# The Bestiary in Canterbury Monastic Culture 1093-1360

Volume 1: Text

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# Contents

# Abstract

This thesis presents a new way of thinking about medieval bestiaries. It adopts a locational lens to examine the context and monastic re-fashionings of the medieval Latin prose bestiary in Canterbury from 1093-1360. It has examined the catalogue and codicological evidence concerning the monks' patronage, ownership, reading and interpretation of these books. It has sought to discover how the bestiary articulated the Canterbury monks' affective and self-reflective thought modes and interacted with their other beast literature and animal art. This thesis forms a significant contribution to knowledge on the monastic perception and reception of the bestiary by reshaping our understanding through two original approaches. Firstly, it widens the definition of bestiaries to match medieval viewpoints and therefore includes extant copies and catalogue records of extracts and collations as well as whole and fragmentary bestiary books and contemporary Canterbury Cathedral Priory decorative inhabited and zoomorphic initials. Secondly, it pays close attention to the place, space, and context of the bestiary in terms of associated texts, Benedictine spiritual exegesis, and how, where, when, and why it was studied and for what purposes. This attention has led, among other findings, to the redating of the earliest Latin prose bestiary from England to the time of St Anselm's archiepiscopate and confirmed M. R. James's view that it was a Canterbury production. This new timeframe has allowed an analysis of the bestiary as part of the Anselmian cultural and intellectual revival and permitted the link between the bestiary and Benedictine preaching to the laity to be examined. It finds strong political reasons for the advancement of the bestiary by Canterbury monks in the twelfth century and for their continued study of the bestiary in the thirteenth century and into the fourteenth century. This thesis provides a methodological approach regarding how Canterbury monks read their bestiaries and associated texts that is applicable to historians studying such materials elsewhere, thereby enhancing our understanding of Benedictine monastic culture.

# Acknowledgements

Writing acknowledgements is the sweetest final task – the chance to thank the very many people who have made this PhD such a pleasurable if occasionally arduous journey. I thank first Dr Barbara Bombi and Dr Alixe Bovey for all their consideration and support. Dr Bombi's leave and Dr Bovey's appointment to the Courtauld necessitated a new supervisory team. However, Dr Bovey very kindly continued to host supervision meetings at Somerset House. Only Dr Bovey knows how much she has supported me. I greatly benefitted from the supervisory team of Professor Bernhard Klein and Professor A. S. G. Edwards and I am particularly grateful to Professor Edwards for reading my many drafts with unfailing courtesy and patience and giving me the benefit of his immense scholarship so swiftly to keep me on schedule. Without his chivalry in taking on a late supervisory role this thesis would have been far weaker. I am also deeply indebted to my examiners, Dr Ryan Perry and Dr Sophie Page, whose thoughtful criticism and helpful suggestions for future publication I hope to put to good use.

I also wish to thank my friends and colleagues whose myriad kindnesses have meant a very great deal to me and who I value most dearly for their unfailing support. Dr Patricia Stewart's terrific scholarship on the textual transmission of bestiaries saved me from countless errors and her warmth and friendship have always encouraged me. Dr Sheila Sweetinburgh has been my mainstay, and her sensible grounded approach has been of immesurable help. I have learnt so much from her erudition and her friendship. Caroline Allum, my dear friend, kept me company on many long walks to clear my thoughts. Claire Taylor, administrative manager at the Centre for Medieval and Early Modern Studies (MEMS) has been the kindest and most empathic of mentors, always happy to listen and to help. I also recall with great fondness the friendly advice and shared study with Drs Jayne Wackett, Julia Cruse, Tom Lawrence, and Jan Vandeburie in MEMS, Dr Vicky Arnold-Woods and Pip Gregory in History, and Drs Krista Bonello Rutger

## Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| *Arch. Cant.* | *Archaeologia Cantiana* (Journal of Kent Archaeological Society) |
| *ALCD* | M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover: the catalogues of the libraries of Christ Church Priory and St Augustine's Abbey and of St Martin's Priory at Dover* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1903) |
| *BAA Trans*, 35 | *Medieval Art, Architecture & Archaeology at Canterbury*, ed.by A. Bovey, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions XXXV (Leeds: Maney Publishing, 2013) |
| Baxter 1998 | R. Baxter, *Bestiaries and their Users in the Middle Ages* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998) |
| BCBB | *St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury Library Catalogue*, ed. by B. C. Barker-Benfield, 3 parts, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, vol.13 (London: British Library, 2008) |
| Binski, Zutshi | *Western Illuminated Manuscripts: A Catalogue of the Collection in Cambridge University Library*, ed. by P. Binski and P. Zutshi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Library, 2011) |
| *Black Book* | *The Register of St. Augustine's Abbey Canterbury commonly called The Black Book*, ed., by G. J. Turner, H. E. Salter, 2, (London, 1915, 1924) |
| BL | London, British Library |
| BnF | Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France |
| Bodl. | Oxford, Bodleian Library |
| Brooks *Canterbury* | N. Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury* (London: Leicester University Press, 1984) |
| Brooks *Charters* | *Charters of Christ Church, Canterbury*, ed. by N. P. Brooks and S. E. Kelly, Anglo-Saxon Charters, 17 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). |
| CCA | Canterbury Cathedral Archives |
| CCCC | Cambridge, Corpus Christi College |

CBMLC  The Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues (to be replaced in time by online MLGB3)

*Canterbury Cathedral*  *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, ed. by P. Collinson, N. Ramsay, M. Sparks (Canterbury: Dean and Chapter of Canterbury Cathedral, revised reprint, 2004).

*Canterbury Conquest*  *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest: Churches, Saints and Scholars 1066-1199*, ed. by R. Eales and R. Sharpe (London: Hambledon, 1995)

Carruthers, *Craft*  *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures*, ed. by M. Carruthers, J. Ziolkowski (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004)

Carruthers, *Memory*  M. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, 2nd ed., 2008),

Clark 1992  Hugh of Fouilloy, *The Medieval Book of Birds: Hugh of Fouilloy's 'Aviarium'*, ed. and trans. by W. B. Clark (Binghampton NY: State University of New York, 1992)

Clark 2006  W. B. Clark, *A Medieval Book of Beasts: The Second-Family Bestiary, Commentary, Art, Text and Translation* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006)

Curley 2009  *Physiologus*, ed. and trans. by M. J. Curley, (Austin TX, University of Texas Press, 1979, repr. 2009)

Dodwell  C. Dodwell, *The Canterbury School of Illumination 1066-1120* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954)

Emden, 'Donors'  A. B. Emden, 'Donors of Books to St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury' in *Occasional Publication 4* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1968)

*Etymologies* 2006  *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, trans. by S. A. Barney and others (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006)

Gameson 1995  Richard Gameson, 'English Manuscript Art in the Late Eleventh Century: Canterbury and its Context', ed. R. Eales

and R. Sharpe, *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest: Churches Saints and Scholars 1066-1109*, (London: Hambledon Press, 1995), pp. 95-144

Gameson 1999      R. Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England 1066-1120*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)

Gameson *Millennium*      R. Gameson, 'Books, Culture and the Church in Canterbury Around the Millenniu', R. Eales and R. Gameson, *Vikings Monks and the Millennium: Canterbury in About 1000 A.D.,* (Canterbury: Canterbury Archaeological Society, 2000)

Gameson 2008      R. Gameson, *The Earliest Books of Canterbury Cathedral: Manuscripts and Fragments to c.1200* (London: The British Library, 2008)

Gem 1997      *St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury*, ed. by Richard Gem (London: Batsford Books, 1997)

Gneuss & Lapidge      H. Gneuss and M. Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England Up to 1100*, (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2014)

Green *DDC*      St Augustine of Hippo, *De Doctrina Christiana*, ed. and trans. by R. P. H. Green (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995)

Greatrex      J. Greatrex, *Biographical register of the English Cathedral Priories of the province of Canterbury, c.1066-1450* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997)

Heslop 2013      T. A. Heslop, 'St Anselm and the Visual Arts at Canterbury Cathedral 1093-1109', *Medieval Art, Architecture & Archaeology at Canterbury*, ed.by A. Bovey, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions XXXV (Leeds: Maney Publishing, 2013), 59-81

*JMH*      *Journal of Medieval History*

*JWCI*      *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*

James *TCC*      M. R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge: a Descriptive Catalogue*, (1901)

James 1928  M. R. James, *The Bestiary: Being A Reproduction in Full of Ms. Ii 4. 26 in the University Library, Cambridge, with supplementary plates from other manuscripts of English origin, and a preliminary study of the Latin bestiary as current in England* (Oxford: Roxburghe Club, 1928)

Kauffmann 1975  M Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts, 1066-1190*, Survey of manuscripts illuminated in the British Isles Romanesque Manuscripts, III (London: Harvey Miller, 1975)

Kwakkel, *Leaf*, 2012  *Turning over a New Leaf*, eds. E. Kwakkel, R. McKitterick, R. M. Thomson (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2012)

Kwakkel, *Hidden*, 2013  E. Kwakkel, 'Hidden in Plain Sight: Continental Scribes in Rochester Cathedral Priory, 1075-1150' in *Writing in Context: Insular Manuscript Culture 500-1200*, ed. E. Kwakkel (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2013), pp. 231-262

*Latin Writers*  *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain & Ireland Before 1540, Additions & Corrections*, ed. by R. W. Sharpe (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997) <www.history. ox.ac.uk/research/ project/british-medieval-library-catalogues.html >

Lapidge and Mann  M. Lapidge and J. Mann, 'Reconstructing the Anglo-Latin Aesop: the literary tradition of the hexametrical Romulus', *Latin Culture in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Medieval Latin Studies, Cambridge, September 9-12, 1998*, ed. by M. W. Herren and others (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), II, 1-33

Lindsay  Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarium sive originum, libri XX*, ed. by W. M. Lindsay, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), unpaginated

Lubac  H. de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis: Volume 1 The Four Senses of Scripture*, (New York: T & T Clark, 1998, originally published in French in 1959)

McCulloch, 1962  F. McCulloch, *Medieval Latin and French Bestiaries*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press 1962)

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|---|---|
| Mann 1888 | M. F. Mann, *Der Bestiaire Divin des Guillaume le Clerc*, (Heilbronn: Henniger, 1888), pp. 37-73, contains a transcription of a First family bestiary, London, BL Royal 2 C XII. |
| Mann 2009 | J. Mann, *From Aesop to Reynard: Beast Literature in Medieval Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) |
| *MMBL* | N. R. Ker, *Medieval manuscripts in British libraries*, 5 volumes (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966-2002) |
| *MLGB* | N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books* (London: Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks 3, 2nd ed., 1964) and *Supplement to the Second Edition*, ed. A. G. Watson, (London: Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks 15, 1987) |
| MLGB3 | Online searchable database combining *Latin Writers*, *MMBL*, and *MLGB*, currently in beta version. |
| Madan, *Summary Catalogue* | Madan, F., R. W. Hunt, and P. D. Record, *A summary catalogue of Western manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford which have not hitherto been catalogued in the quarto series : with references to the Oriental and other manuscripts*, 7 v. in 8 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895-1953) |
| Morgan I | N. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts, 1190-1250*, Survey of manuscripts illuminated in the British Isles Romanesque Manuscripts, IV part 1 (London: Harvey Miller, 1982) |
| Morgan II | N. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts, 1250-1285*, Survey of manuscripts illuminated in the British Isles Romanesque Manuscripts, IV part 2 (London: Harvey Miller, 1988) |
| Muessig I 2003 | C. Muessig, 'The Sermones Feriales et Communes of Jacques de Vitry: A Critical Edition of Sermons 10 and 11 on Animals, Part 1' in *Medieval Sermon Studies*, 47 (2003), 33-49 |

Muessig II 2004        C. Muessig, 'The Sermones Feriales et Communes of Jacques
                       de Vitry: A Critical Edition of Sermons 10 and 11 on
                       Animals, Part 2', *Medieval Sermon Studies*, 48 (2004), 45-56

Muratova, Bestiaries   X. Muratova, 'The Bestiaries, an aspect of medieval
                       patronage', ed. by S. Macready and F. H. Thompson, *Art and
                       Patronage in the English Romanesque*, Society of Antiquaries
                       Occasional Paper NS 8, (London: 1986), pp. 118-144

Muratova *Manuscrits-frères* X. Muratova, 'Les Manuscrits-frères: un aspect particulier de
                       la production des bestiaires enluminés en Angleterre à la fin
                       du XIIe siècle' ed. by Xavier Barral i Altet, *Artistes, artisans et
                       production artistique au Moyen Age*,  3: Fabrication et
                       consommation de l'oeuvre. Actes du Colloque international
                       de Rennes, 1983 (Paris: Picard, 1990), pp. 69-92

Ohly 2005              Friedrich Ohly, *Sensus spiritualis: studies in medieval significs and the
                       philology of culture*, ed. by S. P. Jaffe, trans. by K. J. Northcott
                       (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005)

*ODNB*                 *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford
                       University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2011)

*Physiologus Latinus*   F. J. Carmody, *Physiologus Latinus. Éditions préliminaires, versio B*
                       (Paris: Droz, 1939)

*PL*                    J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus Completus*, Series Latina, 40 (Paris:
                       1845)

S                      *S. Anselmi cantuariensis archiepiscopi opera omnia*, ed. F. S. Schmitt,
                       6 (Edinburgh: Nelson 1946-61)

Sandler IV             Lucy Freeman Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts 1285-1385*, Survey
                       of manuscripts illuminated in the British Isles Romanesque
                       Manuscripts, IV, 2 vols. (London: Harvey Miller, 1986).

*Speculum Ecclesiae*    Honorius Augustodunensis, *Speculum Ecclesiae*, in PL, Col.
                       0807A-1107

*Speculum stultorum*    Nigel de Longchamps, *Speculum stultorum*, ed., with an introduction and notes, by John H. Mozley and Robert R. Raymo (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960).

Stewart 2012    P. Stewart, 'The medieval bestiary and its textual tradition' (unpublished doctoral thesis, St Andrews University, 2012)

Stewart 2014    P. Stewart, 'The Bestiary as a Source of Sermon exempla: the Case of Paris, BNF lat. 15971' in *L'Humain et l'Animal dans la France médiévale (XIIe-XVe s.)/Human and Animal in Medieval France (12th-15th c.)* ed. by Irène Fabry-Tehranchi et Anna Russakoff (Amsterdam; New York: Editions Rodopi, 2014), pp. 129-143

Stoneman    W. P. Stoneman, *Dover Priory*, CBMLC, 5 (London: British Library, 1999)

Sweetinburgh, Crossfire 'Caught in the Cross-fire: Patronage and Institutional Politics in Late Twelfth-Century Canterbury', ed. P. Dalton, C. Insley, L. Wilkinson, *Cathedrals, Communities and Conflict in the Anglo-Norman World*, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011), pp. 187-202.

TCC    Trinity College, Cambridge

Thomson, *Worcester*    R. M. Thomson with M. Gullick, *A descriptive catalogue of the medieval manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001)

Webber 1995    Teresa Webber, 'Script and Manuscript Production at Christ Church, Canterbury, after the Norman Conquest' in *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest: Churches Saints and Scholars 1066-1109*, ed. R. Eales and R. Sharpe (London: Hambledon Press, 1995), pp. 145-58.

White *Ark to Pulpit*    C. White, *From the Ark to the Pulpit: An edition and translation of the 'Transitional' Northumberland Bestiary (13th Century)* Publications de l'Institut d'Études Médiévales – Textes, Études, Congrès, 24 (Louvain-la-Neuve: Université Catholique de Louvain, 2009)

Conventions    Names for *Physiologus* or bestiary chapters have initial capital

letters and are  in italics for Latin, for example the Bear, *Ursus*,

or *De Urso* while other references to animals are uncapitalised

in normal type.

The manuscript reference or sigla refers to the text as found in

a specific manuscript.

References are given in full once unless included in

Abbreviations, the subsequent reference is a short title, and if

mentioned thereafter by name, date, and page number.

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# Introduction
## The bestiary in Canterbury monastic culture 1093-1360



Figure 1: Contents, illustration, and opening chapter of a First family bestiary, *De Tribus Naturis Leonis*, in Oxford, Bodl. Laud, Misc. 247, fols. 139v-140r

This thesis endeavours to examine and understand the shaping, audience, and affect of the Latin prose bestiary in medieval Canterbury monasteries. It is concerned with bestiary readership and patronage and asks how the varied versions of this book on beasts informed the perception and reception of nature and creation in Canterbury monastic culture. This introduction sets out the main issues of this thesis and its scholarly background. The exposition begins with the definition of the bestiary and then embarks upon the thesis arguments. A discussion of the historiographical context which pertains to Canterbury bestiaries is followed by an examination of the issues raised, and the methodological framework behind the proposed methods and structure of the study. This thesis contends that this medieval book of beasts was not solely about animals but about being human and, more specifically, being a monk.

## What is a bestiary?

The bestiary is a medieval book of beasts or *liber bestiarum*. There were many inter-related versions of the bestiary, in prose and rhyme, Latin, and the vernacular, as discussed below. This thesis focuses on the main monastic version, the medieval Latin prose bestiary. In the medieval period 'bestiary' referred to a specific didactic treatise that focused on aspects of animal traits in relation to the literal, allegorical, moral and spiritual lessons they provided. The bestiary allowed the 'book' of nature to be read and understood as part of divine creation, as the Book of Job exemplifies

> ask now the beasts, and they shall teach thee: and the birds of the air, and they
> shall tell thee. Speak to the earth, and it shall answer thee: and the fishes of the
> sea shall tell. Who is ignorant that the hand of the Lord hath made all these
> things?[1]

St Augustine also read the Trinity in creation,

> When therefore we regard the Creator, who is understood by the things that are
> made, we must needs understand the Trinity of whom there appear traces in the
> creature, as is fitting. [2]

This reading of nature became part of what has been called the 'two books' trope, summed up by Alan of Lille (ca. 1128- ca. 1203/5) as 'every creature of the world is for us like a book and a picture and a mirror as well', and quoted in Curtius's exploration of the symbolism of the book.[3] In its mode of reading creation, the bestiary was thus a normative text based on patristic and biblical exegesis. Its approach linked the literal, allegorical, moral, and spiritual senses of the animal and was called the allegory of the fourfold senses, or *sensus spiritualis*. The bestiary developed from scriptural exegesis linked to the classical teaching of the *trivium* (with its focus on the word '*verbum*', in grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic) and the *quadrivium*

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[1] Job 12:7-9; also Romans 1:20, 'For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made'; and Wisdom 13.5, 'For by the greatness of the beauty, and of the creature, the creator of them may be seen, so as to be known thereby.' (Douay-Rheims trans. Vulgate).

[2] *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, ed. by P. Schaff, (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing, 1887), 3. p, 103; St Augustine, *De Trinitate*, Bk. 6, ch. 10, 'oportet igitur ut Creatorem, per ea quae facta sunt, intellectum conspicientes (Rom. I, 20), Trinitatem intelligamus, cujus in creatura, quomodo dignum est, apparet vestigium (*PL* 42 col. 932);

[3] Alain de Lille, *De Incarnatione Christi Rhythmus Perelegans*, *PL* 210, col. 579A, '*Omnis mundi creatura/ Quasi liber et pictura/ Nobis est et speculum*' quoted in E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), p. 319.

(which emphasised the thing '*res*', in arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy). Such exegesis sought to comprehend the Word of God in scripture and creation. It sought correspondence between nature and the mysteries of heaven, and was part of the *sensus spiritualis* St Augustine formulated in *De Doctrina Christiana*.[4] That these ideas applied to the bestiary, the lapidary, and to herbals is well-known and explicated in studies on medieval exegesis but it has been under-examined in bestiary historiography.[5]

The textual transmission of the medieval bestiary (in all its formats) has been traced from the *circa* third-century *Physiologus*, a work on animals which was an anonymous Christian syncretism of classical and Ancient Egyptian animal knowledge and lore, probably first collected together in Alexandria around the time of the Desert Fathers. Arnoud Zucker describes the *Physiologus* as 'le premier bréviaire animal'; unlike Aesopic fables, where beasts speak and teach by example, in the *Physiologus* animals represent aspects of Christian mysteries, in short, simple, and direct chapters

> Esope faisait parler les bêtes en professeurs, le *Physiologus* . . .
> pour représenter les mystères chrétiens.[6]

These Christian mysteries, epitomised in the *Physiologus*, were derived from Neo-Platonic ideas of correspondences between the invisible and visible worlds, as Michael Curley explicated.[7] Ron Baxter has pointed out that the *Physiologus* discourses upon vices and virtue, for example in its pairings of animals with contrasted

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[4] Green *DDC*, 1.2, J. Sailhamer, 'The Classical and Medieval View of Scriptural Meaning', *The Meaning of the Pentateuch: Revelation, Composition and Interpretation* (Downers Grove, IL : Intervarsity Press, 2009), p. 75-80; Ohly, 2005, p. 3.

