, e verais prestres: e par ice qu'il li offrirent myrre, de coi l'on oignoit | les cors que vers nes maignascent : nos senefierent il qu'il estoit mortels.[6]

§ Expositio: Segnor, or oiés ço que senefie li ors e li encens e li myrres, e si offrons spiritelment a Nostre Segnor iço qu'il offrirent corporelment. Li ors, qui resprent e qui reluist encontre le rai del soleil : senefie la bone creance, qui reluist e resprent el corage del bon crestien. Li ors enlumine l'air par sa resplendor, e la bone creance enlumine le cuer del buen homme. Or offrons donques a Deu or: creons que li Peres e li Fils e li Sains Espirs soi[en]t uns Deus poisans e pardurables; qui ceste creance a en Diu, si offre buen or. Li encens senefie buene proiere; quar si comme la fumee de l'encens, quant il est mis el feu de l'encensier, monte amont vers le ciel e vers Deu, ausi monte a Deu la bone proiere del cuer al crestien, quant ele est faite por l'amor Deu nomeement. En tele maniere poons nos dire que li encens[iers] senefie le cuer de l'ome e li feus l'amor de Deu. Li myrres, qui est espesce amere, e par s'amertume deffent les cors des vers, qui de lui sont enoint, qu'il nel puiscent malmetre, senefie la buene uevre, qui est amere a la malvaistié de nostre car. Li myrres senefie geuner por Deu, veillier, aler em pelerinage, revisiter les povrës e les malades e faire | tos les biens que l'on puet faire por Deu. Ices coses si sont ameres a la malvaise car; mais ausi com li myrres deffent les cors qui en sont enoint [des vers], qu'il ne[s] pueent maumetre, ausi nos deffendent ices coses de visce e de pechié e de l'amoneste al diable, qu'il ne nos puise malmetre.[7]

Segnor, or avés oïe la senefiance de l'offrande que li troi roi; firent, vos avés offert a Deu de vostre argent e de vostre bien terrien. Offrés li, ne mie solement ui, mais trestos les jors de vostre vie, or e encens e myrre, si com jo vos ai mostré; or par bone ferme creance, encens par sainte orison, myrre par buene uevre. Ço sont les offrandes que Deus requiert tos jors a son crestien, e par quoi li crestiens dessert e conquiert la glorie pardurable. <E Damesdeus Nostre Sire, qui por nos degna naistre en terre, e qui hui fu aorés des trois rois paiens e honerés, il nos doinst la grasie del Saint Esperit en nos corages, par quoi nos puisons haïr iceles coses qu'il het, e laisier iceles coses qu'il deffent, e amer iceles coses qu'il aime, e faire iceles coses qu'il commande, e lui issi croire e amer e servir en terre : par quoi nos puisons parvenir tot e totes a la glorie[8]> *in qua vivit et regnat, Deus, per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.*

50 poisains 55 encens *DS* 56 la fumee *JSXx*, li fu *DR*, la fumiere *T*, la fums *K*

ageret,[3] il ne vuelt entendre qu'il face bien; e quant nos parlons a tele maniere de gent, qui ne vuelent entendre le bien que nos lor disom, lores faillons nos as poisons prendre. Lores travaillons nos voirement de nuis e nient ne prenons, si comme mes sire sains Pieres e si compaignon f[i]rent qui tote nuit traveillierent e nient ne prisent; quar par la nuit sont senefiié li malvais hommes e les malvaises femes cui diables a desevrés de la clarté de Deu e
50v 50 tornés en te-| nebres e en oscurté. Par le jor sont senefié cil cui Dex Nostre Sire a porveü a sa lumiere e a sa glorie;[4] e de jors getons nos nos rois par le commandement de Nostre Segnor>.

§ Quant nos preeçons a cels le bien, qui volentiers l'oent e entendent, e font volentiers ço c'on lor commande, lores carge Nostre Sire rois e prent e emplist, quar lores porfite nostre parole, e enlace e aquelt a ues Nostre Segnor ceus qui nos oent. Lores prenons nos les lus, les bars e les autres buens poisons: ce sont cil qui par nos sont bon homme en sainte Eglise, e qui maintes beles uevres font; si lor traions l'amer dedens les cuers, quant nos lor tolons la male volenté qu'il ont eue ça en arriere en els meismes; e les escherdes en ostons, quant nos les ostons de males uevres dont il ont esté cargié ça en arriere; e les metons rostir au feu, quant nos par nos beles paroles les escaufons de Deu amer e de lui servir. L'anguile, qui se fice el tai, e qui ne vient mie volentiers en la clarté : escape tele ore est de nos rois: l'anguile senefie le malvais homme, qui tos s'est mis es coses terrienes, e en amor de luxurie, e es delis de la car, e qui envis, e a grant force, e a grant travail deguerpist son pécie : ausi comme l'angule qui a envis est prise e escorcie. Hom qui de tele maniere est ne puet
51r 70 mie estre legierement atornés a bien; quar| quant il ot parler de Deu : si s'en fuit ses cuers e esloigne de la parole Deu e se traist a l'amor del pechié en coi il a longement geü, autresi comme l'anguile quant ele sent la rois si s'en fuit, si se repont el tai, qu'ele ne soit prise.[5]

Segnor, esgardés vers vos meismes, quels poiscons vos estes, Gardés que vos ne soiés mie comme l'anguile, mais soiés comme li lus: eslongiés vos del tai; eslongiés vos de la terre; noés amont; aproismiés vos del ciel. Soffres que li predications Deu vos acueille en soi, e que par li vos puisiés traire a Deu, *quod nobis prestare dignetur, etc.*

28

SERMO IN .VI. DOMINICA POST PENTECOSTEN. *Amen dico vobis, nisi habundaverit justicia vestra plus quam scribarum et phariseorum, non intrabitis in regnum celorum.* Damesdeus Nostre Sire parla a ses aposteles, si com raconte l'evangiles d'ui, e si lor dist, que se