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Example of a grammatical pronunciation point on Aethiopia.
Alluded to by a sailing ship, a hare with a harp, beating wings, and a man with a flail which indicates a grammar point and beating the air.
Artist G, Gameson 1995, p. 143

Fig. 5.04: Ps.-Isidore, Decreta, BL Cotton Claudius E V, fol. 40r
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Fig. 5.06: Priscian, *Institutiones Grammaticae*, TCC O.2.51, s.xi/xii, fol. 34r, Q[onian] a thin, winged snake coils around a prone nude man and threatens his eye, a note to pay diligent attention to the grammar rules; ‘regulis’ (l. 1 and 6) refers to rules and also to a snake. Gameson, 1995, p. 126, considered this an English hand (used a distinctive feathering in the border) in a St Augustine’s book but Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014, p. 192, lean towards a Christ Church attribution.
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Artist J. Gameson, 1995, p. 143

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Fig. 5.16:
Ostrich or Assida, Oxford, Bodl. Laud Misc. 247, fol. 159r
Appendix 1
Paris, BnF NAL 873

This Appendix contains:

1.1. Manuscript Description
1.2. Table 1.2 Chapter Headings in First family bestiaries
1.3. Transcription of Chapters on the Onager and the Ape
1.4. Translation of the Chapters on the Onager and the Ape

1.1 BnF NAL 873

Location: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France
Shelfmark: Nouvelle Acquisition Latin 873
Date: MLGB3, s. xii/xiii; BCBB, s. xiiex; Baxter 1998, c.1160-80, Studer and Evans, s. xiii in.
Catalogue Title: Remigius Autissiodorensis, Hildeberti Cenomanensis, Marbodi Redonensis opuscula, etc; BCBB BA1.*758, Expositio missae
Vol. Incipit: Celebratio missae in commemorationem passionis Christi
2ª. fol.: Cantore
Family: B-Isidore First family bestiary of 38 chapters
Incipit, fol. 37v: ‘De naturis leonis bestiarium seu animalium regis’

Content Summary: A monastic compilation of thirty texts (of which fifteen short texts fall between fols. 197v-201v). The bestiary is bound as the fourth item after the lead text: Remigius, Expositio Missae and another work on the mass and mirabilia, and before the main text, an anonymous

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commentary on the Apocalypse; followed by Alexander texts, lapidaria, medical and astronomy texts.

**Attribution:** Shelfmark from St Augustine’s Abbey (BCBB BA1.*758), read by Henri Omont in c. 1905, ‘En haut du fol. 1, en écriture du xive ieme. siecle, on lit la mention: ‘De libris Sancti Augustini Cantuariensis, G VII, D 4’ but the flyleaf is now too dark and dirty to confirm this reading.⁴ BCBB notes the shelfmark is the wrong way round, it would have been Distinctio 7, Gradus 4.⁵ Catalogue matches contents (but two items swapped around see below).

**Provenance:** Owned by St. Augustine’s Sub-prior, Adam, fl. 1200, one of his fourteen books donated to the abbey library.

On fol. 53r there is a typical Clement of Canterbury (fl. 1463-1495) maniple with a long index finger towards the chapter on the Dove (*Columba*), which means the book was in St Augustine’s Abbey at the end of the fifteenth century, as its medieval catalogue confirms, and still read.

Thomas Tenison (1623-1715), Archbishop of Canterbury bequeathed his books to St Martin’s Library, Westminster (1786 catalogue now BL Add MS 11257).⁶ Tennison’s books were sold at the sale of St Martin’s Library by Sotheby’s on 1 July 1861; this volume was lot 88.⁷

This manuscript entered the BnF after 1868 when the BnF catalogue of the *Nouvelle Acquisitions* was drawn up, numbered on size (1-1000: small; 1001-2000: medium; 2001-2500: large; and 2501+: very large). There were only 110 entries in the small category in 1868 and subsequent additions were numbered consecutively. Omont catalogued it in 1905-1906.⁸

**Size:** 222 mm x 170 mm; text area: 168mm x 140mm

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⁴ Omont, 1907, p. 17.
⁵ BCBB pp. 809-11, p. 811, BA1.*758d.
⁸ Omont, 1907, pp. 16-17.
The nineteenth century leather covers have fallen off, although they are presented with the manuscript.

Endpapers: Nineteenth century marbled endpapers.

Parchment: Poor condition with holes, repairs, uneven thicknesses, and creasing. Stained and dirty outer folios indicate that it was without a cover for some time.

Fols. 1-201 (bestiary fols. 37v-57r)

25 quires: 1-128, 1310, 1410 wants 4-5, 158 wants 7, 8 (fol. 127v blank), 16-188, 1910 (fols. 162-3 missing), 208, 214, 22-248, 252.9

Single neat protogothic hand for bestiary. Several hands throughout manuscript but all are protogothic.

Bestiary begins with a three line high large blue and red capital D for the first chapter.

Smaller coloured capitals with slight filigree decoration for later chapters (alternate red, green or blue).

Few notae and little glossing (corrections) in the bestiary but tick marks are visible at the end of many lines; sometimes a chapter is marked ‘-’ or ‘=’ by it, e.g. fol. 46r-v, the Onager and the Ape.

Single column, 26 lines for bestiary, writing above top line throughout the book. Lined and ruled in lead, pricking still visible. Numbered in a medieval hand in Arabic numerals; fols. 43 and 82 have been numbered twice.

Not illustrated, no space for illustrations.

Not a direct copy of an extant manuscript. Baxter 1998, considered BL Stowe 1067 closest on chapter order.10 Stewart 2012, noted it ‘contains the same text found in Oxford, Bodl. MS Laud misc. 247, but with the latter half of the chapters rearranged so that the beasts, birds, and fish are grouped together’ but in Appendix 5 she stated: ‘I

There are doubles in the numbering at 9, 43, and 82, and missing folios ff.162-3, and cut folios at -64-66, 80-81, 84-85, so I am very grateful to Patricia Stewart who sent me her collation as a check, any errors are my own.

was unable to show definitively that any one of these [B-Is] manuscripts were copied from any of the others'.

**Bibliography:** Omont 1907, pp. 16-17; Baxter 1998 pp. 88-91, 149-151, 156, 166, 170-175, 197-199; BCBB, pp. 809-811; Stewart 2012, p. 11, p. 78-9; Appendix 5, pp. 18-19; (on lapidaries: Studer and Evans, 1924, p. 5, pp. 97-111; Evans, 1923, 81-82, pp. 195-213).

**Figures:** None available of BnF manuscript; Figs. 2.01, 2.02.

**Contents:** The manuscript has been checked against the BnF Catalogue entry and BCBB, and uses the same letters as Barker-Benfield to aid identification.

fols. 1-16r: a) Remigii Autissiodorensis (d. 908), *Expositio in celebratione missae.* PL 101.1246-7. This is a standard and conservative text on the liturgy of the Mass.

fols. 16v-17v: b) Nennius, *Historia Britannie* (final part), incipit: ‘Incipient miracula que sunt in insula Britannie’

fols. 17v-31r: c) Hildebert of Lavardin (Hildeberti Cenomanensis), *De mysterio missae.* PL 171. 1177–96. ‘Incipit expositio misse versifice composita’ (main text begins on fol. 18r).

fols. 31v-32r: f) Goscelin, *Vita S Edithae* links the cursed dancers of Colbeck to St Edith. Note f) and g) are two miracle stories catalogued out of order (i.e. they are between Hildebert and the bestiary in the manuscript, but come after text c) in the library catalogue: ‘In nocte Natalis Domini lucifera,…Colebecca’


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fols. 37v-57r: **d) Liber bestiarum** Incipit: ‘De natura leonis bestiarum seu animalium regis.’ Laud-type First family bestiary with rearranged chapter order from ch. 22. Chapter headings and discussion below.

fols. 57v-127r: **e) Anonymous, Commentary on the Apocalypse.**

Prologue incipit: ‘Deus pater previdens tribulationes’
Main text incipit: ‘Apocalysis est reuelatio. Hanc reuelationem’
Gloss includes Nota signs, manicles, ceases at fol. 86r.
Fol. 84v: new hand
Fols. 86r-94r: previous hand returns
Fol. 94r: another hand
Fol. 127v blank.

fols. 128r-163: **h) Gestis alexandri magni**: a collection of three Alexander texts.

Fols. 128r-148r: **Epitome Iulii Valerii**, incipit: ‘historia magni regis Alexandri’
Fols.148r-161r: **Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem de situ Indie**, incipit: ‘Epistola Alexandri, quam mittit Aristotile’
Fols.161v-163: Poem on Alexander (twenty verses) incipit: ‘Quicquid in humanis constat uirtutibus altis’ (fols. 162-3 are missing)

fols.164r-168v: **i) Two short tracts on the pulse:**

Fol. 164-165r: Anonymous, **Summa quedam pulsuum**, incipit: ‘De pulsibus uenarum cognicio’
Fols. 165r-168v: Philaretus, **Liber pulsuum**, incipit: ‘Filareti de

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17 BCBB, p. 810.
19 Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem ad codicum fidem edita et commentario critico edita, ed. by W. W. De Boer (The Hague: Excelsior, 1953)
20 BCBB, p. 810 identifies this poem as WIC 15990 in H. Walther, Initia carminum ac versuum medii aevi posterioris Latinum (Gottingen, 1969).
pulsiibus\textsuperscript{22}

Fols 168v-169r blank.

fols. 170r-175v: j) Marbod of Rennes, *Carmen de lapidibus*. PL 171. 1737–70\textsuperscript{23}
Fol. 176r: new hand

fols. 176v-190v: k) Damigeron in alphabetic order
Two letters allegedly from Evax, Kof Arabia to the Emperor Tiberius, *Epistole due de nominibus et virtutibus lapidum*\textsuperscript{24}

fols. 190v-197v: l) Lapidary (an Anglo-Norman prose version of a French metrical translation of Marbod, *Carmen de Lapidibus*), incipit: ‘Evax, li reis de Arabie, enveiat ad Neron’\textsuperscript{25}

fols. 197v-201v: m) Various short astronomy, medical, and divination works
1. fol. 197v: Bede, ‘De superiore celo’, [*De Natura Rerum*]\textsuperscript{26}
2. fol. 198r: *Ordo orbis conditi*;
3. *Pronostica mortuorum*;
4. *Signa vivendi*;
5. *Item de signis mortiferis*.
6. fol. 198v: *Versus de diebus egyptiacis*:
7. *Prima dies mensis et semptima truncat*…
8. *Notae de mensibus: Mense ianuario nullatenus sanguinem minuere*…
9. fol. 199v: *Luna prima in omnibus rebus faciendum utilis est*…
10. fol. 200r: *Unusquisque mensis duos in se continet dies*…
11. *Die prima Natalis Domini, sol si videtur, letabitur*…
12. *Nocte prima Natalis Domini, si ventus validus fuerit*…
14. fol. 201r: *Dies infausti cuiusque mensis*.

\textsuperscript{22} BCBB p. 811; Thorndike and Kibre  No. 764.
\textsuperscript{24} Evans, *Magical Jewels*, pp. 195-213.
\textsuperscript{26} Bede, *De natura rerum*, PL 90, 201A-201B, ‘Coelum superioris circuli proprio discretum termino…. superiorum aquarum.’
15. fol.201v: Incipit: *Quibus lunationibus vena sit aluenda* in the Library catalogue this short work is attributed to Adam the Sub-prior, *Quibus oris vena aperienda sit ade suprioris.*

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27 BCBB p. 810.
### Table: 1.2 Chapter Headings in First Family Bestiaries

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<td>f.52r</td>
<td>32. Columba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Arbore pression</td>
<td>33. Salamandra</td>
<td>f.52r</td>
<td>33. Arbore pression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Elephants</td>
<td>34. Elephants</td>
<td>f.52v</td>
<td>34. Elephants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Amos</td>
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<td>36. Adamans</td>
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<td>37. Mercecolion</td>
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<td>37. Mercecolion</td>
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<td>38. Psitacelion</td>
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<td>f.56v</td>
<td>38. Psitacelion</td>
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<tr>
<td>40. Corunice</td>
<td>40. Corunice</td>
<td>f.56v</td>
<td>40. Corunice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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28 2 folios are numbered 43.
29 New chapters are in bold.
1.3: Transcription of BnF NAL 873: Chapters on the Onager and the Ape\textsuperscript{30}

\textbf{ff 46r:} greci quod acutissime videant. dorehas appellaverunt. morantur enim in // excelsis montibus. et tamen. de loginquo vident omnes qui veniunt; //

\[2 \text{line height decorated initial E blue with red filigree and black dash in margin}\]

\textbf{Est} animal. quod dictur \textit{onager}. Phisiologus dicit de onagro. quia vicesimo. v. //

die mensis framenoth quod est marcius. duodecies in nocte rugit. similiter //
in die. Et ex hoc cognoscitur quia. equinoctium est diei vel noctis. et numerum //
horarum a rugitibus onagri per singulas cognoscunt horas semel rugien-//

tis. Onagerigitur figuram habet diaboli. quia cum scierit noctem et diem coequare; //
hoc est cum viderit diabolus populum qui ambulat intenebris et in um-//
bra mortis. modo converti ad dominum vivum et coequari fidei patriarcharum et pro-//
phetarum. sicut coequatur nox cum die; iccirco rugit nocte ac die per singulas //
horas. quersens escam suam quam quamar dididit. Neque erim rugit onager nisi quando //
sibi escam querit. sicut dixit iob.\textsuperscript{31} Similiter et apostolos paulus\textsuperscript{25a} de diabolo dicit. //

\textit{Adversarius noster circuit querens sicut leo quem devoret. Ethimologia.. //}

\textbf{Onager; interpretatur asinus ferus.} On quippe greci(changed from grece) asinum vocant. agrian; //

ferum. Hos affrica habit magnos et indomitos, et in desert vagantes. Sin-//
guli autem; feminarum gregibus presunt; Nascentibus masculis zelant. et te-//
sticulos morsibus detruncant. quod caventes matres; eos in secretis occultant. //

\[2 \text{line height decorated initial Red S with blue filigree}\]

\textbf{Similiter et simia.} figuram habet diaboli. Sicut enim simius caput quapid habet. //
ciaudam vero non habet; et licet totus turpis sit; tamen posterioria eius satis turpia //
et horribilia sunt. Sic et diabolus caput quipiam habet. caudam vero non habet; hoc est //

\textit{initium habuit. cum esset angelus in celis. sed quia hypocrita fuit intrinsecus; //}

\textit{perdidit caput. nec habet caudam. Id est sicut perii ab initio in celis. ita et in fine //}
totus peribit. sicut dicit preoc veritatis paulus. Quem dominus iesus interficet spiritu oris //
sui. Ethimologia. Simia. grecum nomen est. eo quod pressis naribus sit. facie //
turpis. feda rugis. licet et capellas manifestum sit; pressum habere nasum. //
Ali dicunt simias latine vocari. eo quod multa in eis similidio rationis //

\textbf{ff 46v:} humane sentitur; sed falsum est. He elementorum sagaces nova luna exultant. //

media et cava tristantur; fetus quos(changed from quo) amant; ante se gestant. Neglecti; cir-//
ca matrem herent. Horum genera sunt quinque. ex quibus circopetici caudas //
habent. Simia enim cum cauda est. quam quidam clutram vocant. //
Finge; villose sunt. comis. et mammis prominentibus. dociles ad feri-//

\textit{oblvisse [in margin]} tatem. blank Cenocephali; et ipsi similis sunt canibus. longam caudam //
habentes. et faciem ad modum canis. unde et sic nuncupantur. //
Satiri; admodum facie acuta. et gesticulantis more inquietantur. //
Callitrices toto pene aspectu; a ceteris distant. Sunt enim cum facie produc-//
ta. et longa barba et lata cauda. //

\textsuperscript{30} Transcription by Dr P Stewart, checked when I saw the manuscript; I have added notes on rubrication and marginal marks.

\textsuperscript{31} One line omitted from usual First family bestiary text: ‘Numquid sine causa clamabit onager agrestis. nisi pabulum desiderans.’
Fol. 46r: [Quas/\] greci quod acutissime videant. dorchas appellaverunt. morantur enim in //

excelsis montibus. et tamen. de loginquo vident omnes qui veniunt; //

Est animal. quod dicitur onager. Phisiologus dicit de onagro. quia vicesimo vto. //

Curley, pp.38-9] The wild ass is called an onager. Physiologus says of the onager that on 25th day

die mensis framenoth quod est marcius. duodecies in nocte rugit. similiter //
of the month of Famenoth which is March it brays twelve times in the night. Similarly

in die. Et ex hoc cognoscitur quia. equinoctium est diei vel noctis. et numerum //
in the daytime. And from this it is known that it is the equinox of day or night. And they know the number

horarum a rugitibus onagri per singulas cognoscent horas semel rugien--;-
of the hour by the braying of the onager, one bray for each hour:

tis. Onager igitur figuram habet diaboli. quia cum scierit noctem et diem coequare; //
Therefore the Onager represents the devil, since when he knows that night and day are equal,
hoc est cum viderit diabolus populum qui ambulat intenebris et in um--/
that is when the devil sees that those walking in the shade and shadow of

bra mortis. modo converti ad dominum vivum et coequari fidei patriarcharum et pro-/
death have turned in this way to the living Lord and equal the faith of the patriarchs and

phetarum. sicut coequatur nox cum die; iccirco rugit nocte ac die per singulas //
prophets, as night equals day, then he brays night and day, once per

horas. querens escam suam quam perdit. Neque enim rugit onager nisi quando //
bou, seeking his food which he has lost. For nor does the onager bray unless

sibi escam querit. sicut dixit iob. Similiter et apostolos paulus [corrected to] petrus de diabolo dicit. //
he seeks his food. Similarly, the apostle Peter says of the devil,

Adversarius noster circuit querens sicut leo quem devoret. Ethimologia. //
‘Our adversary prowls around us like a lion seeking someone to devour’ [I Peter, 5:8][Barney p. 249] The Etymologiae

Onager; interpretatur asinus ferus. On quippe greci [changed from grece] asinum vocant. agrian; //
interpret ‘Onager’ as wild ass. The Greeks call the ass ‘On’, the wild one,

15. ferum. Hos affrica habet magnos et indomitos. et in deserto vagantes. Sin-//
    ‘Agrion’. Africa possesses large, untamed ones wandering through the desert.

16. guli autem; feminarum gregibus presunt; Nascentibus masculis zelant. et tc-//
    Individual males lead herds of females. When male colts are born, the adult males become jealous
    and

17. sticulos morsibus detruncant. quod caventes matres; cos in secretis occultant. //
    /bite off their testicles, so that the wary mothers hide the male colts in concealed places.

18. Similiter et simia. figuram habet diaboli. Sicut enim simius caput quidem
    habet. //
    [Clark pp. 132-3] And similarly the monkey represents the devil. For like him, the monkey has a
    beginning

19. caudam vero non habet; et licet totus turpis sit; tamen posterioria eius satis
    turpia //
    but indeed no end [i.e. no tail]; and it may be allowed that the whole [ape] is foul but his bind
    parts are the foulest

20. et horrribilia sunt. Sic et diabolus caput quidem habet. caudam vero non habet;
    hoc est //
    and dreadful. And so the devil has such a beginning and indeed does not have an end; that is

21. initium habuit. cum esset angelus in celis. sed quia hypocrita fuit intrinsecus;
    //
    be began as an angel in heaven but because he was a hypocrite inside

22. perdidit caput. nec habet caudam. Id est sicut periti ab initio in celis. ita et in
    fine //
    be lost his beginning, nor does be have an end. [Curley, pp.39] Just as he perished initially in
    heaven, so also

23. totus peribit. sicut dicit preco veritatis paulus. Quem dominus iesus interficiet
    spiritu oris //
    will be perish utterly at last, as Paul, herald of truth says, ‘The Lord Jesus will slay him with the
    wrath of his

24. sui. Ethimologia. Simia. grecum nomen est. eo quod pressis naribus sit. facie
    //
    name which means flattened nose

25. turpis. feda rugis. licet et capellas manifestum sit; pressum habere nasum. //
    It has an ugly face and repulsive wrinkles, although having a flattened nose is also characteristic of
    goats.
26. Alii dicunt simias latine vocari. eo quod multa in eis similitudo rationis //
Others think that apes are named from a Latin word, because they are felt to have a great similarity to human

1. ff 46v: humane sentitur; sed falsum est. He elementorum sagaces nova luna exultant. //
behaviour; but this is false. In their knowledge of the elements, they rejoice at the new moon,

2. media et cava tristantur; fetus quos(changed from quo) amant; ante se gestant.
and are downcast at the half and crescent moon. They carry the offspring they love before them; the ones they neglect

3. ca matrem herent. Horum genera sunt quinque. ex quibus circopetici caudas //
cling to their mother. There are five kinds of ape. Of these the Circopetici have

4. habent. Simia enim cum cauda est, quam quidam clutram vocant. //
tails., for it is the ape with a tail which some call the Clutra.

5. Finge; villose sunt. comis. et mammis prominentibus. dociles ad feri- //
The Finge (Sphinx) is shaggy with hair and has protruding breasts. They are tame to

6. oblivisse tatem. [blank] Cenocephali; et ipsi similae sunt canibus. longam caudam //
the point of forgetting their wildness. Cynocephali are themselves similar to dogs. They have a long

7. habentes. et faciem ad modum canis. unde et sic nuncupantur. //
tail and a doglike face, hence they are so called.

8. Satiri; admodum facie acuta. et gesticulantis more inquietantur. //
Satyrs have a somewhat pleasing face, with restless, gesticulating movements.

9. Callitriches toto pene aspectu; a ceteris distant. Sunt enim cum facie produc- //
Callitriches are almost entirely different from the others in appearance, for they have a

10. ta. et longa barba et lata cauda. //
long beard on their face and a broad tail.
Appendix 2
Oxford, Bodl. Rawlinson C. 77

This Appendix 2 contains
2.1. Manuscript Description
2.2. Table of Chapter Headings

2.1 Oxford, Bodleian, Rawlinson C. 77 s.xiii³/⁴

Location: Oxford, Bodleian Library
Shelfmark: Rawlinson C. 77 (SC11942)³²
Date: MLGB³, s. xiii; BCBB, s.xiii³/⁴ (possibly after 1268); Clark 2006, mid thirteenth century; Macray, saec. xiii.³³
Catalogue Title: MLGB³: Misc. Theologica,
Madan: Bestiarium, &c.;
BCBB, BA1.1564 Colleciones Johannis piscoris cum A³⁴
Vol. Incipit: Missing
2o. fol.: Was : amat (from medieval catalogue entry, now missing)
Family: Fragment of Second Family bestiary, which now begin the volume.
Incipit: ‘ideo [adeo] intra alterum sine aetatis’ from the end of the Parrot chapter.

Content
Summary: A monastic compilation of ten items (a-j in BCBB)
Bound in medieval covers, the most of the first and possibly the second quire lost. The bestiary, of which only a fragment now remains, was preceded by an Aviarium, and followed by sermons, short pieces on the Creed, extracts from Lombard’s Sentences, two letters related to St Augustine’s Abbey and Garland’s metrical book of synonyms, Aequivoca.

³⁴ BCBB notes BA1.715 duplicate entry for BA1.1564 but with the correct title: ‘Sermones diversi cum A’ as Rawlinson C. 77 is principally a collection of sermons.
Attribution: St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury based on matched catalogue references and Clement of Canterbury's ‘characteristic annotations'; no shelfmark or secundo folio as first leaves lost.35

Provenance: Owned and partly composed by St Augustine’s monk John Pistor, fl. s.xiii. Part of Richard Rawlinson bequest to the Bodleian Library of 5,000 manuscripts in 1755, catalogued by Macray in 1878.36

Size: c. 202 x 153mm; written area: 153mm x 120mm

Folios: fols. 1-97 (fol. 97v blank but for fifteenth century annotations). Bestiary fragment fols. 1-3v.