[5] Lubac, 1, pp. 1-14; J. Ziolkowski, 'Literary Genre and Animal Symbolism', ed. by L. A. J. R. Houwen, *Animals and the Symbolic in Mediaeval Art and Literature*, Mediaevalia Groningana, 20(Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1997), pp. 1-23, p. 9 describes St Augustine's ideas as 'codes of meaning' whereas Baxter 1998, p. 2 dimissses this 'mystical zoology' .

[6] *Physiologos: le bestiaire des bestiaires: Texte traduit du Grec,* établi et commenté par Arnoud Zucker (Grenoble: Editions Jérôme Millin, 2004), p. 9.

[7] Curley, ''Physiologus' and the Rise of Christian Nature Symbolism', *Viator*, 11 (1980), 1-10, pp. 4-5.

moralised characteristics, such as the Weasel and the Asp, the Siren and the Onocentaur, and the Wild Ass and the Ape.[8]

The bestiary absorbed this Christianized worldview of Late Antiquity because it was formed simply by the addition of extra information on each animal chapter of the *Physiologus* taken from appropriate sections of Book XII of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*.[9] Gradually other authors' works were added as well (such as Solinus, *Collectanea*, St Basil on the *Hexameron*, and later Hugh de Fouilloy's *Aviarium*).[10] In Second family bestiaries the information from Isidore was moved to the start of each chapter and the chapters themselves rearranged to follow his ordering, except wild beasts still preceded farm animals.[11]

How Canterbury monks read themselves in the bestiary will be explored throughout this thesis. Here it is noted that their very profession as monks invited such readings. The *Tractatus de Professionibus monachorum*, was written by a monk at Bec around the time of the abbacy of Boso (1124-36) who was St Anselm's questioner in *Cur Deus Homo*. The next abbot of Bec, Theodore, became Archbishop of Canterbury (1138-61). The tract quotes Psalm 72:23, 'I am become as a beast before thee' on how a monk must forsake his own will and offer himself totally as Christ did, as part of his vow of obedience.[12] Implicit in the requirement that a monk should see himself as submissive 'as a beast' is the search for an understanding of the quality of such monkish beastliness which inspired interest in the bestiary.

**Bestiary History and Development: Bestiary Versions**

Various versions and vernacular translations of the bestiary were produced in Europe throughout the whole medieval period. The emphasis on the bestiary as English, largely thirteenth-century, usually sumptuously- illustrated Second family

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[8] Baxter 1998, on this aspect of the *Physiologus*, pp. 29-82.
[9] Lindsay, XII i.1- viii. 17 (unpaginated); *Etymologies* 2006, pp. 247-270.
[10] Clark 2006, pp. 12-13, M.R. James, 1928, pp. 1-26.
[11] Baxter 1998, p. 85.
[12] Anon., *Three Treatises from Bec on the Nature of Monastic Life*, ed. by G. Constable, trans. by B. S. Smith (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), pp. 58-59.

versions was inherited from M. R. James's initial study of English Latin bestiaries.[13] The Englishness of the bestiary has now been laid to rest by Patricia Stewart's recent research on the many European versions.[14] This study is much concerned with bestiaries First family bestiaries from late eleventh- and twelfth-century Canterbury monastic houses. As Carmody and later Henkel demonstrated, these bestiaries were developed from 'B', one of the five stemma of the early Latin translations of the Greek *Physiologus* (the others are A, C, Y and DC), with additional information added at the end of each chapter and taken from Book XII, 'De Animalia', of the seventh-century Isidore of Seville's encyclopaedic *Etymologiae*.[15]

**Bestiary Families**

M. R. James in 1928 was the first modern scholar to divide Latin prose bestiaries into various recensions which he called 'families.'[16] Scholars still broadly follow his categories, which are: First families (which now include B-Isidore, H, and Transitional versions), and Second, Third and Fourth Families, although there have been various discussions on the relationships, relevancy and utility of the Families as a mode of categorisation.[17] Florence McCulloch separated out the 'B-Is' (the nomenclature derived from the 'B' version of the *Physiologus* and 'Is' for Isidore's *Etymologiae*) and 'H' (mainly French) bestiaries and placed Transitional bestiaries betwixt First and Second families.[18] She named them 'H' from the faulty attribution of the *Patrologia Latina* copy to Hugh of St Victor, which Clark has analysed and found to be four separate medieval bestiaries put together by the Victorines in the

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[13] James 1928, p. 1

[14] P. Stewart 2012, p. 4, 'This view is simplistic and . . .not supported by the manuscript evidence.'

[15] N. Henkel, *Studien zum Physiologus im Mittelalter* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1976) pp. 21-58; 'B' recension is Bern, Burgerbibliothek lat. 233 (s. viii-ix), F. McCulloch 1960, pp. 21-25. *Physiologus Latinus*; Curley 2009; Lindsay, 1911; *Etymologies* 2006.

[16] James 1928, pp. 25-26; his Fourth family, a lone manuscript, is problematic see B. Van den Abeele, 'Un Bestiaire à la Croisée des Genres: Le Manuscrit Cambridge UL Gg.6.5 ('Quatrième famille' du Bestiaire Latin)', *Reinardus*, 13 (2000), 215-236.

[17] McCulloch 1962, pp. 28-34; Baxter 1998, p. 87; Clark 2006, pp. 255-260; Stewart 2012, chapter 2.

[18] McCulloch 1962, p. 25 and pp. 28-34.

sixteenth century.[19] This thesis does not use the *Patrologia Latina* to trace medieval bestiary versions. Baxter has used the terms but problematized them as a 'considerable simplification'.[20] This thesis also considers that the Transitional and Second family bestiaries developed in tandem. This is an instance where the families do not aid the tracing of textual transmission and it is better to examine them as individual manuscripts. There have been recent editions and translations of the Transitional and the Second family bestiary texts, but not of the other recensions.[21]

This thesis emphasises the importance of the location of individual bestiary manuscripts over 'family' connections or illustration programmes for the development of the bestiary because intertextuality is a prime factor in the alteration and amendment of texts, whereas families and genres are modern categorisations. Furthermore, modern specifications of bestiaries in terms of their textual transmission require probing, since they fail to account for more fluid medieval definitions which can, for example, include bestiary excerpts as well as bestiaries which contain information derived from sermons, aviaries and lapidaries and other sources. A pertinent example of this problem are the six entries Baxter lists for St Augustine's Abbey, now increased to seven by Barker-Benfield and for which I have ten entries, discussed in Chapter Two on medieval Canterbury library catalogue entries.

**Origins and development of the *Physiologus* and the Bestiary**

The Greek (Alexandrine) *Physiologus*, was composed or pieced together from various patristic, neo-platonic and Egyptian sources probably in Alexandria and probably sometime between the second to fourth centuries AD. However, Alan Scott is more specific, 'the *Physiologus* was not written earlier than the third century, and probably

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[19] W. B. Clark, 'Four latin bestiaries and De bestiis et aliis rebus' in *Bestiaires médiévaux. Nouvelles perspectives sur les manuscrits et les traditions textuelles*, ed. by B. Van den Abeele (Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut d'études médiévales, 2005), pp. 49-69, pp. 57-58.

[20] Baxter 1998, p. 87.

[21] Mann, 1889, pp. 37-73 (First family edition based on London, BL Royal 2 C XII); White, *Ark to Pulpit*, 2009 (Transitional edition based on Malibu, Getty 100); Clark 2006 (Second family edition based on London, BL Additional 11283).

not earlier than the mid-third century'.[22]  It is not known when the first Latin translations of the Greek *Physiologus* were made; McCulloch suggested a fourth century date for Latin translation based on St Ambrose's (337-397) quotation from it on the partridge in his *Hexaemeron*, although as Scott and others have pointed out this is not an 'airtight' case.[23] As discussed in Chapter Five, St Augustine of Hippo (354 – 430) has passages in his *De Doctrina Christiana* which are very close to the *Physiologus* in terms of language and interpretation.

**First family and Transitional bestiaries**

Isidore had composed his encyclopaedic compendium of classical and early medieval Christian knowledge between 615 and 635. It was arranged in twenty books of separate topics which covered the liberal arts, medicine and law, the Church, the human body and portents (Book XI), geography, animals (Book XII), even cooking pots. For nearly every term listed Isidore gave an etymology as the explanation and significance of the meaning of the word. It was

> arguably the most influential book, after the Bible, in the learned
> world of the Latin West for nearly a thousand years.[24]

It is not known when excerpts, mainly from Books XI and XII, of Isidore's seventh-century *Etymologiae* were first added to the *Physiologus*, but the earliest extant version (Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 1074) dates from the tenth century.[25] The excerpts for each animal are simply appended to the end of each *Physiologus* chapter, with a rubric DE LIBRO ETIMOLOGIARUM SCI HYIDORE (the words run together in tenth century style).[26]

The earliest extant First family bestiary from England is Oxford, Bodl., Laud Misc. 247.  Its thirty-nine chapters are based on the *Physiologus*, again with excerpts

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[22] A. Scott, 'The Date of the *Physiologus*', *Vigiliae Christianae*, 52 (1998), 430-441, p. 441.
[23] Curley 2009, pp. xix, on Ambrose's knowledge of the Latin bestiary, and Scott 1998, p. 434, considered it 'not 'airtight'; St Ambrose knew Greek and possibly translated the excerpt from St Basil of Caesarea, *Hexaemeron* F. S. Benjamin, Jr., 'Review: F. McCulloch, *Mediaeval Latin and French Bestiaries* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1962),', *Speculum*, 39 (Oct., 1964), 726-728, p. 727. Green, *DDC*, p. 91 and p. 167.
[24] *Etymologies* 2006, p. 3.
[25] *Die historischen und philosophischen Handschriften der Codices Palatini Latini in de Vatikanischen Bibliothek* (Cod. Pal. Lat. 921-1078) ed. by Dorothea Walz, et al (Wiesbaden: 1999), p. 255.
[26] BAV Pal. Lat 1074, fol. 1v

from Isidore added to the end of each chapter, indicated by the rubric 'Ethimologia'. It was amended and added to by early twelfth-century scribes to produce the extant London BL Stowe 1076 which has a three new chapters and a different order, as discussed in Chapter Three.

In the late twelfth century Transitional and Second families built upon these First family versions by the addition of many more chapters on different animals (mainly taken from Isidore's *Etymologiae*) and from the *Aviarium* or *Book of Birds* by Hugh of Fouilloy, written around 1132-1152, which itself was based upon the bestiary.[27] Transitional bestiaries also frequently added a prefatory cycle of images and texts based on the Genesis creation of the world. Examples of this family include the 'Morgan Group', named after what was considered to be the earliest version, the Worksop Bestiary, New York Morgan Pierpont M81, (c. 1187) although Baxter argues that the related St Petersburg Bestiary, Russian National Library Saltykov-Shchedrin Lat.Q.v.V. 1, is older by around a decade.[28] Clark considered the Transitional bestiaries, which are all English and have around 116 chapters, as a 'branch' of the Second family. Stewart moved the Transitional and H versions into the First family, since these do not represent a stepping stone from First to Second family as the word Transitional implies but she nevertheless sees their influence as 'reciprocal'. Ilya Dines argues that some Transitional bestiaries, including the 'Morgan Group', utilise text from the Second family bestiaries as well as from Isidore's *Etymologiae*, a point also made by Clark.[29]

**Second family bestiaries**

The Second family bestiary originated during the same period as the Transitional family, i.e. from about the last third of the twelfth century. The earliest extant version is the illustrated London, BL Additional 11283, discussed in Chapter Three. This most popular and often sumptuously illustrated version, of which some fifty-eight

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[27] Scriptural, classical, and patristic references in the bestiary are listed in James 1928, pp. 25-26. Clark 1992; B. Van den Abeele, 'Trente et un nouveaux manuscrits de l'Aviarium: regards sur la diffusion de l'oeuvre d'Hughes de Fouilloy', *Scriptorium*, 57 (2003), 253-271.
[28] Baxter 1998, p. 148.
[29] I. Dines, The Problem of the *Transitional family* of Bestiaries', *Reinardus*, 24 (2011-2012), 29-52. Clark 2006, p. 48.

English versions are extant, foregrounded Isidore's taxonomy, rather than the order of the *Physiologus* and First family bestiaries, which are linked to virtues and vices, as Baxter demonstrated.[30] The Second family bestiary has even more chapters on creatures, plants and the human body, than Transitional versions, there are over a hundred and twenty chapters in Second family bestiaries, many of which omit the moral and spiritual lessons found in the First and Transitional families.[31]

**Third family bestiaries**

Wonders and monsters were then added to the Third family type of bestiaries, which developed in the early thirteenth century, with moralizations added from William de Montibus, *Distinctiones Theologicae, Numerale,* and *Versarius* as well as, Dines asserts, extracts from John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*.[32] Although Dines posits Lincoln as the place for the development of the Third family bestiary, R. M. Thomson notes,

> there is no evidence that any of William de Montibus' didactic
> works ever entered the library there.

Thomson casts doubt on the 'encomia about Lincoln as a centre for theological scholarship at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.'[33] His similar doubts about Lincoln's alleged scriptorium in this period have also been voiced by Willene Clark.[34] This study also finds the Lincoln attribution doubtful and these concerns are discussed in Chapter Four.

**The *Aviarium***

This thesis also includes a related text to these families: the *Aviarium* of Hugh of Fouilloy, a work which gives moralisations on birds in the same way as the *Physiologus* and the First family bestiary. It was written for lay brothers in the first half of the

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[30] Baxter 1998, pp. 37-72.

[31] Clark 2006, p. 255 for list of BL Additional11283's 123 chapters.

[32] I. Dines, 'The Earliest Use of John of Salisbury's Policraticus: Third Family Bestiaries', *Viator*, 44 (2013), 107-118, p.108; De Montibus works in CCCC 186 digitized on Parkerweb.

[33] *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library*, ed. by R. M. Thomson (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, 1989), p. xv n.23.

[34] Clark 2006, p. 70 n. 33, Thomson, 1989, p. xv n.19, argue against the 'Lincoln Scriptorium' put forward by X. Muratova, 'Bestiaries: an aspect of medieval patronage', *Art and Patronage in the English Romanesque*, ed. by S. Macready and F.H. Thompson (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1986), pp. 118-14, pp.131-134.

twelfth century. The *Aviarium* was subsequently frequently bound in with various bestiary recensions. Oxford, Bodl., Rawlinson C. 77 is an example of these two works appearing in the same volume. This book belonged to a St Augustine's monk, John Pistor, and this thesis presents evidence of the use of these texts found in what are probably his own sermons in the same volume (pp. 126-130).

### *Dicta Chrysostomi* Bestiaries

Some bestiaries descend from another recension of the *Physiologus* (the 'DC' version). In the Middle Ages it was thought to have been written by John Chrysostom (although it originated around 1000) and so it was known as the *Dicta Chrysostomi*. It is more generally found on the Continent than in England.[35] However, examples of excerpts of this form of bestiary were in medieval Canterbury, as demonstrated by the two Worcester manuscripts (Worcester Cathedral Q56 and Oxford, Bodl., Auct F, inf. 1.3), which have the same incipits as a St Augustine's Abbey book (BA1.755).

### Vernacular Versions

Vernacular prose and verse translations were also popular and although based on the Latin prose bestiary have never been placed in the 'family' order. There is a single witness mid-thirteenth-century Middle English bestiary (BL Arundel 292) which is a translation of the eleventh-century metrical *Physiologus* of Theobaldus with excerpts from Alexander Neckam, *De Naturis Rerum* on the dove. It is considered by Wirtjes as a *Physiologus* and a school text, as its Latin *Physiologus* forebear had been, and Michael Long notes it is accompanied by some musical pedagogical works, such as the 'The Complaint against Blacksmiths' and simple riddles.[36] However, the BL Arundel 292 has also been described as a devotional miscellany, and its main text a bestiary rather than a direct translation of the *Physiologus*.[37] The Anglo-Norman *Bestiaire* by Philippe de Thaon, probably taken from a First family bestiary, was made

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[35] McCulloch 1960, p. 41.
[36] *The Middle English 'Physiologus'*, ed. by H. Wirtjes, EETS, 299 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. lxxvi; *The Early English Bestiary*, ed. R. Morris (London 1872). M. Long, 'Singing Through the Looking Glass: Child's Play and Learning in Medieval Italy', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 61 (Summer 2008), 253-306, pp. 293-294.
[37] BL CIM, BL Arundel 292; J. Frankis, 'The Middle English *Physiologus* by Hanneke Wirtjes Review', *The Review of English Studies*, New Series, 45 (Nov., 1994), 548-550, p. 548-9.

in c. 1121 for Aelis, wife of Henry I, indicates the text was already well-known at court and deemed suitable for a queen.[38]

Nearly a century later during the papal interdict under King John (1206-1213), Guillaume le Clerc produced a Norman-French version, witnessed by an illustrated manuscript from England, Cambridge, Trinity College O.2.14, an indication of wealthy patronage, while the luxury Queen Mary Psalter (London, BL Royal 2 B VII, ca. 1310-1320) has bestiary illustrations without any text, which demonstrates that the bestiary was well-enough known not to need them.[39] For reasons of space this study does not include a detailed study of these vernacular bestiaries. Nor is the *Physiologus* analysed but for different reasons; there is only one extant example from Rochester (London BL Royal 6 A. XI) and there are, somewhat surprisingly, no references to the *Physiologus* in the Canterbury medieval library catalogues.

**Popularity**

To give an indication of the Latin prose bestiary's popularity, Patricia Stewart's 2012 list includes ninety-three extant bestiaries produced in various parts of Europe, of which fifty-eight were made in England. Of those Latin bestiaries from England, twenty-five are illustrated Second family bestiaries.[40]  It is no longer tenable to consider the bestiary a peculiarly English phenomenon.

There are also references in book lists to bestiaries which have not survived. The fullest and most detailed list for English bestiary references was compiled by Baxter who examined sixty-six medieval book lists from fifty-nine religious houses and two Oxford monastic colleges, and found forty-five bestiaries mentioned; of these, Peterborough Abbey's tenth century entry was the earliest.[41] His work will be superseded in time by Richard Sharpe's online searchable list *Latin Writers* and the

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[38] *Le Bestiaire de Philippe de Thaün*, ed. by E. Walberg (Paris: 1900, repr. Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970).
[39] TCC O.2.14, James *TCC*, No. 1118, Mann, 1888; D. Hassig, 'Marginal Bestiaries', *Animals and the Symbolic in Medieval Literature*, ed. by L. A. J. R. Houwen, Mediaevalia Groningana, 20 (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1997), pp. 171-189.
[40] McCulloch 1960, pp. 28-34; Baxter 1998, pp. 147-148; Clark 2006, p. 222, pp. 256-7 and p. 260; Stewart 2012, Appendix 1.
[41] Baxter 1998, 'Table 19: Summary of English Medieval Book Lists' pp. 161-164.

The Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues (CBMLC) which are being merged into online database MLGB3 (Medieval Libraries of Great Britain) but this project is still in progress.[42]

**Thesis arguments**

This study shall endeavour to examine the medieval Latin prose bestiary and its role in the history, artistic, and literary culture of Canterbury's two Benedictine monasteries from 1093 to 1360. This chronological scope begins with the archiepiscopacy of St Anselm (1093-1109). It ends at 1360, the date of St Augustine's Abbey's copy of a work on natural philosophy, John Dumbleton's, *Summa logicae et naturalis philosophiae* (London, BL Royal MS 10 B.XIV, dated to 1360). The mid-fourteenth-century frontispiece illustration in this book incorporates bestiary allusions were added by one of the two monks of St Augustine's Abbey who owned this book , John Lingfield and subsequently John Preston. The illustration is relevant to this study since it demonstrates connections were made by St Augusine Abbey monks between the bestiary and natural philosophy in the mid-fourteenth century.