Collation: 1-512, 68, 7-84, 8-98 (quire lost between fols. 91 and 92), 106.

Quire Signatures: Booklet I: fol. 1r, a; fol. 2r, b; fol. 3r, c; fol. 4r, d; fol. 5r, e; fol. 6r, f. These marks appear only on the first six folios. On fol. 13r at foot, ‘a’ in blue, and on some of the next five recto folios the tops of letters may be seen (trimmed). On fol. 25r there is ‘i’; 26r ‘ii’; and so on to 30r ‘iiiiii’. On 37r there are letter marks ‘aa’; fol. 38r ‘bb’ and so on to 42r ‘ff’. There are no further quire signatures.

Catchmarks: Booklet I only: fol. 12v, a rectitudine vie; fol. 24v, considuntem dispensario; fol. 36v, Manna simile pin[m]; fol. 48v, Hore moueat dominus; fol. 60, only a partial page of the top 40mm, so no bottom margin.

Material: Binding: Original, red leather-covered bookboards (with s. xiii or s.xiv strap and pin clasp marks on front and worm holes on back) with s.xix spine (rebacked).37

Substrate: Flyleaves: s.xix paper flyleaves leaves; front (i) and end (ii).

Parchment fols. 1-97; dry and crispy, singed at edges; quite good quality for Booklets I – III, but torn, some holes and repairs; thicker and yellower for Booklet IV. HHFF

35 BCBB p. 1479.
37 BCBB p. 1479.
Hands: Booklet I (fols. 1-60), includes a bestiary fragment (fols 1-3v) in a small neat Gothic hand, possibly by a professional scribe; alternate red and blue capitals with contrasted penscrolls. Booklets II and III (fol. 61-7 and fols 68-75), i.e. the sermons and Epistola are in a larger but still neat cursive not that of a professional scribe and possibly written by John Pistor. A fine nib is used; the descenders are spiky and thin, without serifs. The writer often links points together uses rather wobbly diagonal lines. There is a high ascender for the ‘a’, bifurcated ‘b’ but only very slight bifurcation of the ‘l’; Booklet IV (fols. 76-97) uses ‘a somewhat clumsy formal hand of s. xiii med.’.

Rubrication: Booklet I: fols 1-60: red rubrics with blue chapter marks Booklets II and III: no rubrication Booklet IV: Rubricated in red; flourished initial, fol 76r.

Glossing: Several scowlfaces (e.g. fol. 55r) and pointfingers (for example on folios 11v, 55v, 62r, 75r, 92v) and notes (e.g. fol. 75) by Clement of Canterbury, fl. s.xv, precentor of St Augustine’s Abbey.

Layout: Booklet I: Single column, 39 lines, writing above top line, ruled in lead and pricked. Irregularly numbered in pencil throughout in a modern hand in top right corner: e.g. 1, 4, 5, 10, 11, 25, 36 to fol. 97

Illustration: Not illustrated, no spaces for illustration.

Contents: Four booklets in a medieval binding which made up the first of three of monk John Pistor’s collection of sermons and other tracts.

Booklet I: fols. 1-60, the first text in the medieval catalogue was an Aviarium followed by the bestiary but at least the first quire (probably of twelve folios) of this booklet is not extant so the whole of the Aviarium and nearly all the bestiary are now missing.

a) lost Aviarium: ‘de natura quarundam aium cum suis moralitatibus’ missing.

fols. 1-3v: b) Bestiarium: ‘de natura bestiarum et anium cum suis moralitatibus’; only some of the chapters on birds remain, taken from a Second family bestiary, those that would have appeared in the Aviarium are omitted.

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38 BCBB p. 1481.
39 BCBB p. 1482.
40 Clark, 1992.
fol. 1r: Parrot, only last line remains; Caladrius; Ibis; Ostrich; Coot;
fol. 1v: Haleyon; Phoenix; Cinnamologus; Hoopoe;
fol. 2r: Night Owl; Siren; Magpie; Nightingale; Bat; Crow
fol. 2v: Dove; Turtledove; Anas;
fol. 3r: Bee;
fol. 3v: Sapphire, Diamond from an unidentified Lapidary
fols. 4r-41r: c) Sermones per totam annum, sermons for the whole year, includes some by William de Montibus.42
fols. 41r-47v: d) Anon, ‘Hec oraci’ possibly Odo de Cheriton, Commentary on the Lord’s Prayer.43
fols. 50-51r: e) Extracts from Lombard, Sentences
fol. 52r-v: f) De quatuor miraculis.
fol. 52v: g) de illusione nocturna: Gregory the Great, Libellus responsionum, Gregory’s reply to St Augustine of Canterbury.44

Booklet II:
fols. 61-67: j) Booklet II’s contents are not in medieval catalogue unless they are j) ‘quidem sermones’ and inserted later, out of order. The quire contains notes for sermons and short extracts; possibly in the hand of John Pistor. Macray noted the sermon on St Benedict on fol. 67r, on the verse ‘Surrexit Jonas et abiit Ninevah’ (Jonah 1:3) with the incipit ‘De Beato Bendicto quando contingit feria 2da vel 3a in Passione Domini, vel de Sancto Cuthberto’.45

Booklet III:
fols. 68-75: h) Epistola cuiusdam monachi ad abbatem, incipit: Angustie mihi sunt undique et quid eligam ignoro.46 A letter of complaint from a monk to his abbot which mentions a legatine visit and may refer to Cardinal Ottobueno’s visit to St Augustine’s Abbey in c. 1265. This would provide a post-date for this volume. The same hand as Booklet II.

Booklet IV:

42 BCBB, p. 1479.
43 BCBB, p. 1480.
45 Macray, 1878, p. 25.

Attribution: From St Augustine’s Abbey (BA1.*1564): catalogued in error in the medieval period as *Collecciones Johannis pistoris cum A* although this is Volume A of his sermon collection.

Owned by a monk of St Augustine’s Abbey, John Pistor (thirteenth century), his book has been identified by medieval catalogue entries and Clement of Canterbury marginalia.

Textual Relationship: Not a direct copy of an extant manuscript; closest to Douce 88A; e.g. fol. 1, line 7 adds *corporis* to *hominis* as in Douce 88A but not in other manuscripts; but minor words added and omitted in both bestiaries.

Clark: BL Add. 11283, p. 253 N°.*47.

Stewart, personal communication, Douce 88A.


Figures: 2.03-2.10

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Table: 2.2: Bodl. Rawlinson C. 77 List of extant bestiary chapters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Folio</th>
<th>Chapter Heading</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Parrot</td>
<td>fol. 1r</td>
<td>psitacus</td>
<td>One line only</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>Caladrius</td>
<td>fol. 1r</td>
<td>De Caladrio</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>Ibis</td>
<td>fol. 1r</td>
<td>De Ybice</td>
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<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Ostrich</td>
<td>fol. 1r</td>
<td>De Assida</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Coot</td>
<td>fol. 1r</td>
<td>De Fullica</td>
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<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Halcyon</td>
<td>fol. 1v</td>
<td>De Alcionis</td>
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<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Phoenix</td>
<td>fol. 1v</td>
<td>De Fenice</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Cinnamolgos</td>
<td>fol. 1v</td>
<td>De Cinnamolgo</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Hoopoe</td>
<td>fol. 1v</td>
<td>De Epope</td>
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<td>10.</td>
<td>Little Owl</td>
<td>fol. 2r</td>
<td>De Noctua</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Siren</td>
<td>fol. 2r</td>
<td>De Cerene</td>
<td>two Partridge chapters omitted</td>
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<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Magpie</td>
<td>fol. 2r</td>
<td>De natura pice</td>
<td>omits Hawk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Nightingale</td>
<td>fol. 2r</td>
<td>De lucinia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Bat</td>
<td>fol. 2r</td>
<td>De natura vesp[er]tilionem</td>
<td>omits Raven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Crow</td>
<td>fol. 2v</td>
<td>De Cornice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Dove</td>
<td>fol. 2v</td>
<td>De simplici Columba</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Turtledove</td>
<td>fol. 2v</td>
<td>De Turtur</td>
<td>Swallow, Quail, Peacock, Hoopoe II, Cock omitted</td>
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<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Duck</td>
<td>fol. 2v</td>
<td>Anas</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Bees</td>
<td>fol. 3r</td>
<td>De Natura Apes</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Sapphire</td>
<td>fol. 3v</td>
<td>De Saphiris</td>
<td>From a lapidary</td>
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<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Diamond</td>
<td>fol. 3v</td>
<td>De Amandio</td>
<td>From a lapidary</td>
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Appendix 3
Oxford, Bodl. Douce 88E

This Appendix contains

3.1 Manuscript Description
3.2 Table 3.2 List of Miniatures

3. Oxford, Bodl. Douce 88E s.xiii -xiv

Location: Oxford, Bodleian Library
Shelfmark: Douce 88E (SC 21662)
Date: BCBB: s.xiii -xiv 48
Incipit: Cum voluntas conditoris
20. folio: enni greco Simone
Family: Third family
Contents Letters a)-t) match the medieval catalogue entries.
Summary: a-p) fols. 68r-139v: Third family Bestiary

q) fols. 140r-146v: ps. Joachim of Fiore, Genus Nequam
(pope prophecies) fol. 140r caption ‘Nicho[la]s’ III’ by a papal figure. Pope Nicholas III (1277-1280). 49

r-s) fols. 147r-154v Latin/Anglo-Norman word list ends imperfect.50

t) missing: The story of Susanna. 51

Attribution: St Augustine’s Abbey, identified by matching incipits as BA1.*870 The catalogue indicates the donor was Henry de Burham. Barker-Benfield adds [Kent] after the donor's

49 Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Poets, Saints, and Visionaries of the Great Schism, 1378-1417
(University Park, PA: Penn State Press, 2006), pp. 165-200, p. 167-9 dates these prophecies to
1280-1305, p. 169.
50 BCBB p. 901.
51 BCBB p. 901.
Dines, 2014, argues this work is from Lincoln, and came to St Augustine’s Abbey later.

Provenance: Part of the Francis Douce (1757-1834) bequest to the Bodleian Library; rebound in the nineteenth century with several contemporary texts, and an earlier calendar with an *ex libris* dated 1336 to Thomas de Whatton, rector of Spedhist in Kent.

Size: c. 202 mm x 155 mm; text area 150mm x 115mm

Collation: No catchmarks in Part E; nine quires from fol. 68 (Baxter counts them as quires X-XVIII)\(^5\)

fol. 68: 1-3\(^{12}, 4\) wants 8?, 5-6\(^{6}, 7^{8}, 8^{12}, 9^{3}\) wants 9?

Now bound with other texts, includa bestiary (Douce 88A) on fols. 5r-29r.

Bestiary Hand: Single bookhand written with a thick nib in sepia ink, same hand for fols 140-154.
Rubrication: alternate red and blue two line high initials with penscroll in same hand (?) as text.
*Litterae Notabiliorae*: Occasional red and blue puzzle initials 3-4 lines high in same unprofessional hand (e.g. fol. 132r)
Marginalia: corrections in same hand as scribe; Minor scribbles and pen trials but no names. Poem on Virgin Mary added in late medieval hand at foot of chapter on Unicorn, fols. 85v-86r.

Layout: Single column, ruled in lead, 29-32 lines per page, writing below top line.

Decoration: 143 unframed, brightly-coloured illustrations (colour palette includes orange and green which predominate, plus blue, warm red, yellow, black and sepia); separate Appendix has list. The simply-executed illustrations, with strongly marked outlines are inset into the text or occasionally across full page width (e.g. Sirens fol. 138v), called ‘unprofessional’ by Barker-Benfield.\(^5\) Some of the illustrations appear to be copied or

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\(^{52}\) BCBB p. 900.
\(^{54}\) BCBB p. 899.
adapted from a First family bestiary, Oxford, Bodl., Bodley 602, (Dines 2014).

**Material:**
- Binding: nineteenth-century leather bound covers
- Substrate: Parchment: grubby, stained (e.g. fol. 100r) often yellowy (e.g. fol. 89r), torn (e.g. fol. 125) worm holes fol. 68.

**Bestiary Contents:**
- This is a Third family bestiary. The letters refer to the medieval library catalogue entries.

**fols. 68r- 70r:**
- **a)** Isidore, *Etymologiae* XI.3: incipit ‘*Cum voluntas conditoris cuiusque*’
- Puzzle initial C fol. 68r
- Painted illustrations of monstrous races, fols. 69v-70r.

**fols. 70v-71r**
- Isidore, *Etymologiae* XII.1-i-viii, Adam names the animals, ‘*Omnibus animantibus adam*’. This is at begins the Second family bestiary.55

**fols. 71r-73r**
- ‘*Esse dicitur Animantium vel naturas descripsent; Pliny, Physiologus et Isidore. Porro Bernardus Franci*[ met...e] sed brevit sic descripsit.*’
- Bernardus Silvestris, *Cosmographia* (*Megaacornos*) extracts incipit ‘*Postquam sub caelo stetit.*’56

**fols. 73r-81v**
- Bestiary section on domestic animals, incipit *Bovem greci Ox*, ends with Aper. Illustrated

**fol. 81r**
- On hybrids, incipit ‘*In animantibus Vig[...]a dicuntur. Ends per diuinicionem dicti. Unillustrated,*

**fols. 81v- 82r**
- Introduction incipit ‘*Bestiarum vocabulum proprie leonis, pardis, et tigris, lupis et ursibus & canibus et simii*’ which is the start of the Second family bestiary. After two more sentences the text changes to what Dines suggested is a William de Montibus unpublished distinction on *bestiae*, before endwith an excerpt from *Policraticus VIII.17*, on ‘*Malitia…..deterius est.*’ on fol. 182r.57

**fols. 82r-97r**
- Bestiary section on wild animals, incipit *Leo vocabulum* Lion finishes with the Crocodile and Frog. Illustrated.

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55 Clark 2006, Chapter 32, pp. 150-151
57 Dines, 2013, p. 108.
fols. 97r-105r  Bestiary section on birds (not the *Aviarium*) incipit *Aves dicte sunt* then begins with a chapter on the Eagle, *‘Aquila ab acuminne oculorum’*. Ends imperfect with the Cock or *Gallus* Illustrated.

[The section on fish includes serpents is lost from the start ‘*Pisces dicit unde*’ to the second sentence of *Asp*; traced via comparison to Bodl. E. Mus. 136.]

fols. 106r-113v  Bestiary section on serpents and small animals, start imperfect, at the third sentence on *Aspis ‘uenenum dicunt* and ends imperfect after Gadfly *Asilus*. Illustrated.

fols. 114v-116v  Bestiary section on fabulous animals, start imperfect (centre bi-folio(s) lost between fols 113v-114r) now starts ‘–*das quo pene nihil est aliquid nisi guttur. Melunisse*’ i.e. just before Melusine, to Firestones. Illustrated.


fols. 121v-122r  Continuation of fabulous animals, includthe Phoenix illustrated not with a bird but with a black angel of death, Salamander, followed by ‘horribilis’ large unnamed animals, drawn as a green goat and a tan boar (fol. 122r)

fols. 122r-123v  c) Continuation of bestiary; on trees in the Orient and marvels, finishes with chimacra, incipit *‘In partibus Indie’*. Marginalia: at foot of folio 122r mentions ‘medler’, a medlar fruit tree. Unillustrated.


[e] Medieval cataloguer thought there was a second text on Alexander but there is not one in the manuscript.

fol. 126r  f) Continuation of bestiary; Sybilline prophecies Unillustrated

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59 BCBB p. 900, text also in BA1.980.
fol. 126v-129v  
g) Extract from Suidas, *Probacione virginitas beatae Maria*, incipit ‘Narracione ex libro qui gree vocatur suda quem componerunt’. Unillustrated.

fol. 129v-130r  
h) Continuation of bestiary; Latin verses, anonymous, on abuses of the secular and regular, ‘De duodecim abusione secul’ incipit ‘Rex racione’. Unillustrated.

fol. 130r-131r  

fol. 131r-131v  
‘De Similitudine candele’ on the Blessed Virgin Mary, not in medieval catalogue. Unillustrated.

fol. 132r-135v  

fol. 136r-137v  
k) *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem de situ Indie*, start and end imperfect. Unillustrated.

[l]-o) Missing: Alexander text (Collatio); ‘Versus de Roma’; *Versus de proprietatibus arborum*, *Versus de proprietatibus barbarum*.

fol. 138r-139v  
p) *De Mirabilibus Angliae*, variant, not from *Historia Britonum*, excerpt but only ten lines left, mentions the neolithic standing stones at Rollingright, Oxfordshire, fol. 138r. Third family bestiary ends with Siren, Peredixion Tree, Goose, Sawfish or Serra. Illustrated.

**Textual Affiliation:**  
Dines, 2014, includes Douce 88E in the group of five bestiaries that form the Third family: the other four are: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS 254 (1220–1230); Cambridge, CUL MS Kk. 4.25 (ca. 1230); London, Westminster Abbey MS 22 (ca. 1270–1280); and Oxford, Bodl. e Musaeo 136 (1290–1300), ends imperfect fol. 47.

**Bibliography:**  

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60 BCBB p. 900.  
61 BCBB p. 900.  
63 BCBB p. 901, De Boer,ed., *Epistola Alexandri*, 1953  
64 BCBB p. 901.  
65 BCBB p. 901.
Ker, *MLGB*, p. 46;
Morgan II, p. 174;
BCBB, pp. 898-902;
Stewart 2012, p. 11, p. 60;

**Figures:**
2.11 and 2.12
Table 3.1: List of Miniatures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>folio</th>
<th>Latin Name</th>
<th>Notes: scene, colour</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Monstrous Races</td>
<td>69v</td>
<td>Cynocephalus</td>
<td>Three separate uncaptioned figures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Two Blemmae</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Monstrous Races</td>
<td>70r</td>
<td>Sciapod top and</td>
<td>Ten separate uncaptioned figures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9 others</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Domesticated Animals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Ox</td>
<td>73r</td>
<td>Boves</td>
<td>Orange ox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Bull</td>
<td>73v</td>
<td>Bubalis</td>
<td>Dark blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Sheep</td>
<td>73v</td>
<td>Vervex, oves</td>
<td>Five sheep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Goat</td>
<td>74v</td>
<td>Hircus</td>
<td>White upright, tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Pig</td>
<td>74v</td>
<td>Porcus</td>
<td>Brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Ass</td>
<td>75r</td>
<td>Asinus</td>
<td>With tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Mule/Hinny</td>
<td>75r</td>
<td>Burdo</td>
<td>brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Donkey</td>
<td>75v</td>
<td>Onager</td>
<td>Sits two trees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Wild Ass</td>
<td>75v</td>
<td>Equus</td>
<td>Dappled blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Horse</td>
<td>77v</td>
<td>Mulus</td>
<td>brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Mule</td>
<td>77v</td>
<td>Camulus</td>
<td>Two humps, green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Stag</td>
<td>79r</td>
<td>Cervus</td>
<td>brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Dromedary</td>
<td>78v</td>
<td>Dromedarius</td>
<td>No hump, green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Stag and snake</td>
<td>79v</td>
<td>Cervus</td>
<td>Stag breathes on coiled snake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Red deer</td>
<td>80r</td>
<td>Dama</td>
<td>Antlered brown deer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Goat</td>
<td>80r</td>
<td>Caprea</td>
<td>brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Boar</td>
<td>80v</td>
<td>Aper</td>
<td>tan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wild Animals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Lion with hunter</td>
<td>82v</td>
<td>Leo</td>
<td>Warm brown lion picked out in white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Lion eyes open</td>
<td>82v</td>
<td>Leo II</td>
<td>Yellow possibly added later in foot margin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Lions with cub</td>
<td>83r</td>
<td>Leo III</td>
<td>Family with tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Androcles</td>
<td>83v</td>
<td>Leo IV</td>
<td>Scene: 4 figures &amp; lion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Pard</td>
<td>84v</td>
<td>Pardus</td>
<td>Red head fawn body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Lynx</td>
<td>84v</td>
<td>Linx</td>
<td>Orange with pink spots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Panther and dragon</td>
<td>84r</td>
<td>Pantera</td>
<td>White green spots blue dragon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[Leopard text added in foot margin]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>Bear</td>
<td>85r</td>
<td>Urs</td>
<td>Brown licks red lump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>Unicorn</td>
<td>86r</td>
<td>Rinoceros</td>
<td>Scene with maiden, hunter and trees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>Rhinoceros</td>
<td>86v</td>
<td>Monoceros</td>
<td>White horned horse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Animal</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Species</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>Tiger</td>
<td>86v</td>
<td>Tigris</td>
<td>Scene with mounted hunter, cub, ball</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>Griffin</td>
<td>87r</td>
<td>Grifes</td>
<td>Beaked quadruped bites prone man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>Antelope</td>
<td>87r</td>
<td>Autalops</td>
<td>Horns caught in tree hunter spears it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>Elephant</td>
<td>87v</td>
<td>Elephas</td>
<td>Castle carrying fawn, soldier with palm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>Manticore</td>
<td>88v</td>
<td>Manticora</td>
<td>Orange man-headed pard three rows teeth</td>
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<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>Parandrus</td>
<td>89r</td>
<td>Parandrus</td>
<td>Deer-like, brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>Yale</td>
<td>89r</td>
<td>Elle</td>
<td>Dark blue long opposing horns</td>
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<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>Ape</td>
<td>89v</td>
<td>Simia</td>
<td>Scene hunter, dog, monkeys with babies</td>
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<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>Beaver</td>
<td>90r</td>
<td>Castor</td>
<td>Scene hunter wth bow, green beaver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>Wolf</td>
<td>90v</td>
<td>Lupus</td>
<td>Scene sitting shepherd dog, wolf, 3 sheep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.</td>
<td>Fox</td>
<td>91v</td>
<td>Vulpus</td>
<td>Scene plays dead, three birds, orange fox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>Hyena</td>
<td>92r</td>
<td>Yena</td>
<td>Orange pard attacks man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.</td>
<td>Bonnacon</td>
<td>92v</td>
<td>Bonnacon</td>
<td>Soldier with long shield spears ox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44.</td>
<td>Goat</td>
<td>93r</td>
<td>Ybericis</td>
<td>Green outline on hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45.</td>
<td>Dog</td>
<td>93r</td>
<td>Canus</td>
<td>White dog collared chases hare [Garamantes not illustrated]</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Small Animals**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Animal</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Species</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>46.</td>
<td>Hare</td>
<td>94v</td>
<td>Lepus</td>
<td>Brown long-eared hare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47.</td>
<td>Rabbit</td>
<td>94v</td>
<td>Cuniculus</td>
<td>Brown rabbit chased by white hound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48.</td>
<td>? Polecat</td>
<td>94v</td>
<td>Feles?</td>
<td>White weasel peers into burrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49.</td>
<td>? Melo</td>
<td>94v</td>
<td>Melo</td>
<td>Small black pig</td>
</tr>
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<td>50.</td>
<td>? Porcupine</td>
<td>95r</td>
<td>Ericius simile</td>
<td>Dog chases dark blue piglet</td>
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<td>51.</td>
<td>Cat</td>
<td>95r</td>
<td>Musio</td>
<td>White cat catches mouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52.</td>
<td>Mouse</td>
<td>95r</td>
<td>Mus</td>
<td>Four dark brown mice</td>
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<tr>
<td>53.</td>
<td>Weasel</td>
<td>95r</td>
<td>Mustela</td>
<td>Small white hound-like quadruped</td>
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<td>54.</td>
<td>Mole</td>
<td>95v</td>
<td>Talpa</td>
<td>Dark blue frog</td>
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<tr>
<td>55.</td>
<td>Dormouse</td>
<td>95v</td>
<td>Gliris</td>
<td>White rabbit long tail</td>
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<tr>
<td>56.</td>
<td>Red Squirrel</td>
<td>95v</td>
<td>Cyrrillus</td>
<td>Red-orange squirrel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57.</td>
<td>Hedgehog</td>
<td>96r</td>
<td>Ericius</td>
<td>Two hedgehogs by a tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58.</td>
<td>Ants</td>
<td>96r</td>
<td>Formica</td>
<td>Ants on ground and on wheatstalks</td>
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<tr>
<td>59.</td>
<td>Crocodile</td>
<td>96v</td>
<td>Cocodrillus</td>
<td>Fanged stripy green quadruped</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Animal</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Latin Name</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<td>--------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>60.</td>
<td>? Otter</td>
<td>97r</td>
<td>Luter?</td>
<td>Fawn quadruped</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61.</td>
<td>Eagle</td>
<td>98r</td>
<td>Aquila</td>
<td>Two brown raptors on ground</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62.</td>
<td>Vulture</td>
<td>98v</td>
<td>Vultur</td>
<td>Single brown raptor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63.</td>
<td>Crane</td>
<td>98v</td>
<td>Grues</td>
<td>Dark blue emu picked in white, marginal grey crane holds stone in one claw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64.</td>
<td>Stork</td>
<td>99r</td>
<td>Cytonia</td>
<td>Grey and blue gull with long orange beak and legs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65.</td>
<td>Olor</td>
<td>99r</td>
<td>Swan</td>
<td>White with black beak and webbed feet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66.</td>
<td>Bucio</td>
<td>99v</td>
<td>Bittern</td>
<td>Long-legged fawn duck</td>
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<tr>
<td>67.</td>
<td>Heron</td>
<td>99v</td>
<td>Ardea</td>
<td>Accurate white bird dips beak in water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68.</td>
<td>Ibis</td>
<td>99v</td>
<td>Ibis</td>
<td>Orange swan-like bites tail feathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69.</td>
<td>Phoenix</td>
<td>100r</td>
<td>Fenix</td>
<td>Red and yellow gull in flaming nest</td>
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<tr>
<td>70.</td>
<td>Caladrius</td>
<td>100r</td>
<td>Caladrius</td>
<td>White bird looks away from man in bed</td>
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<tr>
<td>71.</td>
<td>Ostrich</td>
<td>100r</td>
<td>Assida</td>
<td>Green and orange cloven-hooved on eggs</td>
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<tr>
<td>72.</td>
<td>Hericine</td>
<td>100v</td>
<td>Hericine</td>
<td>Green and orange crested partridge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73.</td>
<td>Coot</td>
<td>100v</td>
<td>Fulica</td>
<td>‘Sulica’ green and orange small bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74.</td>
<td>Halcyon</td>
<td>100r</td>
<td>Alcion</td>
<td>White gull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75.</td>
<td>Seagull</td>
<td>101r</td>
<td>Mergus</td>
<td>Dark blue small duck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76.</td>
<td>Quail</td>
<td>101r</td>
<td>Coturnix</td>
<td>Small brown bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77.</td>
<td>? Coot</td>
<td>101r</td>
<td>Fulica similes</td>
<td>Orange small bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78.</td>
<td>Duck &amp; Goose</td>
<td>101r</td>
<td>Anas &amp; Anser</td>
<td>Dark blue nesting bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79.</td>
<td>Parrot</td>
<td>101v</td>
<td>Psittacus</td>
<td>Green parrot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80.</td>
<td>Pelican</td>
<td>101v</td>
<td>Pelicanus</td>
<td>Green &amp; brown stripes pecks breast for chicks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81.</td>
<td>Hoopoe</td>
<td>102r</td>
<td>Utopa</td>
<td>Crestes black and white bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82.</td>
<td>Hawk</td>
<td>102r</td>
<td>Accipiter</td>
<td>Mid-blue raptor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83.</td>
<td>Falcon</td>
<td>102r</td>
<td>Falcone</td>
<td>Small blue raptor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84.</td>
<td>Merlin</td>
<td>102r</td>
<td>Merlon?</td>
<td>Hawk, added to margin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85.</td>
<td>Partridge</td>
<td>102v</td>
<td>Perdix</td>
<td>Two tiny brown birds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86.</td>
<td>Cinnamolgus</td>
<td>103r</td>
<td>Cinnamolgus</td>
<td>Two boys with sticks, nest in tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87.</td>
<td>Pica</td>
<td>103r</td>
<td>Magpie</td>
<td>Accurate depiction of a magpie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88.</td>
<td>Cuckoo</td>
<td>103v</td>
<td>Cuculus</td>
<td>Small brown bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89.</td>
<td>Jackdaw or Chough</td>
<td>103v</td>
<td>Graculus</td>
<td>Green bird in tree shot with arrow by hunter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90.</td>
<td>Crow</td>
<td>103v</td>
<td>Corvus</td>
<td>A big black bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Animal</td>
<td>Line</td>
<td>Latin Name</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>Jackdaw</td>
<td>104r</td>
<td>Monedula</td>
<td>Black bird eating berries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>Bat</td>
<td>104r</td>
<td>Vespertilio</td>
<td>Two black leaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>Little Owl</td>
<td>104r</td>
<td>Noctua</td>
<td>Small black bird not owl-like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>Tawny Owl</td>
<td>104r</td>
<td>Ulula</td>
<td>Fawn owl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>Eagle Owl</td>
<td>104v</td>
<td>Bubo</td>
<td>Slightly larger owl, brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>Nightingale</td>
<td>104v</td>
<td>Lucia</td>
<td>Small brown bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>Turtledove</td>
<td>104v</td>
<td>Turtur</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>Dove</td>
<td>104v</td>
<td>Columba</td>
<td>White with blue wings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>Swallow</td>
<td>105r</td>
<td>Hyrindo</td>
<td>Black swallow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Lark</td>
<td>105r</td>
<td>Alauda</td>
<td>Tiny brown bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>Blackbird</td>
<td>105r</td>
<td>Merula</td>
<td>Small brown bird; text added and two more drawn in a tree in margin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>Pavo</td>
<td>105v</td>
<td>Peacock</td>
<td>Crested, blue and green orange wings</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Snakes:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Animal</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Latin Name</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>Asp</td>
<td>106r</td>
<td>Aspis</td>
<td>Man &amp; scroll asp tail in ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>King snake</td>
<td>106r</td>
<td>Dipsis</td>
<td>Large black snake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>Prester asp</td>
<td>106v</td>
<td>Aspis</td>
<td>Green with orange wings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>Gem Asp</td>
<td>106v</td>
<td>Gemmis aspidis</td>
<td>White with blue spots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>Rat snake</td>
<td>106v</td>
<td>Emoris</td>
<td>Blank space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>Small snake</td>
<td>106v</td>
<td>Seps</td>
<td>Not illustrated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>Crested snake</td>
<td>106v</td>
<td>Seratis serpens</td>
<td>Crested spotty snake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>Scytalis</td>
<td>107r</td>
<td>Scytalis</td>
<td>Green with fawn wings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>Amphisbeana</td>
<td>107r</td>
<td>Amphisbeana</td>
<td>Two-headed snake, long ears</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>Coluber</td>
<td>107r</td>
<td>Coluber</td>
<td>Winged, bearded beaked eared grey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>Boa</td>
<td>107v</td>
<td>Boas</td>
<td>Green snake milks orange cow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>Iaculus</td>
<td>107v</td>
<td>Iaculus</td>
<td>Orange and white coiled snake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115</td>
<td>Serpent</td>
<td>107v</td>
<td>Serpens</td>
<td>Green eared bipedal snake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
<td>White snake</td>
<td>107v</td>
<td>Serpentes albi</td>
<td>White winged snake, green orange-spotted legged winged eared snake below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117</td>
<td>Setula</td>
<td>108r</td>
<td>Setula</td>
<td>Bipedal fawn worm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>Lizard</td>
<td>108r</td>
<td>Lacertus</td>
<td>White lizard drawn from above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>Toad</td>
<td>108r</td>
<td>Botrax</td>
<td>Drawn as green lizard from above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>Salamander</td>
<td>108r</td>
<td>Salamandra</td>
<td>White lizard black spotted spine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121</td>
<td>Lizard</td>
<td>108v</td>
<td>Lacertus</td>
<td>Another lizard green: Later scribble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td>Gecko or lizard</td>
<td>108v</td>
<td>Stellio</td>
<td>Orange, winged, white and blue tail bipedal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>Serpent</td>
<td>108v</td>
<td>Serpens</td>
<td>Orange snake with white wrinkled old skin around middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Animal</td>
<td>Folio</td>
<td>Latin Name</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td>Worms</td>
<td>110r</td>
<td>Uermis</td>
<td>Green worm in white coil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125</td>
<td>Spider</td>
<td>110r</td>
<td>Aranea</td>
<td>Eight legs and two pincers black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>Leech</td>
<td>110r</td>
<td>Sanguisuga</td>
<td>Black worm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127</td>
<td>Scorpion</td>
<td>110v</td>
<td>Scorpio</td>
<td>Round fawn body, four pincer legs and a tail, human face green stripes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128</td>
<td>Milipede</td>
<td>111r</td>
<td>Multipes</td>
<td>Eight-legged shell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129</td>
<td>Silkworm</td>
<td>111r</td>
<td>Bombices</td>
<td>Fawn worm with antennae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td>Frog</td>
<td>111v</td>
<td>Rana</td>
<td>Small brown frog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td>Bees</td>
<td>111v</td>
<td>Apes</td>
<td>Two men one veiled one with scythe swarm of bees entering woven domed beehive. Bee chapter starts on fol. 112r.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fabulous Animals:**

*starts imperfect*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Animal</th>
<th>Folio</th>
<th>Latin Name</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>132</td>
<td>Cerberus</td>
<td>114v</td>
<td>Cerberus</td>
<td>Three headed brown dog with red collar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133</td>
<td>Chimaera</td>
<td>115r</td>
<td>Chimaera</td>
<td>Hybrid with human face about to be shot with an arrow by a blue dappled centaur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>Firestones</td>
<td>116v</td>
<td>Lapides igniferi</td>
<td>Clothed human figures each surrounded by orange flames.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135</td>
<td>Death</td>
<td>121v</td>
<td>Mors</td>
<td>Black winged angel at foot of bed with a l dying man: ‘mors depingitur alata quis velox est os patulum habet quis insatiabilis est.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136</td>
<td>Salamander</td>
<td>121v</td>
<td>Salamandra</td>
<td>White lizard with yellow spine, text on Camaleon and Hippopotamus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137</td>
<td>Great goat</td>
<td>122r</td>
<td>Hiricina</td>
<td>Large horned green goat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138</td>
<td>Great boar</td>
<td>122r</td>
<td>Similes</td>
<td>Tusked fawn quadruped with long tail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139</td>
<td>Sirens</td>
<td>138r</td>
<td>Sirene</td>
<td>Three mermaids with wings float on water like ducks enticing four sailors in a boat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140</td>
<td>Sirens</td>
<td>138v</td>
<td>Sirens</td>
<td>Two play instruments and one sings, similar to Douce 602, fol. 10r.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td>Dragon and Perindens Tree</td>
<td>138v</td>
<td>Pernindens Tree et Draco</td>
<td>Orange winged dragon lurks by tree with nesting doves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142</td>
<td>Geese</td>
<td>139r</td>
<td>Anser</td>
<td>Three grey geese; orange bills and feet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143</td>
<td>Sailfish/Sawfish</td>
<td>139r</td>
<td>Serra</td>
<td>3 sailors in cog, winged fish-eagle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144</td>
<td>Pig</td>
<td>139v</td>
<td>Porcus</td>
<td>January task? pig-killing, unrelated to text.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 4
BA1.755 and Worcester Q. 56

This Appendix contains
4.1 Manuscpt Description
4.2 Table of Contents and Comparison with Aviarium and DC Bestiary
4.3 Table of Contents for Worcester Q.56
4.4 Table of Contents for Oxford Bodl. Auct. F infra 1.3

4.1 Worcester, Cathedral Library Q. 56

Location: Worcester, Cathedral Library

Shelfmark: Q. 56

Vol. Incipit: Hon nomen Maria habet quinque literas

2o folio: maledictionis

Family: Excerpts from an Aviarium and a Dicti Chrysostomi bestiary

Contents: Exempla and sermons. The matched works include:
-de naturis avium et animalium moralizat (Aviarium excerpts) fols. 49r-53
-Dicti Chrysostomi bestiary excerpts: fols. 53v-56v;
-A. Neckam, De Natura Rerum, fols. 56v-68v
-R. Holcot(?), Tractatus qui incipit Convertimini, fols. 68v-112r
-Tractatus qui incipit per modum Alphabeti, is possibly the Compendium moralitatum by James of Lausanne (?), fols. 112r-153v.66

Provenance: Shelfmark and catalogue evidence: in Worcester Cathedral priory probably before the Dissolution. Copied from BA1.755. This is deduced from the incipits listed under BA1.755 in the St Augustine's Abbey medieval library catalogue which match this extant volume.

66 BCBB, p. 807.
On fol. 196 the name Wardeboys is written; John Wardboys was Abbot of the Benedictine Abbey of Ramsay 1473-c.1489.

The original book, no longer extant, belonged either to Abbot John Hawkhurst (1427-30) or possibly a deacon of the same name ordained in 1455. When and where the Carmelite friars, such as John Staunche, copied the texts from BA1.755 is not known. This probably happened in the late fifteenth century, based on the script. The work was probably copied because it contains sermon on the Virgin Mary to whom the Carmelite Order was and is particularly drawn. This volume was passed to the Benedictines at Worcester at some point, possibly via Ramsay Abbey.

Thomson notes that Thomson thinks it came to Worcester after the Dissolution but BCBB thinks was there before, although he does not mention the Wardboys evidence.

**Date:** s. xvii

**Size:** 260 mm x 175 mm

**Layout:** single column, 44 lines, written in anglicana by a single scribe (changes at fol. 163), decorated initial with blue filigree, alternate blue and red chapter marks.

**Collation:** 1-1712, with intermittent folios lost (14 wants 7-12; 17 wants 11-12).

**Folios:** fols. 1-96; aviary and bestiary excerpts on fols. 49r-68v

**Illustration:** Not illustrated

**Textual Affiliation:** Following Barker-Benfield's discovery of the matched incipits, this thesis links these *Aviarium* and bestiary excerpts and other exempla and
sermons to a volume which originally belonged to St Augustine's Abbey (no longer extant) but mentioned in the medieval catalogue, BA1.755.

**Bibliography:** This manuscript has not been mentioned in any detail except by Thomson and Gullick, 2001 and BCBB; it has not been noted in any bestiary scholarship. 70

**Figure:** 2.13

Table 4.1: Worcester Q. 56 *Aviarium* and Bestiary Excerpts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aviarium Chapter No. &amp; Title (Clark 1992)</th>
<th>Birds Excerpts</th>
<th>DC Bestiary chapter headings &amp; Excerpts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BL Sloane 278 &amp; Aviary excerpts</td>
<td>DC Bestiary Excerpts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BL Sloane 278 &amp; Aviary excerpts</td>
<td>DC Bestiary Excerpts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worcester Q56 fols. 49r-53v</td>
<td>Worcester Q.56, fols. 53v-56v</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aviarium Chapter No. &amp; Title (Clark 1992)</th>
<th>Birds Excerpts</th>
<th>DC Bestiary chapter headings &amp; Excerpts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17: Hawk</td>
<td>49r de ancipitris</td>
<td>1. Lion: de leone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23: Turtledove</td>
<td>De Turtur</td>
<td>2. Panther: de pantera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1: Three Colours of the Dove</td>
<td>de Tribus Columba</td>
<td>3. Unicorn: de monocerote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32: Sparrow</td>
<td>49 v: Passer</td>
<td>4. Siren &amp; Onocentaur de Sirenis et Onocentauris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38: Pelican</td>
<td>50v: Pellicano</td>
<td>5. Hydrus: de Ydris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39: Little Owl</td>
<td>Nicticonax</td>
<td>6. Hyena: de hyena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40: Raven</td>
<td>Corvus</td>
<td>7. Elephant: de elephante</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41: Cock</td>
<td>51r: Gallus</td>
<td>8. Wild Ass &amp; Ape de onagro, de simia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42: Ostrich</td>
<td>Penne Strutionis</td>
<td>9. Antelope: de autula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43: Vulture</td>
<td>de Vultur</td>
<td>10. Lizard: de lacerta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44: crane</td>
<td>Grues</td>
<td>11. Sawfish: de serra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45: Kite [No Swallow or Stork]</td>
<td>51v: Milvus</td>
<td>12. Viper: de vipera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48 Blackbird</td>
<td>Merula</td>
<td>13. Stag: de cervo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50: Jay</td>
<td>52r: Graculus</td>
<td>15. Fox: de vulpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51: Goose</td>
<td>Anser</td>
<td>16. Ostrich: de asida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53: Caladrius</td>
<td>Caladrius</td>
<td>17. Beaver: de castore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52: Heron [No phoenix]</td>
<td>Ardea</td>
<td>18. Ant: de formica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57: Hoopoe</td>
<td>Upupa</td>
<td>20. Salamander: de salamandra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58: Swan</td>
<td>Olor</td>
<td>21. Weasel &amp; Asp: Mustela</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.2: Worcester Cathedral Q.56 and St Augustine references

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Folios</th>
<th>Contents Worcester Cathedral Q.56</th>
<th>St Augustine Owner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1r-8v</td>
<td><em>Tractatus qui incipit hoc nomen maria cum tabula F.</em> Galuani de Ianua, <em>Collationes super Lucani</em> (?)</td>
<td>John Hawkhurst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8v-44v</td>
<td><em>Narraciones diuerse</em> Incipit: <em>Auis rapax sumit audaciam ad rapiendam sine ventribus si de sanguine</em></td>
<td>J. Hawkhurst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44v-48v</td>
<td><em>Adueniens – Christus</em> Index to the first two works - added later(?)</td>
<td>J. Hawkhurst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49r-68v</td>
<td><em>De naturis avium et animalium moralizat</em> (excerpts from <em>Aviarium</em> fols. 49r-53v; <em>DC bestiary</em> fols. 53v-56v; A. Neckam, <em>De Natura Rerum</em>, fols 56v-68v)</td>
<td>J. Hawkhurst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68v-112r</td>
<td><em>Couvertimini</em>, Robert Holcot, <em>Tractatus qui incipit Convertimini</em></td>
<td>? William Joseph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112r-153r</td>
<td><em>James of Lausanne, Compendium moralitatum</em> perhaps <em>Tractatus qui incipit per modum Alphabeti</em></td>
<td>? W. Joseph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153v-159v</td>
<td><em>Exempla extracta de Johanne Crisostomo super matheum</em></td>
<td>J. Hawkhurst</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.3: Oxford, Bodl. Auct F inf 1.3 Part 1:
Contents and identified St Augustine references

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Folios</th>
<th>Contents: Oxford, Bodl. Auct F inf 1.3 Part 1</th>
<th>St Augustine Book Owner BA1.755</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1r-6v</td>
<td>Incipit: <em>Hoc nomen Maria quinque habet litteras</em>, poss. <em>Lectiones in Lucam</em> F. Galuani de Ianua (fl.1348)</td>
<td>John Hawkhurst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6v-32r</td>
<td>Incipit: <em>Auis rapax, sumit audaciam ad</em>. <em>Narraciones diverse</em> (ref. to Isidore ‘12.eth’ on f.7v)</td>
<td>John Hawkhurst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32v-35r</td>
<td><em>Adueniens – Christus</em> index to the first two works</td>
<td>John Hawkhurst (^2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35v-40r</td>
<td>Incipit: <em>Due sunt species ancipitis, domesticus et silvestris</em> <em>De naturis avium et animalium moralizat</em></td>
<td>John Hawkhurst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40r-44r</td>
<td><em>Exempla extracta de Johanne Crisostomo super matheum</em></td>
<td>John Hawkhurst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44v-81v</td>
<td><em>Marian Sermons</em> 1-31</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81v-93r</td>
<td><em>Sermons on the Name of Jesus</em> 32-42</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93r-96r</td>
<td><em>Index to Sermons</em></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\(^2\) Attributed to Carmelite John Staunch in Auct F. infra 1.3, but also in Worcester Q56 and in BA1.755 catalogue entry.
Worcester Q.56 fol. 1r ‘Hoc nomen Mariae habet quinque litteras’
Appendix 5
Oxford, Bodl. Laud Misc. 247 D

Appendix 5 contains the following sections:

5.1 Summary Description
5.2 Manuscript Description
5.3 Quire Signatures Table
5.4 ‘History Books’ Comparison Table
5.5 Bestiary Chapter Heading Table

5.1 Summary Description:

Oxford, Bodley, Laud Misc. 247\(^{73}\); Histories and a bestiary

**Date** s.xi \(^{ex}\)

A collection of history texts centred around a bestiary; includes Victor of Vita’s *Vandal Persecutions*, Paul the Deacon’s *History of the Lombards*, Einhard’s *Charlemagne*, the earliest extant Latin bestiary from England, followed by the *Alexander* group texts, and *Apollonius of Tyre*. One of a group of histories produced at Christ Church Priory, Canterbury at this period.

5.2 Manuscript Description

**Manuscript Items**

1. fol. 1v Contents
2. fols. 2r-42r Victor of Vita, *Historia persecutionis Africanae provinciae*
3. fols. 45r-122v Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*
4. fols. 123r-138v Einhard, *Vita Caroli Magni Imperatoris*
5. fols. 139v-169v *Liber Bestiarum*
6. fols. 169v-170v *Sententia Beati Augustini de imagine Dei in homine*
7. fols. 171v-185v Ortus, *Vita et Obitus Alexandri Macedonis*

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This appendix considers the evidence: from the book itself; from an examination of extant contemporary manuscripts with confirmed Canterbury provenances; and from a reassessment of the research on Canterbury books of the period of 1070-1130; to ascertain whether a more detailed date and provenance may be established. This is a
viable three-pronged attack as there is not only a sufficiently large tranche of extant manuscripts with firm Canterbury provenances dating from the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries but also a body of scholarship that has already undertaken such comparative codicological, iconographic and palaeographic analysis techniques. Therefore, the bestiary text in Laud Misc. 247 will be assessed with reference to Christ Church books, including the remains of a seven volume Martyrology, a pontifical, and non-liturgical books, drawing on analyses by James, Bishop, Gameson, Webber and Gullick.

Beyond these comparative techniques, there is also a qualitative approach to dating and broad location pursued by Erik Kwakkel which uses the corpus of dated medieval manuscripts and specific letter features (such as the biting of letters into each other and changes to the serifs on minims), to establish changes and differences over the long twelfth century transition from minuscule to gothic letter forms. Both these palaeographic analyses are used to examine Laud Misc. 247, beginning with the qualitative approach following the codicological examination of the book and in particular the bestiary, beginning with textual contents.

**Textual Contents:**

*fol. 1v* Contents – twice
Top untidy but clear early medieval hand;
below in large display hand in turquoise with red infill in first letter ‘hystoria wandalorum’. The rest of the list has large royal blue initials and black text.