Despite the number of extant bestiaries, catalogue entries, textual references, and artistic allusions, which indicate the bestiary was a popular medieval book, there is clearly a disconnection between their survival rate and the paucity of evidence for their place of production or medieval provenance. As Willene Clark states, 'there is very little contemporary evidence regarding patrons, original owners and use.'[43] This lack has had an impact on the field of study. Studies on the affect and readership of the bestiary have been limited and reliant upon general surveys, editions, and studies of specific manuscripts without confirmed origins or proven medieval ownership, due to the sparse evidence for localized origins or medieval provenances of extant

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[42] R. W. Sharpe, *Latin Writers* currently lists 188 religious houses and 206 secular institutions with known catalogues; twenty-five bestiary entries held in sixteen institutions (checked 14 October, 2014), the site is merging with MLGB3 beta version which will also combine data from *MMBL* and *MLGB* <http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/> [accessed 2 July, 2015].
[43] Clark 2006, p. 86.

bestiaries.[44] The sparse evidence of patronage and ownership means that contextualised studies of the medieval bestiary have also not previously been thought possible. This is simply because narrowing the parameters still further to produce a study of the bestiary in a single location over time is naturally beset by this problematic deficiency of evidence to an even greater degree. So as yet no study has drawn together the available material culture, literary, and catalogue evidence to examine the development of the bestiary in a specific area over time.[45]

Other issues and challenges have yet to be fully addressed in the historiography. For example, as indicated earlier, the majority of research on the bestiary has foregrounded illustrated over non-illustrated bestiaries, and broadly followed M. R. James's view that these were simple works, of more interest for their accompanying images than their text.[46] As Ron Baxter has summed up,

> there has been a tendency to concentrate on these [luxury bestiaries],
> labelling them 'picture books', and to ignore the unillustrated or sketchily-
> illustrated books which imply that for their medieval users what was
> important was the text.[47]

Deluxe bestiaries have generally been considered principally in terms of key art historical topics of style, iconography, production and patronage. Plainer and unillustrated bestiaries have been discussed either as *exempla* for sermons (principally by Ron Baxter) or as Latin primers (by Willene Clark). Might all these conclusions themselves be rather oversimplified? If so, does this not problematize assumptions made about the didactic culture which produced these texts? For example, if as Mary Carruthers points out, all medieval instruction was moralized, might the bestiary have other didactic purposes than simple moralization, such as teaching hermeneutics, mnemonics, and rhetorical figures? Might these purposes have encouraged the

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[44] D. Hassig, *Medieval Bestiaries: Text, Image, Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1995), p. xvi, does not take 'original' owners into account; W. George and B. Yapp, 1991; J. Rebold Benton, *The Medieval Menagerie: Animals in the Art of the Middle Ages* (Abbeville: 1992).
[45] Stewart 2012, Appendix 1: 'Extant Bestiaries according to Provenance and Family' lists fifty-eight bestiaries from England.
[46] James, 1928, p. 1.
[47] R. Baxter, 'Review of *Medieval Bestiaries: Text, Image, Ideology* by Debra Hassig', *The Burlington Magazine*, 138 (1996), 548.

memorization of its chapters and thus also aided the bestiary both in its popularity and in its utility outside the classroom?

The bestiary's connections to the *Physiologus* and *Etymologiae* make it part of medieval and Late Antiquity's theology and thought modes, yet how can we deduce how the bestiary fitted into medieval didactic culture without specific histories of places and events to tie in its development? For example, how could the bestiary illustrations alone have permeated the imaginations of artists of the Middle Ages? How might St Anselm's intellectual and cultural revival have helped to shape the production and patronage of the bestiary in Canterbury? How strong is the connection between bestiary text and medieval animal art? As Clark and Baxter dispute Northern England provenances for several bestiaries on both codicological and iconographic grounds and suggest the South-East or even Canterbury as a more likely location, perhaps the way forward to an examination of the bestiary within the cultural environment of Canterbury may be more assured? Might this mean the bestiary text as well as its images could repay serious study in terms of its intellectual and cultural influence and inheritance, and draw out the importance of the exegesis inherent in the bestiary text? Before the thesis structure and methodology is set out surely we need to review the evidence previous Canterbury historiography has uncovered?

**Canterbury bestiary historiography**

James's catalogue of Christ Church Priory (*ALCD*) from 1903 has yet to be superseded. Nevertheless, much scholarly attention has been paid to medieval Canterbury libraries and their books in the last 112 years. Ker's project to note the extant manuscripts (*MMBL*) and medieval library lists (*MLGB*), has been expanded into the Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues (CBMLC), linked to Richard Sharpe's searchable online *Latin Writers*; these will be replaced by the online

MLGB3.[48] As Richard Sharpe points out, medieval library catalogues allow us to interrogate the transmission of knowledge and culture, for

> they provide an essential perspective on medieval intellectual life. They show what texts might be available at a particular period in a certain sort of institution, revealing what a scholar there might have had access to, and they allow us also to see how knowledge was organized.[49]

More specifically related to Canterbury, the new CBMLC edition of St Augustine's medieval library catalogue by Bruce Barker-Benfield now gives much more detailed knowledge of medieval Canterbury books and monastic library holdings than existed in the time of M. R. James. This thesis relies on the new edition of St Augustine's Abbey medieval catalogue which supersedes and surpasses M. R. James's edition as it traces each entry and provides references to critical editions wherever possible.

The well-known 'prickly script' was devised by Christ Church monk Eadmer (Anselm's hagiographer) and used in both Canterbury monastic houses in the early twelfth century. In the older scholarship books not in prickly script from this period were not considered as produced in Canterbury. However, research into late eleventh- and early twelfth-century Canterbury book production (particularly by Gameson and Webber) has softened the previous emphasis on a solidly 'prickly script' scriptorium.[50] This thesis is able to utilise the research of such scholars to analyse extant bestiaries in comparison to other confirmed Canterbury books which are not in prickly script. Gameson's and Webber's work and the recent re-evaluation, and in some cases substantial narrowing, of the wide date ranges previously established by Charles Dodwell (and earlier still by M. R. James) by Gneuss, Lapidge, and Gullick, in conjunction with Kwakkel's more general findings and Heslop's work on material culture, allow this thesis to put forward evidence that suggests that the two earliest English Latin bestiaries were produced at Christ Church Priory, and furthermore, that the influence of St Anselm on Canterbury bestiaries may be more

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[48] *MLGB*; Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, 1- (London, 1990- ); MLGB3, <http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/> [accessed 20 June, 2014].
[49] R. W. Sharpe, introduction to *British Medieval Library Catalogues*, <http://www.history.ox.ac.uk/research/project/british-medieval-library-catalogues.html> [accessed 26 July, 2014].
[50] Gameson 1995, pp. 95-144; Webber 1995, pp. 145-58.

firmly established.[51] This has resulted in an opportunity to present an increased historicity, as opposed to more general, style or iconographical approaches on English bestiaries, valuable as these have been in the exploration of themes and attitudes to animals.[52]

To turn from script to illumination, the work of art historians such as Charles Dodwell, Martin Kauffmann, Nigel Morgan, Lucy Freeman Sandler, Ron Baxter, and Willene Clark, have also helped to establish a list of proven and possible Canterbury bestiaries, which are detailed and discussed in Chapter Two of this thesis.[53] This is not to suggest that the list of Canterbury bestiaries brought together in this thesis is predicated on the works included in Harvey Miller *Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, because there are no bestiaries except Oxford Douce 88E attributed to Canterbury. Nevertheless, the work by Kauffmann, Morgan, and Sandler on style and iconography has provided a masterly survey and comparison. Moreover, Willene Clark has suggested that there is more evidence for a South-East and probably Canterbury attribution for the illuminated and gilded Aberdeen Bestiary (Aberdeen University Library 24) than for the North or north Midlands locations of Morgan. The basis of these more northerly attributions has also been queried by Baxter. This thesis builds on the work of Baxter, Caviness, and Clark. This study will suggest that the Aberdeen Bestiary, which bears stylistic similarities to the Leiden Psalter, associated with Geoffrey Plantagenet, Archbishop of York, and to the Little Canterbury Psalter, may have been commissioned by Christ Church, and may have used illuminators resident in Canterbury. It is further suggested that this bestiary may have been a gift to restore favour with Geoffrey after his humiliation at Dover Priory (a daughterhouse of Christ Church) where he was unceremoniously arrested in September 1191 as a result of a dispute with the Justiciar, William of Ely.

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[51] Dodwell, 1954; M. Gullick, 'The Scribal Work of Eadmer of Canterbury to 1109', *Arch. Cant.*, 118 (1998), 173-190; Kwakkel, 2012; Gneuss & Lapidge, 2014, entries by Gullick, p. xi; Heslop 2013, pp. 59-81.

[52] D. Hassig, *Medieval Bestiaries*, 1995; S. Crane, 'A Bestiary's Taxonomy of Creatures' in S. Crane, *Animal Encounters Contacts and Concepts in Medieval Britain* (University Park, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), pp. 69-100.

[53] Dodwell 1954, Kauffmann 1975; Morgan I and II;  Sandler IV; Baxter 1998; and Clark 2006.

Furthermore, the recent work on St Augustine illuminated manuscripts by Michael Michael and Julian Luxford has been used in this thesis, for their findings on patronage are applicable to bestiaries with less secure attributions.[54] There are as yet no extant bestiaries which have been attributed from secure codicological evidence, nor any which can be firmly identified through matching incipits to Christ Church medieval library catalogues, although this thesis proposes two possible part identifications. This is mainly because only the list of 293 books by William Ingram in 1508 noted the *secundo folio* details, and the lack of this precise information hampers matching an extant book to the catalogue listing.[55]

It was in this first general survey of bestiaries that M. R. James suggested that Bodl. Laud Misc. 247 and BL Stowe 1067 might be Christ Church books but he did not present any evidence bar their script for his identification.[56] Baxter later suggested St Augustine's as a possible origin. Since neither bestiary used 'prickly script' this tentative attribution was dismissed by Gameson and more recently by Bruce Barker-Benfield.[57]

This thesis intends to consider more texts as part of the bestiary range of families than previous bestiary scholars (such as M. R. James, Florence McCulloch, Ron Baxter, or Willene Clark) have considered by the inclusion of excerpts, fragments, and bestiary and *Aviarium* combined excerpts.[58] For example, Worcester Cathedral Library Q.56 and Oxford, Bodleian Auct F. 1 inf. 3 (later medieval copies of St Augustine's monks' bestiary excerpts, the incipits of which were recorded in the medieval library catalogue, BA1.755) provide, even at a remove, interesting evidence for the usage, perception and reception of the bestiary in Canterbury during (and incidentally after) the period under review. Admittedly the percentages of bestiaries in

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[54] M. A. Michael, ', 'Vere hortus noster deliciarum est Anglia': John of Thanet, the Madonna Master and a Fragment of English Medieval Embroidery' in *BAA* 35, pp. 276-299; J. M. Luxford, 'Out of the Wilderness: A Fourteenth-Century English Drawing of John the Baptist', *Gesta*, 49 (2010), 137-150, p. 137.

[55] *ALCD*, pp. 152-165.

[56] James, 1928, p. 7.

[57] R. Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England 1066-1120*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), no. 752, p. 140, dated s.xii[1] no provenance given; BCBB p. 898.

[58] M. R. James 1928; McCulloch 1960; Baxter 1998; Clark 2006.

relation to the number of books held in Canterbury remain small but this makes their impact even more impressive.

Ker noted only one extant bestiary firmly linked to St Augustine's, Abbey, Canterbury (Oxford, Bodl. Douce 88E) and none at all from Christ Church Priory.[59] Although this situation has slightly improved, extant bestiaries with confirmed origins and/or traceable medieval ownerships remain exceedingly rare.

Baxter listed twenty-one localized extant bestiaries of which two each came from Rochester, Canterbury, and York. He attributed the fifteen others to fifteen separate locations. However, Baxter's attribution of Oxford Bodl., Bodley 91 to Hyde Abbey and TCC R.14.9 to Horsham St Faith are based solely on other contents of these volumes. The early thirteenth-century Oxford Bodley 602 has only a late fourteenth century *ex libris*; Cambridge Gonville & Caius 109/178 belonged to John Zouch, appointed Franciscan Provincial in 1408 (and Bishop of Landaff 1408-1423) but has no specific geographical attribution; CCCU 53 is no longer considered to be necessarily from or at Peterborough.[60] The evidence for the bestiary in London, BL Harley 3244 as a Dominican production depends only on a miniature (fol. 26r) which is as likely to depict an Augustinian Canon as a Dominican. This leaves only nine non-Kent based Latin prose English bestiaries on Baxter's list with attributions to specific places in England, an indication of the problems of pinpointing bestiaries by production location or early ownership.[61]

Henri Omont identified a second St Augustine's bestiary, now Paris, BnF NAL 873. Baxter's analysis proved it was a late twelfth century First family bestiary which was one of three owned originally by Adam the Sub-prior of St Augustine's.[62] However, this study contests Baxter's second folio matches for Adam's non-extant

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[59] *MLGB* p. 46.
[60] A. Parkinson, *Collectanea Anglo-Minoritica: or, A collection of the antiquities of the English Franciscans, or Friers minors, commonly call'd Gray Friers* (London: Smith, 1726), p. 189; C. de Hamel, L. Freeman Sandler, *The Peterborough Bestiary* (Luzern: Faksimile Verlag Luzern, 2001), p. 29.
[61] Baxter, Table 15, p. 150; Clark 2006, *Table IV: Monastic Owners of Second-family Manuscripts*, p. 86 omits Bodl. Rawlinson C. 77.
[62] Baxter 1998, pp. 194-201.

bestiaries which is important because it means Adam owned three different bestiaries. Baxter's book on medieval bestiaries concentrated on the establishment of Canterbury and the South-East as the origin of the Third family bestiary, by tracing similar contents in *Pantheologus* of Petrus Londiniensis, much excerpted in the Rochester Bestiary.[63] Recently Ilya Dines has argued that the content of the Third family bestiary derives instead from the works of William de Montibus of Lincoln. This study suggests that Dines's new attribution of the Third family text does not mean Douce 88E could not have been a St Augustine's book.[64]

Barker-Benfield has confirmed a fragment of a mid to late thirteenth-century Second family bestiary, now Oxford, Bodl., Rawlinson C. 77, once belonged to another St Augustine's monk. This thesis builds on Barker-Benfield's identification of the Bodl. Rawl. C. 77 as a St Augustine's book to examine whether there is sufficient correlation in its text to indicate it was copied from Oxford Bodl. Douce 88A, a work which Baxter has suggested was from St Augustine's Abbey. Barker-Benfield also noted the two Worcester manuscripts (Worcester Cathedral, Q. 56 and Oxford, Bodl. Auct. F. inf. 1. 3) were later independant copies of a fourteenth-century St Augustine's Abbey book which included bestiary excerpts (BA1.755) which in turn appear to have been from a late thirteenth-century Abbey book (BA1.1558), based on matching incipits.

The current tally of possible Canterbury bestiaries is enlarged by Willene Clark's attribution of the Aberdeen Bestiary to a circle of artists who worked in Canterbury and the South-east. Her edition, commentary and catalogue on the Second family bestiary is based on BL Add. 11283, as the earliest and most complete manuscript. This thesis builds on Clark's careful analysis to suggest a possible St Augustine's attribution for Additional 11283 based on various pieces of evidence which are individually not conclusive but together warrant further investigation. The matter is discussed in Chapter Three.

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[63] Baxter, 1998, p. 141 and p. 173.
[64] I. Dines, 'The Copying and Imitation of Images in Medieval Bestiaries', *JBAA*, 167 (2014), 70-82.

Chapter Three also seeks to prove that the two bestiaries which M. R. James indicated might be from Christ Church, are indeed most likely to be from there, despite their lack of prickly script. This thesis suggests that three bestiary chapters uncatalogued in an early twelfth-century volume attributed to England (Oxford, Bodl. Lat. Th. e. 9) may also be from Christ Church. This study explores their links to extant contemporary similar works with confirmed provenances and which have matching quire signatures. This brings the total of extant bestiaries with sufficient evidence to warrant Canterbury attributions to seven: Douce 88E, BnF NAL 873, Rawlinson C. 77, Worcester Q. 56 (and Auct F inf. 1. 3) from St Augustine's; Laud Misc. 247, BL Stowe 1067, and Bodl. Lat. Th. E. 9 from Christ Church. There are less secure attributions to St Augustine's Abbey for Bodl., Douce 88A, BL Additional 11283, the later BBR 8340. These are the bestiaries discussed in Chapter Three.

**Research Problems and Questions**

The lack of contextualized studies prevents bestiary historians from answering questions on whether and to what extent the bestiary reflected, shaped, and affected religious, cultural, social, intellectual and political changes and conditions with regard not only to a specific place and period but also different audiences. This is because it is harder to establish any tradition of bestiary study or textual or reading communities when we do not know when, where, or for what reason many of the extant witnesses were produced. Although D'Avray points out that in reception theory (applied in his case to medieval sermons as 'mass communication')

> the differences between individual 'performances' cancel out if one is
> interested not in this or that occasion but in aggregate effects.[65]

Whether this can be said to apply to less numerous and diffused texts than medieval sermon collections, such as the bestiary, is less certain but surely does not negate the value of carrying out specific investigations where the evidence may exist, such as in Canterbury. This thesis proposes that a contextualized study limited by time and location might be able to explore these questions.

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[65] David D'Avray, *Medieval Religious Rationalities: A Weberian Analysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 99.

This study shall endeavour to examine the medieval Latin prose bestiary and its role in the history, artistic, and literary culture of a specific place and context; that is in Canterbury's two Benedictine monasteries from 1093 to 1360. This chronological scope encompasses the archiepiscopacy of St Anselm (1093-1109), to the illustration which incorporates bestiary allusions in John Dumbleton's, *Summa logicae et naturalis philosophiae* (London, BL Royal MS 10 B.XIV, dated to 1360) owned by two monks of St Augustine's Abbey (John Lingfield and subsequently John Preston), relevant to this study since it demonstrates the connections were made between the bestiary and natural philosophy in the mid-fourteenth century.

This thesis endeavours to make an original contribution to knowledge by the presentation of new evidence to produce a contextualized, interdisciplinary study of the reception of the bestiary set within a specific place and period. It sets out to examine the changes in the reception of this text over time through the examination of some of the rich array of 'beast literature' and primary source material in Canterbury.[66] The study bridges two historiographical viewpoints: the Benedictine exegetical and hermeneutic tradition; and bestiary historiography which emphasises the study of this medieval book of beasts as a cultural object via textual transmission and art historical analysis.

The thesis asks three key questions. How might the numbers and types of bestiaries and related texts inform our understanding of the Canterbury monastic study of the natural world? What does the codicological evidence convey about the monks' reading and interpretation of these books of beasts? How does the bestiary articulate the monks' affective and self-reflective thought modes and interact with their other beast literature and animal art? Furthermore, how do the answers to these questions reshape our understanding of Canterbury Benedictine perception of creation?

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[66] Mann, 2009, p. 1.

**Theory**

This thesis concentrates on bibliographical evidence via the examination of extant bestiaries held in the two Canterbury monasteries as tangible objects in terms of their contents and physical construction. The focus has been widened to include the pertinent references in the medieval library catalogues. This analysis of the cultural transmission of the bestiary uses bibliographical and catalogue evidence to learn how bestiaries were read, owned, and used. Such an analysis requires knowledge on how the bestiary was studied in these monastic environments. Research on how, when, and where the monks perused and produced these books, and how they constructed their didactic experience is presented to allow the place and impact of the bestiary in Canterbury monasteries to be assessed.

This thesis's analysis of the transmission and place of the bestiary in monastic culture is underpinned by scholarly discussion of medieval exegesis and communal memory. As exegesis relates to and encompasses both philology (the interpretation of language and literature in historical and linguistic terms) and typology (the study of symbolic representation in Biblical and patristic types and figures), it is the term used in this thesis. Medieval exegesis is defined as the interpretation of Biblical, patristic, and spiritual texts. Exegesis and the allegory of the fourfold senses (also called the *sensus spiritualis*) has also been extensively examined by Henri de Lubac, Friedrich Ohly, and Jean Leclercq, and studied in terms of memory and memorisation, by Mary Carruthers.[67] The *sensus spiritualis* was summed up by Richard of St Victor as '*non solum voces, sed et res significativae sunt*' ('not only the sounds of words but also things [the things meant by the words] carry meaning').[68] The interpretation of the '*res*' or thing altered according to the context in which it was discussed. For example, in the Canterbury bestiary which once belonged to Adam the Sub prior of St Augustine's (fl. 1200), a Wild Ass (or Onager) could signify the devil by its loud braying. It could also be interpreted as a figure for a monk because herds of young

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[67] Lubac, 1998; Ohly, 2005; J. Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and The Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1961), originally published in French as *Amour Des Lettres Et Le Désir de Dieu* (Paris:1957); Carruthers, *Book*, 1990, *Craft*, 1998.
[68] Quoted in F. Ohly, 'The Spiritual Sense of Words in the Middle Ages', trans. D. Wells, *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 41 (2005), 18-42, p.20.

onagers were cared for by their mothers (which symbolised the Church) and remained hidden in the desert (a figure for the monastery, secluded from the world).[69] Both interpretations are valid but they could not be applied at the same time. Only the first attribute of the Onager (its braying) has been signified in the bestiary as related anagogically to the devil.