1. *Historia Wandalorum*
[Victor of Vita, *Historia persecutionis Africae provinciae*, CPL 798]

2. *Historia Longobardorum* (autore Eginhardo)
[Einhard, *Vita of Charlemagne*]

3. *Lib[er] Bestiarum*
[3a. Sententia beati Aug[ustine] de imagine dei in homine (quire filler) omitted]

4. *Ortus Uita, Obitus Alexandri Magni*

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5. Epistola eiusdem ad Magistrum suum

[5a. Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi, omitted]

6. Liber Appollonii

fol. 2r Victor, Bishop of Vita, Historia Persecutionis Vandalice

Incipit QUONDAM/VETERES OB/STUDIUM SAPIENTIE

Decorated Initial: Beautifully decorated initial [Q] with green dots, purple swirls inside the red letter, very similar CCA Lit E. 42 Passionale (The ‘A’s in the rustic capitals look like triangles because the crossbars so low, a Caroline miniscule feature)

Ex libris of Archbishop Laud in foot margin dated 1633

fol. 43v-44r blank

fol. 44v Paul the Deacon, Historia Langobardorum

Incipit cap[itu]la libri primi hystorie gentis langobar [inserted above as scribe ran out of space]dorum

fol. 45r Eleven line high [septemtrionalis] decorated initial again red with purple and green

fol. 123 Einhard, Vita Karoli Magni Imperatoris

Incipit: ‘Incipit vita Karoli Magni Imperatoris’

fol. 138r Explicit: explicit vita karoli magni imp[er]atoris

fol. 138v-139r blank

fol. 139v liber bestiarum Contents list

Incipit in red: Incipiunt Capitula Libri Bestiarv[m]::-

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77 Identified by its incipit ‘Quondam ueteres ob studium sapientic’ via In Principio, as the work of Victor, Bishop of Vita (fl. 488), Historia persecutionis Africanae provinciae, ed. C. Halm, Monumentis Germaniae Historici (Berlin: Wiedmann, 1888) also known as History of the Vandal Persecutions.


79 Einhard, Vita Karoli Magni, ed. by G. H. Pertz, Monumentis Germaniae Historici (Hanover: 1845, repr. 1905)

80 There is no recent published First family bestiary scholarly edition or translation but see Stewart 2012, Appendices. See M. F. Mann, Der Bestiaire duin des Guillaume le clerc, (Heilbronn: Verlag von Gebr. Henninger, 1888), pp. 37-73, which has a transcription of London, British Library, Royal 2 C XII, fols. 133r-146v; an unillustrated First family bestiary with detailed glossing (340 x 240 mm, 2 column format with alternate red and blue rubrication dating from s.xiii) possibly from St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, since it has a partial ex libris mentioning Thomas de Bredone, Abbot there 1224-1228. On BL Royal C XII see Ilya Dines, ‘The Bestiary in British Library, Royal MS. 2 C. XII and its Role in Medieval Education’ in Electronic British Library Journal, Article 9 (2014), 1-22.
Initial D in purple (six lines high with swirl) then across the page, three or four chapter headings per line each with two line high coloured initial D which is either a capital, indicated by * or a rustic initial:

De [purple initial] tribus naturis leonis De [green initial] AUTOLOPS De [red initial] lapide/ ignifero que vocant therobolam De [purple initial] ferra in mare/


De [red] Fenice D*e [green] Hupupa D*e [red] tribus naturis formice/


Hydris D*e [purple] Dorchon De [green] honagro (‘e’ close to drawing and away from D here) De [red] Simia D*e [purple]/ Fulica De [green] Panthera De [red] duab; naturis aspidis celonis./


De [green] Adamante De [purple] Mermecolion S[red] unt om-xxx.vi. x/pliciunt capitula [although there are 37]

Line Drawing: half-page, unframed, fine line: highly Romanesque in style. Two scenes one above the other: above; in profile, two lions and a cub; below; two lions couchant face the reader.

Top scene: the upright but bowing mother (?) lion holds the chest of her cub in her mouth, supporting it with her forepaws for the also upright father (?) lion to lick (and presumably breathe over)
with his open mouth while holding the cub’s head. This scene references not only the lion as a figure for the redemptive Christ, breathing life into his cub, but also for the rebirth of baptism as the mother holds up her cub as if for blessing. All three lions have long manes, the mother’s ends in curls, the cub and his father’s manes are straight (perhaps referring to curly-maned as gentle and straight-maned lions as fierce in the text). They also have long tails (same length as their bodies) ending in leaf-like tassle. They have been drawn after the scene below as the father’s foreleg has been omitted from the drawing while the mother’s claws are drawn on top of the couchant lion below her.

Lower scene: Two lion are crouching, touching each other and facing the reader, wide-awake but resting their jaws on their forepaws which makes them look rather fed-up. Their faces resemble the animal head masks used to decorate inhabited Romanesque initials. Their rounded-ears make them look like bears but the lion on the left has the requisite long and tassled tail. They represent the watchfulness of Christ.

Incipit: De TRIBUS NATURIS LEONIS BESTIARVM/SEU ANIMALIUM REGIS. Et en iacob benedi/cens filiu/suum iudam: ait Catulus leonis iudas/filius meus. Quis suscitabit eum. Fisiologus dicit. Tres/naturales habere leonem. Prima...

Initial: D (purple 3 lines high, decorated initial with small scroll also in purple like a stylized rose and leaf)

Text: written in sepi ink in single column of 29 lines.

Titulus: Eighth line from bottom: Ethimologia (in red, a gap then:) domin[us] in eus obdor-/miens in cruce & sepultus: deitas ei vigilabat. Ecce non / dormitabit neque dormiet qui custodit isrl. Tertia virtus [in red]

Initial: C 2 lines

Incipit: CVM LEENA parit catulus

Explicit: Stretched out to make end of page:
Prostrati/enim parcunt - . captiuos – obvios -/repidare – permittunt –//- hominem/non nisi magna/-Fame-//-interimunt-// - :

**Titulus:** DE AUTALOPS in red at foot of fol. 140v

**Note:** dracaena [l.12] mentioned in margin but not written in red unlike Ethimologia ysidori [line 2] and de autalops on 30th line

**fol. 141r**

**Line Drawing:** 9 lines high: Autalops with serrated horns entangled in foliage.

**Incepit:** EST Animal acerrimus

**Explicit:** apostatare faciunt homines a deo

**fol. 141v**

[Firestones] **Line drawing:** six lines high of six tombstone-like rounded humps just over two lines high, man bearded and moustached naked behind tombstone no.2, points but arm not outstretched to woman looking at him with outstretched left hand bent at elbow nude and large full breasts behind tombstone 4, flames behind.

**Titulus:** in red one word in each first four humps (rocks or firestones): Lapides quos terobole vocant

17 lines of text (last line 1 word)

**Incepit:** SUNT LAPIDES igniferi in quoda- monte orientis/ qui grece dicunt TEROBOLEM. Masculus et femina/ Istri quando longe sunt ab inuice- : ignis in eis non accenditur.

**Explicit:** in filios inobedientiez/ debachatur

At foot of page, on same line as debachatur red: Serra and below

**Line drawing** (ca. 5 lines high) A dragon-like creature, ears, snout, long, furry neck, wings straight back like ‘R’ monster initial in CCA Lit Ms E 42 Passionale and four loops to tail.

**fol. 142r**

**Incepit:** EST BELUA in mare que dicit serra.

**Explicit:** Qui vero per manserunt usque in finem:/ hi salui erunt [Matt. 24.13].

**Titulus:** Caladriu[m] (Ranged right on last line of text (18 lines)

**Line Drawing:** ca. 8 – 9 lines high drawn close to text - tituli impinges, so drawn afterwards. Bird wings outspread like an eagle
talons out about to land looks right towards a man in bed with highly stylized drapery, he is clean shaven with one arm out of covers palm down.

*Incipit:* EST volatile quod dicitur caladrius

End page: est in egritudine

**fol. 142v**

constitus. [30 lines]


**fol. 143r**

*Tituli:* Pelicanus et pulli eius

*Line Drawing:* Three chicks peck the necks of their parents – same bird design as Caladrius

*Initial:* D decorated initial purple bowl of d with red bent back ascender and 4 red dots in bowl.

*Incipit:* DICIT DAVID in psalmo centesimo primo. Similis

End page: P[red 3 lines]eicanos avis egiptia [*Ethimologia – red ranged right]/

**fol. 143v**

[the rest of pelican chapter]

*Incipit:* D[red]E NICTICORACE IN/ eodem psalmo dicit/

*Line Drawing:* A faintly owl-shaped bird sits to the right

*Titulus:* Nicticorax que 7 noctua dicit[ur]

*Explicit:* Ethimologia [in red on right]/ Nicticorax ipsa est & noctua & est avis lucifuga & sole/ videre n- patitur.

Below red smudge of a start of a letter for *titulus* which should have been Aquila

*Line Drawing:* 7 lines high of long beaked bird, wings outspread, head pointing left, talons to right. Incipit at top of

**fol. 144r:**

DE AQUILA dicit david in psalmo centesimo secundo.[Ps. 103.5]

*Explicit:* ut aquile inuentus tua.

*Tituli:* Ethimologia 16 lines down, ranged right in red

*Initial:* A [purple initial 2 lines]

*Incipit:* Aquila ab acumine oculorum

*Explicit:* Et quos uiderit/flectere oculos: quasi degeneris abicit.
Tituli: Then ranged right again on last line of text: Fenix

Line Drawing: Bird 10 lines high, facing left but bending its head right down long peacock neck, one wing right forward and hanging down other along its back

Note: marginalia indicate rubrics and tituli e.g. ‘de libre’ cut off near ‘Ethimologia’ on fol. 144r

fol. 144v

Incipit: EST ALIUD uolatile quod dicit[ur] fenix

Excipit: 30 lines: sed ad implere. Et iterum/ end of page

fol. 145r

Phoenix continues

Sic erit omnis

Titulus: Ranged right in red Ethimologia

Initial: F [3 lines green]

Incipit: Fenix arabie avis dicta quod colore feniceu habeat.

Explicit: 7 lines: incendium nutrit.

Titulus: Beneath first titulus in red: Hupupa et pulli eius

Line Drawing: Two chicks pluck at bird facing right and 2 chicks offer vines with bunches of grapes one into her mouth.

Initial: D [red]


End page: 15 lines: Homines cum sint rationabiles

parentu[m] and on same line: ‘Ethimologia’ in red on right

Hupupa ideo greci

Excipit: 4 lines demones suffocare videbat.

Incipit: DE tribus natura formica

Note: line drawing of ‘de natura formica’ missing, only titulus

First nature of the ant continues for rest of the side.

fol. 145v

The first chapter on the ant continues for five lines.

Excipit: extinctis

Titulus: De secundum natura

Initial: Q [red, 2 lines]

Incipit: Quando recondite grana
Excipit: non intelligibilia.

Titulus: De tercia natura

Initial: T[purple, 2 lines]

Incipit: Tempore messis

fol.146r

The third nature of the ant continues three lines and a word.

Excipit: atque inimical sunt/ ueritati.

Titulus: [on same line as ueritati]: Ethimologia.

Initial: [Still on the same line] F [green, 2 lines high]


Excipit: [stretched out over two and a half lines lines to start next chapter at top of next folio] quia alii animali/bus ut Formica est; formici aute- leo.

fol.147r

Syrene et Onocentauri

Rubric: Syrene que uocantur et onocentauri [centred above line drawing]

Line drawing: a mermaid pointing to onocentaur who is wearing a pointed cap (like a paper boat) and who points to his mouth with his right hand and towards his hind quarters with his left.

Initial: I (3 lines high)

Incipit: saias dicit. Sirena & demonia stabunt in babilonia.

fol.147v

Propheta david dicit. Homo cum in honore esset non Co[m]parus est iumentis insipientibus & similis factus est illis.

Titulus: on right: Ethimologia

Initial: S (rubric 2 lines)

Incipit: SIRENAS tres fingunt fuisse./

Titulus: herinacuis

Line Drawing: a tusked pig studded in drawing pins (the grapes he carries on his spines from the vineyard of the Lord) biting off a bunch of grapes amidst foliates vines with grapes.

Incipit: Phisiologus Dicit quod herinacius figura habet porcella lactentis.
Excipit: & super eam & fixos in [corrected from 'ita'] spinus race/mos portat natis suus.

Titulus: Ybex. et unde uiuat

Line Drawing: A long-necked bird in profile, with its left wing lifted up, stretches its neck to the right to delicately take the head of a wide-eyed dead fish in its raptor beak. Queued up behind the fish are a rat and two more fish, their wide eyes signaling that they too are all dead. It also looks like they are leaning towards the large bird as if asking for blessing. Impinges into gutter and claws touch letters of ‘dicit- ibex’ below.

Initial: E [red 3 lines high]

Incipit: EST uolatile quod dicitur ibex. Hoc scdm legem im/mundum est pre omnibus uolatilibus.

fol. 149r

[Ibis continues]

Excipit: & ex eis gratissimu- cibu- nidis suis deportat

Titulus: De uulpe 7 qua- dolose capit aues

Line Drawing: 8 lines high. The fox lies flat on its back and allows four birds to peck its tail, forepaw, tongue and ear. The titulus has fitted round the drawing.

Initial: U [red 2 lines]

Incipit: UULPIS EST animal dolosu-. & nimis fraudulent/tu- & ingenios-.

fol. 149v

Vulpes continues

Explicit: as cadauer eius aues: rapit & deuorat

Titulus: Rinoceros 7 quomodo/ capiatur

Line Drawing: Well-composed scene taking up all the available 8 line space and extending into the gutter to fit in the eleven line high figure of the hunter, wearing a short tunic, a cap and with a horn on a thin thong slung across his body like a schoolboy’s satchel. He is spearing with a fine long spear the fleshly hindleg of the goat-like unicorn. This creature floats in mid-air and rests its long horned head on the lap of a cloaked woman who sits on snail-shell rocks by a stylized foliate tree with her feet stiffly stuck
out in front of her, pointing up to the creatures hind hooves and the point of the spear piercing its body. Her arm extends along the back of the unicorn as if to comfort it and emphasise its wound, while her right hand grips its horn.

Initial: E [red 2 lines high]

Incipit: EST ANIMAL QUOD grece monoceros. Latine uo [uero] unicorn/is dicitur.

Unicorn continues: unu- cornu habens in medio capite

Explicit: [penultimate line]: Bene go de unicorne dictu- est.

Initial: R [purple three lines high]

Incipit: RINOCERON a grecis uocatur [last line]

Unicorn continues for 13 lines

Excipit: sicque soporatus : uelut inermis capituR [note capital R at end of word and line]

Titulus: castus

Line Drawing: Again, a well-composed scene taking up the eight line space and extending into the space given by the short line above. Two beach umbrella trees, the left with intertwined branches, frame each side of the scene the rather more detailed-tuniced hunter blowing his horn held in his left hand while pointing at the beaver with his right. The beaver turns its leonine head so it is almost full face, its long two-line high body with fat tail turns towards the page gutter having let fly its testicles which hover mid-air between the animal's tail and the knee of the hunter and above a hole in the parchment (probably the reason they are suspended).

Initial: E [red 2 lines high]

Incipit: EST ANIMAL quod dicitur castus. mansuetur nimis cuius/ testiculi in medicina proficiunt.

Beaver continues for whole leaf

Titulus: ETHIMOLOGIA

Initial: C [red two lines high]

Incipit: CASTORES a castrando dicti sunt
Excipit: canes uocantur

Titulus: DE HIENA

Initial: E [green 2 lines]

Incipit: EST ANIMAL quod grece

Hyena continues

Titulus: ETHIMOLOGIA

Initial: H [green-grey 2 lines high]

Incipit: HIENA LAPIDE/ in oculis habet nomine hiena. Quem quis sub lingua/ sua tenuerit: future predicare credituR

Titulis: HIENA

Line Drawing: An eight line space occupied in full (its hind paw touching ‘animal’ below) by a pard with stylized u-bend tail with foliate tassel, facing into gutter margin. Semi-couchant, and in profile, it wears a jewelled collar and cummerbund and round its long foliate tongue, another jewelled band. Not this drawing follows the chapter rather than precedes it for lack of space on the previous side.

Initial: A [purple three lines high]

Incipit: ALIUD animal est in nilo fluvio. Quod dicitur HIDRUS

Hydrus continues for whole page

Hydrus continues for five lines.

Excipit: Hunc hydrus deglutit/ tus dentibus & unguibus interimit.

& uiuus inde exit

Titulus: hidrus et quomodo degluat/ cum cocrodillus

Marginalia: repeats excipit for artist to draw this scene.

Line Drawing: extends fully into both margins and carefully composed so that the head of the crocodile, drawn as a pard, is centred, its head duly upturned so that its upper jaw moves, while it swallows the hydra, drawn as a two-legged lizard with a coiled and curvy tail and long ears, which like a needle pulling thread weaves in and out the crocodile’s neck and body to bite the crocodile’s belly.

Initial: E [red two lines high]
Incipit: EST ANIMAL quod grece dicit dorcon. Latine uero/caprea.

Caprea continues for fifteen lines

Excipit: Bene go de dor/chon exposuit phisiologus.

Titulis: ETHIMOLOGIA

Initial: C [2 lines green-grey

Incipit: CAPROS & capreas a carpendis uirgultis

Excipit: omnis qui ueniunt

Titulus: Caprea et ubi pascitur

Marginalia: by respective tituli ‘eth’ and ‘caprea 7 ubi pascit

Line Drawing: This is slightly off-centre towards the outer margin but still within the text width, as if the artist originally anticipated a larger goat. Its horns are drawn over the titulus and it grazes on shoots of stylized, curly grasses on a snailshell hill.

Initial: E[purple, 2 lines from foot of page]

Incipit: EST ALIUD ANIMAL quod dicit oranger. Phisiologus/Dicit de onogro. Quis uicesimo qui unto die mensis F’AME

NOTH

Line drawing: rather poor and sad-looking, neck-lowered onager added to lower margin (i.e. not by original artist – much rougher execution, lots of short lines rather than continuous curves).

quod est marcius [word in diff hand] duodecies in nocte rugit.

Titulus: Ethimologia rubric

Initial: O[green, 2 lines high]


Excipit: Quod cauentes matres ; cos/in secretis occultant.

Titulus: Simia

Line Drawing: Not by the same artist, perhaps by the same hand as the onager (and may be the scribe)a conflation of scenes,
mother monkey picks up her baby, while presumably the less
favoured falls from her back, on the right a human woman [?] her
robe showing her lower leg [might be a young man] lying down,
propped up on one elbow has two monkeys, one sitting on her
back gesturing to the other one which is upright with one leg
extending down the gutter margin, the other round the human's
neck, touching the hair.

Initial: Z [purple, 2 lines, back-to-front Z instead of S]

Inaequ: ZIMILITER & simia figuram habet diaboli. Sicut enim

fol. 154r

Exequit: & longa barba & lata cauda.

Line drawing: no titulus, the Fulica with wings outstretched
balances on a bar beyond a Romanesque arch which foliate
branches and either the top of a spire in the distance or a
hanging triangular basket.

fol. 154v

Inaequ: EST volatile quod dicit- fulica

Exequit: Dum tempesta/tempestatem. Fugens in uado ludit.

Titulis: Pantera et quomodo fugit seba.

fol. 155v-156v

Panther continues for thirteen lines

Exequit: catulis.

Titulis: De dracone

Initial: D (2 lines, green)

Inaequ: Draco maior est omnium serpentes

No line drawing.

fol. 157r

Dragon ends on top two lines

Exequit: iugis estus

Titulis Ceteris et quomodo decipiant ab eo

Line drawing: Boat on whale, man hitting it with a tent peg, bear-
headed whale eating three fish

Initial: E[ 2 lines, red]

Inaequ: EST Belua in mare

fol. 157v

Titulis: Ethimologia

Initial: C [red 2 lines]
Incipit: CETUS dicit- ob immanitate-

Excipit: exaudinet me de uentre inferni

Initial: E [purple, 2 lines]

Incipit: EST VOLATILE QUOd dicitur/perdix

Titulus: ranged right above half colmn width, 5 line space for drawing: De perdice 7 defraude [gap for bird's head] eius

Line drawing: first half-width scene, solely the bird the left wing raised, fairly short neck with a coxcomb and hooked beak.

Partridge continues

Initial: P [purple, 3 lines]

Titulus: Ethimologia

Incipit: PERDIX de voce

Excipit: que genuit reuertuntur.

Titulus: Starting on same line as excipit: Mustela et qd per os/ concipit. per aures uero generat

Initial: D [red 2 lines]

Incipit: DE MUSTELA precipit lex

Line Drawing: Half width, 4 line space Mustela stretches out like a greyhound, as if running. Not such a confident line, another artist?

Marginalia: correction, instructions in same hand as before – although the artist did not take any notice of this instruction o the weasel conceiving through the mouth and giving birth via the ear.

Weasel continues until four lines before end of text area.

Titulus: [centred before drawing] Aspis & quare/ sic uocat-

Initial: A [red 3 lines]

Incipit: Aspis uocata. Quoq/ morsu uenena

Line drawing: Squeezed in at foot text, a winged, coiled two-legged snake with its tail passing through a low wall towards its ear.

Asp continues

Excipit: liquefiat tot- in ore serpentis.

Titulus: Assida

395
Line drawing: A cloven-hoofed long-necked bird both wings folded head pointing down but eyes up, no star

Initial: I [red, 6 lines high in margin]

Incipit: ITEM EST animal quod dicitur assida.

fol. 159v
Ostrich continues

fol. 160v
De Turtur

Excipit: semper blanda habitatrix

Titulus: [ranged right, fitted around antlers]: Cervus et quomodo extrahat ser/pente de foramine

Line Drawing: full width, 8 lines space, leaving a single line of text for the stag to rest its hooves on. Good use of space the black antlers head into the paragraph above as the stag bends down to breathe on the snake, coiled like a piece of fusilli pasta, lurking up from the foot margin. Not a confident hand, perhaps the same artist who drew the onager.

Initial: I [red, two lines]

Incipit: ITE[M] in psalmo quadragesimo

Marginalia: instructions for rubrication and drawing

Note: Two line oval whole in parchment in margin.

fol. 160v
Stag continues

fol. 161r
Stag continues

Excipit: labore-/ ponderis sentient.

Titulus: Salamandra

Line drawing: full width, 5 lines high, lizard as crouching long-necked, clawed, tailed and winged mammal with an ovine head, left wing extending into outer margin and tail into gutter.

Initial: E [green, 3 lines]

Incipit: EST REPTILE quoddam grece dicitur SALAMANDRA. Latine u[er]o stilio.

fol. 161v
Salamander continues

Excipit: etiam extinguit incendium

Titulus: Columbus et de diuersis coloribus ear[um]

Marginalia: rubric title
**Line Drawing**: full width, 5 lines: five doves, the first stand facing left, second is preening, third is standing right, fourth has outstretched wings, and the fifth's head is down facing right.

**Initial**: P [green-grey, 4 lines]

**Incipit**: PHISIOLOGUS dicit Multis ac diversis coloribus esse colum/bas.

**fol. 162r**

The colours of the dove continue

**Dove continues**

**Excipit**: 5th line: seculorum amen.

**Titulis**: EX LIBRO ETHIMOLOGIA ranged right

**Initial**: C [red 3 lines]

**Incipit**: COLUMBE DICTE

**Excipit**: requirat

**Titulis**: SERPENS & QVA ARTE CONATVR

**Line Drawing**: Full width 8 lines high. This is the dragon and the perindens tree, here the outspread winged dragon, with coiled and foliate tail and two legs, bows down its head to bite one of the two low branches of the stylized tree with four doves perching amidst its scrolls.

**Initial**: [red 6 lines high]

**Incipit**: ITEM ALIUD DICTUS est de ipsis columnis.

**fol. 163r**

Perindens Tree continues

**Excipit**: [first line] deuorat' est; et periit.

**Titulis**: [Follows on same line] Elefanti masculus et femina/ et quomodo cuuernant postquam comediant de fructu arboris quem dicitur mandragora

**Line drawing**: full width, six lines. Two elephants, with small ears and snouts not trunks and cloven hooves, with two small human figures with long fingers which are the mandragora

**Initial**: E [red, two lines]

**Incipit**: EST animal quod dicitur elephantus

**Titulis**: Vbi pariat et quomodo insidiate eius serpens
Line drawing: Second scene, eight lines, two elephants in the water as the calf is born – on the right a dragon snarls from the margin.

Initial: C [green-grey, 2 lines]

Incipit: CVM AUTEM uenerit tempus illus ut pariat

fol. 164r
Elephant continues

fol. 164v
Elephant continues

fol. 165r
Excipit: bete si/milibus

Titulus: [on the same line] Amos propheta et capre eius

Line drawing: 8 lines, Amos with a long crook sits on the snailshell hill while tending his two goats chewing his stylized grasses on more snailshell earthmounds.

Initial: I [red, 4 lines]

fol. 165v
Excipit: uitam eternal

Titulus: Adamans

Line drawing: half column width, 8 lines high. A square of snailshells with three conch shells, at each top corner and one in the middle

Initial: P [red, 4 lines high]

Incipit: PHISIOLOGUS DICIT/ sit lapis qi dicitur/ adams

fol. 166r
Diamond continues

fol. 166v
Excipit: Genera ei’ sex

Initial: I [purple, five lines high]

Line drawing: Half-width 6 lines, seven parallel wavy lines with a two line high ring with a band around its diameter. On the first wave it says ‘lapes iste dicitur conchus.

Incipit: ITEM LAPIDU EST in mare quod dicitur latine

MERME/COLION

fol. 167r
Pearl continues

fol. 167v
Pearl continues

Excipit: talem retributionem recipiunt pro corruptis
St Augustine of Hippo, *De imagine Dei in homine*  
Incepit: Tanta dignitas humanae condicionis esse cognoscitur

**Incipit:**

fol. 170v

**Excipit:** *De imagine Dei in homine*

fol. 171r

**Ortu**us, *Vita et Obitus Alexandri Macedonis*  

fol. 186r

Epistola Alexsandri Magni ad Aristotelem

fol. 196v

Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi

fol. 203v

Explicit Collatio

The hand for *Alexander*, perhaps later than that for the bestiary at the start is protogothic but changes at fol. 203 rounder, larger, less crushed but still thicker pen strokes than bestiary.

fol. 203v:

*Apollonius*  
Pencil numbering same as Bodl. Rawl. C.117 (curly ‘2’)

*Small green marginal drawings,* e.g.

f210r:

wolf

fol. 220:

king’s [i.e. crowned] head and female heads as well

fol. 223r:

musical notes heading GRA [tias?] in blue matches fol 1r initials; sundry red scribbles and swirls

**Physical Condition**

**Condition:**

Parchment is a warm white rather than yellowy but not the best quality e.g. some holes, on fols. 149, 150 and 160, but generally the manuscript is in good condition, grubby initial *recto* and last *verso* but no distinct signs of exposure. Conversely, the ink is poorer quality, black sometimes fading to brown. The poorer parchment and ink quality have been recognised in Canterbury books, as Gameson notes.

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81 Mette Lebech, James McEvoy, John Flood, ‘*De dignitate conditionis humanae*: Translation, Commentary, and Reception History of the *Dicta Albini* (Ps.-Alcuin) and the *Dicta Candidi*, *Viator*, 40 (2009), 1-34, mistakenly attributed to St Augustine, p. 5.


Measurements:
265 mm x 164 mm
fols. 1-223, [bestiary at 139v-168v]

Line Spacing: (in bestiary)
7mm, x height just under 3mm so not quite 1/10” on 3/10”

Hand:
Several English minuscule hands in the book.
Single scribe for the bestiary, a very clear, rounded minuscule.

Layout:
Crucially, but hardly unexpectedly, the Liber Bestiarium layout is the same as the Historia Wandalorum and Historia Longobardorum in the same volume.85
Single column, 30 lines per page, pricked and ruled in hard point, with vertical tramlines either side, writing above top line. Gameson suggests

    a book arranged in two columns with ink rulings is likely to be later than one which was ruled in long lines in hard point.86

Pricking:
Most pricking has been cut away when the work trimmed.

Collation/ Quire Signatures:
Quire marks I-XX are in the centre of the foot margin on the verso in roman numerals in a medieval hand at the end of each quire. They prove there are no missing quires. As Gameson notes, this is the normal position, type and size of a Canterbury Christ Church quire mark of this period: ‘a discreet Roman numeral in the centre of the lower margin of the final verso of each quire.’87 Also, there are later medieval Arabic numerals in marked in the gutter foot for start of each quire. The neatly numbered marks were probably added later in the twelfth century, the date of the Alexander and Apollonius texts, which would indicate the texts were bound together in a single volume early on. Rochester, the

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85 Baxter 1998, p. 92, n.24, the Bestiary occupies ‘folios 139r-168v, starting at the beginning of quire XIV and extending into quire XVI, which is completed by the Sententia beati Augustini de imagine Dei in homine, written by another scribe’.
86 R. Gameson 1995, p.115, he emphasises this is a ‘relative chronology’ as the scriptorium was ‘in a state of flux’, p.116, the results are in his Appendix 7, pp. 142-4.
daughter house used letters as quire markers), for example, Trinity College B.1.17 and B.2.34.88

The quire marks are in light brown ink (light brown) and generally 10mm +/- up from foot of page). Whereas the Roman numerals are often trimmed (sometimes only the very top of letters are left) – these carry on throughout the work and closely match the hand of the final text (Apollonius). They have been noted in Table 5.3 below.

**Binding and Binding String**

Chestnut brown leather binding, with gold embossed crest.

A short piece (20 mm) of old blue binding string in Laud Misc. 247 was found between fols. 215v and 216r. It is a colour match to that used in John of London’s astronomical diagrams (for example in BL Harley 1). This blue-coloured string was used in Canterbury medieval bookbinding and repairs, as I was informed by the Canterbury Cathedral conservator, Peter Whitehead.89 However, there is no literature on this topic and Michelle Brown, Richard Emms and Richard Gameson had ever heard of this blue string theory. Nevertheless, London, British Library, Harley 1 and also Harley 13, provide clear evidence of its use in later volumes, without recourse to spine-stressing string-checking. Although this is an interesting find in Laud Misc. 247 and probably an indication of medieval rebinding, this is of course only circumstantial evidence of the use of the book in Canterbury.90

**Illustrations**

Drawings in the bestiary are unframed, full or half- column width, usually 8 lines high. The marginal notes for the rubricator in the outer margins are clearly visible in the bestiary. Other evidence for connecting Laud 247 to Canterbury lies in the similarity of certain aspects of the illustration (and text) of another slightly later manuscript, BL Stowe 1067. Baxter, 1998, has covered the textual similarities in detail and he concluded that both works were from St Augustine’s Abbey, mainly because of Adam the Sub-prior’s interest in bestiaries.91 This thesis proposes the Stowe illustrations not only match the Laud iconographically but have close stylistic similarities to the artist’s hand of Orosius TCC O.4.43 and the Eusebius TCC O.4.28, both Christ Church volumes.

88 Dodwell, Appendix 3, p. 119.
89 Personal communication received 17th December, 2010.
90 On ‘gothic’ bookbinding (one of the three styles including Carolingian and Romanesque established by Szirmai) and the use of cord, J. A. Szirmai, The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999).
Provenance

The Bodleian catalogue makes no mention of any books coming from Christ Church Cathedral Canterbury via Archbishop Laud and only one from St Augustine's Abbey that he obtained from William le Neve in 1638 (Oxford, Bodl., Laud Misc. 300, ps-Jerome, *Breviarium in Psalmos*). The introduction matches up about 50% of the gifts received from Laud. Laud Misc. 247 was given in the first tranche of books in 1633, the year Laud was made Archbishop of Canterbury.92

Script Description

*Litterae Notabiliores*

The *Historia Wandalorum* begins with a beautifully illuminated initial Q for Q/UONDAM/VETERES reminiscent of the CCA Martyrology, part of which is CCA Lit Ms E.42 (other extant parts being in BL Harley 624, BL Harley 315, BL Cotton Nero C vii, all part of the third volume, and a Maidstone RM/Sae bifolia).93 The initial in Laud Misc. 247 has green dots and purple swirls in a red letter and is by the same hand as other decorated initials in this book. The older contents list on fol. 1v uses a vivid blue for its initial letters, very similar to that used in Cambridge St John's College A. 8 (see fol. 103v). There are no inhabited initials.

Coloured Capitals

There is an occasional swirl of simple foliate decoration, for example on the ascender of the first D on f.139v for the contents of the bestiary. In the bestiary (fols. 139v- 168v) chapters and the ‘Ethimologia’ sections begin with single coloured capitals, in red, green or purple, usually 2-3 lines high but occasionally extending down the margin for five or six lines (e.g. I on fol. 159r). The colour of the purple, green and red initials in Laud Misc. 247, i.e. at the start of bestiary on fol. 139v and on fol. 2r, are similar to CCA Lit. E.42 and to other extant parts of the *Passionale* as well as to other Christ Church books of the


93 R. Gameson 1995, pp. 116-120 and Appendix 1, Table 7, pp. 142-3, eleven (ten main and one minor) anonymous artists are identified as A-K in twenty manuscripts. Ker *MMBL* pp. 289-94 for which current books contain which original volume: Lit E. 42/42A has parts of volume I: fols. f.1-30 and 69-72; vol. II: ff. 31-42; vol. V: ff.43-57, 62-3, and 75-8, vol. VI: ff.58-61, 64-8, and 80-81.
period, such as TCC B.5.28 Augustine Super Psalmos, written by Eadmer, (fol. 4v; initial H, seven lines high). Initials are sometimes squeezed in, or placed in the margin.

Display Script
Every chapter in the bestiary and in the Ethimologie sections begins with two or three words in rustic capitals. Notable features of this script are a curved M and a triangular A, where the crossbar is at the base of the letter. These match display letters used elsewhere in the volume.

Rubrication
Rubrication in the bestiary is used for the subsection of the chapters which are taken from Book XII of Isidore of Seville’s Etymologiae, labelled ‘Ethimologie’ and often in rustic capitals. The captions for the line drawings are also in red, added after the drawings, except for fol. 160r, where space has been left to accommodate the antlers of the stag and do not quite range up to the drawing. This drawing may be by a later hand.

Text
The text in the bestiary is in a single late Caroline English hand with some protogothic features. It is written in a single column in black ink often fading to brown, an indication that the ink is not the best quality. This is in keeping with other non-liturgical post-Conquest books from Christ Church, as Gameson notes the ink ‘varies widely in tone, often being much browner than pre-Conquest books.’

Quantitative text analysis
Kwakkel discusses the changeover from Carolingian minuscule to Gothic textura over the long twelfth century and makes key points, based on Derolez’s observations: that the script becomes narrower, the letters bite into each other’s space, the descenders and ascenders become stubbier, the pen width becomes wider and the serifs on minims turn to the right. He notes some fourteen other features, such as the shaft of the ‘a’ becoming more upright; the ‘g’ becoming closed in its descender loop, and the ‘x’ loses its long left hand tail. Laud Misc. 247 is only at the very first stage of these changes: it has the short, clubbed and occasionally bifurcated ascenders, but the ‘g’ remains wide open; the minims curve to the right but without much angularity, but the top of the ‘f’ is angular. Using his

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94 Gameson 1995, p. 121.

system and comparing these features, takes Laud Misc. 257 closer to the period 1090-1104 than the early twelfth century.\textsuperscript{96}

**Text Comparison**

The hands in Laud Misc. 247 use a very clear, rounded minuscule, their stubby ascenders, a more upright ‘a’ and a more upward-tilting ‘e’ are indicative of the very beginning of protogothic forms. On script evidence alone Laud Misc. 247 would not until fairly recently have been considered a Canterbury manuscript, despite M. R. James’s view, as it has none of the features of the usual Canterbury script of this period. However, its rustic capitals and its text closely resemble the display script in a Christ Church work, Dublin, Trinity College MS 98, (*The Canterbury Pontifical*), which is dated to around Anselm’s elevation in 1093. In particular on fol. 11, the English Caroline script is in red: line 4- to right hand part of line 5 (Sequat[ur] to ecclam [ecclesiam]); line 13 beginning ‘Finita’ to line 16 ‘antiphonam’, and line 18 ‘Et uader’ to line 22 (the last line) ‘antiph[onam]’. Specific attention is drawn to the same type of open ‘g’ (line 5, ingredient[ur]) as used in Laud Misc. 247; the same stubby, clubbed ascenders, the small flat-footed serifs (e.g. line 15, eccl’am), the shape of the long umbrella-handle s (line 19, ipso), the abbreviations e.g. eccl’am, and punctuation, such as the high fullpoint (line 16); and the long-tailed x (line 14, pontifex).

Gameson discusses the late English Caroline hand that appears on fols. 48r, 50r, 52r, 57v of CCA Lit. E. 42, which is Volume 5 of the Christ Church Martyrology.\textsuperscript{97} Although I notice here that the g has a nearly closed lower loop, the descender starts centred on the base of the ‘o’ and Laud 247 starts a little to the right, nevertheless this type of late miniscule which bears comparison to Laud Misc. 247.\textsuperscript{98} This gives a fairly long time frame for the use of this type of hand from c.1093-1137, since the production of Lit. Ms E. 42 has been extended by Gameson to 1137. However, he points out that this type of hand is ‘not an isolated phenomenon’ and also appears in TCC B.3.4 (Jerome *Super Psalmos*), B.4.26 (*Augustine, Epistolae*), and, as already noted, Dublin Trinity College MS 98 (*The Canterbury Pontifical*).\textsuperscript{99}

\textsuperscript{97} Gameson 1995, plate 4a.
\textsuperscript{98} Gameson 1995, p. 119 n. 83 and n. 84. R. Gameson, *The Earliest Books of Canterbury Cathedral*, (London; Canterbury: Bibliography Society and Dean and’ Chapter of Canterbury Cathedral, 2008), pp. 226-247. He considers CCA Lit Ms. E. 42 was written in two stages, the first finishing in 1123 and the second between 1128 and 1137.
\textsuperscript{99} Gameson 1995, p. 119, n. 83.
Webber also draws attention to a prolific Christ Church scribe ‘in the first quarter of the twelfth century’ whose hand has ‘a general rotundity in its appearance’ and ‘no suspicion of angularity in such letters as e and c’ and she too mentions the rubrics of Dublin Trinity 98 being in an ‘English hand’.\(^{100}\) Webber also notes the mix of handwriting in Bodley 271 on the works of Anselm which has similar rustic capitals to Laud Misc. 247. This collection of the works of Anselm has been dated by Gameson (following Heslop) to around 1120 as he categorically refutes Fröhlich’s suggestion of an earlier dating of Bodley 271 to 1104-8.\(^{101}\) More recently, Ian Logan has investigated the scribes of Bodley 271 (but not the rustic capitals’ scribe) and he links one hand to that of the scribe Samuel, depicted in the decorated initial in St John’s College A.8, fol. 103v. Accordingly, he moves Bodley 271 back to the end of Anselm’s lifetime and shortly thereafter, i.e. 1107-1114.\(^{102}\)

Michael Gullick discovered that Eadmer, master of the prickly script, wrote in three phases and particularly in the late 1080s to early 1090s.\(^ {103}\) This research has established much narrower dates for several Canterbury manuscripts in the late eleventh century and has been important in the reconsideration of Christ Church book production, linking it much more securely to the archiepiscopates of Lanfranc (d.1089) and St Anselm (d. 1109) and the team of scribes who carried on working at Christ Church into the 1120s. Gullick has also noted a non-Norman hand producing much of the rubrication of Christ Church books. For example, his discovery that BL Harley 5915 fragment was Eadmer’s writing allowed it to be dated to ‘within a year or two of 1085’; the rubricator of Harley 5915 is then linked to TCC B.3.5 and CUL Kk.1.23 (confirmed as also sharing the same artist, rather than the A and shadowy ?A that Gameson listed).\(^{104}\)

Using the amount of datable manuscripts which survive with Eadmer handwriting allows rather more precise dating than Dodwell’s 1070-1100.\(^{105}\) Similarly, TCC B.5.28, Augustine’s Commentary on the Psalms volume 3 (written and rubricated by Eadmer) has

\(^{100}\) Webber, ‘Script’, 1995, p. 155, and n. 44, l. 2-12 on fol. 23 are mentioned.
\(^{101}\) Webber 1995, p. 154 and n. 41, and plate 16b. Gameson 1995, p. 119 and n. 83; he too mentions ‘the coeval English rubricator’ in Dublin Trinity College MS 98.
\(^{102}\) Ian Logan, ‘Ms Bodley 271: Establishing the Anselmian Canon?’, in The Saint Anselm Journal, 2.1 (Fall, 2004), 67-80, p. 78, ‘Heslop’s argument shows the illuminator of B was flourishing as early as 1114.’
\(^{103}\) Webber 1995, pp. 148-151 on Eadmer’s development of his script, its antecedents and its legacy.
\(^{105}\) Dodwell, 1954, p. 120.
been re-dated to the late 1080s to early 1090s, instead of 1070-1100. This draws the first volume of this commentary, now TCC B.5.26, Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, into the same timeframe and Gullick considers ‘this rubricator appears to have rubricated virtually all Christ Church manuscripts datable to the ‘late 1080s or early 1090s.’\(^{106}\) As Gullick dates TCC B.4.9 Gregorius, *Moralia in Job* to probably the late 1080s or early 1090s and adds this rubricator also worked on Durham Cath B.ii.10 *Pontifical* around 1090-1096, and the Dublin Trinity College 98 *Pontifical* in 1090s too. TCC B.3.25, Augustine, *Confessions*, which was written by an English scribe, is also now re-dated from Webber’s s.xi\(^{3,4}\) by Gullick to being ‘written at Canterbury in the 1080s’.\(^{107}\) These Canterbury works with decorated initials, some of which utilise bestiary motifs, are being drawn back within the lifetime and aegis of Saint Anselm.

Turning from the comparison of liturgical books, it is clear that some secular works should also be studied, as Laud Misc. 247 is a collection of histories with a bestiary at the centre. There are three volumes of histories with Christ Church provenances now at Trinity College, Cambridge. These are: TCC O.4.34, Orosius, *Historiae adversum paganos* and the beginning of Iulius Honorius, *Cosmographia*, TCC O.10.28, Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana* including Eutropius, *Breviarium historiarum Romanarum*, and TCC O.10.31, *Inuenta S. Crucis*, and Victor of Vita, *Historia persecutionis Africanae provinciae*. A table of these books’ vital statistics and their comparison to Laud Misc. 247 is below. T. A. M. Bishop writing in 1953 had noticed a script in these Christ Church books which has ‘no characteristics of the Canterbury style’ being a ‘round clear minuscule of purely English type’ (the same adjectives I used to describe Laud Misc. 247 before I saw his notes).\(^{108}\) He linked the Orosius, Eutropius and Victor of Vita noting this minuscule, along with other ‘informal’ hands, appeared on at least some leaves of all three books as well as on a charter of Henry II which gives a date range of circa 1100-1107.\(^{109}\) Gameson has summed up as


\(^{109}\) Bishop, Notes, p. 432; Pierre Chaplais, ‘The Seals and Original Charters of Henry I’, *EHR*, 75 (April, 1960); Webber 1995, p. 154 and n. 40. 260-275, pp. 263-4 concerning BL Cotton Ch. VII. I, the charter whereby Henry II confirmed land grants made by Edward the Confessor and William the Conqueror.
these histories up in terms of production as ‘decidedly awful’.\textsuperscript{110} Certainly, the parchment is frequently holed, patched and blotchy and the ink has faded. Yet though they are not magnificent they are thoughtful copies, carefully corrected, and neatly ruled with careful colour initials added by the rubricator. The inhabited initials in two of the books are by the artist called ‘Hand B’ by Gameson and Gameson is less than complimentary about his talents too, describing them as ‘minimal’.\textsuperscript{111} They are scruffy and faded quick sketches, rather than talentless.

The Orosius volume has been digitized by Trinity College, Cambridge.\textsuperscript{112} It was matched to Canterbury by its Christ Church library mark (‘BY’ on fol. 1r) which M. R. James duly noted and linked to the entry in the Eastry Catalogue, BC4.*221. It is mentioned in Webber’s Table 11 under ‘Christ Church Manuscripts which do not contain the Christ Church Style of Script’. The book is in ten quires each of ten folios, measures slightly larger than A4, and has 39 lines to a page, ruled in hardpoint in a single column. It has three decorated initials on fol. 1r by Hand B [see fig], which have as the opening O a lion biting a dragon’s tail which is biting the tip of the lion’s tail with a small lizard in the centre biting the dragon’s leg. The second inhabited initial forms the O from two fish as in the Aratea Pisces, with a central ogee picked out in purple. The third initial P, is formed by two dragons with glassbead decoration on their wings and necks, which bite a glassbead-collared pard, while the centre of the P has a stylized foliate swirl on a faded red background. It is written largely in a similar hand to Laud Misc. 247, using the same open g, stubby ascenders for d and b, long s and x; the table specifies the portion of text specifically identified by Bishop. It is a match for the non-inhabited initial capitals and it also uses the same quire signature position and style as Laud Misc. 247 (e.g. Roman numerals centred at the foot of the final leaf of each quire, see fol. 80v of O.4.34 for an example). It has been dated by Gneuss and Lapidge as on the cusp of the century, ‘s. xi/xii’. The second part of the volume (O.4.36) was burnt in Professor Mommsen’s house fire in 1880 as James, Gneuss and Lapidge note and it is likely that the Orosius had a lucky escape since its modern flyleaves are also singed.\textsuperscript{113}

\textsuperscript{110} Gameson 1995, p. 120.
\textsuperscript{111} Gameson 1995, p. 117.
\textsuperscript{113} ALCD, p. 508, the entry is on p. 41; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014, p. 166.
Of the Eutropius (O.10.28) James said ‘I have no doubt that it comes from Christ Church, Canterbury. It exactly resembles the Orosius O.4.34.’ It has 45 folios, again in quires of ten but with omissions (James has 1\textsuperscript{10} – 3\textsuperscript{10} (6 omitted) 4\textsuperscript{10}, 5\textsuperscript{10} (7-10 wanting)). It measures somewhat taller and wider than A4 and is ruled in hardpoint in single column with 37 lines to a page. The decorated initial P on fol. 1r depicts a seated figure at a writing table, while a second figure points to him and the incipit, in faded tones of lavender and rose. If the secondary figure is a scribal portrait he is not drawn as a monk, as he is wearing a short tunic, and he not only has spaghetti arms elongated to point to the incipit but a caricature of a face as well, bug-eyed and big-nosed. The English miniscule hand appears most clearly on these first six lines of fol. 1r [see fig.]

The third volume, O.10.31, has just 28 folios and contains the Victor of Vita history as the third text which finishes incomplete before the last chapter, (it ends on fol. 28v at ‘non ambrosius non Ieronimus’ Book V, cap. 18, p. 56) and may have lost a last leaf. This text has 37 lines to a page in single column, is ruled in hardpoint and plummet, just a centimetre taller than A4. It has been assigned the same turn of the century date as O.4.34 and O.10.28 by Gneuss and Lapidge. It contains the same text as Laud Misc. 247, that is Victor of Vita’s History of the Vandal Persecutions (fols. 5r-28v), preceded by two short and possibly slightly later texts: Passio S Quiriaci Martiris (fols. 1r-2r), and the finding of the Holy Cross by Helena, mother of the Emperor Constantine (fols. 2v-4v, Inuentio S Crucis). However, the English minuscule scribe hardly wrote in O.10.31, just the starting folios of the main text (fols. 5r-7r line 23). At the start of Victor’s text the rubricator has completely missed the space left by the scribe and instead drawn right through the text. The initial Q in red with green curved swirls is unfinished, although he managed to get it right for the opening initial of the third book in the same volume.