The principle of this allegoresis was never universally applied in the medieval period, indeed it was often considered suitable that only partial uses were carefully chosen; this was not a fully-fledged medieval semiotics.[70] It is a contention of this thesis that the *liber bestiarum* was designed so that monks, novices, or lay brothers might be trained to pick out the allegory of the fourfold senses as it applied to creation, and especially to creatures. Such allegoresis further implies there are multiple, layered meanings of art objects, texts, materials, and framings might alter when linked to, or placed with, other cultural objects and places.[71] This thesis posits interpretations of animal art altered according to their context but the significance of the animal depiction was accessible to those trained in medieval exegesis.

Scriptural exegesis has been contrasted against the well-known ideas of Ernst Curtius on the continuity of the classical Latin literary *topoi* in medieval rhetoric and dialectic.[72] The bestiary connects to classical ideas of rhetoric and dialectic and to the Late Antiquity of Alexandrine, patristic writers, and the encyclopaedist Isidore of Seville. The bestiary thus encapsulates thought modes and continuities from Late Antiquity. Yet this book was also re-invented, reformulated, and redrawn for creative exegesis in the high Middle Ages. In this way the bestiary incorporated aspects of continuation and also breaks with classical culture and tradition as such it was part of a process of communal memory and renewal.

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[69] Paris, BnF NAL 873, fol. 46r, '*enim rugit onager nisi quando sibi escam querit. sicut dixit iob. Similiter et apostolos Paulus de diabolo dicit.*' [For the onager brays when it searches for food as Job said. Similarly the Apostle Paul said this of the devil]. '*caventes matres; eos in secretis occultant.*' [the mothers hide [their young] in secret places.]

[70] D. Wells, 'Ohly and Exegetical Tradition: Some Aspects of Medieval Interpretation', *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 41 (2005), 43-70, p. 65, n. 4.

[71] C. Normore, 'Navigating the World of Meaning', *Gesta*, 51 (2012), 19-34, pp. 19-20.

[72] E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953).

This thesis proposes that First family bestiary was an intrinsic part of monastic book culture, that it was shaped by the cloistered life and reflected Benedictine concerns. It formed part of the 'tradition of education, book production and private study' in the cloisters of the eleventh- and twelfth-century. [73] The bestiary drew on passages on animals in the Psalter, which was intoned and memorised as part of the *Opus Dei*, as Christopher de Hamel has pointed out.[74] References to bestiary animals ornamented monastic and ecclesiastic architecture and appeared in the decorated initials of the monks' books.[75] The bestiary was not only part of Benedictine monks' cultural legacy; it played a role in their cultural identity as well because it was a part of their collective remembrance, understandings, and practice. Built-space archaeologists, such as Ian Hodder, Siân Jones, and Chris King have emphasised the dialogue between structure, social practice, and cultural identity.[76] In a similar fashion, this thesis emphasises the place of the bestiary in the Canterbury monasteries, in the libraries, and in the reading, ownership, and book production of the monks. The rich, memory-laden, medieval monastic culture was constructed upon vows of stability and obedience. This nexus of community, heritage, and institutional power strengthened the concepts of fraternity, bonding, identity, and belonging when linked to a place of intense spiritual as well as geographic, ecclesiastic, and political importance. When tensions arose, for example between Archbishop Baldwin of Forde and the Christ Church monks, specifically discussed in Chapter Four, the monks responded to the pressures placed on them by reference to their cultural and

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[73] J. G. Clark, 'Introduction', ed. by J. G. Clark, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion 30, *The Culture of Medieval English Monasticism* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), p. 1-18, p. 9.

[74] C. de Hamel, 'Introduction', ed. by C. de Hamel and L. Freeman Sandler, *The Peterborough Bestiary* (Luzern: Faksimile Verlag Luzern, 2001).

[75] This has been much studied in Canterbury by among others: T. S. R. Boase, *English Art 1100-1216* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1953); Dodwell, 1954; R. Gameson, 'The Romanesque Crypt Capitals of Canterbury Cathedral', *Arch. Cant.*, 110 (1992),17-48; D. Kahn, 'Recently Discovered Eleventh-Century Reliefs from Canterbury', *Gesta*, 28 (1989), 53-60; D. Kahn, *Canterbury Cathedral and its Romanesque Sculpture* (London: 1991);

[76] I. Hodder, 'Theoretical archaeology: a reactionary view', ed. by I. Hodder, *Symbolic and Structural Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 1-16, p. 1; S. Jones, *The archaeology of ethnicity: constructing identities in the past and present* (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 116-9; Chris King, keynote speech at *The Use and Abuse of Space in Late Medieval and Early Modern Towns*, University of Kent, Canterbury, July, 2010; P. Bourdieu, *Outline*, 1977, p. 76.

spiritual legacy of which the bestiary was part, for example, the depiction of secular canons as avaricious ravens because they were perceived as upstart adversaries. [77]

Memory was of course used as a tool for various forms of memorisation and remembrance in the medieval period, as Mary Carruthers has demonstrated, not only with respect to cognition and 'hooks' or *loci* for memory but also to '*ductus*', which has been explored by Paul Crossley, as a designed flow from one space to another by medieval pilgrims in Chartres Cathedral.[78] These are useful ways of exploring Canterbury monks' processions, performance of the liturgy, and regular life, all of which took place in highly regulated, prescribed, hierarchical, and symbolic spaces. Megan Cassidy-Welch has also discussed the conceptualisation of monastic space with respect to North Yorkshire Cistercian foundations.[79] Sheila Sweetinburgh has discussed commemorative practices, artefacts, and places – the refectory and monks' cemetery at Christ Church Priory, while Tessa Webber has examined evidence for public reading practices in the refectories and chapter houses of medieval monasteries.[80] What this thesis seeks to construct from these ideas is how the complex cultural resonances and remembrances of individual monks engaged with the religious, social, and political objectives of the monastery and the Church to forge strongly partisan identities, loyalties, and beliefs concerning the sanctity, honour, and status of these powerful institutions.

How the bestiary worked within this richly-endowed and empowered environment may have been related to its intellectual and spiritual mnemonic values.

[77] *Speculum Stultorum*, l. 3095-3114.

[78] Carruthers, *Memory,* 2008, p. 110 on bestiaries and mnemonic *loci*, and idem, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 138-9; B. Rowlands, 'The Art of Memory and the Bestiary', ed. by W. B. Clark, M. T. McMunn, *Beasts and Birds of the Middle Ages: the bestiary and its legacy* (University Park PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), p. 12-25; P. Crossley, 'Ductus and memoria: Chartres Cathedral and the workings of rhetoric', ed. by M. Carruthers, *Rhetoric beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 214-249.

[79] M. Cassidy-Welch, *Monastic Spaces and their Meanings: Thirteenth-Century English Cistercian Monasteries*, Medieval Church Studies, 1 (Turnhout: Brepols: 2001).

[80] T. Webber, *Reading in the Refectory: Monastic Practice in England, c. 1000-c. 1300: John Coffin Memorial Palaeography Lecture, University of London, 2010* (London: IES, 2013), and *idem*, 'Monastic Space and the Use of Books in the Anglo-Norman Period' *Anglo-Norman Studies 36*, Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2013 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2014), 221-240.

These are expressed in its chapters on individual animals which demonstrate *loci*, as Carruthers' termed these vivid picture hooks such as the bear's mouth, the crocodile's tears, the lion's breath; in *topoi*, Curtius's recurrent commonplaces (such as the Book of Nature where every creature is a book and its attributes can be garnered for its rhetorical utility); and in exegesis where many of the bestiary's chapters can be used to trace the animal's varied moral, allegorical and spiritual meanings.[81] The bestiary may then be analysed within its specific cultural environment as a 'vehicle of memory' a carrier of shared monastic knowledge and values. [82] The micro-histories of individual monks who read, owned, and used bestiaries are interwoven with the religious, intellectual, cultural, social, economic and political history of the Canterbury Benedictine monasteries and their external and internal relations, culture, and patronage.

In terms of iconographical theory, this analysis of how bestiary images function within the text considers them as reflections and commentaries upon the text.[83] Dependence on textual sources to explain material culture does not take account of the artist's individual interpretation, nor as Kumler and Lakey considered, 'the contingency of meaning production and the signifying power of artful forms', for example in the individuality of different artists' approaches to drawing the Dove in Hugh de Fouilloy's *Aviarium*.[84] This study examines the individual materiality of the extant bestiary illustrations as well as their signification.

Bestiaries, just as much as other cultural objects such as books, copes and relics, are collective as well as individual 'vehicles of memory' but the bestiary relates to the monk's embodied identity as well as his intellectual and spiritual journey. Monastic

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[81] E. R. Curtius, 1953, p. 319.

[82] A. Confino, 'Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method', *AHR*, 102 (1997), 1386-1403, p. 1386.

[83] Ohly 2005, p.9, and F. Ohly, 'Problems of Medieval Significs and Hugh of Folieto's 'Dove Miniature," Ohly, 2005, pp. 68–135; C. Normore, 'Navigating the World of Meaning', *Gesta*, 51 (2012), 19-34, pp. 21-24 discusses significs and medieval art history.

[84] A. Kumler and C. R. Lakey, 'The Material Sense of Things in the Middle Ages', *Gesta*, 51 (2012), 1-17, p. 13. Examples of different dove images: Harvard, Houghton Library, Typ 101, fol. 1v; Oxford, Bodl., Lyell 71, fol. 4, Aberdeen, UL 24, fol. 32v

masculinities as well as clerical bodies were not conceived in terms of male opposition to female (according to work by Ruth Mazo Karras) but rather as sites of tension between animal and rational. Monks' bodies were supposed to imbibe the Word of God to achieve (or attempt) a transformation from bestial *illiteratus* to spiritual androgyny, from worm to angel. This idea of monks as beasts, as creatures in an enclosed garden, game park, or as fish in a *vivarium*, was very old. *Vivarium* (the Latin for a well-stocked fishpond) was the name of Cassiodorus's sixth-century monastery, which the eighth-century Bamberg manuscript illustrates with smiling fish as monks in their cloisters (fig. 2).[85] Peter Damian describes the monks of Montecassino as creatures in a *Vivarium* in his work which draws on an early bestiary.[86] The bestiary is an historic imagined landscape for the hunting of the meaning of the word for the animal, to find the meaning of being human and Christian.

**Methodology**

The research methodologies used focus on place, evidence, and affect to assess the part the bestiary played in beast literature and animal art of medieval Canterbury during the chosen period of 1093-1360. The timeframe was chosen to begin with the earliest extant Latin English bestiary and to end with the allusion to the bestiary in a St Augustine's fourteenth-century work on natural philosophy by John Dumbleton. The latter example emphasises that the bestiary was still considered a useful work despite the empirical nature of Dumbleton's book, which contrasts against the allegorical nature of the bestiary.

The primary sources fall into two sets, for Christ Church Priory and for St Augustine's Abbey and accordingly the evidence is collated and assessed separately and then compared. Firstly; each of the monastic libraries is examined as a cultural space. This examination is undertaken to embed and historicize the respective catalogue evidence on bestiaries, starting with Christ Church and then St

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[85] Cassiodorus, *Institutiones* (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Patr. 61, fol. 29v).
[86] Peter Damian, *De bono Religiosi et Variarum Animantium Tropologia*, PL 145, col. 765C-792A.

Augustine's.[87] The collation and analysis of the research data involves the sifting of the medieval catalogue entries for references to bestiaries and related texts. It is this widening of bestiary terms in line with the medieval catalogues which allows this contextualised approach to be undertaken. Such related texts include full texts of bestiaries, bestiary excerpts, the *Aviarium* by Hugh de Fouilloy which is based on the birds described in the bestiary, and combinations and extracts of these combined works.[88] On occasions when it is unclear whether the listing refers to a bestiary the matter is discussed.

The medieval library catalogues also name some original or early owners, donors, and borrowers of bestiary books and related volumes. These donors are traced, where possible, their bequests are dated, and their other book titles examined to help place their bestiaries within these monk's individual studies, circle of readership and within each monastic community. Shelfmarks in the catalogues which acted as finding aids still establish the position the book once held in the library. This might have been among specific subject areas, or among the monks' own *collectione* volumes, their collected and sometimes annotated study texts. This evidence has been used in combination with donor and title information to assess reading networks and individual pursuits, for example, a bestiary might have been part of a volume of sermons or bound with biblical study texts and this information allows some knowledge of the monastic reading practices to be gained. This methodology also demonstrates the relationship between the bestiary and other types of genre, such as devotional, didactic, theological, or '*physica*', to permit an understanding of how the bestiary integrated into the Canterbury monastic environment.

The methodology was then to assess the extant bestiaries which previous scholarship has indicated were from or were likely to be from Canterbury or from this area of England during the period 1096 to 1360. The aim has been to bring together a corpus of reliable evidence to add to the catalogue sources for further analysis and comparison. This study posits that the reception, perception, and

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[87] Library catalogue editions: *ALCD* for Christ Church; BCBB for St Augustine's Abbey; Stoneman for Christ Church Priory's daughter-house, St Martin's Priory, Dover.
[88] Clark 1992.

influence of the bestiary can then be explored by examining its development in a single central, important, and influential location over time. The methodology has been to assess attributions of origin, ownership and patronage in order to propose a tradition of bestiary readership, ownership and usage in Canterbury within the stated timeframe of 1093 to 1360, for as Knibbs expresses it,

> Together with dates, determinations of origin and provenance can help to show a textual tradition geographically, over time.'[89]

Without assessing and prioritising this evidence no full contextualization can be achieved. Such textual traditions may be used, for example, to address the relevance of the bestiary in the late eleventh- and twelfth-century pro-monastic ideas of reform and pastoral care which requires specific, place-centred, historical research and analysis. As an example of the usefulness of this approach, John van Engen has pointed out that 'Benedictine monasticism remained overwhelmingly a local affair' even though scholarship has posited a more general 'crisis in cenobitism' from around 1050 to 1150.[90] This contextualized study allows differentiations in the purpose of the bestiary in its various formats in various periods to be explored against the backdrop of specific political and historical events in Canterbury which were also of regional and national importance. Such a contextualized approach has not previously been considered possible due to the lack of extant bestiaries which have confirmed attributions to specific medieval locations. A vital idea of this thesis is to widen the parameters of bestiary definitions (to match those used in the medieval catalogue entries) while the geographical basis and timeframe of the study is narrowed. This is why the study focuses on Canterbury, the cradle of English Christianity and home of the Mother church of the realm with a second great Benedictine monastery also founded by St Augustine outside the city walls. Canterbury provides the catalogue and manuscript evidence for two of the most important English monastic houses to be evaluated.

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[89] E. Knibbs, 'How to Use Modern Critical Editions of Medieval Latin Texts', *History Compass*, 5 (2007), 1521–1549, p. 1528.

[90] J. van Engen, 'The 'Crisis of Cenobitism' Reconsidered: Benedictine Monasticism in the Years 1050-1150', *Speculum*, 61 (Apr., 1986), 269-304, p. 275.

The methodology applied to extant bestiaries is to examine the evidence to ask how, when, where, by and for whom were these bestiaries made, owned and used? This requires, as Julian Brown phrased it,

> script and books with one hand. The fingers of the other must all be reserved for putting into a wide and appetizing range of different pies, from philology to the history of art.[91]

This study of the medieval bestiary also involves evaluation of its witnesses as three dimensional material cultural objects, in terms of structure and format, as gatherings, or books, and in terms of tools and substrates, and techniques of script, layout, illumination, and binding, which all fall within the academic study of codicology, or as Gullick phrases it, the 'archaeology of the book'. Leon Delaissé was also known for this emphasis on book archaeologies and his work has influenced art history scholarship too.[92] Chapter Three and appendices present descriptions to allow contrasts and comparisons of these surviving manuscript witnesses to Canterbury bestiary understandings.

These medieval bestiaries, even direct copies, are considered as individual productions of related texts. As Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe has pointed out with regard to editing Old English poems,

> The poem, whether surviving in a single manuscript or in two or more, is not a unitary phenomenon at all but rather a complex composed of all of its individual manifestations in manuscript form. The manifestations are realized texts: each manuscript text is place and time specific and embodies the poem as a particular reading. The poem cannot exist without the medium which transmits it.[93]

These ideas of different manifestations which are time and place specific apply to bestiaries too. Every bestiary manuscript selected for discussion in this chapter was

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[91] J. Bately, M. P. Brown, J. Roberts, eds., *A Palaeographer's View: The selected writings of Julian Brown* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1993), p. 17.

[92] M. Gullick, 'Codicology', *Grove Art Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996). L. M. J. Delaissé, 'The Importance of Books of Hours for the History of the Medieval Book', ed. by U. E. McCracken, L. M. C., and R. H. Randall, Jr., *Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy E. Miner* (Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery, 1974), pp. 203-225. Sandra Hindman, 'Introduction: State of the Question', ed. by S. Hindman and J. H. Marrow, *Books of Hours Reconsidered* (London; Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, Brepols 2013), pp. 1-18.

[93] Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, 'Editing and the Material Text', *The Editing of Old English: Papers from the 1990 Manchester Conference*, ed. by D. G. Scragg, P. E. Szarmach (Cambridge: Brewer, 1994), pp. 147-54, p. 151. I am grateful to Rev Dr Alun Ford for this reference.

analysed according to the evidence of its extant manuscript as a material artefact, especially its codicological information on origin. Every Canterbury bestiary with a firm provenance has been included, sadly not a long list. The criteria used to judge whether a bestiary was included depended on current scholarly attribution to or near Canterbury, (and those indicated to be from south or south-east England) and, where an origin is currently unknown, codicological and palaeographical evidence has been tested against comparative manuscripts with established Canterbury origins.

This study's palaeographical methodology is based on the importance of the letterform, on careful observation and comparative analysis of different grades of script. Descriptions of scripts rely upon Michelle Brown's guide.[94] Above all palaeography is an integrated study of the text, informed by the work Leonard Boyle, O.P., summed up as, 'To understand any given [written] sample as the medium of communication it is, one has to see it in all its circumstances' and from Bernhard Bischoff that,

> Every manuscript is unique. Our aim should be to recognise that uniqueness, to consider the manuscript as a historical monument and to be sensitive to its beauty.

The formal codicological reports describe and analyse miniatures in illuminated bestiaries in terms of colour and contrast (where appropriate), line, volume, mass and space, contour, plane and the 'dominant contributor', composition. Thus they follow principles set out by Roger Fry as just listed and elaborated by Joshua C. Taylor, who discusses the visual impact of the work and its *mise-en-page*.[95]

Some manuscripts have only been available by digital facsimiles, (Aberdeen UL 24, BBR 8340, Bodl. Lat. Th. e. 9, BnF Lat. 770) so there is also a need to understand the constraints and opportunities that using such facsimiles present. It is clear that Leonard Boyle's 'integral' approach to palaeography has had the strongest impact on the methodology supporting electronic facsimiles, as Arianna Ciula's article

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[94] Michelle Brown *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts: From Antiquity to 1600* (London: British Library, 1990).