This same text in O.10.31 is at the start of the Laud Misc. 247 volume, together with the Historia Longobardorum, the Vita Karoli Magni, and the Liber Bestiarum. Comparison may be made between the scripts on O.10.3 fol. 5r and Laud Misc. 247 fol. 2r as they share the same text. They are contemporary hands but not the same scribe. Why the History of the Vandal Persecutions was re-written is unknown, perhaps a copy of just the short Victor text may have been wanted. Although Laud Misc. 247 is slightly squatter (and thicker) than the three TCC volumes, it is ruled in hardpoint, has the same layout and

\footnote{James, The Western manuscripts in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, 4v (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900-1904), 2, p. 518.}
single colour initial decoration as in O.10.31 (see fol. 5r), and O.10.28 (see fol. 1r) and has similar hands to all the three TCC volumes, all of which are dated to the turn of the eleventh century.

Conclusion
As H. Coxe confirms in the catalogue, the bestiary begins on quire fourteen and finishes in quire sixteen with the Augustine tract taking up the spare folio of the last quire. So the bestiary might not originally have been designed as part of the Historia Langobardorum. On the other hand the Roman numeral quire marks; the marginalia in the same hand throughout the bestiary and other texts; the partial Christ Church catalogue entry in sequence; and the blue binding string between fols. 215-6 all indicate that these texts were bound together and used at Christ Church, Canterbury during the medieval period, since the quire markings are in similar style and ink colour to the Apollonius text. In view of the evidence presented above, the bestiary in Laud Misc. 247 is attributed to scribe writing in an English minuscule hand at Christ Church between 1090 and the early 1100s.

This makes the Historia Langobardorum, Einhard’s Vita of Charlemagne and the Liber Bestiarum possibly the only extant Anglo-Saxon witnesses, since their titles are all missing from Gneuss and Lapidge’s latest edition. Laud Misc. 247 is a Christ Church manuscript produced at Christ Church, as it can be matched in terms of script styles, decorated initials and rubrication, subject matter, and layout to other extant works (not just the Histories but the Pontifical and Charter (Cotton Ch. VII. I), which have confirmed attributions to Christ Church Canterbury. Laud Misc. 247 also has a partial catalogue entry (BC4.158). The Roman numeral quire marks in Laud Misc. 247; the marginalia in the same hand throughout the bestiary and other texts; the Christ Church catalogue entries; and the discovery of the blue binding string between fols. 215-6, all indicate that these texts were bound together and used at Christ Church, Canterbury during the medieval period, since the quire markings match the TCC histories. This is an important confirmation of James’s opinion given back in 1928 as bestiaries with full provenances are so rare. The confirmed origin and provenance of the earliest English Latin bestiary to Christ Church is especially helpful in understanding the affect of the bestiary in Canterbury. The earlier dating is significant too as it ties the bestiary to Anselm’s aegis and demonstrates how the illustrators had a model for their bestiary motif themes decorated.
initials, e.g. the collared pard in the initial in O.10.31, fol. 1r which resembles the hyena on Laud Misc. 247, fol. 151v.
## Table 5.3: Laud Misc. 247 Quire Signatures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modern folio</th>
<th>Roman quire sign.</th>
<th>Arabic quire sign.</th>
<th>Incipit/Excipit &amp; Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2r</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1-3, 4, 12, 5-7, 8, 9, 10-11, 12-13, 14-15, 16, 17, 18, 19-21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11v</td>
<td>.I.</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;10&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>excipit: Nam heldicam quendam, quem/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12r</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>incipit: pater euis praepositum fecerat regni [Bk. II, cap. v. 15, see Halm, p.16]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22r</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>incipit: detrimentum ministrati ex se luminis perpeti potuit; [Bk III. cap. VIII, v.78, Halm, p. 31]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32r</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>incipit: cursum palmiferum consummavit : amplexansque illa hostiam suam [Bk. V. cap. i, v. 24, pp. 45-6]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43v</td>
<td>III (tops)</td>
<td>4&lt;sup&gt;12&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>blank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44r</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>blank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[45r]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>incipit: Paul the Deacon, <em>Historia Langobardorum</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54r</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>incipit: F [green rubric] Flos paradysu tuus despexit florida mundi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63v</td>
<td>VI (no dots)</td>
<td>6&lt;sup&gt;10&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>excipit: Si quis autem hanc per se provinciam esse [Book II, cap. xx, p. 100]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64r</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>incipit : uera ratione comprobauerit : huius rationabilis sententia modis erit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73v</td>
<td>VII.</td>
<td>7&lt;sup&gt;10&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>excipit: contra Langobardorum ilico arma surrexit. [Book III, cap. xviii, p. 124]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74r</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>incipit : Adversus quem Langobardi gravia bella gesserunt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<sup>116</sup> Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by L. K. Bethmann (Hanover: MGH, 1878)
412

excipit : praenominatus puer Adaloaldus, filius
[Book IV, cap. 27, p. 156]

incipit : Agilulfi regis in sancto Iohanne in Modicia

incipit : fidenter promisit, in sua eum fide
[Book V, cap. 2, p. 181]

incipit : utemtem nil[chil]i mal passurum fore

incipit : hanc civitatem. Sed & ita

incipit : italici direxit, quibus se fautorem
[Book VI, cap. 34, p. 227]

incipit : oriente contermini. Non solum imperata
[cap. 11, p. 12]

incipit : venantem nihil mali passurum fore

incipit : non facere, sed bello regem prouocare
temptabat.

Explicit uita karoli magni imperatoris

Explicit uita karoli magni imperatoris’

‘prologus vita karoli magni imperatoris’

‘Incipit vita karoli magni imperatoris’

incipit : oriente contermini. Non solum imperata
[cap. 11, p. 12]

incipit : non facere, sed bello regem prouocare
temptatbat.

incipit : Venator autem [Mann: vero] cum uiderit eum
non habere testiclos [cap. xvii: De Castor or
Beaver]

incipit : discedit ab eo. Sic & omnis qui
[evidence of repair thin white strip down gutter]

incipit : columbis ille draco ut
rapiat [cap. xxxiii, De
columbis et de draco p. 66 (Perindens Tree)]

incipit: aliquam earum
.plané considerat illam
arborem.

[168v]

excipit: liber bestiarum.
incipit: Sententia Beati Augustine, De Imagine Dei in
Homine , possibly a different hand (loops on x’s and
g’s, but may be the same scribe much older or
hastier), ends fol. 170r.

117 Einhard, Vita Karoli Magni, ed. by G. H. Pertz, Monumentis Germaniae Historicis (Hanover:
1845, repr. 1905)
118 M. F. Mann, Der Bestiaire divin, p. 50.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Column</th>
<th>Incipit</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>170v</td>
<td>XVI.</td>
<td>16(^a)</td>
<td>blank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171r</td>
<td>17</td>
<td><em>Ortus vita et Obitus Macedonis Alexandri</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Incipit: E[red, purple &amp; green initial] Egypti sapientes sati genere divino primi fer/untur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>182v</td>
<td>XVII</td>
<td>17(^{12})</td>
<td>Alexander litterae ei amicitiae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183r</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Vita continens</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[186r]</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Epistola ad Aristotelem</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>193v</td>
<td>XVIII</td>
<td>18(^{10+1})</td>
<td>excipit: soli &amp; lune [dicebat inserted]. Ad firmabat idem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>194r</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Quod in eclipse solis &amp; lune</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[196v]</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>203v</td>
<td>XVIII</td>
<td>19(^{10})</td>
<td>excipit: aut in inuidiae quod a meliore prae/stantur(^{119}) AMEN. INCIPIT LIBER APOLLONII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>204r</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>incipit: In civitate antiochiae Rex fuit nomine antiochus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>213v</td>
<td>XX.</td>
<td>20(^{10})</td>
<td>excipit: libertatis amplectetur [not traced]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>214r</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>incipit: suspersae &amp;flens ibat ad monumentum [Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri, cap. 31, p. 17](^{120})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[215v-216r]</td>
<td></td>
<td>20mm of loose, dull mid-blue old binding string. This might be an indicator of possible Canterbury origin according to Canterbury Cathedral archives conservator, but see discussion below.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[223v]</td>
<td>XXI</td>
<td>21(^{10})</td>
<td>GRA[tias] in blue, a line of music, pentrials</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 5.4: History Books from Christ Church

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Loc. &amp; Shelfmark</th>
<th>Main Author(s) &amp; Title(s)</th>
<th>No. fols. &amp; size in mm</th>
<th>Quires</th>
<th>Ruling &amp; lines per page</th>
<th>Identified Minuscule/artist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TCC O.4.34 sxi/xii CC†</td>
<td>Orosius, <em>Historiae adversum paganos</em></td>
<td>ff. 1-100, 317x215</td>
<td>1-10 ³/₁₀</td>
<td>hardpoint 39 lines</td>
<td>Scribe f. 3r, l. 1-21* Artist B f.1r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TCC O.10.28 sxi/xii CC†</td>
<td>Paulus Diaconus, <em>Historia Romana</em> inc. Eutropius, <em>Brev. Historiae Romanae</em></td>
<td>ff. 1-45, 314x215</td>
<td>1 ²/₁₀, 3 ³/₁₀, 4 ⁵/₁₀, 7-10 wanting</td>
<td>hardpoint 37 lines</td>
<td>Scribe f. 1r, l. 6-10* Artist B f.1r bunting f.42r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TCC O.10.31 sxi/xii CC†</td>
<td>Victor of Vita, <em>Historia persecutionis Africanae province</em></td>
<td>ff. 1-28, 308x210</td>
<td>1 ⁴/₁₀, 2 ¹²/₁₀</td>
<td>hardpoint &amp; plummet 39/37 lines</td>
<td>fols. 5r-7r l. 1-23* ‘bunting’ f.5r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCCC 187 c.1100 CC‡</td>
<td>Eusebius of Caesarea, <em>Historiae Ecclesiastica</em></td>
<td>ff. 133, 293 x 192</td>
<td>1 ⁸/₁₀-16, 17&quot; (wants 6)</td>
<td>plummet, 30-35 lines</td>
<td>‘fine’ minuscule ‘bunting’ style initials, fol 1 &amp; 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCCC 184 s.ii1 CC‡</td>
<td>Eusebius of Caesarea, <em>Historiae Ecclesiastica</em></td>
<td>ff. 176, 288 x 202</td>
<td>1 ⁷/₁₀-22 ⁸/₁₀</td>
<td>plummet 28 lines</td>
<td>Historiated initial fol 2r CC quire sigs, fol. 8v</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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¹²¹ Bishop, G.&L., ¹²2 Gameson 1995, pp. 120 and 142; ALCD p. 158, No 155 on Ingram’s list; CCCC 187 details from Parker Library on the Web Manuscript Description.

¹²³ CCCC 184 s.ii is a copy made from CCCC 187 at Rochester or Christ Church, as both books contain the same error, corrected at Christ Church later (on fols 131v-133r) but not at Rochester. The decorated initials in CCCC 187 resemble those in Rochester’s Augustine, *Enarrationes*, BL Royal 5 D II, e.g. fol. 213r in a harsh yellow, red and green with black, but CCCC 184 has Christ Church style quire signatures, e.g. fol. 8v, and M. R. James considered it a Christ Church script, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge*, 2 (Cambridge, 1912), 1 pp. 444-5.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Title in Bodl. Laud Misc. 247</th>
<th>fol. 139v-169v</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Lion</td>
<td>Leo</td>
<td>140r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Antelope</td>
<td>Autalops</td>
<td>140v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Firestones</td>
<td>Lapides Ignifer</td>
<td>141v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Sawfish</td>
<td>Serra</td>
<td>142r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Caladrius</td>
<td>Caladrius</td>
<td>142r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Pelican</td>
<td>Pelicanus</td>
<td>143r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Little Owl</td>
<td>Nicticorax</td>
<td>143v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Eagle</td>
<td>Aquila</td>
<td>144r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Phoenix</td>
<td>Fenix</td>
<td>144v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Hoopoe</td>
<td>Huppupa</td>
<td>145r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Ant</td>
<td>Formica</td>
<td>145v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Siren and Onocentaur</td>
<td>Syrene et Onocentaur</td>
<td>147r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Hedgehog</td>
<td>Herinatius</td>
<td>147v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Ibex</td>
<td>Ibis</td>
<td>148r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Fox</td>
<td>Vulpis</td>
<td>149r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Unicorn</td>
<td>Unicornis</td>
<td>149v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Beaver</td>
<td>Castor</td>
<td>150v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Hyena</td>
<td>Hiena</td>
<td>151r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Hydrus</td>
<td>Ydrus</td>
<td>151v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Goat</td>
<td>Caper</td>
<td>152v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Wild Ass</td>
<td>Onager</td>
<td>153r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Monkey</td>
<td>Simia</td>
<td>153v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Coot</td>
<td>Fulica</td>
<td>154v (pic 154r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Panther</td>
<td>Pantera</td>
<td>154v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Dragon</td>
<td>Draco</td>
<td>156v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Turtle</td>
<td>Aspis chelone/ Cetus</td>
<td>157r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Partridge</td>
<td>Perdix</td>
<td>157v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>Weasel</td>
<td>Mustela</td>
<td>158r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>Asp</td>
<td>Aspis</td>
<td>158v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>Ostrich</td>
<td>Assida</td>
<td>159r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>Turtledove</td>
<td>Turtur</td>
<td>160v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>Stag</td>
<td>Cervus</td>
<td>160v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>Salamander</td>
<td>Salamandra</td>
<td>161r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>Dove</td>
<td>Columba</td>
<td>161v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>Perindens Tree</td>
<td>Peridexion</td>
<td>162v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>Elephant</td>
<td>Elephantus</td>
<td>163v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>Amos</td>
<td>Amos</td>
<td>165r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>Diamond</td>
<td>Adamas</td>
<td>165v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>Pearl</td>
<td>Mermecolion</td>
<td>166v</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 6
London, British Library Stowe 1067

This Appendix contains

6.1 Manuscript Description
6.2 Table: Chapter Order and Subject

6.1 British Library Stowe 1067

Location: London, British Library
Shelfmark: Stowe 1067
Vol. Incipit: *Leo ex grico vocabulo inflexum* fol. 1r
2°. folio: *berinatio natura est*
Family: B-Isidore First Family bestiary
Contents: Bestiary
Attribution: M. R. James, 1928, p. 10: Canterbury Christ Church;
Baxter: St Augustine’s Abbey, p. 187.
Provenance: Belonged to the first Duke of Buckingham and Chandos (1776-1839), purchased by Lord Ashburnham in 1849, purchased by British Museum in 1883.¹²⁴
Not traceable in either Canterbury monastic medieval library catalogue.

Date: s. xii¹; Baxter: c.1120-40
Size: 250 mm x 166 mm; 105 mm x 200 mm
Folios: fols. 1-16.
Collation: 2⁸
Material: Leather binding
Parchment, thick, yellowy, large holes, e.g. fol. 16
Layout: Single column, 42 lines, writing above top line, ruled in hard point in quire 1 and plummet in quire 2.


416
Hands: Summary: English minuscule hands. A single hand for the first illustrated quire: quite neat clear text, but sometimes uneven in height, occasionally bunches up and then spreads out. Small serifs, the long g with looped descender quite distinctive and sloping ‘a’ with tiny ascender, almost triangular in shape.

Description: Hand in the first quire:

a: hardly any ascender, practically triangular
b: stubby ascender slight clubbing to left, upright, round bowl
c: rounded in two parts
d: two types upright rounded with clubbed stubby ascender and also arched back over the bowl (e.g. ‘odor’ bottom line fol. 4r)
e: rounded, sometimes more upright with small lower curve, sometimes with slight crossbar tongue
f: like long s, i.e. umbrella handle but crossbar runs across top of ruling
g: I think this is distinctive: looks like eye of a hook and eye or a pair of sideways round spectacles, joins at top (e.g. leo rugiens 15 lines from foot on fol. 3r)
h: stubby slightly clubbed ascender, minim goes to right, rounded bowl that does not dip below line.
i: upright, not always ticked, serif to right
j: -
k: -
l: stubby, slight clubbing to left
m: slight feet turned to right on middle minim e.g. magnum penultimate line fol. 4r
n: sometimes has foot going to right on first minim, sometimes more pointed in spelunca fol. 43 lines from foot
o: two parts slightly oval
p: stubby descender, rounded bowl
r: can’t find any that are long, rounded top, no minim on ascender
s: long s can’t see any short ones except for caps
t: rounded and the stem does not break above the crossbar
u: rounded
v –
w: -
x: stays within the x-height
y: straight descender
z: -

Hands in Second Quire fols. 9r – 16v

Hand similar to first quire but not the same, g is open, letters not joined up, bifurcation of h and b, x tail to left drops below bottom line.

Changes on fol. 9v, becomes larger and pricklier, then settles down to a more uniform height, b has a tick bifurcation to the right, d is usually bent backwards over the bowl, or with the same flick to top of ascender as b.

Fols. 10-16v as 9v: but spread out and untidier on the last ten lines.

Excipit: retributione recuperunt pro corruptibilis.

Marginalia: Heavy marginal additions to fol. 1r, the addition of all the text from Laud Misc. 247 that had been excised from the opening chapter. The additional text has been separated from the body text by a thick red line.

Decoration: Fol 1r has rustic capitals tipped in red and blue with three line high red initial letter: LEO EX GRECO VOCABVLO INFLEXUM

Not rubricated past fol. 13v but spaces left.

Two line high decorated capitals in blue with red dots alternated with plain purple. Sentence beginnings picked out in red.

Illustration: Illustrated with twenty-eight line drawings with red, green or blue accents. Kauffmann notes ‘unskilled’ outline drawings, p.76.

Only illustrated in the first quire but spaces were left for illustrations in the second quire.

fol. 1r: Line drawing on top half of column width six lines high on right:

The Lion in profile facing right breathes on his cub (actually licking its nose) the cub is positioned as though sitting upright but upside-down, indicating it is dead. The Lion has glass bead decorated spine, slightly foliate tail, pointy mane. The ears and mane are tipped in blue, the bodies of lion and the cub have a faint green wash.
The line, composition, minimal tinting and less than assured execution are comparable to Hand B – the artist Gameson considers of ‘minimal’ talent.

fol. 1v: For example, the Autolops on tipped in blue on claws, spine, forepaw and head, the stylized bramble resemble TCC Orosius O.4.34, fol. 1r, inhabited initials.

fol. 2r: the Crocodilus has the Hydra being swallowed but it has a human head coming out of the crocodile’s stomach and underneath the (scribe?) has written ‘exit’.

fol. 3r: the Hyena has had a wing added by a latter hand in lighter sepia (similar to the additions in CCA Lit Ms D.10)

fol 5v: Small eared Elephants; the top one has a blue-tipped saddle.

fol 6v: two small greyhound type Dogs in foot margin with red collars. The Wolf on fol 6v looks like it has been inked over in black as well as coloured red by a later hand that added a large lamp this looks like the same hand which has added red separating the long marginal additions on fol 1r – swirl under wolf look similar.

fol 7r: Ibex has been inked over in lower jaw in black Firestones ‘female’ (only indication is that figure is beardless) male has beard. Both figures quite bug-eyed they hold round shields depicting firestones.

fol 7v: The Sawfish or Serra looks like a Chinese kite; it eats a dogfish. It has a banded collar just before tail, a feature noted in the initials by Artist B (Orosius, TCC O.4.34, fol. 1r).

The Caladrius has interesting pointing up flame-like feathers on its tail and downpointed ones on the wing; it is long-necked and dragon-like and looks at the man in the bed who points to it.

fol 8r: The Pelican pecks breast as two chicks look on, other chicks peck eyes of a bigger bird with tail feathers sticking up like spikes. The Owl or Noctua has an inked-over face, added later.

Contents: First family Bestiary of forty-four chapters including three additional chapters (Wolf, Dog, and Ibex). The chapter order has been re-arranged in quire 1. Stewart thinks the changes in the chapter order in the second
quire are the result of scribal error.\textsuperscript{125} The second quire also does not finish the end of the Hoopoe chapter left unfinished at the end of the first quire. Moreover, it adds the text on the Onocentaurus in the Syrene chapter (fol. 10r) although this has been separated out in the first quire to form a new chapter 3 (fol. 1v).

Textual Affiliation: Baxter: Bodl., Laud Misc. 247

Kauffmann, p. 76, No. 125, CIM. Stewart 2012, pp. 93-94.

Table 6.1 Chapter Headings in Stowe 1067

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quire 1 fols. 1-8</th>
<th></th>
<th>Quire 2 fols 9-16</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f. 1r</td>
<td>1. Leo</td>
<td>15. Draco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. 1v</td>
<td>2. Autalops</td>
<td>f. 5r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. 1v</td>
<td>3. Onocentaurus</td>
<td>f. 5r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. 1v</td>
<td>4. Herinatio</td>
<td>f. 5v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. 2r</td>
<td>5. Vulpis</td>
<td>f. 6r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. 2r</td>
<td>6. Unicorns</td>
<td>f. 6v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. 1r</td>
<td>7. Castor</td>
<td>f. 7r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. 1r</td>
<td>8. Ydrus</td>
<td>f. 7r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. 1r</td>
<td>9. Crocodrillus</td>
<td>f. 7v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. 3v</td>
<td>11. Onager</td>
<td>f. 8r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. 3v</td>
<td>12. Simius</td>
<td>f. 8r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. 4r</td>
<td>13. Caper</td>
<td>f. 8v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. 4r</td>
<td>14. Pantera</td>
<td>f. 8v</td>
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<td>f. 8v</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{125} Stewart 2012, Appendix 9, pp. 58-60, p. 59.
\textsuperscript{126} New chapters are in bold.
\textsuperscript{127} Deeper shading of chapter headings 34-39 indicate the text was copied out of order (Aspis to start of Peredixion). This txt should have been between the end of the Fulica or Coot and Aspidochelone.
Appendix 7
Oxford, Bodl. Bodley Lat. Th. e. 9

Summary Description

Oxford Bodl. Bodley Lat. Th. e. 9

Elucidarium and various theological and didactic texts and extracts

Date s.xii

This is a broad collection of didactic material beginning with the first two books of the Elucidarium followed by works on the sacraments, mass, and liturgy, tracts on the Paternoster and Creed, De Antichristo, extracts from a type of bestiary, a sermon and patristic extracts. In its layout, script styles, rubrics, and quire signatures this matches a range of texts, including a group of histories produced at Christ Church Priory, Canterbury at this period, although the scripts are slightly later with more gothic features.

Manuscript Items: Oxford Bodl. Bodley Lat. Th. e. 9 (SC)

Vol. Incipit: Sepius rogatus

2o. folio: [inef] fabulis suavitatis

Family: Three chapters from unknown Physiologus/bestiary

Contents: also see Summary Catalogue SC32710, pp. 189-190

fol. ii r: a) Elucidarium,
HNonorius Augustodunensis, incipit ‘Sepius rogatus’, PL.172, 1109A,
breaks off at ‘vel monachis vel monialis’ fol. 22r Book 2, ch. 15, (PL.172,
1146B)

fol. 22v: was blank; Consanguinity Table added c. s.xiv;
Stub between 22v and 23r.
b) Exaggeratio.

Heriger of Lobbes (Gerbert) incipit ‘Magna est celestium beneficiorum angustiae humanae mentis excedit.’ excipit: ‘qui vitam dat huic mundo’, fol. 39r.\footnote{128}

fol. 39v: c) Dicta Herigeri,


fol. 47v: d) Account of the Roman Council of 1079

incipit: ‘Anno ab incarnatione’ excipit, ab ea recesserant’, fol. 48r.


fol. 53v: f) ‘De ordine cleric et quid sit clericus’

excipit fol. 54v

fol. 54v: g) Adso, De antichristo,

incipit Scire uolentibus, excipit ‘indicandum esse prefexit’, fol. 56v last line rubric, ‘De tribus naturis leonis’

fols. 56v: h) ‘Leo tres naturas habet’

Extracts from an unidentified source linked to a bestiary incipit ‘Leo tres naturas habet’ excipit ‘inimicus factus est’, fol57v, fol. 57v pseudo-Vergil, ‘Nocte pluit tota. reedunt spectacula mane… Sic vos non vobis vellera fertis oves’\footnote{129}, and ‘Quot sunt lingue in mundo?’

\footnote{129}{Traced as SK 10279 by Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, No. 114, p.120, originally from Vergil, ‘It rains all night, but the public games take place in the morning; You, Caesar, hold divided empire with Jove. [I wrote this little couplet, another took the credit.] Thus not for yourself do you birds feather your nests; Thus not for yourself do you sheep bear wool; Thus not for yourself do you bees make honey; [Thus not for yourself do you oxen pull the plough.] from Suetonius Lives, <http://perseus.uchicago.edu/perseus-cg/citequery3.pl?dbname=PerseusLatinTexts&getid=1&query=Suet.%20Virgil>[accessed 14 June 2015]}
fol. 58r: i) blank except for s.xiv English verses, ‘Almygty gode ye evere father’

fol. 58v: j) On the liturgical hours,
incipit: ‘Signum quod in ecclesia reboat’

fol. 68v: k) Short extracts from patristic writings,
starts with Augustine incipit, ‘Ex quo incipit homo vivere’, ends incomplete ‘Odio; dum cuinulibet mini’, fol. 72v. missing quire

fol. 73r: l) ‘caput et pederet intestina agni’
[new hand] Unidentified sermon on the Mass, excipit ‘qua vivit et regnat per cuncta’, fol. 76v. Likens Christ to the head of the sheep and mankind to the feet and intestines not an altogether successful analogy.

fol. 76v: m) ‘Ut capitis rasur docet rex atque sacerdos’
Latin verses, (Aalther, Initia, nos 19775, 19011 5831, 18193), excipit ‘Martyrii calicem gustnat in carne fideles’, fol. 77v.

fol. 77: n) ‘Queritus cum deus crearet duo animalia’,
Short theological questions, incipit excipit ‘seperationem id est pugnam’, fol. 78r.

fol. 78v: o) Ivo of Chartres, Ep. CL/1,
PL 162, col. 160-1 to Olric (on a penitent priest), ends incomplete, fol. 79.130

fol. 80v: Pentrials, including ‘Liber hic ad Christoferum Huband pertinent qui olim suo dilecto in Christo avunculo Nicholao extabat’ (about AD 1500); ‘Francis Carington’ (late 17th century)

Attribution: This thesis suggests Christ Church, Canterbury (BC4.219)

Provenance: fol. ii r, copy of a letter from Augustinian Priory of Flansford; s.xiv cx

fol. 80r, left by Nicholas to Christopher Huband c. 1500;
fol. i r, Liber sermonum Dominicalium. Compositus a quodam Prio\textipa{r} (J Gosselyn) Sancti Bartholomei London (c. s. xix attribution);
fol. 80r ex libris as above; pen trial Frances Carington (c. s.xvii); fol. i r, William Hamper received the book from Thomas Sharp of Coventry 1818;
fol. i v: Phillips 9562, SC notes ‘bought by the Bodleian at Phillips’ sale, June, 1899, lot 637.’

**Physical Description**

**Layout:**
Clean, plain and neat. Single column throughout, 29 lines; pricked and ruled in hardpoint, very faint. Writing above top line.

**Margins:**
Top 10 mm trimmed, inner margin c. 20 mm, foot margin 39 mm, outer margin, trimmed but some pricking still visible, 21 mm.

**Date:**
c. s.xii\textipa{2} (s. xiv additions and s. xix note on fol. i r.)

**Size:**
c.320 x 215 mm.

**Material:**
Binding: in white leather, early s. xix (note, fol. i r), title in black ink on spine: LIBER/ SERMONU[M]/T. GOSSELYN PRIOR./ SCI BART./ LONDON
Substrate: Parchment yellowy but in good condition except fol. ii r stained and grubby; evidence of exposure. HHFF
Small hole on fol. 1, some staining and creasing, e.g. fol. ii v

**Folios:**
fol. 80r + ii - 80.

**Foliation:**
Modern, black ink top right hand corner
Collation: 1⁸, 2⁸, 3⁸ wants ⁸, 4¹², 5¹⁴, 6⁸, 7⁸, 8⁸, [quire 9 is missing], 1⁰⁷ wants last leaf

Signatures: all centred in foot margin:
fol. 7v has .i. (end of folio)
fol. 8r has .ii. [fol. 15r trimmed]
fol. 23r has .iii.
fol. 35 has .v.
fol. 49r has .vi.
fol. 57r has .vii.
fol. 65r has .viii. [quire 9 is missing]
fol. 73r has .x.

These quire signatures are very similar to the earlier Christ Church History books, e.g. Orosius, TCC O.4.43, and other Christ Church quire signatures, except the same style quire signature is on the first recto not the last verso.

Hands: Main texts: four s.xii hands:

fol. ii r - 7r; Large untidy protogothic, similar to Hand A in BL Royal 1 A XIV Gospels, s.xii²,¹³¹

8r - 2²r; Small, tidy, upright protogothic, capital letters tipped in red, lengthens descenders on final lines, similar to TCC B.1.17 Jerome on Matthew.

23r - 7²v; Large but neat pricklier protogothic, similar to Bodley 271, fol 50r

73r - 7⁸r; Similar to Hand 2 but uses tironnian ‘7’ for et.

Black or dark brown ink except for Hand Two which uses a mid-range sepia.

**Glossing:** *Nota* marks but few corrections, some interlinear. Some glossing outlined in wavy red, e.g. fols. 7v and 23r. Tick marks also present.

**Additions:** (fol. i r: s. xix; fol. ii r, fols. 22r, 58r, 80r: s. xiv)

**Bestiary Hand:** Hand 3: Densely written protogothic, with a high ‘x’ height; high-bodied a, e often has extended tongue, stubby forked ascenders, d sometimes bent back, sometimes upright long s; open g, rounded minim turn right; two forms of r, c and e bite (*voce* fol. 57r, l.9), reminiscent of hands in Bodley 271, e.g. fol. 50r. Other hands in volume are also protogothic.

Ligatures: ct and st; Punctuation: punctus elevatus, punctus. Standard abbreviations, e.g. for ‘orum’. Minor erasure just before ‘ omnium’ corrected sp. (fol. 57v l. 4).

**Decoration:** Inset two-line high red initials, except P[ropheta] fol. 57r which descends along inner margin and curls at end, rubrics in red. Fol. 23r has a purple initial M with inner red petal shapes.

**Illustration:** Not illustrated.

**Textual Affiliation:** CCCC 448 (fol. 97-103, s.xi/xii Worcester?)


**Figures:** 2.19.1 and 2.19.2; CCCC 448 fig. 2.19.3.
Content Comparison of *De tribus naturis leonis* fols. 56v-57v

Comparisons are made between the two main *Physiologus* types A and B and the Laud Bestiary, and the text in CCCC 448. Matching text is highlighted and in bold.

1. *Physiologus Latinus Versio Y*

Iacob, benedicens Iudam filium suum, ait: Catulus leonis Iuda. Phisiologus dixit, qui sermonum horum scripsit naturas, *leo tres naturae habet*. Prima natura est: cum ambulat olefaciens in monte, venit ei odor venatoris; et de *cauda sua cooperit vestigia sua quocumque ierit*, ut non sequatur venator vestigia eius, et inveniat cubile ipsius, et capiat eum. - Sic et salvator noster, spiritualis leo *de tribu Iuda*, radix David missus a consempiterno patre, cooperuit intellegibilis vestigia sua (hoc est deitatem suam) a Iudeis incredulis: cum angelis angelus, cum archangelis archangels, cum tronis tronus, cum potestate potestas; donec descendens descendisset in uterum virginis, ut salvaret quod perierat genus humanum: Et verbum caro factum est, et habitaret in nobis. Et hoc, ignorantes eum descendentem atque ascendentem, hi qui sursum sunt, dicunt: Quis est iste rex glorie? et angeli deducentes eum responderunt: Dominus virtutum ipse est rex glorieae. *Secunda natura* leonis est: *cum dormierit, vigilant ei oculi, aperti* enim sunt ei; in canticis canticorum testatur sponsus dicens: *Ego dormio, cor meum vigilat*. - Etenim corporaliter dominus meus dormivit in cruce, deitas vero eius semper in dextera patris vigilat: Non enim dormit neque dormitabit qui custodit Israel. *Tertia eius* natura est: cum leena *generit catulum suum*, generat eum mortuum; et leena custodit eum *tribus diebus*; donec veniat pater eius *die tertio* tertia et, essufflans in faciem eius die tertia, suscitavit eum. - Sic omnipotens pater omnium tertia die suscitavit primogenitum *omnis creature a mortuis*. Bene ergo Iacob dixit: Catulus leonis Iuda, quis suscitavit eum?

Bodl. Lat Th. e. 9

ff 56v at very bottom: *De tribus naturis leonis*. //

2. Physiologus Latinus Versio B


Bodl. Lat Th. e. 9

ff 56v at very bottom: De tribus naturis leonis. //

ff 57r Leo tres naturas habet. Quaram prima est. //Nam cum ambule et venatoris odor venerit ei; //cauda sua cooperit uestigia sua quocumque ierit. ne //vestigia eius aut caubile venator inveniat. et capiat //ueum. Sic xps’ ihe’ ortus de tribu iuda leo potens; //vestigia deitatis sue carne cooperuit. ne eum verum //filium dei diabolus agnosceret. Secunda natura //ra. cum dormierit vigilant eius oculi aperti; sicut in //canticis canticorum sponsi voce dicitur. Ego dormio; et //cor meum uigilat. Tercia eius est natura. Cum enim //generetur catulum mortuum eum generat leena. et //tribus diebus custodit eum; donec ueniens pater eius //die tertio. insufflat in faciem eius suscitet eum. //Sic deus pater teste psalmista ad filium dicens; exurge //gl’ a mea fili. et filius ad eum. exurgam diluculo; //pater omnis creature primogenitum suscitavit a //mortuis; //

3. Mann, Bestiaire Divin, 1898 (Laud Misc. 247 text from Royal C2 XIX)

Etenim Iacob benedicens filium suum Iudam ait (Gen. 49, 9): ‘Catulus leonis Iudas filius mens, quis suscitabit eum?’ Fisiologus dicit tres naturales habere leonem.
Prima : ambulat in montibus, et si contigerit, ut queratur a venatoribus, venit odor venatoris et de cauda sua post tergum cooperit vestigia sua quocumque ierit, ut secutus venator per vestigia eius non inveniat cubile eius, et capiat eum. Sic et Salvator Noster ‘spiritualis leo de tribu. Inda, radix Jesse, filius David’ (Apoc. 5, 5), missus a superno patre, co- operuit intelligentibus vestigia deitatis sue. Et hoc est: factus est cum angelis angelus, cum archangelis archangelus, cum thronis thronus, cum potestatibus potestas, donec descendit in uterum virginis, ut salvaret hoc quod erraverat humanum genus. Ex hoc ignorantes eum ascendentem ad patrem hi qui sursum erant angeli, dicebant ad eos qui cum Domino ascendeabant (Ps. 24, 8 f.): ‘Quis est iste rex glorie?’ Responderunt illi: ‘Dominus virtutum ipse est rex glorie.’

(Secunda natura). Cum dormierit, oculi eius vigilant, aperti enim sunt, sicut in Canticis Canticorum testatur sponsus dicens (Song of Songs, 5, 2): ‘Ego dormio et cor meum vigilat.’

Ethimologus 1): Dominus mens obdormiens in cruce et sepultus, deitas eins vigilabat. ‘Ecce non dormiet qui custodit Israel’ (Ps. 121, 4).


Bodl. Lat. Th. e. 9

ff 56v at very bottom: De tribus naturis leonis. //

1. ff 57r Leo tres naturas habet. Quorum prima est. //
2. Nam cum ambule et venatoris odor venerit ei; //
3. cauda sua cooperit vestigia sua quocumque ierit. ne //
4. vestigia eius aut caubile venator inveniat. et capiat //
5. eum. Sic xps’ ihe’ ortus de tribu iuda leo potens; //
6. vestigia deitatis sue carne cooperuit. ne eum verum //
7. filium dei diabolus agnosceret. Secunda natu-//
8. ra. cum dormierit vigilant eius oculi aperti; sicut in //
9. canticis canticorum sponsi voce dicitur. Ego dormio; et //
10. cor meum vigilat: Tercia eius est natura. Cum enim //
11. genuerit catulum mortuum eum generat leena. et //
12. tribus diebus custodit eum; donec veniens pater eius //
13. **die tercio**, inflans **in faciem eius** suscitet eum. //
14. Sic deus pater teste psalmista ad filium dicens; exurge //
15. g'la mea fili. et filius ad eum. exurgam diluculo; //
16. pater omnis creature primogenitum suscitavit a //
17. mortuis; //

4. **Comparison Bodl. Lat. The. e. 9 and CCCC448 fols 88r-89v**

**fol. 56v** at very bottom: **De tribus naturis leonis.** //
**fol. 57r**
1. Leo tres naturas habet. Quarum prima//
2. est. Nam cum ambule et venatoris odor venerit//
3. ei. Cauda sua cooperit vestigia sua quocumque//
4. iterit. ne vestigia eius aut caubile venator in//-
5. veniat. et capiat eum. Sic *xps’ ihe’ ortus de tribu*/
6. iuda leo potens; vestigia deitatis sue carne co-//-
7. operuit. ne eum verum filium dei diabolus//
8. agnosceret. Secunda natura. cum dormierit//
9. vigilant eius oculi aperit; sicut in canticis//
10. canticorum sponsi voce dicitur. Ego dormio; et;//
11. cor meum vigilat. Tercia eius est natura. Cum enim//
12. genuerit catulum mortuum eum generat leena://
13. et tribus diebus custodit eum; donec veniens://
14. pater eius die tercio. inflans in faciem eius suscitet//
15. eum. Sic deus pater teste psalmista ad filium//
16. dicens; exurge g’la mea fili. et filius ad eum.//
17. Exurgam diluculo; pater omnis creaturatur//
18. primogenitum suscitavit a mortuis;

18. **DE UNICORNUS NATURA**
19. Unicorns animal est pulchrum.//
20. nimisque acerrimum. hedi magnitudinem//
21. habens. Portat que cornu suum in medio//
1. **fol. 57v** capitis. Cui non potest venator ad pro-//-
2. piare nisi virginem castam posuerit ante//
3. eum. Qui videns virginem; statim exilit in//
4. sinum illus et obdormit. et sic capitur. Sic//
5. deus omnipotens quem non potere angeli et archangeli//
6. omnis que virtutes tenere; in utero virginis//
7. marie figuratus factus est homo; DE PANTHERA
8. Propheta dicit. factus sum sicut leo domui//
9. iuda; et sicut panthera domui effrains.//
10. Panthera omnium animalium pulchritudin; //
11. dinem decoratus; hanc naturam habet ut//
omnia animalia amicus sit; soli autem://
13. draconis inimicus. Est enim omnimodo://
14. varius; sicut tunica ioseph et speciosus://
15. forma prefiliis omnium animalium;://
16. sicut xpc est. speciosus forma pre filiiis://
17. homininum. Et hic panthera quietum ani://
18. mal est. et mitissimum nimis. Spiritu mitrem://
19. se et humilem dict. Quando enim satiates://
20. [erasure]es, dormit in fovea sua. et tercia die://
21. surgit a somno. et exclamat voce magna.://
22. et de eius ore procedit omnis odor bonus;://
23. aromata cuncta superans, qui per id est milii://
24. aria dispergitur. Et omnia animalia qui://
25. longe sunt et qui prope audientes vocem://
26. eius; sequuntur odorem illum. Solus vero://
27. draconis audiat vocem eius; abscondit se://
28. in spelunca sua. Sic et dominus surrexit://
29. a mortuis pacem evangelizans his qui://
30. prope et his qui longe; omnibus odor://
31. bonus factus est. Soli vero diabolo://
32. inimicus factus est VERSUS MARONIS POETE
33. Nocte pluit tota. redeunt spectacula mane;://
34. Divisum imperium cum iove cesar habes.://
35. Hos ego versiculos feci. tulit alter honorem;://
36. Sic vos non vobis mellificatis apes; //
37. Sic vos non vobis vellera fertis oves; //

Quot sunt lingue in mundo; lxxvii. //
39. Cur non plures vel pauciores; Propter/

fol. 58r
2. filios xxvii. Cham xxx. Iapheth vero xv. His://
3. simul vincitis; fiunt lxxvii.
Content Analysis

The fluidity of the bestiary text has always been problematic for tracing concordances, since the work is itself a compilation and all the early bestiaries make changes, edit, or expand their source texts. As an example, BL Royal C 2 XII is textually very close to Laud Misc. 247 but it still omits small amounts of information in the chapters on the Hedgehog, Onager, Stag, Mermecolion, and Diamond. Moreover, Royal C 2 XII was made a century later than Laud, has a completely different layout, and is unillustrated. So the differences in production are just as significant as the concordance. Therefore the three chapters included in this twelfth century text are significant whether or not textual transmission may be perceived.

The first chapter on the Lion was compared to four other texts, Versio B and Y from the Physiologus and the First family bestiary text. These chapters are definitely not from the Theobaldus metrical version which in any case does not include the Unicorn. The highlighted text makes it easy to see that there are correspondences between Lat. Th. e. 9 and the standard Physiologus B and Y. These matches occur because they are on the same topic of the three natures of the Lion and using the same Biblical quotations, rather than being textually related. This applies to the First family bestiary text too which has been reworded from Versio B but contains the same edited information with additions, rather like the use Honorius Augustodunensis made of the bestiary text for his Speculum Ecclesiae. The strands are the same colours but knitted up in a new style.

Appendix 8
London, British Library Additional 11283

Appendix 8 contains a brief manuscript description 8.1; followed by a more detailed report on the script and illustrations 8.2.

8. 1 London, British Library Additional 11283

Location: London, British Library

Shelfmark: Additional 11283

Vol. Incipit: Leo fortissimus ad nullius panebit fol. 1r

2o. folio: tigris

Family: Second family bestiary

Contents: Bestiary, fols. 1-41.

Attribution: Clark, 2006, and G. Zarnecki: Christ Church Priory?

Provenance: Bought by British Museum from William Pickering 1837

Date: s. xii2; Baxter: c.1160-80, Clark: c.1180; Kauffmann: c.1170

Size: 245 mm x 150 mm

Folios: fols. 1-41.

Material: Parchment in leather binding

Bestiary Hand: one protogothic hand

Layout: single column, 33 lines.

Illustration: Illustrated with 102 line illustrations by two artists. Linked iconographically to St Omer Bibl. Mun. 12, from St Bertin Abbey and copied by artist of the later Brussels Bib. Roy 8340 (Clark, p. 232) who also notes 50% of the illustrations have been

433
pricked for copying. Kauffmann noted ‘Mosan’ style (No. 105, p.125-6)

Textual

Relationship: Baxter: St Peters burg Bestiary (pp. 128-132); Clark: Aberdeen
Bestiary (p. 224)

Bibliography: Baxter 1998, pp. 128-136, Clark 2006 is an edition and translation of
Additional 11283, p. 232 for description, p. 255 for chapter listing,
and in relation to Aberdeen 24, pp. 223-224. Kauffmann No. 105,
pp. 125-6. Zarnecki

8.2 Detailed Examination

Material:

i. Binding 19th C Green leather boards gold embossed inner and outer rule.
No text or logo on either cover.

Spine embossed Crown logo/ BESTIARIUM/ MUS. BRIT. /
JURE. EMPTIONI / / 11283 / PIUT / / diamond quatrefoil / /
Crown logo // f

ii. Pastedowns grey, red and blue marbled (bubble) end papers

iii. Flyleaves (i-vi)

i marbled (and IFC and IBC too)

ii plain top left: B.2.b

foot ranged left? S.643f.

iii Two stickers ‘ For printed text or notices of this MS. See:-

iv blank

v Ph Mainwaring

pre I c l 10s (is this a price?)
L.?. 8 – in pencil top left

Mid-page: Purchased of Pickering / 11 Nov 1837 (rubbed out pencil has same data) line of 4 ink dotes above

19th C watermarked paper with fine tramlines and chain marks

vi blank

[Four blank back flyleaves one with pasted note dated 9.1.1984 ‘ffs. 11v-12 lead pigments treated with ethanol peroxide.]

iv. Marks of Ownership

On flyleaf v: Ph Mainwaring

Mid-page: Purchased of Pickering / 11 Nov 1837 (rubbed out pencil has same data) line of 4 ink dotes above.

Pentrial names noted under ‘marginalia’

v. Table of Contents or Index

No contents or index

vi. Substrate

Flyleaves, modern, paper

Manuscript is on vellum

vii. FOLiation

1-41v numbered in modern hand top right in ink (same hand as purchased of Pickering?)

viii. Collation

1-48, 57 +2. But rebound

ix. Quire Numbers

or Signatures

Numbered in pencil in modern hand at centred under last line of text at start of each quire 1-5

(fols. 9r, 17r, 25r, 33r)

f.1 foot of gutter – looks like a ‘d’
f.9 right in foot gutter v faint ‘e’?

**x. Catchwords**

One medieval catchword on fol. 8v colore maxillis

**xi. Leaves**

Trimmed (severely at top)

fol. 1 stained and dirty

Grubby with use throughout but on later folios easier to see HHFF

Some holes, substrate is velvety soft to the touch with wear

**xii. Pricking & Ruling**

No evidence of pricking (probably trimmed away)

Rules: tramline vertical tramlines 6mm apart – top horizontal extends past edge of page

Ruled in lead 33 lines

**xiii. Page Layout & Measurements**

Outer margin 35mm

Inner margin difficult to determine c. 10-12mm with 6mm tramline inc in this i.e. tight

Foot margin 57 mm

Top margin 16 mm but trimmed

Cover measures 290mm x 180mm

Size of page 280mm x 170/175mm

Text area: 202 mm x 132mm

Writing above topline

33 ruled lines on each folio side, leaves a deep foot margin but not sure how much has been trimmed from top margin (top of L[eo] missing from f.1r).