[95] J. C. Taylor, *Learning to Look. A Handbook for the Visual Arts* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1981), p. 63, on Roger Fry's 'An Essay in Aesthetics' in **Vision and Design,** 1920.

underlines.[96] As Christie notes, palaeography using digital facsimiles cannot provide 'unmediated access to the past'.[97] Judging size on a computer screen is always difficult and the manuscript may appear to be a different colour in the flesh. It is similarly challenging to gain an idea of textures or thicknesses of the substrates or the bindings, or to examine the collation from a computer screen; for the viewer is never within touching distance. This point neatly resonates with the Neo-Platonic mirroring of nature in the bestiary, inherited from the *Physiologus*, as the beast in the bestiary is an absent presence. Sarah Kay's recent article makes a similar point to advance the idea of the bestiary as a space of exception, a site of both inclusion and exclusion of the animal, which is explored further in Chapter One.[98]

The next process is to evaluate changes in the reception, perception, and audience of the bestiary over time, by examining and comparing related beast literature and Canterbury animal art in the two monastic communities. To do this four case studies are presented. St Anselm's use of bestiary tropes in *Cur Deus Homo* and in one of his similitudes are linked to an analysis of the impact of the bestiary on the *Speculum Ecclesiae* by Honorius Augustodunensis and examined against the backdrop of tensions over the lay preaching by Benedictines. The affect of beast literature, which includes the bestiary, on Nigel Wireker's *Speculum Stultorum* is analysed. The poem is then set against the political turmoil at Christ Church at the end of the twelfth century. The use of the bestiary during the cultural and intellectual resurgence of St Augustine's Abbey in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries is evaluated as evidence of the cultural resurgence of the Abbey during the abbacies of Thorn, Findon, and Bourne. Finally, the use of bestiary motifs in Canterbury decorated, inhabited, and zoomorphic initials is evaluated as evidence for the material cultural impact of the bestiary in Canterbury. The objective

[96] Arianna Ciula, 'The Palaeographical Method Under the Light of a Digital Approach', *Schriften des Instituts für Dokumentologie und Editorik* (Norderstedt: Books on Demand GmbH, 2009).
[97] E. Christie, 'The Image of the Letter: From the Anglo-Saxons to the Electronic Beowulf', *Culture, Theory and Critique*, 44 (2003), 129-50, p. 130.
[98] S. Kay, 'Post-human philology and the ends of time in medieval bestiaries', *Postmedieval*, 5 (Winter 2014), 473-485

has been to assess and interpret the historical evidence to endeavour to understand the extent to which the bestiary shaped medieval animal literature and art in Canterbury. Bestiaries and related books are analysed in terms of perception, reception, and affect on the monastic environment and culture. Affect is used here to refer to emotions and 'intensities', as Gregg and Siegworth have discussed

> [A]ffect is found in those intensities that pass body to body (human, nonhuman, part-body, and otherwise), in those resonances that circulate. . . Affect, at its most anthropomorphic, is the name we give to those forces – visceral… vital forces insisting beyond emotion – that can serve to drive us toward movement, toward thought and extension.' [99]

These affective 'forces' are explored in relation to behaviour and perception, thought and becoming, and action and encounter. For example, St Anselm's similitude concerning animalized and emotive deadly sins (the cruelty of the lion, the treachery of the snake) and the bestiary's utilisation of alleged animal traits explore human emotions and behaviour (such as the piety of the Pelican or the lust of the Partridge) and are affective rhetorical tools that allow us to access medieval public emotions and social tensions.[100]

These different methodologies are used because the bestiaries analysed in this study are so varied. They range in date from the eleventh to the fourteenth century; they include excerpts and fragments as well as stand-alone books and parts of compilations; they are both plain and illustrated; and range from First, Transitional, Second and Third family recensions and the related *Aviarium*. This study seeks to widen the definition of the bestiary even as it narrows the focus to a single geographical centre over a specific period. Establishing the amount and variety of bestiary texts and grounding this information in the Canterbury monastic cultural environment should then help form some answers to how the monks perceived themselves and the natural world through the bestiary lens.

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[99] *The Affect Theory Reader*, ed. by M. Gregg and G. J. Seigworth (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2010), p. 1.
[100] R. W. Southern and F.S. Schmitt, eds., *Memorials of St. Anselm* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 81, *De Moribus*.

**Thesis Structure**

This thesis looks to understand the place of the bestiary within the life of worship and study of Canterbury Benedictine monks, including their cultural, political, and intellectual perceptions, from 1093 to 1360. This chronological scope encompasses the date of Anselm's pontifical (the rubricating hand of which it is posited matches the bestiary hand of Oxford Bodl. Laud Misc. 247) to the illustration with bestiary allusions added to the new work on natural philosophy by John Dumbleton's, *Summa logicae et naturalis philosophiae*, dated 1360. This time frame has been chosen to include the earliest extant Latin bestiary from England to the latest datable allusion to a bestiary in a Canterbury book. This end date covers the three key periods of bestiary production in Canterbury. These are the late eleventh to early twelfth century; the late twelfth to early thirteenth century; and the late thirteenth to early fourteenth century.

The first chapter is a discussion of the major strands in bestiary studies. It attempts to situate this thesis within the broader field of bestiary studies and emphasises the key points the study puts forward. The chapter includes analysis of the research on the relationships between the bestiary and the medieval monastic theological and intellectual environment. It explores the arguments in the secondary literature on the bestiary's didactic role as expressed in references in sermons and in codicological evidence for classroom use. The chapter also examines the role of significs and exegesis in the bestiary which informs a significant argument presented at the beginning of Chapter Four on St Anselm and the flourishing intellectual and cultural environment at Christ Church during his tenure as archbishop. The previous scholarship on the bestiary and its relationship to medieval animal art is also considered in this chapter and this foregrounds the discussion on Canterbury bestiary art addressed in Chapter Five. Chapter One then considers the bestiary in relation to medieval animals now that some scholars, such as Crane, seek to 'foreground the furry' and privilege the animal in the text. This renewed interest in the animal raises important points in the analysis of the Canterbury bestiaries in general and in particular to

Canterbury bestiary allusions to natural philosophy and to ideas on community and sharing expressed in Nigel Wireker's work.

Empirical evidence for bestiary readership, patronage, and early ownership is presented and critically assessed in the next two chapters. Chapter Two sets out discursively the medieval library listings of non-extant bestiaries for Christ Church Priory and then St Augustine's Abbey as these primary sources are split according to their house. The third chapter contains descriptions of selected extant bestiaries and evaluates the evidence for their presence in Canterbury during all or part of this period. These descriptions are arranged in order of their strength of attribution. Evidence for the re-dating and establishment of their origin of the two earliest English Latin bestiaries is presented.

Chapters Four and Five concentrate on the arguments on the affect and impact of the bestiary in Canterbury and build on the findings in the first two chapters. Chapter Four discusses the bestiary and beast literature in Canterbury by focussing on three major turning points in the development of the text and the context for those changes. Chapter Four begins with St Anselm's use of animal tropes and draws on Gillian Evans' work on the archbishop's skill as a rhetorician, and then examines Anselm's arguments in *De Grammatico* on the animal in opposition to human rationality. The chapter then explores the contribution the First family bestiary made to Honorius's *Speculum Ecclesiae*, something not previously sufficiently investigated in the secondary literature. Links are drawn between the cultural and political tensions of Anselm's archiepiscopy and Honorius's work.

Chapter Four also discusses the wealth of beast literature in Canterbury at the end of the twelfth century and attempts to trace bestiary references in the works of Nigel Wireker, for example in the character of his hero Burnellus the Ass in *Speculum Stultorum*. This argument forges connections between contemporary bestiaries and the political tensions in Christ Church after the martyrdom of St Thomas Becket. Finally, Chapter Four examines bestiary reading practices at St Augustine's Abbey at the turn of the fourteenth century and

assesses the affect of the bestiary on monastic lay and noviciate preaching. Chapter Five then explores the significance of the bestiary in Canterbury art. It argues for the importance of bestiary motifs in inhabited and zoomorphic initials in Christ Church manuscripts in the late eleventh and early twelfth century.

The conclusion assesses the success and significance of this study's contribution to the field of knowledge through the examination of evidence for medieval bestiary ownership, readership, and influence in a specific location over time. It evaluates the main empirical findings, explores the responses to the key questions posed, the challenges uncovered, and makes suggestions for further research. The conclusion emphasises the important place of the bestiary in Canterbury. Monks were described (by Peter Damian) as creatures in a *vivarium*, a fishpond of souls. Towards the end of the period under review, Michael Northgate, the St Augustine's monk who translated *the Somme le Roi* as the *Ayenbite of Inwit*, saw men and monks as worms whom God makes angels ('and of wermes he maketh angles'). He marked the only difference between man and beast was 'onderstandynge'.[101] The conclusion defines the bestiary as a spiritual work in which animals signify human and numinous qualities; it redefines it as a place-specific historical document, a reflection of Canterbury monastic thought, action, and emotion which embraced community and difference by thinking with animals.

This introduction has attempted to outline the issues, arguments and structure of this thesis, together with a brief outline of the Canterbury historiography and bestiary types and definitions. This study now discusses the key debates in bestiary studies as they pertain to Canterbury bestiaries.

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[101] BL Arundel 57, fols. 96v-97r.

## Chapter 1
Major debates in bestiary studies

Chapter One flags three current key debates in bestiary research which are germane to the questions posed by this thesis.[1] These debates are on the role of the bestiary in medieval animal art and culture; on whether the bestiary was principally for study, school or sermon use; and to what extent the animal or its allegory should be foregrounded in the bestiary. This chapter discusses context and historiography then connects these three debates to the particular situation in Canterbury. The following chapters endeavour to provide specific localised evidence of medieval bestiary readership, patronage, and ownership to present an analysis of the shaping of the bestiary and its affect on Canterbury art and literature.

**Context**

It has been stated that the bestiary had an 'enormous' artistic and cultural influence in the Middle Ages.[2] Christian Heck gives general reasons why animals were significant in medieval life, thought and art: because they were important in medieval life as part of as an agrarian society; because they were considered as part of God's creation; and because they held a mirror up to mankind. He sums up:

> The nature and behavior of animals were regarded as signs that man called upon to interpret in symbolic and allegorical terms. It is this belief that fostered the development of an immense literature of fables, of bestiaries . . as well as the universe of marginal illuminations.[3]

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[1] Histories of the bestiary and modern bestiary studies are provided by Baxter 1998, pp. 1-25 and by Stewart 2012, pp. 1-18.

[2] *The Grove Encyclopedia of Medieval Art and Architecture*, 2, ed. by C. Hourihane (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 323-325, p. 325.

[3] C. Heck, R. Cordonnier, *The Grand Medieval Bestiary* (New York: Abbeville Press, 2012), p. 2012.

Yet how does the bestiary form part of this development from animals as signs to 'an immense literature' and 'universal illumination'? Clark considers the bestiary had 'familiar appeal' from references in sermons, 'bible readings in Church', 'primary school texts', and 'traditional folk wisdom.'[4] Michel Pastoureau too has pointed out that the Middle Ages were very talkative about animals, and he argues that the bestiary played an important role in this discussion, being equally '*bavard*' about the creatures that made up each of its chapters.[5] Canterbury has a rich treasury of bestiary and other beast literature that emphasises Pastoureau's point. The chapter on the Lion chapter which opens the bestiary in Oxford, Bodl. Laud Misc. 247, (fol. 139v) serves as an example for the wealth of animal literature and the varied discussions the bestiary generated. The third nature of the Lion is that it resuscitates its cubs and this is Laud Misc. 247's first illustration. The first nature of the Lion (that it hides its footprints from huntsmen) is omitted, perhaps as it is not rubricated in the text, but this does not explain why the artist chose to illustrate the third nature above the second. His composition emphasises the resurrection theme embodied by the bestiary Lion and indicates its importance.[6] The Lion from the bestiary features in Honorius Augustodunensis's *Speculum Ecclesiae* written for Christ Church monks, a work Heslop has linked to this stained glass programme at Canterbury Cathedral.[7] In the *Speculum Ecclesiae* the Lion is as a figure for Christ in the Easter Day sermon

> 'Dicitur enim quod leaena catulos suos mortuos fundat, et ipsi ad vocem patris rugientis die tercia surgant: sic triduo Christus, qui in sepulchro jacuit mortuus, die tercia surrexit, Patris voce expergefactus' [8]

The bestiary idea of the Lion as a symbol for Christ's resurrection formed part of the Christocentric Anselmian vision of Christ Church cathedral.

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[4] Clark 2006, pp. 22.

[5] M. Pastoureau, *Bestiaires du Moyen Âge* (Paris: Seuil, 2011), p. 58.

[6] Fig. 0.1, Oxford, Bodl. Laud Misc. 247, fol. 139v.

[7] H. Augustodunensis, *Speculum Ecclesiae PL* 170, 807A-1107; M. H. Caviness, *The Early Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), p. 174, fig. 1,s: XV panel 23 'Lion reviving cub'. Heslop 2013, pp. 65-66.

[8] *Speculum Ecclesiae PL* 170, col. 935 B; 'For it is said that the lioness's cubs are stillborn and the voice of their father roaring on the third day raises them up, just as Christ lay in his tomb for three days and arose on the third day when the voice of the Father awoke him.'

James Clark has remarked that Benedictine monastic daily training in learning biblical passages 'was to instil a habit of scriptural study which would become the mainstay of the monk's personal regime.'[9] As the bestiary was a work which linked the framework of scriptural exegesis to the *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric and dialectic) by applying the allegory of the fourfold senses, to a series of *exempla* about animals, such as the anagogical meaning of the Lion as a figure for Christ, it was an accessible text for those beginning their studies. The allegory of the fourfold senses for scriptural exegesis has been comprehensively analysed by Henri de Lubac, indeed his work has been described as 'spirited defense of a premodern biblical hermeneutic' and he began his three volume analysis with the common and simple medieval distich which he translated as

> The letter teaches events, allegory what you should believe,
> Morality teaches what you should do,
> anagogy what mark you should be aiming for[10]

The hermeneutic interpretations summed up in the rhyme relate to the allegorical as opposed to the literal meanings in the Bible and were a development from St Paul's *Letter to Romans,* via Origen, Philo, and St Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana.* Ruth Clements' exposition of how exegesis developed from Paul via Origen and Philo is set against the literal interpretation of the text by Alexandrine Jewish scholars, while Michael Cameron discussed Augustine's use of 'signs' in the Old Testament as essential to Christian revelation.[11] St Gregory and in particular his *Moralia in Job* also explicated this form of exegesis and had immense authority in the medieval period; Lubac described Gregory as 'one of the principal initiators and one of the greatest

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[9] J. G. Clark, *The Benedictines in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2011), p. 80.

[10] Lubac 1998, pp. 1-2, p. 271, n. 1, 'Litteras gesta docet, quid credas allegora/ Moralis quid agas, quo tendas anagogia', found in the margin of Petrus Comestor, *Historia Scholastica* in a thirteenth century cursive, London BL Royal A XI, fol. 3r .

[11] R. Clements, 'Origen's Readings of Romans in *Peri Archon*: (Re) Constructing Paul', *Early Patristic Readings of Romans*, ed. by K. L. Gaca, and L. L. Welborn (New York: T & T Clark International, 2005) pp. 159-179; M. Cameron, 'The Christological Substructure of Augustine's Figurative Exegesis', *Augustine and the Bible: The Bible through the Ages*, 3 , ed. by P. Bright (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999), 2. pp. 74-103.

patrons of the fourfold sense.'[12]  St Gregory's veneration was emphasised by both Lanfranc and St Anselm at Canterbury; Lanfranc wrote Notes on the *Moralia*.[13]

The influence of the *Physiologus*, chief source of the First family bestiary, can be traced in St Augustine's work as he quoted from it to explore this form of biblical exegesis.[14]  Although such hermeneutics (including Origen's neo-platonic influence) has been studied in the *Physiologus*, the use of the related fourfold senses in the bestiary has not previously been much noted in bestiary scholarship, partly due to the lack of a modern edition of the First family bestiary.[15] Clark's edition of the Second family bestiary does cite Lubac's work and relates it, as an example, to the moral and spiritual lessons in the chapters on the Ant and the Fox, both of which are chapters taken from the First family bestiary.[16] The four 'senses' were a normative part of monastic understanding of Creation, as David Wells points out

> far from being a closed methodology within medieval theology . . .
> their [the four senses'] relevance extends to the medieval
> understanding of the world.[17]

The word linked to the mental image enhanced not only the memorability of the beast in the bestiary, but also its allegorical, tropological, and anagogical significance. As mentioned, in Canterbury this exegesis was used to particular effect by Honorius Augustodunensis in his *Speculum Ecclesiae*. Honorius's task was made easier because the moral and spiritual significance of animals can be traced as in every chapter of the

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[12] Lubac 1998, pp. 132-4, p. 134 quotes Gregorius, *In Moralia, PL* 75 col. 1132B-C; *Morals on the Book of Job by St Gregory the Great*, trans. by J. H. Parker and J. Rivington, 3 (London: 1844), Book 16, ch. 24, <http://www.lectionarycentral.com/GregoryMoralia /Book16.html> [accessed 3 July, 2015].
[13] P. Hayward, 'Gregory the Great as 'Apostle of the English' in Post-Conquest Canterbury', *JEH*, 55 (2004), 19-58, p. 55; Lanfranc's notes on *Moralia*, extant in a s.xi/xii Rochester manuscript, BL Royal 6 C VI; Gregory's *Moralia in Job* was kept in the Christ Church cloister, *ALCD* 331, p. 51, identified as TCC B.4.9, Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, No. 166, p. 147.
[14] St Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, Book 2, chapter 16, *PL* 34 col. 47-48, 'Ut translata signa intelligantur juvat tum linguarum notitia, tum rerum', Green *DDC*, pp. 82-83;  E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 1953, repr. 1979), pp. 73-4 on the *topos* of nature; *The culture of medieval English monasticism*, ed. James G. Clark (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), p. 80.
[15] M. Curley, "Physiologus,' Physiologia and the rise of Christian nature symbolism', *Viator*, 11 ( 1980), 1-11, pp. 4-5.
[16] Clark 2006, pp. 22-23, animals were 'symbols… perceived through modes or 'senses' of biblical commentary…. in the Second family and other Latin bestiaries'.
[17] D. A. Wells, 'Ohly and Exegetical Tradition', 2005, p. 64.

First family bestiary (not just the Ant and the Fox). For example, the bestiary begins the chapter on the Stag with Psalm 42:2, 'As the hart panteth after the fountains of water; so my soul panteth after thee, O God.' The chapter then tells how the Stag draws out the snake (a figure for the Devil) from its hole using water from its mouth and then its breath and tramples it; the Stag through this use of water was linked to baptism, morally to the renunciation of evil, and spiritually to those who follow Christ. The snake-killing scene appears in Laud Misc. 247, fol. 160r, and it was also carved on one of the Canterbury Cathedral Romanesque crypt capitals (south row, column 2), although this has not been noted in the scholarship (figs. 1.01 and 1.02).[18] The theme of breath also links to the Lion's resuscitation of his cubs.

Moreover, the bestiary had other didactic purposes than the *sensus spiritualis*, for example, mnemonics. Mary Carruthers defined medieval mnemonics as a way

> to "hook" a particular memory into one (or perhaps more) of a person's existing networks of experience. *Memory works by association.*[19]

Such memorization techniques required startling or at least strong images to stick in the mind, so her theory is that they

> functioned not only to delight and intrigue medieval students but to provide them with mnemonically valuable heuristics, orderly foundations or sets of mnemonic loci.[20]

Carruthers goes on to explain in detail the function of memory 'hooks' in chapters 4 and 7. She includes some bestiary examples and notes

> What the Bestiary taught most usefully in the long term of a medieval education was not natural history or moralized animal fables but mental imaging, the

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[18] Mann 1888, p. 56, Bodl. Laud Misc. 247, fol. 154r; on the Stag, 'implet os suum aqua et effundit in foramine et cum quodam spiramine oris sui attrahit serpentem foras, et conculcans interficit eum', p. 63 (it fills its mouth with water and pours it down the hole and then it [the Stag] breathes through its mouth and draws the snake into the open and tramples it to death). Depicted from Late Antiquity, G. Hanfmann, 'The Continuity of Classical Art: Culture, Myth and Faith', ed. by Kurt Weitzmann, Hans-Georg Beck, *The Age of Spirituality: A Symposium* (New York: Metropolitan Museum, 1980), p. 83; T. Boase, *English Art 1100-1216* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953), p. 37; D. Kahn, *Canterbury Cathedral and Romanesque Sculpture* (London: Harvey Miller, 1991), p. 65, both consider the animal a wolf, not having noticed its antlers.

[19] Carruthers *Craft*, p. 8.

[20] Carruthers *Memory*, 2008, p. 138.

systematic forming of 'pictures' that would stick in the memory and could be used… to mark information within the [memory] grid.[21]

This theme is taken up again in her book co-authored with Jan Ziolkowski on *The Craft of Memory*.[22] Baxter does not reference Carruthers at all but Clark addresses Carruthers's hypothesis in a footnote, remarking

that the bestiary's main task was the teaching of "mental imaging," which seems too narrow a view of a book with such a variety of educational advantages.[23]

Yet memorisation (on which the *trivium* of grammar, rhetoric and dialectic depended), was a vital part of the education system, which was predicated on learning by rote. The need for eloquent sermons meant training in rhetoric was met by the standard medieval educational practices of learning by heart, so both encouraged the memorization and continued use of bestiary themes and chapters, and were at least partially responsible for the inclusion of the medieval Latin prose bestiary in all its recensions or families in so many monastic libraries and *collectiones*. This is surely an important factor, besides the *sensus spiritualis*, in the bestiary's popularity and longevity. As Ron Thomson points out, from the late thirteenth century onwards there was

growing awareness by the Benedictine Monks generally that they needed to participate in the intellectual life of universities in the same way as the Friars.[24]

The bestiary, which had been part of the *sensus spiritualis* of the Benedictines for centuries, had already been found useful by the friars who had bound it with their University texts.[25] The bestiary made its way to the Benedictine Oxford colleges too as discussed in Chapter Three concerning Brussels, Bibliothéque Royale, 8340.

**Bestiary historiography**

The majority of early research on the bestiary foregrounded illustrated over non-illustrated bestiaries and agreed with M. R. James that these are works of more interest for their accompanying images; their text having 'nil' scientific or literary

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[21] Carruthers *Memory*, 2008, p. 160.

[22] Carruthers *Craft*, p. 206, p. 252.

[23] Clark 2006, p. 109 n. 101.

[24] R. Thomson, 'Worcester monks and education, c. 1300', ed. J. G. Clark, *The culture of medieval English monasticism* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), pp. 104-110, p. 104; J. G. Clark, *The Benedictines in the Middle Ages (Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2011)*, pp. 189-254.

[25] Cambridge, Gonville & Caius 109/178 owned by Franciscan Provincial, John Zouch.

value. [26] In 1954 Charles Dodwell, accused medieval bestiaries of containing the 'credulous ideas of Antiquity embalmed in the winding sheets of medieval theology'.[27] These viewpoints on the bestiary have since been revisited and revised and bestiaries are now understood not in terms of their scientific knowledge but more as spiritual and educational works.[28] There have also been advances in codicological approaches, for example, T. A. Heslop has suggested that Dodwell's dating of Canterbury books with decorated initials in from 1110-1140 are too wide and they were probably made during Anselm's archiepiscopate (1093-1109) or soon after by the same hands and should be re-dated to before 1125.[29]

Perhaps naturally as they are undoubtedly beautiful works of art, deluxe bestiaries have been considered principally by art historians, in terms of style and iconography, sources, production and patronage.[30] Xenia Muratova has been most interested in tracing classical sources and ideas of patronage for bestiaries and their illustrations. Her attribution to Lincoln of New York, Morgan Pierpont M81, a luxury Transitional bestiary, based on its *ex libris*, was contested by R. Baxter.[31] She in turn criticized Baxter's association of London, British Library Stowe 1067 to St Augustine's Abbey although it is not mentioned in the medieval catalogues, remarking 'Toutefois, selon certaine hypothèsies, les débuts du bestiaire anglais sont localiser à Cantorbery', something this researcher also has to bear in mind.[32] Her interesting idea that illustration programmes in bestiaries were applied to different texts (one song to the tune of another) allows a different mapping of bestiaries, one that foregrounds the production and planning, and artistic decision-making in

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[26] James 1928, p. 1.
[27] Dodwell, p. 71.
[28] Clark 2006, 'The Latin bestiary texts are spiritual but not theological', p. 2; Clark rejects a monastic context for the Second family bestiary, 'except in a few, specific cases', p.93, n. 1.
[29] M. R. James 1928, p. 1; Dodwell 1954, p. 71; T. A. Heslop 2013, 59-81, p. 59, p. 78, n. 2.
[30] For example , *A Survey of manuscripts illuminated in the British Isles Romanesque Manuscripts*, gen. ed. J. J. G. Alexander, 6 (London: Harvey Miller, 1975-1996), C. de Hamel and L. Freeman Sandler, *The Peterborough Bestiary* (Luzern: Faksimile Verlag Luzern, 2001); and C. Heck, R. Cordonnier, *The Grand Medieval Bestiary* (New York: Abbeville Press, 2012).
[31] Muratova, 'Bestiaries' 1986, pp. 118-44, her attribution to Lincoln of New York, Morgan Pierpont M81, pp. 120-121 was criticized by Baxter 1998, p. 19.
[32] X. Muratova, 'Sources classiques et paléochrétiennes des illustrations des manuscrits des Bestiaires' in *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 31 (1991), 32-49, p. 33 n. 21.

illustrated bestiary manuscripts. This idea has also recently explored by Ilya Dines, and this study aims to investigate evidence concerning Canterbury bestiaries.[33]

Nigel Morgan and Lucy Freeman Sandler document the rise of the Gothic style, in terms of figures, stances, and forms, iconography and production and patronage in their respective surveys of Gothic manuscripts in the British Isles, which include some of the most beautiful and interesting illustrated bestiaries.[34] Morgan has followed Muratova's viewpoint on a Northern or North Midlands area of patronage of certain bestiaries which both Baxter and Clark have largely opposed, which will be investigated.[35] Lucy Freeman Sandler has considered circles of court and aristocratic patronage.[36] This study probes the evidence of involvement in these circles of the wealthy monastic foundations at Canterbury.

Plainer and unillustrated bestiaries have been viewed mainly as *exempla* for sermons, as Morson and Baxter have done, or as Latin primers by Willene Clark and these are vital aspects of the way the medieval bestiary was perceived and utilised for preaching and learning Latin.[37] This thesis explores the bestiary sources in Canterbury to investigate these arguments.

**Bestiaries and images**

This section poses the question of how far is it possible to trace bestiary symbolism in carvings and wall-paintings to engage with and problematize some earlier bestiary

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[33] X. Muratova, 'Aspects de la transmission textuelle et picturale de manuscrits des bestiaries anglais à la fin du XIIe au debut du XIIIe siècle' in *Comprendre et maitrîser la nature au moyen âge: Melanges d'histoire des sciences offerts à Guy Beaujouan* (Geneva: Droz, 1994) pp. 579-605; I. Dines, 'The Copying and Imitation of Images in Medieval Bestiaries', *JBAA*, 167 (2014), 70–82.

[34] Morgan I, 1982, e.g., BL Royal 12 C XIX, No 13 and Morgan II, 1988, e.g. Alnwick, now Malibu, Getty 100, No. 115, broadly accepts Muratova's research; Sandler, IV, e.g. the No. 23, Peterborough bestiary, CCCC 53, and No. 39, Oxford, St John's College 178.

[35] Baxter 1998, pp. 18-22 and Clark 2006, p. 70, n. 34 and p. 224.

[36] C. de Hamel, and L. Freeman Sandler, *The Peterborough Bestiary* (Luzern: Faksimile Verlag Luzern, 2001), pp. 28-29.

[37] Baxter 1998, 'they [bestiaries] were in use as a source of sermon *exempla*', p. 192; Clark 2006, 'the Second-family bestiary was compiled for use principally by teachers in elementary education.' pp. 98-113, p. 98.

historiography that linked bestiary manuscripts to church decorative carving, using the Alne tympanum as evidence, a practice later castigated by Ron Baxter.[38]

The Church of St Mary in Alne, North Yorkshire has a stone tympanum over the south door of its nave which Pevsner dated to 'probably' mid twelfth-century and described as 'very fine' (fig. 1.03). [39] The inner decorated arch has an *Agnus Dei* and carved figures representing the Zodiac and the labours of the months; the outer semicircle of the arch has lunettes carved with foliage surrounds with named animals inside each one, of which nine decipherable carvings now remain; Fox or *Vulpis*, *Panthera*, Eagle or *A[qui]la*, *Hiena*, *Caladrius*, untitled goat, illegibly titled dragon, Firestones or *Terebolem*, and the Whale or *Aspido*.[40] The bestiary as the explicatory text for all animal imagery found in medieval churches was certainly well explored by nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century historians, such as Allen and particularly George Druce, who also favoured a zoological approach.[41] George Druce sought to match church carvings to bestiary manuscripts and then bestiary creatures to actual species; the discussion over how the bestiary illustration is transferred to stone reliefs continues.[42] J. R. Allen proposed in his 1887 lectures that the decorative scheme on the Alne doorway was chosen for the 'system of mystic zoology contained in the mediaeval Bestiaries', although he warned that 'bestiaries only explain part of the symbolism found on early sculptures, and there is much which is still very obscure.'[43] His quest was to find evidence of a 'system of symbolism founded upon the characteristics of the animal world' with 'some deep

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[38] Baxter 1998, pp. 2-3.

[39] N. Pevsner, *Yorkshire: The North Riding, Pevsner Architectural Guides: Buildings of England*, (Yale: Yale University Press, 1966), pp. 59-60.

[40] J. Romilly Allen, *Lecture VI: The Medieval Bestiaries from Early Christian Symbolism in Great Britain and Ireland before the Thirteenth Century* (London: Whiting & Co., 1887), p. 6, pp. 11-18, figs. 1-9, p. 10; George C. Druce, 'The Caladrius and its Legend, Sculptured upon the Twelfth-Century Doorway of Alne Church, Yorkshire', *Archaeological Journal*, 69 (1912), 381-416, pl. I.

[41] Baxter 1998, pp. 1-18, and Clark 2006, pp. 1-14.

[42] Druce 1912, pp. 398-400; Baxter 1998, pp. 1-18, and Clark 2006, pp. 1-14.

[43] J. Romilly Allen, 1887, pp. 3-41, p. 6. Baxter 1998, pp. 2-6 and pp. 211-212. X. Muratova, 'Les cycles des Bestiaires dans le decor sculpté des eglises du XIIe siècle dans le Yorkshire, et leur relation avec les manuscrits des Bestiaires enluminés' in *Atti del V Colloquio della International Beast, Epic Fable and Fabliau Society, Turin 5-9 September 1983* (1987), 337-353.

meaning having reference to the doctrines of Christianity'. [44] He found this was 'easily answered' by many extant medieval copies of the bestiary. Although the carvings are in Latin at Alne, Allen chose Cahier's drawings of Philippe de Thaun's illustrated Norman-French bestiary to compare the examples at Alne 'to prove such a system was applied to the decoration of Christian monuments and buildings.' [45] The Norman doorway at Alne has also been commented upon more recently by Geddes, Muratova, and Baxter. Jane Geddes and Xenia Muratova investigated the provenance of luxury bestiary manuscripts.[46] Geddes, following Muratova's lead, uses the Alne doorway as evidence that York Minster was an important centre of bestiary production, linked to a bestiary similar to Oxford, Bodl. Laud Misc. 247, stating

> The Bestiary or *Physiologus* was clearly important in the orbit of York Minster too. . . . the most significant example is at Alne, near York. Here 19 motifs from *Physiologus* are carved in an orderly fashion around the doorway. Each story is in a frame and, most unusually, has its title carved [in Latin] beneath. The use of inscriptions in such a situation where most of the viewers would be illiterate strongly indicates that the carvings were copied from a book and in fact their designs are similar to those in Oxf. Bod. Laud Misc. 247.[47]

Baxter's view is that the carvings at Alne were a special case for the bestiary text in the name of the animal, has stayed linked to the carved image. Allen's idea of 'mystic knowledge' was heavily disputed by Baxter who considered the proliferation of bestiaries and bestiary images to be due to the increase in sermons using bestiary themes, rather than what he terms a 'spurious unity' of animal symbolism codified in bestiaries. [48] Baxter thought the tympanum may have been the product of 'Bestiary imagery transferred to model books' to appeal to parishioners rather than directly copied from a manuscript.[49] The non-literate laypeople of twelfth-century Alne would have needed even the single word labels to explain the scenes translated; the transmission from vellum to stone to lay parishioners requires the knowledge of

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[44] Allen 1887, p. 6.

[45] Allen 1887, p. 6, Cahier, '*Mélanges d'Archéologie*, vol. ii, pls. 23 and 24'.

[46] Baxter 1998, pp. 2-6 and pp. 211-212.

[47] J. Geddes, 'History: Patrons of the Luxury Bestiaries at the end of the twelfth century', *The Aberdeen History Project*, <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/bestiary/history.hti > [accessed 4 July, 2015]; Muratova, 1987.

[48] Baxter 1998, p. 2 and pp. 211-212.

[49] Baxter 1998, pp. 211-212.

someone who knew the text. This does not prevent a luxury bestiary being the source of the carvings but it prevents a simple knowledge transfer as later proposed by Geddes. Thus its significance remains recoverable via one literate person allowing the formation of an oral tradition governed by the written word as discussed by Stock.[50] Since this tradition included scriptural exegesis, the carvings' significance might be passed on to other, non-literate viewers. Whether it proves York or Lincoln as the basis for a thriving scriptorium and intellectual centre is much less certain. Houwen proposes a different viewpoint: that we consider carvings, reliefs and statues, including misericords (for example the ones with elephants carved on them at Exeter Cathedral) just for their 'decorative function' rather than seeking out any bestiary or other symbolism, since

> even when traditional iconography is transferred to the misericords this does not mean that it is accompanied by its original (moralised) sense.[51]

Another example, not noted by Houwen, occurred when the carver did not understand that a sciapod, one of Pliny's wondrous races, had just one leg and one enormous foot to act as an umbrella from the sun, so he carved the creature with two legs on a bench end at Dennington; the original moralised sense was lost from the start.[52] Yet this safe option ignores how strongly the associations for that particular beast (or bird) might remain known in the location of the image or sculpture. Instead Paul Hardwick argues that where animals appear in a medieval cathedral choir (a usual place for misericords) their symbolism, whether taken from beast epics, animal fables, the bestiary or the Bible, is likely to be recognised and furthermore was 'taken into consideration when the images were chosen.' [53]

This thesis does not argue for the purely decorative nor solely for assigning a location-dependent meaning. Instead it puts forward the argument that it is the

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[50] Stock, *Implications*, 1983, p. 522.

[51] L. A. H. R. Houwen, 'Bestiaries in Wood? Misericords, Animal Imagery, and the Bestiary Tradition', ed. by P. Hardwick, *The Playful Middle Ages: Meanings of Play and Plays of Meaning: Essays in Memory of Elaine C. Block* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp. 195-232, p. 195.

[52] St Mary Dennington, Suffolk, medieval bench end.

[53] P. Hardwick, *English Medieval Misericords: The Margins of Meaning* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2011), p. 111-112; these carvings predate Henry III's elephant in 1255, C. Tracy, 'Dating the misericords from the Thirteenth-Century Choir Stalls at Exeter Cathedral', *Medieval Art and Architecture at Exeter Cathedral*, ed. F. Kelly (Leeds: Maney, 1991) pp. 180-187.

perception and reception of the image by the beholder which is essential. The didactic aspect of the bestiary and its use of the allegory of the fourfold senses should be foregrounded. This is because this method of understanding the properties of the creature, plant, or stone depicted ('*res pictae*') does not necessarily require written records but rather depends on training and memory. For example, the Fox playing dead to catch birds makes him a figure for the devil and a moral on deceit, the image of the prone Fox becomes linked in one's memory to the moral and spiritual lesson. If you have been taught these ideas from the bestiary, then all animals may be read in these ways, even if the specific allegorical or scriptural reference is neither known nor remembered.

The bestiary is not an isolated throwback to these ways of thinking developed in Late Antiquity. The same methods were used by William Durand (1230-1296) in his *Rationale divinorum officiorum*.[54] Lubac has identified Durandus's rationale with scriptural exegesis.[55] This work undertook to examine the fourfold meaning of Church architecture, contents, and worship or ecclesiology.[56] Stephen Holmes has argued that Durandus

> views the liturgy as a complex of symbols to be interpreted by the same spiritual exegesis that was applied to Scripture. This reveals a fourfold meaning: historical or literal; allegorical – relating to an inner spiritual meaning and often Christological; tropological – relating to morals; and anagogical – relating to heavenly and future things.[57]

Durandus focused upon 'reading' the Church, linking it to both building and heaven, to human space and numinous eternity, for example linking the mortar anchoring the stones of the church building to the Holy Spirit bringing together the people of the Church (1.1.10). This was one of the most popular books of the late medieval and early modern period.[58] This very popularity of Durandus's *Rationale* demonstrates

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[54] Guilelmi Duranti, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, CCCM, 3, ed. by A. Davril and T. M. Thibodieu (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995-2000); T. M. Thibodeau, *The Rationale divinorum officiorum of William Durand of Mende: A New Translation of the Prologue and Book One* (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 2010).

[55] Lubac, 2, p. 23.

[56] S. M. Holmes, 'Reading the Church: William Durandus and a New Approach to the History of Ecclesiology, *Ecclesiology*, 7 (2011), 29–49, p. 35.

[57] Holmes, 2011, p. 39.

[58] Holmes, 2011, p. 37.

that while other aspects of ecclesiology were developing during this period, this much more ancient method of exegesis continued to be taught and preached. This form of allegoresis for the Church and its contents included the carved reliefs of animals in wood or stone and therefore added to the impact of Honorius's *Speculum Ecclesiae* which Mâle demonstrated affected and shaped Church decoration. [59] This reading of the Church and its contents is not quite the 'mystic zoology' Allen put forward but it concurs with his reading of the creatures on the relief as part of the Church's symbolism. Baxter's contention that it was an increase in sermons on animal themes which generated interest in bestiary art becomes part of the same argument once Honorius's *Speculum Ecclesiae* is taken into account since this work included over half the creatures mentioned in the First family bestiary arranged for sermons *in tempore* (the liturgical calendar that celebrates the life of Christ from Advent to Trinity) written at the request of Canterbury Cathedral Priory.

**The bestiary as school, study, or sermon text**

Houwen's work describes how the bestiary was 'essentially didactic' and how 'The *Physiologus* and the bestiaries which it inspired…life [lift] the natural world to a higher plane with their moralizations' and he continues, 'animals could be used as types … or emblems… [and] helped man to elucidate a universe that was perceived as widely and deeply meaningful.' [60] This thesis steps away from considering the bestiary as part of 'elementary' education as Clark has done.[61] It examines not only the transmission of knowledge but also the conditions in which that learning occurred. For example, it considers not only the monks' social and physical environment, but also their status, roles, beliefs and values, as matters these also affected their approaches to learning.

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[59] Honorius Augustodunensis, *Speculum Ecclesiae PL* 170, 807A-1105D; E. Male, *L'Art religieux du XIIIe siècle en France* (Paris, 1889), p. 62.
[60] L. A. J. R. Houwen, 'Animal parallelism in medieval literature and the bestiaries: a preliminary investigation', *Neophilologus*, 78 (1994), 483-496, p. 492.
[61] Clark 2006, pp. 98-113.

**The bestiary as a school text**

This section investigates the use of the bestiary as an 'elementary' school text, a specific claim by Clark concerning the Second family bestiary.[62] There is evidence in Lanfranc's *Constitutions* that there were boy novices at Christ Church and almonry boys at St Augustine's are mentioned in the fourteenth century.[63] Clark considers Canterbury to have had 'the most popular pre-university schools in England' and she emphasises the bestiary as a school textbook which influenced medieval children so that as adults they returned to the bestiary as a source of images for their churches and later, their books.[64] She finds evidence of schoolroom use in marginalia in extant bestiaries

> Second-family manuscripts resemble many student's or teacher's copies of Classical curricular texts, which were often in one column with ample space for glossing[65]

Clark notes that 'the elements of nature' in Second family bestiaries are only 'sporadically glossed' because, building on Tony Hunt's argument, they were chiefly for vocabulary building.[66] Hunt considers vernacular glossing in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries as a 'sign of the increasing need for literacy as a means of coping with the proliferation of written records' and he notes many examples of glossing come from school texts, hence Clark's hypothesis that the most popular form of Latin prose bestiary was a school text would seem to make sense.[67] Although Hunt does not use the bestiary as an example, he does mention a tri-lingual glossary in Geoffrey of Ufford's *Scutum Bede* (London, BL Stowe 57, s.xii[3/4]).[68] This has simple, lexical, vernacular glosses on words for animals principally from Isidore's *Etymologiae* on fols. 155r-165r and includes the opening of *Etymologiae* Book 12, 'Adam names

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[62] Clark 2006, p. 103; the earliest extant version, BL Additional 11283 c. 1170-1200.
[63] *The monastic constitutions of Lanfranc*, ed. and trans. by D. Knowles and C. N. L. Brooke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002); BCBB p. lv n.15.
[64] Clark 2006, p. 71; Orme, N., *Medieval Children* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 227-8 on almonry boys, Orme, N., *Medieval Schools* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 48-9, 67.
[65] Clark 2006, p. 105 differentiates between basic and higher schoolroom education and places the bestiary in the 'basic' category.
[66] Clark 2006, pp. 103-105; Tony Hunt, *Teaching and Learning Latin in Thirteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1990, rep. 1994), p. 51.
[67] Hunt 1994, p. 16.
[68] Hunt 1994, p. 19.

the Animals' (on fol. 156r). This is also in the Second family bestiary and his example is indicative that a work of simple Latinity (such as the bestiary) would lend itself to vernacular classroom learning. However, Gernot Wieland proposed a rigorous typology of glossing, that is literal, prosodic, and interpretative as well as linguistic, syntactical, and grammatical pointers, based on the heavily-glossed St Augustine's late Anglo-Saxon classbook *Arator* and *Psychomachia* (CUL Gg.5.35, 'Cambridge Songs') which extant bestiaries do not exhibit.[69] Wieland's work casts some doubts on Clark's idea that glossing in many Second family bestiaries is an indication the work was used for schoolroom teaching.