**xiv. Rubrics**

None

**xv. Script (s)**

Single hand in a neat proto textura
Written in sepia ink sometimes rewritten in black ink (or has just faded in parts). Stubby ascenders, closed ‘g’ has fine line to link lower loop to bowl, ‘x’ has tail to left, long ‘s’ tironian et like 7, x-height 2mm, h= 4 mm from baseline. Upright ductus. No evidence of biting or kissing in any letter combinations. The minim feet (especially m and n) turning up on right. Angularity in c e and o; f r and s all sit on baseline and don’t drop below; Y has a dot

1. Letters are narrow
2. No fusions or biting
3. Short ascenders and descendens
4. Angularity present – oval o with flat bottom r angle
5. Broadening of strokes
6. Feet on minims curved to right – these are straight inclining up on the right
7. ‘a’ shaft upright
8. No introduction of uncial d
9. ‘tongue’ stroke at e sloped upwards
10. f and long s on baseline
11. Lower lobe of g closed
12. Limb of h extends below baseline
13. Strokes on i – hmmm rarely but on alis f.8r
14. No uncial m at end of lines
15. Adaptation of round r (in shape of 2) from old orum to the letter r which came to complement straight r: here we have both: 2 forms of r and the ordinary r not the straight one.
16. No continuation of straight r extending below line.
17. Uncial (or round) s, complementing the long s in Caroline miniscule: both forms present here
18. Stem of t is turned into a minim that ‘pricks’ through horizontal bar (a flat top in Caroline minuscule) 11283 - these are flat tops.
19. No examples of w written as 2 v’s
20. The x descends on left below baseline
21. dotting of y in yena (hyena)

P Robinson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable in Cambridge Libraries*

similar to plate 67 of Comestor, *Historia Scholastica*, TCC B.15.10

fol. 4 owned by Nigel Wireker, of St Augustine’s Abbey, Canterbury c.1155; Also similar CCL W.50 dated 1155, and Lambeth Palace Cart Misc xi

xvi. Alterations and Corrections

Later hand has added in refs to Solinus, e.g. fol. 4r.

fol. 20r: 3 leafed cloverleaf with J curled tail and 3 dots by each leaf

Several ‘Nota bene’ in early 13th C hand, e.g.

fol 14r: Nota bene Bucefalus (i.e. name of Alexander’s horse)

fol. 9v: fine interlinear corrections in black e.g. ‘illo’ above ‘nisi vivente’.

fol. 31r: ‘Stagno d[e? missing, trimmed] Blakemore’

xvii. Decoration

*Litterae Notabiliores*

Alternate warm red and bright mid-blue with contrasting penscroll infill with cowrie-shell frills

Initial letters usually 2-3 lines high, occasionally longer extending into margin

This alternate colouring often found in Canterbury mss.

Illustrations

Many unframed illustrations of animals in ink, occasionally coloured. The colour palette is red, blue, green, brown

Some text has been gone over in black ink foot of f. 2 Many illustrations have been pounced, e.g. fol. 20v Siren

fol. 1r Lion is green with red-tipped mane

fol. 2r Tiger has red blue and green stripes and spots

fol. 3v Some prickling and pouncing evident, e.g. Griffin

fol. 4r Elephants scalloped ears, castle on top, with tusks and trunk but rounded feet

fol. 5v Simia: the monkeys not pounced but very detailed

fol. 7r Caprea
fol. 7v Ursus

fol. 8r Crocodrillus – Large cat with scales like C C C depicted clasping diagonal stiff clothed man
Manticore in foot margin similar stance to leucrota but lion’s mane and human face

fol. 8v Parandrus – pricked running deer more like D10 and it has been brushed across with a dirty grey 2” brush
Eale (Yale)

fol. 9v Wolves, stronger black line used but animals drawn the same way as e.g. eale, same stretch marks at belly and round haunches, same delineation of hocks and forelimbs, but wolf and three sheep have wrinkles before start of tail on their backs.

fol. 14r [Full page text on equus l.6 nota de Bucephal/equo Alixi magni in same pale sepia script as nota bene on f.7r

fol. 12-14 Mostly domestic animals – thick, confident line drawings, camels look like fawns.
Dromedary has no hump at all.

fol. 15r Small animals – very much finer line with a warm sepia wash.

fol. 19v Assida – image has cloven hooves.

fol. 24v Perindens tree symmetrical tree – dragon has teeth (with small bird in them) – three-curl knot in tail parallel lines with small evenly spaced circles

fols. 25-40 Gaps left for illustrations not drawn

fol. 41r Half-page Firestones with bright red flames and man and woman gesturing to each other.

Text: Single work fols 1-41r

Modern Title: Bestiary

Incipit: [L 4 lines high red with blue penscroll, trimmed]
Leo fortissimus bestiarum ad nullius pauebit occursum

Sec fol: TIGRIS Uocata fol 2r

fol. 4 Est ani/mal qd d’r elephans
Colophon: In filios in obedientie debachatur (Firestones)
Contents: Illustrated Second family bestiary
Date: c. 1170-1200
Marginalia: Many including pentrials and copies of drawings (e.g. Lion's head, fol. 1r). There are marginalia in several hands, inc. later English and several cloverleaf markings with a point just beyond each leaf:
fol. 7r 13-14thC nota mark
fol. 30 three dots in triangle
Names:
fol. 3r top margin: Cuthbert s Sigswick
f.6v Tudor hand Jake? Jack? Henry partially erased
f.16r Ambroas / Booke [possibly a date beneath – 1617] written upside down
f.16r Thomas/Buttler/Ow[n]e this/booke [written upside down]
f.28v pentrials George Sparkes, Richard Leinon[?] [upside down]
f.30r George Sparkes the right way up twice in foot margin.
f.32 a lead X with rule above and below – Ffrenshe in pencil same hand as fol. 38r sketch
f.38r pencil marginalia of man in doublet & hose.
Appendix 9
Brussels, Bibliothéque Royale 8340

9. Brussels, Bibliothéque Royale 8340133 s.xiv2,3

Location: Brussels, Bibliothéque Royale

Shelfmark: 8340 (in 8327-8342) old shelf mark 1031

Vol. Incipit: Optatus mibi (De contemptu mundi)

Contents: Numbers match those in J. Gheyn, Catalogue de manuscrits de la bibliothèque royale de Belgique, II (Bruxelles: Lamertin, 1902), pp. 92-93.134

fol. 1-68v 1. De contemptu mundi incipit Optatus mibi

fol. 69r-103v 2. Walter Burley De Vita et Moribus Philosophorum

fol. 104v-120v 3. In Gratianem Dominicam: incipit Quia frequenter in evangelio monemur

fol. 120v-129 4. St Bernard De salutatione angelica incipit ‘Salutate Mariam que multum laboravit in vobis’

fol. 129-132 5. Origen, Omelia super Maria stabat ad monumentum foris plorans

fol. 132 blank


fol. 145v-154r 7. Gennadii Massiliensis De viris illustribus, PL 58 col. 1053

fol. 154r-157v 8. Isidore of Seville, De viris illustribus, PL 83 col. 1081

[fols. 158r-163r 9. Additions to Isidore De viris illustribus extracts from Julian of Toledo etc]

fol. 164r-179v 10. Cassiodorus, De institutionibus divinarum scripturarum, PL 70 col 1105

fol. 179v-181r 11. Decretals; Epistola a Gelasii papa., PL 59 col 159-169

fol. 181r-181v 12. Jerome, Epistola de gradibus romanorum

133 The bestiary is now referenced as BBR 8327-8342.
fol. 181v-182r  13. Historia Judae et Thamar
fol. 182r-182v  14. Nomina et interpretationes apostolorum  BHL no. 652
fol.183-215  15. Bestiary

Family:  Second family bestiary

Incipit: Leo fortissimus bestiarum ab nullius pauebit occasus.

Date:  Clark.1300; Baxter: fourteenth century (p. 148); Silvestre: s. xiv\(^3-4\)

Size:  277 mm x177mm

Folios:  fols. 1-215

fols. 104-132 are separate contemporary insertions, in two columns

fols 158-163 are eighteenth-century paper insertions.


Ex libris ‘Liber fratris Brunonis ordinis Praedicatorum’

Collation:  Catchmarks on bestiary at 186v, 194v, 202v, 201v, indicates quires of eight leaves.

Material:

Binding:  Eighteenth century leather covers.

Substrate:  Parchment

fols 158-163 (an insert on paper)

Layout:  Single column with illustrations ranged right taking up half the column width

Bestiary Hand: Single bookhand, same hand as for the other fourteenth-century contents. Professional decorative gutter and top margin borders for the start of each text with five line high foliate decorated initials in red, pink, blue picked out in white and gilded. Lesser initials, three lines high, alternate between red and blue with contrasted filigree. Sentence capital letters tipped in red.

Illustration:  100 unframed black line drawings, half-width and usually nine lines high, professionally copied from BL Additional 11283, Clark ‘closer than any other manuscript’ to BL Additional 11283 indicates ‘direct contact’ Clark 2006, p. 226.
Textual
Affiliation: BL Additional 11283 (Clark, p. 226)

Appendix 10
Oxford, Bodleian, Douce 88A

10. Oxford, Bodleian Douce 88A s.xiii

Location: Oxford, Bodleian Library
Shelfmark: Douce 88A
Vol. Incipit: KL prima dies
2o. folio: prima
Family: Second family bestiary fols. 5-29
Bestiary Incipit: Bestiarius vocabulum propriete convenit leonibus.
Bestiary 2o. fol: [devorata]tas gravantur
Date: Clark: c. 1270s; Baxter: c. 1240-60
Size: 202 mm x 155 mm; text area 165 mm x 110 mm
Folios: fols. 1-68.

Late medieval numbering: pp. 1-10, pp. 131-286.
Numbering in late medieval hand starts paginating 2 at fol 1v,
kalends to p.10 (half page) then bestiary at p.132 in same hand.
Bestiary ends at p.209 but numbering continues – and fig of Adam
and Eve is in the same hand as bestiary and same colours

Contents: A: quire 1:
Calendar fols. 1-4, pp. 1-10 missing pp. 4-5, 7-8, only
bottom half left of pp. 11-12

B: quires 2-5:
Bestiary, fols. 5r-29r, pp. 131-204 (lost leaves between fols. 12-13, 22-23, 28-29)
History of the Cross (incipit Qualiter Adam et Eva), fols. 29v-33v
(duplicate p. 204, pp. 204-211)

C: quires 6-7:
Odo of Cheriton, Opus Parabolae, 2 cols. fols. 34-48 (pp. 212-240)
On Seven Deadly Sins Incipit: *Dicatur omnibus*, 2 cols., fols. 48v-9 (pp. 241-243)

History of St Mary Magdalene Incipit *Narrat Joseph*, later cursive hand, single col. fol. 50r (pp. 244-7)

D: quires 8-9:


**Material:** Vellum, holed (e.g. fol. 12), stained and grubby.

**Origin:** Baxter 1998, p. 143: St Augustine's Abbey but this is disputed by Barker-Benfield, p. 889.

**Provenance:** Incription on Calendar fol 1r, 1336 Speldhist (Kent) and Thomas de Whatton, (Clark, 2006, p. 242) with marginalia and pen trials of Bartholomew Salmon, fol. 2r, whose name also appears in margins of fol. 52r, in quire 8. Purchased by Douce in 1818.

Baxter: St Augustine's Abbey, disputed by Barker-Benfield

**Bestiary Hand:** Single hand: textura. The texts in quires B-D are by the same hand, except fol. 50r-v. Some minor glossing, corrections e.g. ‘frustrum’ fol.12.

**Layout:** single column, 34 lines, ruled in lead, writing below top line

**Decoration:** Initial letters red with blue filigree then blue with red fol.34 (p.212) B[eatus Basili coaageras iuuvenes] red and blue puzzle initial

Rubrics thrown right

**Illustration:** 70 framed line drawings with tinted backgrounds, frames alternate red and green, backgrounds, green or red in contrast. Line drawings are generally 9 lines high. Simple figures, thin-legged animals.

**Textual Relationship:** Clark 2006: BL Add. 11283, Royal 12 F XIII (p. 242). Baxter, p.140 also suggests closest Second family bestiary to Third family recension

**Bibliography:** Clark 2006: N°.22, pp. 242-3; Baxter 1998, pp. 140-143, 148; BCBB p.898
Appendix 11
Inhabited and Zoomorphic Initials with Bestiary Allusions in Christ Church Books

This appendix consists of a list of Christ Church artists and two tables of the inhabited and/or zoomorphic initials which allude to animals from the First family bestiary and are found in Christ Church books between 1085 and 1137. The first table, part 1, lists the manuscripts in date order from 1085-1137. It is also in alphabetical order of the artists who were identified by initials by Gameson, an indication of his working method. This table also provides the reference numbers for manuscripts noted in part 2 of Table 5.1a.

This second part of Table 5.1a provides colour illustrations of those decorated initials which contain bestiary allusions, also chosen to provide a range of the various artists’ work. This table is numbered according to the chapter order in Oxford, Bodl. Misc. Laud 247 so that it is easy to see which bestiary animals were popular choices for illumination and which did not appear. The sinuous suitability of serpents and dragons to form letter shapes made them the overwhelming majority but satyrs and sirens, and lions, pards, and pearls were also common. Surprisingly, given their later commonality in medieval art, pelicans and owls, stags and unicorns do not seem to appear in Christ Church initials of this period.

Of course, other creatures not in the bestiary were also used, not only sourced from fables but as Dodwell demonstrated, from other works, such as astronomy texts, e.g. the Pisces by artist B in Orosius, TCC O.4.34, fol. 1v. There are also fish sometimes held in dogs’ mouths, perhaps a pun on ‘canis/cane’ for sing or chant, artist L in TCCB.2.34, fol. 137v. The hare was

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135 Gameson 1995, pp. 117-120, pp. 142-144, A-K; Gameson, 2008, p. 245 for three more artists also identified as A-C, this table is only concerned with B and C who have been re-titled M and N.
136 Dodwell 1954, p. 64, plate 38i.
another creature used for its English name by artist A (CUL Kk.1.23, fol. 1r); and artist G (TCC B.2.34, fol. 79v), both illustrated in the table. Besides the illustrations, Part 2 of the table gives a brief bibliography for each manuscript and notes mentions of individual initials in the scholarship, chiefly by Dodwell and Kauffmann. Furthermore, the table provides references for the dates of these manuscripts, some of which have been revised since Gameson's 1995 article. The various styles of the artists of these initials were described by Gameson, and some of their work had previously been discussed by Dodwell, and commented upon by Kauffmann. A brief summary of the artists appears in volume 1, pp. 239-242.
Table 5.1a, part 1: Examined Christ Church Manuscripts with Bestiary Allusions
Arranged in date order, bold indicates initial depicted in part 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Table 5.1a ref &amp; Shelfmark</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Short Title</th>
<th>Artist Identified by Letter, and Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>TCC B.3.5</td>
<td>c.1083-1087</td>
<td>Jerome</td>
<td>A (Anglo-Norman?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>TCC O.4.34</td>
<td>1100-1107</td>
<td>Orosius</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>TCC O.10.28</td>
<td>1100-1107</td>
<td>Eutropius</td>
<td>B (scribe using English minuscule)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>TCC B.5.28**</td>
<td>c.1187-1093</td>
<td>Augustine, Psalms II</td>
<td>C: fols.45r &amp; 60r, D: fols.87v, 60v, scribe Eadmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>TCC B.5.26 **</td>
<td>c.1187-1093</td>
<td>Augustine, Psalms I</td>
<td>E (most active artist) scribe: Eadmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>TCC B.4.2</td>
<td>s.xi²</td>
<td>Augustine, Job</td>
<td>G (fol. 1r, I, animal head)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>TCC B.3.9</td>
<td>s.xi/xii</td>
<td>Ambrose, Super Lucam</td>
<td>E: fols.4r &amp; 5v, H: fols 15r &amp; 33r Norman?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>TCC B.3.14</td>
<td>s.xi/xii</td>
<td>Pratellenis II</td>
<td>Not identified by RG [P]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>OBL Bod. 271</td>
<td>1104-1114</td>
<td>Anselm, Opera</td>
<td>E?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>TCC B.4.26</td>
<td>1090-1120</td>
<td>Augustine, Ep</td>
<td>E fol.2r D[ominio])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>BL Arundel 16</td>
<td>1090-1120</td>
<td>Osbern, Dunstani</td>
<td>E fol.2r, ‘Osbernus’ initial?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>OBL, Bodl.161</td>
<td>1100-30</td>
<td>Bede, Song of songs</td>
<td>C: fol 9r F: fol.1r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>TCC B.2.34</td>
<td>s.xii²</td>
<td>Jerome In Genesim</td>
<td>G fol. 79v, L 34r, 47r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>TCC R.15.22</td>
<td>s.xii²</td>
<td>Boethius, Musica</td>
<td>E/J = Samuel?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>BL Cott Claudia E v</td>
<td>c.1125</td>
<td>Ps-Isidore, Decretals</td>
<td>E? + others [M &amp; N?] BL dates this to 1125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>BL Harley 315</td>
<td>1110-1140</td>
<td>Passionale v 3</td>
<td>M &amp; N: Renamed: Gameson duplicated B &amp; C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>BL Harley 624</td>
<td>1123, 1128-37</td>
<td>Passionale v 3</td>
<td>M &amp; N?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>BL Cot Nero C vii</td>
<td>ca.1110</td>
<td>Passionale v 3</td>
<td>M &amp; N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Cam St John’s A8</td>
<td>1110-1140</td>
<td>Josephus, Bello</td>
<td>E/J? &amp; M &amp; N?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>CUL Ii.3.12</td>
<td>1120-50</td>
<td>Boethius, Arith</td>
<td>G, J, K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>BL Cotton Cleo, E i</td>
<td>1120-21</td>
<td>Register</td>
<td>G, M &amp; N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>CCA Lit Ms E.42</td>
<td>1123, 1128-37</td>
<td>Passionale v 1, 5</td>
<td>E/J = Samuel?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

137 Table 5.1a provides references for the dates of these manuscripts.
Appendix 11
Table 5.1a: Examined Christ Church Manuscripts with Bestiary Allusions

Please note this table is also available as a PowerPoint presentation.

Bibliographical Key to Table 5.1a

CC  Christ Church Priory, Canterbury


K 1975  M Kauffmann, Illuminated Romanesque Manuscripts 1066-1190


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ch. No.</th>
<th>Bestiary Animal</th>
<th>Author/Title, Shelfmark</th>
<th>Initial &amp; Folio</th>
<th>Date &amp; References</th>
<th>Artist</th>
<th>Images</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S, fol. 2r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image2" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>Caladrius</td>
<td>Ambrose, <em>Super Lacem</em>, TCC B.3.9 5.1 includes Siren and 5.2 includes winged Hyena 5.2 includes Siren and 5.2 includes winged Hyena</td>
<td>E, fol. 15r</td>
<td>a.s. 5, GL 2014, N° 192 C0, RG 1995, 114, 123 St A, K 1975, N° 8, D, 17</td>
<td>H</td>
<td><img src="image3" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>E, fol. 33r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image4" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>Siren</td>
<td>Ps-Isisford, <em>Dworst</em>, BL Cotton Claudius E V</td>
<td>D, fol. 54r</td>
<td>c. 1125, BL K 1975, N° 21, D, 72</td>
<td>E?</td>
<td><img src="image6" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>G, fol. 128r, Hybrid siren</td>
<td>1123, 1128-37 RG 2008, 245; K 1975, N° 22, D 72</td>
<td>M?</td>
<td><img src="image7" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bestiary/Animal</td>
<td>Author/Title, Shelfmark</td>
<td>Initial &amp; Fol.</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Artist</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
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<td>------------</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Hyena</td>
<td>Ambrose, <em>Super Lucam</em>, TCCB.3.9</td>
<td>E, fol. 33r</td>
<td>c. xi–xii, GL</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.17 Hydrus and Crocodile</td>
<td>Ps-Isidore, <em>De creat., BL Cotton Claudius E V</em></td>
<td>G, fol. 36r</td>
<td>c.1125, BL</td>
<td>E?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 7.2 7.3         | Jerome, *Super Prophetas II*, TCC B.3.5  
Right: Further example of A’s work  
CUL Kk.1.23, Ambrose, *Hexaemeron*  
Hybrid with Sword, horn, and Hare | I, fol. 3r   | 1125, GL    | A      |
Goat treads on Wolf | Q, 45r      | 1087-1093, G | C      |
And close-up | R, fol. 2r   | c. 1093, BL | E?     |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ch. No.</th>
<th>Bestiary Animal</th>
<th>Author/Title, Shelfmark</th>
<th>Initial &amp; Folio</th>
<th>Date &amp; References</th>
<th>Artist</th>
<th>Images</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>Cynocephalus/Satyr [Monkey]</td>
<td>Ps.-Isidore, <em>De rerum natura</em>, BL Cotton Claudius E.V, <em>Cynocephalus?</em> right: Further example of satyr Paschal III, BL Harley 624</td>
<td>B, fol. 4r; O, fol. 93v</td>
<td>c. 1125, BL; K 1975, No 21; D, 74; 1123, 1128-37; RG 2008, 245; D, 75</td>
<td>E.P</td>
<td><img src="image1.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>Satyr</td>
<td>Jerome, <em>In Genesim</em>, TCC B.2.34</td>
<td>S, fol. 34r Scripture; A, Fol. 27r Ararat</td>
<td>s.mi, RG 1999, No 136; RG 1995, 132n, 143; D 23; As above and D, 29, 74</td>
<td>L</td>
<td><img src="image2.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.1</td>
<td>Dragon</td>
<td>Boethius, <em>De Principio</em>, TCC R.15.22</td>
<td>E, fol. 68r; A, fol. 79r Aethiopica</td>
<td>s.mi, MRJ and at 37 above; D, 33 'Romanesque illumination of remarkably fine quality' s.mi, RG 1999, 13s.</td>
<td>G</td>
<td><img src="image4.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch. No.</td>
<td>Bestiary Animal</td>
<td>Author/Title, Shelfmark</td>
<td>Initial &amp; Folio</td>
<td>Date &amp; References</td>
<td>Artist</td>
<td>Images</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.5</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Song of Songs</em>, Oxford, Bodl. Bodley 161</td>
<td>P, fol. 1r</td>
<td>1100-1130, D, 121 RG 1995, 117n, 142</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.6</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>right: Further example, Josephus, Bull Cambridge, St John’s Ab, Ditto</em></td>
<td>M, fol. 61r</td>
<td>1110-40, D RG 1995, 130n, L 2004</td>
<td>N?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>Weasdl</td>
<td>Pratellensis, <em>Super Genesis II</em>, TCC B.3.14</td>
<td>Q, fol. 1r</td>
<td>563/531, As 24</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>Asp/Serpent</td>
<td>Ambrose, <em>Super Lucan</em>, TCC B.3.9</td>
<td>S, fol. 4r</td>
<td>563/531, As 5.1, 5.2, and RG 1985, 117-8</td>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
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<td>29.2</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Far right: Further example in Passionale, BL Cotton Nero C VII</em></td>
<td>S, fol. 40c, Sancta</td>
<td>c.1110, BL K 1975, ref in No 22</td>
<td>N?</td>
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<tr>
<td>29.3</td>
<td></td>
<td>Priscian, <em>Institutiones Grammaticae</em>, TCC O.2.51</td>
<td>Q, fol. 34r, Quaestor</td>
<td>563/531, GL 2014, 192: CC RG 1995, 144: St A K 1975, 8: St A, ‘English’ MRJ TCC CC D, 79</td>
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<td>Ch. No.</td>
<td>Bestiary Animal</td>
<td>Author/Tite, Shelfmark</td>
<td>Initial &amp; Fol.</td>
<td>Date &amp; References</td>
<td>Artist</td>
<td>Images</td>
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<td>33.</td>
<td>Salamander</td>
<td><em>Passionale, BL Harley 624</em>, <em>Liber Regalis</em>, <em>Vitellius</em>, and <em>Maso martyn</em>, merions “flamen”</td>
<td>E, fol. 112v</td>
<td>RG, 2008, 245; D, 74 discusses lizard fol 132 crocodile hybrid, also CUL ii 3 12 fol 106v, pl 44c c.1125, BL; as 12.1 and 35</td>
<td>N?</td>
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<td>34.</td>
<td>Dove</td>
<td><em>Pe Isidore, Decretal, BL Cotton Claudius E V</em></td>
<td>C, fol. 20r</td>
<td></td>
<td>N?</td>
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<td>35.</td>
<td>Peredsson</td>
<td><em>Passionale, BL Cotton Nero C VII, Includes Dragons, Peads, and Doves</em></td>
<td>O, fol. 46r</td>
<td>c. 1110, BL; D, 78</td>
<td>M?</td>
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