**Bestiaries as study texts**

There is a wider argument on whether glossing was a classroom or an individual monastic reading activity. It is the latter view which has been put forward by Michael Lapidge for Latin texts in the late Anglo-Saxon period, based on the evidence of the widespread similarity of glosses which he proposes were added to manuscripts from monastic libraries and not in classrooms. Lapidge notes that 'Latin glosses *per se*, do not point [to]. . . classroom use' but instead could also be evidence of the custom in monastic houses for each monk to read one book per year; this lighter glossing he considers is more likely to reflect 'library' rather than 'classroom' usage since classbooks are in general more heavily marked and glossed.[70]

The rule for individual reading in Lanfranc's *Constitutions* was drawn up for post-Conquest Canterbury Christ Church monks; most of the extant bestiaries linked to Canterbury seem to reflect this type of reading practice rather than schoolroom activity. Furthermore, Latin learners were not always children. For example, adult lay brothers might receive elementary education to help them fulfil their monastic tasks, as the *Aviarium*, a twelfth-century work written for lay brethren and derived from the bestiary, also demonstrates, although Ohly has argued it was a

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[69] G. Wieland, *The Latin glosses on Arator and Prudentius in Cambridge University Library, MS Gg.5.35* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1983), pp. 192-6; Binski, Zutshi No. 6, pp. 9-10.

[70] M. Lapidge, 'The Study of Latin Texts in Late Anglo-Saxon England: The Evidence of Latin Glosses' in M. Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature, 600-899* (London: Hambledon Press, 1996), pp. 455-98, p. 496.

complex text which required careful explanation.[71] It would not lend itself as a schoolbook. An influx of lay brothers post-Conquest continued into and after St Anselm's archiepiscopate. A book explaining monastic life was later drawn up for them in Old English (London BL Cotton Vespasian D XIV, fols. 1-196v) with works by Aelfric, an anonymous Homily on the Phoenix and translations of the *Elucidarium*.[72] Catalogue evidence indicates the bestiary was sometimes part of sermon collections, as do extant manuscripts e.g. Worcester Q. 11, and from Canterbury Paris BnF 873, Oxford Bodl. Rawlinson C. 77, and Worcester Q.56 copy of BA1.755, which span the end of the twelfth century to the fourteenth.

Christopher de Hamel is the expert on glossed Bibles.[73] It was to honour him that Erik Kwakkel gave an unpublished paper putting forward the idea that glossing space developed via law books as well as from Bible glossing, both works often being in double columns, part of the many changes to books in the long twelfth century to facilitate reading at all levels. De Hamel maintained that bible glossing came first. [74] The point is that glossing was never solely schoolroom practice, and glossing (or space for glossing) in bestiaries does not necessarily mean that they emanate from the schoolroom. Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 258 (dated to c.1200) contains examples of 'vocabulary' glossing in that it has some animal names written in English in its margins (e.g. fol. 24v, 'Crabbe'). Other bestiaries had passages marked, perhaps as practice texts, or for learning by rote (such as Oxford, Bodl. Douce 88A), or for *lectio publica*, as indicated in Paris, BnF, NAL 873 (e.g. fol. 39.v which has an 'A'

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[71] Clark 1992; Ohly, 2005, p. 105.

[72] G. Younge, 'An Old English Compiler and his Audience: London, British Library MS Cotton Vespasian D. xiv, fols 4-169', ed. by A. S. G. Edwards and Orietta Da Rold, *English Manuscripts before 1400* (London: British Library, 2012), pp. 1-25, p. 5; Vespasian D XIV is dated to ca. 1150 from Christ Church Priory. *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by M. Swan, E. Treharne (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 1-10.

[73] C. de Hamel, *Glossed Books of the Bible and the Origins of the Paris Book Trade* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1984).

[74] Erik Kwakkel, 'Aristotle in the Classroom: The Transformation of a Canonical Textbook, 1050-1250', 'Canon on the Move: a symposium on Texts and Transformation' (Leiden University: 15th and 16th May, 2013), new layouts, reading aids, vernacular and Latin glossing were being adopted in the long twelfth century to speed up reading and to aid comprehension.

in the margin to indicate the start of the chapter on the Night Owl, possibly for reading aloud).[75]

Neither of these examples are necessarily by the books' first owners, and other marginalia in them does not resemble schoolroom use; the pointing hand sigla of Clement of Canterbury, the St Augustine's Abbey fifteenth-century monk in charge of the library, appears in BnF NAL 873 (fol. 53v, pointing to the passage on the Dove and the Perindens tree) is not a classroom gloss. Similarly, the careful rubrication of vices and virtues added to Rome, BAV Lat Reg 258 (e.g. fol. 15v, '*De cervo per quem de[us] et iusti designantur*' (Of the stag through which God and justice are designated) elucidates the text but is neither a teaching aid nor a student's marginalia but part of a monk's individual scriptural study.

Furthermore, not all the bestiaries Clark mentions as possible elementary schoolbooks were originally designed for this purpose; BL Harley 3244 was a preacher's manual (and possibly for an Augustinian Canon rather than a Dominican, since it contains an early copy of Grosseteste's *Templum Dei*).[76] Odo of Cheriton's *Fables* were, like the bestiary, probably included as aids for sermon writing rather than for schooling, as they may have been in what is now Douce 88A.[77]

Some bestiaries may have entered 'elementary' classrooms when they were no longer required by their first, or first few owners; hand me downs for the cloister school or given to the grammar schools but not originally produced for them, since the contemporary texts bound with them are not always school texts (for example, Oxford Bodl. Douce 88A and Oxford, Bodl. Rawl. C. 77 both include sermons). Even when the accompanying works are fairly simple they might be ones which often accompanied more complex scholastic works, such as a *Priscian* with a *Logica Vetus*, as noted by Barker-Benfield regarding John of London's copy, or might be

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[75] The possibility that Paris BnF 873 was marked up for Refectory *lectio publica* is discussed in this thesis on pp. 124-5.
[76] M. Evans, 'An illustrated fragment of Peraldus's Summa of Vice: Harleian MS 3244', *JWCI*, 45 (1982), 14-68, plates 1a to 9e, pp. 43-45.
[77] M. Evans 1982, pp. 43-44.

used 'fillers' to finish off a folio or a quire, such as precepts of the catechism, and their presence cannot be taken as evidence of an 'elementary' school environment.[78]

The Second family bestiary in Canterbury, CCA Lit D. 10 has tick marks and corrections which Clark argues was an indication of school use to practice reading Latin aloud.[79] Yet as Webber notes they also indicate the preparation of a text for reading aloud in a monastic community.[80] This Second family bestiary also has later additions to some of its drawings, such as the colouring in of the crocodile in green and red stripes (rather than the yellow prescribed by the text) and one of the cats has caught a later mouse, additions which seem more fitting for a young user of the book. However, the careful ruling, rubrication, and the very fine quality of some of its drawings, would indicate that it was in the *collectione* of a monk and not originally designed as a schoolbook. This is not to disagree that the bestiary was used in the schoolroom but to point out that it had other primary purposes. Of the bestiaries examined for their connection to Canterbury, only three: BL Additional 11283, Canterbury CCA Lit D. 10, and Oxford, Bodl. Douce 88A have the 'elementary' classroom marks Clark notes, (although the marks in the CCA Lit. D. 10 are not mentioned in her catalogue entry) and all could equally have resulted from preparation to read parts aloud in a monastic setting rather than specifically a classroom one.[81] What glosses can help to show, beyond arguments on the context of classroom or carrel, is how the bestiary was understood within the tradition of exegesis and monastic *sensus spiritualis*, and how new knowledge was compiled.

**Bestiaries and sermons**

How the bestiary contributes to medieval preaching has also been a much debated point in the historiography. The bestiary was already a thousand years old by the thirteenth century, via its connections to the third-century *Physiologus* and the seventh-century *Etymologiae*. It was these links which made it the inheritor and carrier of Late

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[78] BCBB, BA1.*1286, pp. 1303-1305.
[79] Clark 2006, p. 106, n. 81-83.
[80] T. Webber, 'Reading in the Refectory: Monastic Practice in England, c. 1000-c. 1300', John Coffin Memorial Palaeography Lecture, 2010 (London: IES: 2013).
[81] Webber, Refectory, 2010, mostly patristic works but other texts were permitted, such as homilies, p. 35, and saints' lives, p. 45.

Antiquity's theology and thought modes. How then did the bestiary segue from the Desert Fathers' oral culture to the thirteenth-century's proliferation of texts and record-keeping? How did it keep on being useful? One way to examine this question is to consider the changing educational environment, as undertaken by Clark, ranging from the references to the *Physiologus* in the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian to 'quidems' written in a thirteenth-century bestiary.[82] Yet this research does not fully explain the number of bestiaries bound with university texts, nor those found in *collectiones* of individual monks, rather than in schoolbook lists. Carruthers sums up 'Scholars have wondered what function such apparently puerile, unscholarly material might serve to justify its preservation.'[83] Her suggestion is that the bestiary was a vital source for strong visual mnemonics. This thesis links the monastic use of the bestiary to mnemonics, significs, and to the *trivium* as part of the *sensus spiritualis*. Carruthers's thesis that memorization techniques, which used bestiary references, were common within both Late Antiquity in monastic and broader education environments and also much used in preaching seems a sound approach.[84]

Yet for Baxter, it was preaching that led bestiaries to be shelved in monastic libraries with *summae* and *distinctiones* as 'material used as sermon *exempla*'.[85] Moreover, he particularly notes Dom John Morson's detailed work on the use of Second family bestiary references in sermons by St Aelred (thirty-two instances are noted) and two other twelfth-century Cistercians. Morson focused on Cambridge, Cambridge University Library Ii.4.26 with its partial *ex libris* he thought referred to the Lincolnshire Cistercian Revesby Abbey.[86] Baxter sums up the evidence for the importance of the bestiary for preaching as,

> the prime reason adduced in this thesis for the proliferation of bestiaries, [was] namely the production of sermons. . . the occasional use of bestiary imagery for a

[82] Clark 2006, pp. 98-113.

[83] Carruthers *Memory*, 2008, p. 137.

[84] Carruthers *Memory*, 2008, pp. 124-127.

[85] Baxter 1998, p. 209.

[86] Baxter 1998, pp. 192-4, p. 202, p. 209 and p. 212; J. Morson, 'The English Cistercians and the Bestiary', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 39.1 (1956), 146-170, p. 165.

didactic purpose, was, if it happened at all, nothing more than a by-product of this activity.[87]

Clark, however, cautions against assuming the bestiaries' chief *raison d'être* was for adding *exempla* to sermons.[88] Instead, her research suggests that where Morson thought the Second family bestiary was the source, it was often Gregory's *Moralia in Job* which was closer, or the reference could have come from Isidore's *Etymologiae* or the *Aviarium* (other sources included Ambrose and Solinus); in sum, she failed to find even one exclusive match between any sermon cited by Morson and the bestiary, in other words all of Morson's references to bestiary animals could have come from other sources, for example, the *Bible*, Ambrose, *Hexameron* or works by Gregorius I or Hrabanus Maurus.[89] Moreover, as the Second family bestiary was developed only in the last quarter of the twelfth century, the Cistercians would have been using a very new text, and one which they did not later much patronise, although they did support the *Aviarium*, probably written between 1132 and 1152. This would seem to deliver a major blow to both Morton's analysis and Baxter's theory.

Clark's later research has uncovered three examples of bestiary linked sermons: a French bestiary, Paris, BnF lat. 11207 described in a medieval catalogue as 'que valet ad predicandum' (of value for preaching); Oxford, Bodl., Rawlinson C.77, the *collectione* of John Pistor, a Benedictine of St Augustine's Abbey, which has bestiary excerpts bound with sermons; and a text she describes as a set of *distinctiones* for sermon use by Pierre de Limoges which quotes the *Aviarium* and a bestiary (Paris, BnF lat. 15971, fols. 33-44v).[90] This latter work has been considered by Patricia Stewart to be more of a series of *exempla* than *distinctiones* because this combination of 'moralized key facts' do not include Scriptural interpretations which are a feature of *distinctiones*. Stewart also demonstrates that Peter of Limoges (d. 1306) used the *Aviarium* and H bestiary combination (found in for example, Paris, BnF lat. 14429) to forge a new and easy to use listing for composing sermons. He retained the chapter

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[87] Baxter 1998, p. 212.
[88] Clark, 2006, pp. 94-96.
[89] Clark 2006, p. 94; W. B. Clark, 'Twelfth and Thirteenth-Century Latin Sermons and the Latin Bestiary', *Compar(a)isons* 1(1996), 5-19, p. 16-17; Stewart 2014, pp. 129-143.
[90] Clark, 2006, p. 95.

order and information but jettisoned repetitions and added paragraph marks as finding aids to highlight the animal characteristics the preacher could most readily expound, for example the fruitfulness of the Word of God, received through the ear, supposedly as the weasel conceives.[91] This evidence would tend to favour Baxter's argument for sermons, rather than Clark's on 'elementary' education.

As a further example, Jacques de Vitry (d.1240) wrote three instructive sermons to demonstrate how to use the bestiary in preaching on Genesis, specifically on animals, birds and fish. They were written for secular priests rather than for enclosed orders of monks but they indicate how someone engaged in pastoral teaching used the bestiary. His exempla contain bestiary references as well as drawing upon the usual suspects of Isidore, Ambrose, Solinus, Gregory, Augustine, and of course, scriptural allusions and quotations, such as

> Leone et symia, leopardo, serpente, et urso et ursa, et wlpe, quorum exemplo debemus nobis remedia querere: Leo eger symiam deuorat ut sanetur, gallum album ueretur… [92] ['The lion and monkey, leopard, serpent, bear and she-bear, wolf, by example show us how we should seek to be cured. The lion eats a monkey but fears a white rooster….]

As a final example, Cynthia White has demonstrated that the Northumberland Bestiary contains mentions of preaching unique to the bestiary, such as 'On the Dove' (VI.31). These are not quite the same as preaching references but are an indication of how the bestiary might have been used for preaching

> Columba simplex avis est. Felle caret et osculo amorem concitas.
> Ita predicatores carent ira et amaritudine…[93] [The dove is a simple bird, it lacks bile and you arouse it to passion with a kiss. In the same way do preachers lack anger and bitterness.]

Although not a Canterbury manuscript, a Worcester sermon *collectione* (Worcester Q.11) included a sermon on the *perdix*, or partridge.[94] It refers to the bestiary as a source for this sermon as well as using standard biblical references.

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[91] Stewart 2014, p. 138 and p. 141; Clark 2006, pp. 161-162, 'Quidam dicunt eas aure concipere et ore generare'.
[92] Muessig I, 2003, 33-49; Muessig II, 2004, 45-56, p. 49; Clark 2006, p. 122.
[93] C. White 2009, p. ix, pp. 204-5; C. White, 'The Northumberland Bestiary and the Art of Preaching', *Reinardus*, 18 (2005), 167-192.
[94] R. M. Thomson, with M. Gullick, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2001), Worcester Q.11, pp. 124-125.

However, Rawlinson C. 77 does have notes on sermon-writing on the Dove and an unusual collection of bestiary chapters (fols 1-3) which seem to have been put together for his sermons and this is investigated in Chapter Three.

This research serves to demonstrate that while the original sources for the bestiary might be cited, rather than the bestiary, the information in the work itself was excerpted and edited, and used to provide colour and memorability to sermons as aids both to the preacher and his audience, as well as to the teacher and his students. The bestiary was used in examples of sermons by Honorius Augustodunensis and Jacques de Vitry. It also appeared in specific sermons written to be preached to monastic and lay audiences' memorable allegorical, tropological, and spiritual messages were carried by the relevant birds, animals and insects.

**Bestiaries and beasts**

This final strand of historiography examines to what extent bestiaries were about animals and what other 'beast literature' existed in Canterbury. Medieval bestiary and animal studies have been revitalized by renewed interest in the 'animal turn' which includes interaction with contemporary bio-philosophy and bio-politics, a foregrounding of the animal itself, and engagement with humans as animals. Examples include Jacques Derrida's discussion of the boundaries between non-human and human in *The Beast and the Sovereign*, and the special issue of the journal *Postmedieval* guest edited by Karl Steel and Peggy McCracken.[95] Scholars such as Susan Crane, Karl Steel, Peggy McCracken and Sarah Kay have interrogated Latin and French bestiary texts and beast literature to sharpen the focus on the animal involvement, including the animal parchment on which the text is inscribed.[96] These are interesting and scholarly studies that focus on the bestiary as an access point to animals. In essence they foreground 'the furry' as discussed in Susan Crane's work on

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[95] J. Derrida, *The Beast and the Sovereign* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); *Postmedieval*, 2.1 (2011), 'The Animal Turn' ed.by P. McCracken and K. Steel.
[96] S. Kay, 'Surface and Symptom on a Bestiary Page: Orifices on Folios 61v–62r of Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 20' in *Exemplaria*, 26 (2014), 127-147. S. Crane, *Animal Encounters Contacts and Concepts in Medieval Britain* (University Park, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012).

animal encounters, as well as the finned, the feathered, the fierce and the frail animals recorded in the bestiary.[97]

In her article on the Stag of BL Additional 11283, the earliest extant Second family bestiary, Crane constructs a taxonomy in the chapter of this Second family bestiary, as a listing of seven attributes that problematizes the animal as a site for physical description, wonder, moralization, metaphor; the binary of human *ratio* and non-human lack, and anthropomorphism. She lists these seven ways of seeing the stag that leap from the patristic to Linnaeus, from the anonymous 'bestiarist' to Derrida and Lacan and Jeffrey J. Cohen describes her book as

> directed towards the medieval past, intimates new modes of environmental enmeshment and a densely cross-temporal ethics of encounter [98]

This 'cross-temporal ethics of encounter' is not so much putting the beast back into the bestiary as freeing it from all historical bindings to forge a relevancy with current modes of thought on the human/animal divide; it is exciting and horizon-expanding but does not discuss the bestiary as a text, nor the codicology, palaeography, and cultural geography of the manuscript (BL Additional 11283). This article's search for the animal recalls the beast-hunting of bestiary animals an older strand of bestiary studies found in Druce, George and Yapp.[99] The taxonomy given in the article does not takes account of the *Physiologus*'s arrangements of vice and virtues; nor the changes to Genesis ordering that the inclusion of Isidore's *Etymologiae* brought to the Second family bestiary which are important placing this bestiary within the setting of wider monastic studies. It is the imagined animal which is her primary focus rather than the communities which imagined it and produced, owned, or read this manuscript. Other environmental historians are contextualising their animal studies. They explore contradictory, contiguous and contested, interactive relations with

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[97] S. Crane, 'A Bestiary's Taxonomy of Creatures', Crane, 2012, pp. 69-100.

[98] J. J. Cohen's website: <http://www.inthemedievalmiddle.com/2014/02/susan-crane-animal-encounters.html#sthash.5eBAGGA3.dpuf> [ accessed 5 March 2015].

[99] G. Druce, 'The Amphisbaena and its Connections in Ecclesiastical Art and Architecture', *Archaeological Journal*, 67 (1910), 285-317, p. 303; W. George, B. Yapp, *The Naming of Beasts: Natural History in the Medieval Bestiary* (London: Duckworth, 1991) criticized by W. Clark for its 'total neglect of the cultural and intellectual context in which bestiaries were produced.' 'Review', *Speculum,* 68 (1993), 787-789 at p. 787.

every kind of beast in all types of environments. This includes examining human and animal memories, identities, communities, boundaries and liminalities in specific locations and timeframes.[100] Reading the 'real' animal through the bestiary is problematic because, as Erica Fudge puts it, 'Reading about animals is always reading through humans.' [101]

Bestiaries give access to the words used for animals and through this vocabulary we encounter the medieval mirror on nature. There is no direct access to the stag but there is to the medieval monastic community's viewpoints on and visualisations of the animal – which we can partially reconstruct and re-imagine while the animal remains elusive. It is the book which is the time-machine not the animal, taking us to stags attacking snakes and eating dittany, not because stags do either of these things but because when they are imagined as doing so they can become symbols for the Resurrection and thus a vital trope in medieval monastic culture of the *sensus spiritualis*. Privileging the animal over the context of the bestiary's medieval manuscript production and reception is appealing in that imagines access to a 'history' of the animal. Despite its lack of emphasis on the manuscript witness, Crane's article remains a rich drawing together of strands of medieval thought focused on the stag.

Sarah Kay's recent article uses Said's work to produce receptive and resistant readings of the bestiary. She explores the *liber bestiarum* as a work that excludes subjected and marginalized animals even when writing about them, to concentrate on the 'definition of 'the human' as philological'.[102] She brings in not only Agamben's 'anthropological machine' of human history but also Derrida's separation of human from other animals from Eden and the naming (and thus owning) of the

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[100] K. Jones, 'From Big Bad Wolf to Ecological Hero: *Canis Lupus* and the Culture(s) of Nature in the American-Canadian West,' *American Review of Canadian Studies* 40/3 (2010), 338-350; Donna Haraway, 'SF: String Figures, Multispecies Muddles, Staying with the Trouble' paper given at 'Contemporary Animals' Conference at School of Advanced Studies, London, October, 2012.
[101] E. Fudge, *Perceiving Animals: Humans and Beasts in Early Modern English Culture* (London: MacMillan, 2000), p. 93.
[102] S. Kay, 'Man, philology and the ends in medieval bestiaries', *Postmedieval*, 5 (2014), 473-485, p. 474.

animals by Adam. Her argument is to draw on animals also mentioned in the Apocalypse (e.g. the Lamb, and the dragon) to explore this 'space of exception' where animals though dumb are also privileged conveyors of meaning 'via etymology'.[103]

Neither Lubac's nor Ohly's work on scriptural exegesis are mentioned by Kay, and the argument, a lucid and thorough understanding of the medieval marginalization of the animal, concentrates on the bestiary as depicting real rather than imaginary and/or symbolic animals, which are robbed of their voices by being named and owned. So her argument for 'subjected' animals is perhaps weakened by some of bestiary animals only being imaginary (such as the Phoenix, Manticore, and Siren - regarded as such in the medieval period). The fuzzy and variable Agamben 'space of exception' is still a binary separation of human from animal and does not account for the wealth of life forms in nature. Furthermore, humans have animal inhabitants too. Recognition of human/animal similarities rather than differences and a sharing of the world might be a more fruitful argument, as it was espoused by medieval monks Nigel Wireker and by Michael of Northgate.[104] Nigel in his *Speculum Stultorum* emphasises the humanity of his beast of burden, the ass Burnellus; Michael of Northgate imagines men as worms that yet might be made angels.

Kay emphasises bestiaries followed Revelations and Augustinian path of human redemption. However, she criticises this standpoint, as animals are 'exiled' and silenced.[105] To censure a work for not being about what we think it should be is inappropriate. Foregrounding the animal in a medieval work concerned with unveiling God's purpose is to risk losing the medieval context; and that period's fluid understanding of animals, nature and supernature.[106] Nevertheless, as complex sites of tension, meaning and liminality in various medieval texts and images, depictions of animals inform our cultural history. Page's article on the goodness of Creation;

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[103] Kay, 'Philology', 2014, p. 483.
[104] Nigel Wireker, *Speculum Stultorum*; Michael of Northgate, 'Namore ne is betuene ane manne and ane beste', BL Arundel 57, fol. 96v.
[105] Kay, p. 476, p. 482.
[106] Bartlett, 2008, p. 24.

Buellens's work on animals as Victorine similitudes; and zooarchaeological studies all demonstrate the wealth of medieval relationships with animals.[107]

For an example of how animals mean in context, Jill Mann's work on medieval beast literature presented a tightly argued case on specific works over time, ranging from fable, to beast poem and beast epic and to a lesser extent, on the bestiary, not so much foregrounding the animal as grounding its usage in the range of texts. Mann considers the bestiary plays a part in medieval 'beast literature', a term which she has used to form a productive argument on the 'connaturality' of man and animal principally in beast poems, fables and epics.[108] Unlike other beast literature, the bestiary frames its information on animals in short individual chapters rather than continuous narrative, or poetry, and nor do its animals speak; so its structure is very different from fable or epic and how it means differs from other beast literature. It is Mann's book which gets closest to Canterbury in her focus on the *Speculum Stultorum*.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has examined aspects of the relevant historiography concerning the bestiary and its context and sought to place this study of Canterbury bestiaries within the key debates. In particular the chapter has highlighted the *sensus spiritualis* as an important aspect of how the bestiary was used in Canterbury as part of the monastic didactic culture, something under-researched or criticised in bestiary literature. With the exception of Baxter and Stewart's work, bestiary studies are pursued primarily still for the beauty of their illuminated versions, rather than studied as an integral part of monastic culture, which was the case in Canterbury as this study will argue.

This chapter has engaged with the scholarly debates on the bestiary as an educative tool, sermonizing, animal images in Canterbury. In the debate on images, the

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[107] S. Page, 'Good Creation and Demonic Illusions: The Medieval Universe of Creatures' pp. 27-58, p. 57; and, P. Beullens, 'Like a Book Written by God's Finger: Animals Showing the Path toward God', pp. 127-152, both in *A Cultural History of Animals in the Medieval Age*, ed. by L. Kalof and B. Resl, 2, Cultural History of Animals series (Oxford: Berg, 2011); *Breaking and Shaping Beastly Bodies: Animals as Material Culture in the Middle Ages*, ed. A. Pluskowski (Oxford: Oxbow, 2007.

[108] Mann 2009, p. 1, 'Beast literature'.

chapter has tended to foreground the allegory of the fourfold senses to read material objects associated with bestiary animals while acknowledging that the meanings might be destabilized by radical changes in context. On the debate as to whether the bestiary was an 'elementary' school book, evidence from Canterbury favours more of an individual study rather than classroom approach. On sermons, there is now more evidence for direct bestiary influence. This thesis also proposes that there is no binary contrast between the bestiary as a text for sermons and a text for study. The bestiary was not only formulated as a series of didactic lessons for a monastic community (as the evidence of Peter Damian's work confirms). It was also taken up as part of the monastic reform which looked to strengthen pastoral preaching by monks, as the *Speculum Ecclesiae* of Honorius demonstrates. This mission was the original task set by St Augustine for his Christ Church cathedral community (as opposed to the monastery and royal necropolis outside the city walls).

Finally, this thesis reads the history of the bestiary as a text grounded in grammar and allegoresis. Its descriptions of animals are used to portray human or divine traits. This makes the beast the carrier of human emotions as well as the bearers of spiritual meaning. The development of the *Physiologus* by adding parts of the *Etymologiae* indicates how bestiaries were being shaped and re-shaped to approach this understanding of difference. In this process of transmission and renewal the monks connected and affected related manuscripts, material culture and contemporary viewpoints. Mapping juxtapositions in extant manuscripts with links to Canterbury thus allows the importance of the bestiary and it changes over time to be reassessed, the topic of the next chapter.[109]

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[109] S. Kelly, R. Perry, "Citizens of Saints': Creating Christian Community in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 23', ed. by N. Rice, *Middle English Religious Writing in Practice: Texts, Readers, and Transformations*, Late Medieval and Early Modern Studies, 21 (Turnout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 215-237, p. 215 on 'how books perform and materialize contemporary attitudes'.

## Chapter 2
The bestiary in Canterbury: assessing the catalogue evidence

C hrist Church Cathedral Priory and St Augustine's Abbey were twin foundations of early seventh century Canterbury. Later both became major medieval Benedictine houses and the former remains the Mother Church of England.[1] This research aims to draw out the importance of the bestiary both to these powerful and prestigious medieval monastic communities and also to their individual monks. As the first stage of this process this chapter gathers and analyses the references to bestiaries and related works in the contents of Canterbury medieval monastic library listings and catalogues for Canterbury Christ Church and for St Augustine's Abbey. This includes references to extant bestiaries in the library catalogues.

I start with an account of the various materials on which this analysis of bestiary references in Canterbury is based. As Michael Gorman has pointed out, there are many sorts of evidence which contain information about medieval books but which may not be termed catalogues.[2] For example, they might have been something akin to 'wish lists' - titles of books the writer knew of and may have wanted to read rather than actually possessed, such as the ninth-century list in the eighth-century Rome, BAV Lat 210 which Michael Gorman thinks refers to Canterbury books.[3] Rosamond McKitterick has recently pointed out that the Leiden *Glossaries*' reference to Theodore does not mean the books mentioned in the *Glossaries* came from Canterbury, someone might merely have known of

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[1] N. Brooks 1984, pp. 3-14 on St Augustine's mission of 597, updated in Brooks *Charters*, 2013, pp. 3-27. D. Farmer, 'St Augustine's Life and Legacy', Gem 1997, pp. 15-33, pp. 20-21; BCBB, p. xlix notes St Dunstan added St Augustine's name in 978, so the Abbey was later known as St Augustine's.

[2] Michael Gorman, 'The Oldest Lists of Latin Books', *Scriptorium*, 58, (2004), 48-63, p. 48..

[3] Ibid, pp. 57-58; there are errors in the numbering of the eight (not nine) catalogued items in this article.

Theodore's teaching; similarly the references in Rome, BAV Lat 210 may also have been written down elsewhere.[4] In addition to such problematic evidence of early location and ownership, there are notes of bequests, reading lists, schoolbook lists, book repair lists, notes on borrowings, inventories, and stock lists. Again, not all of these necessarily indicated actual or complete holdings; and where they did, the information they contained became out-dated when the books were subsequently borrowed or taken, or new books were donated.

All the Canterbury booklists relied upon in this thesis are termed medieval catalogues by the *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues* (CBMLC).[5] The St Augustine's Abbey library's chief witness (Dublin, Trinity College 360) is an untitled late fifteenth-century amended transcript (c. 1495) of a fourteenth-century library catalogue.[6] None of the other various additional St Augustine's Abbey book lists, for example William Thorne's *Chronicle* or Thomas Elmham's history, *Speculum Augustinianum*, mention any bestiaries or related items.[7]

The main Christ Church Cathedral Priory library catalogue forms part of an early fourteenth-century inventory of monastery property ordered by Prior Henry of Eastry, the Priory's most able administrator.[8] The inventory (now in London BL Cotton Galba IV) includes a book list, *Tituli Librorum de Libraria ecclesie Christi Cant., et contenta in eisdem libris, tempore h [enrici de Estria] prioris* (fols. 128r-147r), the 'Eastry catalogue'. It contains references to 'something near 1,850' books, according to M.

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[4] R. McKitterick, 'Glossaries and Other Innovations in Carolingian Book Production' in *Turning over a New Leaf*, ed. E. Kwakkel, Leiden, 2012, pp.21-78.

[5] Sharpe, *Latin Writers*, 2001, partly replaced by beta version of MGLB3, <http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/> [accessed 7 June, 2015].

[6] TCD 360 has a modern edition: *St Augustine's Abbey Canterbury Catalogue*, ed. by B. Barker-Benfield, 3 (London: British Library, 2008), pp. 372-1615 (BA1.1-1837.3, plus missing entries reconstructed from cross-references M1838-1849, pp. 1701-1715), cited as BCBB. St Augustine Abbey references in this thesis are from this edition.

[7] BCBB, Table 1, p. lvii, BCBB BA3 – BA3.20, pp. 1622-1640; William Thorne's *Chronicle of St Augustine's Abbey Canterbury*, trans. by A. H. Davis (Oxford, 1934); BCBB BA5 – B5.11, pp. 1645-1667, T. Elmham *Speculum Augustinianum*, Cambridge, Trinity Hall, 1; T. Elmham, *Historia monasterii S. Augustini cantuariensis*, ed. by Charles Hardwick, RS 8 (London: Longman, 1858).

[8] M. E. Mate, 'Eastry, Henry (*d.* 1331)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37531> [accessed 7 June, 2015].

R. James, although many volumes contained more than one text.[9] James considered it a 'carelessly made' copy of the exemplar as it lacks incipits and cross-references.[10] It was edited by M. R. James in 1903 in *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (cited as *ALCD* throughout this thesis) and his work on Christ Church Priory library catalogue has yet to be superseded, although CMBLC has begun putting the Eastry catalogue on-line and currently has 849 entries.[11] References to Christ Church Priory books appear in other (much shorter) lists which M. R. James included in his 1903 edition. For example, the first confirmed booklist is a fragment listing 223 books dating from between 1170 and 1180.[12] These were possibly schoolbooks as there are multiple copies of basic texts, e.g. five copies of Priscian, *Institutiones Grammaticae*. The list is in an early twelfth-century Christ Church copy of Boethius, *De arithmetica, De musica* (Cambridge, CUL Ii.3.12, fols. 135r-137r).[13] Shelfmarks peculiar to each book are noted in it and these marks have allowed a number of Christ Church books to be identified (for example a copy of Orosius, now TCC O.4.34, has 'BY' on its top right-hand corner of fol. 1r).[14] A second list contained choir books stored in the cloister which James included the main Eastry catalogue in *ALCD*.[15] These medieval catalogues and lists represent book holdings at the specific points in time when they were drawn up while their amendments show historic accretions and losses with varying but acceptable degrees of accuracy and completeness. However, only Eastry's catalogue contains specific references to bestiaries and related texts. The other nine book

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[9] *ALCD*, p. xxxvi; his catalogue is numbered up to 1,831.

[10] *ALCD*, p. xliii.

[11] *ALCD*: the Christ Church Cathedral Priory library catalogues are discussed on pp. xii-xiv, xxxv-xliv, the listings are on pp. 3-172; Eastry catalogue pp. 13-142. CMBLC keeps *ALCD* numbers and adds a prefix for each separate list in preparation for the modern edition, <http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/authortitle/medieval_catalogues/BC4/> [accessed 7 June, 2015].

[12] Reproduced in *ALCD* pp. 3-6.

[13] *ALCD* pp. 7-12; CMBLC reference prefix: BC1; Binski, Zutshi, 2011, pp. 22-23 date CUL Ii.3.12 to s. xii 2/3, fols. 1-147, 291 x 198 mm, ruled in plummet, 31-3 lines, writing above top line. Gameson, 1995, notes artists G, J, and K drew its decorated initials. CUL Ii.3.12 is identified as BC4.354, *ALCD* p. 52, p. 509 (and possibly BC1.40, *ALCD* p. 505).

[14] *ALCD* BC4.221, p. 508.

[15] The list of choir books (BC2. 324-380) *ALCD* p. 51-52; and a list of philosophy, history and modern authors, c. 1225 (BC3)

lists, which includes William Ingram's list of books in the chained Upper Library of 1508, do not.[16]

Eastry's catalogue names some of the donors whose names can be correlated with other biographical data gathered by Greatrex in her *Biographical Register* for Christ Church Cathedral Priory.[17] This is then used to form an understanding of individual monks' book collections and to find out about their use of the bestiary and related texts. New research by Tessa Webber and Sheila Sweetinburgh adds to our knowledge of the use of books as material objects outside of worship and study in the cathedral, library and cloister. Webber has investigated monastic practices outlined in the custumals for performance (and reading) the liturgy and for other readings, for example monastic processions with books to the Refectory and to the Chapter House.[18] Similarly, such rituals as praying in the monks' cemetery after meal times emphasise that 'the social memory of Christ Church monks was constructed through the things that had been given, touched, and used by their predecessors.'[19] This evidence emphasises the communal nature of the monastic book collections and makes the bestiary, also a part of the monastic intellectual and spiritual way of life.

The incipits (and sometimes the *secundo folio*) may help to identify the type of bestiary listed. This more detailed data can be then be compared to other references or extant volumes. For example, borrowing records give additional information on readership (such as names and some dates) but whereas M. R.

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[16] The other lists are as follow: 5. Inventory in Prior Eastry's register, 1331, from CCA Lit E.37 (BC5), *ALCD* pp. 143-145; 6. List of missing books of 1337 (BC6), *ALCD* pp. 146-149; 7. Prior Chillenden's bequest, 1411 *ALCD* pp. 150-151 (BC7); 8. William Ingram's list of books repaired in 1508 (BC8), *ALCD* pp. 152-164; 9. Select list of texts seen by Leland, 1536 x 1540 (BC9), *ALCD* p. 499; and lastly 10. Canterbury College, Oxford list from 1524 (to which no CMBLC prefix has yet given) *ALCD* pp. 165-172.

[17] J. Greatrex, *Biographical register of the English Cathedral Priories of the province of Canterbury, c.1066-1450* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997)

[18] T. Webber, 'Monastic Space and the Use of Books in Anglo-Norman England', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 36, Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2013, (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2014), 221-240.

[19] S. Sweetinburgh, 'Remembering the Dead at Dinnertime', ed. by T. Hamling and C. Richardson, *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings*, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 257-266, p. 264.

James thought they were of little interest, Barker-Benfield has been able to identify the beginnings of the of the late thirteenth century resurgence of intellectual life in St Augustine's Abbey by matching the increase in bequests and borrowers' names to other dated evidence, such as the Custumal.[20] It is not just the specific book (and bestiary) placement and classification which may be derived from the catalogue but the whole context of the monastic library holdings and the medieval scholarship it contained.

**Widening the definition of bestiary references in the catalogues**

References to works which are less easily defined as bestiaries are discussed in this chapter even where the entry is not specific. These works might be excerpts or *exempla* from a bestiary, or some combination of bestiary and *Aviarium* text. As Bruce Barker-Benfield notes, the categorization of bestiaries appears to have been rather fluid.[21] Expanding the range of bestiary references matches the decision to widen the scope for extant works linked to bestiaries, for if such fluidity was not a problem to the medieval compilers, it does not make sense to impose our own ideas of exclusivity upon their works.

Widening the parameters of bestiary definitions means ten entries are discussed for St Augustine's Abbey rather than the seven Barker-Benfield lists. However, expanding the category of bestiaries to include bestiaries combined with the associated *Aviarium*, and excerpts from both, does not include other author's texts on animals and nature, even if they are described in a similar fashion. Thus *De animalibus* refers to the zoological works of Aristotle; *De naturis rerum* by Alexander Neckam (sometimes abbreviated in the booklists to *De naturis*); Hrabanus Maurus's *De universo seu de naturis rerum* (naturally also sometimes referred to as just *De naturis rerum*); and Isidore of Seville's *De natura rerum* are not included. This serves to illustrate possible problems of identification. For example, 'Ade,

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[20] BCBB, p. 68-9.
[21] BCBB, BA1.1564, 'The fluidity of such texts makes them hard to define', p. 1479.

Prioris' (possibly Adam de Chillenden, d. 1274) at Christ Church, Canterbury, owned *De animalibus* and *De anima*), both are works by Aristotle.[22]

**Concordance of Canterbury bestiaries and associated works**

Before Barker-Benfield's edition of the catalogue was published only two extant bestiaries had been conclusively linked to St. Augustine's; the first by Douce in the early nineteenth century (BA1.870a, Oxford, Bodl. Douce 88E); and the second by Omont at the start of the twentieth (BA1.758d, Paris, BnF NAL 873).[23] In addition, Barker-Benfield confirmed that a fragment of an unillustrated second-family bestiary (now Oxford, Bodl. MS Rawlinson C.77) matches the St Augustine's Abbey medieval catalogue entry BA1.1564b, and bestiary excerpts in Bodl. MS Auct. F. inf. 1.3, (SC 2747) and Worcester Cathedral Q56 have been matched with incipits listed for BA1.755.

In all cases, the CBMLC *List of Identifications* have been checked against the entries from *ALCD*, Greatrex's *Biographical Register* and Ron Baxter's *Bestiaries and their Users in the Middle Ages* to establish the maximum amount of information for each entry.[24] As the CBMLC has only just begun work on the Christ Church Cathedral Priory Canterbury catalogue, there may be more confirmed provenances to come, which might include, as this thesis posits, Oxford Bod. Laud Misc. 247 and BL Stowe 1067. The implications of these findings for the impact of the bestiary on Canterbury monastic culture are then discussed in the Chapters Four and Five of this thesis.

## Section 1: Christ Church Cathedral Priory

**The establishment of the Christ Church Cathedral Priory book collection**

Both Christ Church Cathedral Priory and St Augustine's Abbey probably produced books from their inception in the early seventh century as, like all religious

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[22] *ALCD*, BC4. 603, p. 69, probably *De Anima* by Aristotle, *Latin Writers*, p. 71; BC4. 604, *ALCD* p.70, *De animalibus, Latin Writers*, p. 75 'The title covers a standard collection of Aristotle's zoological works in 19 or 21 books'.
[23] F. Madan, *Summary Catalogue*,4 (SC 21662 for Douce 88), pp. 516-7.
[24] Baxter 1998; map, p. 171, 'based on evidence from survivals and booklists', p. 170, differs from his appendix, pp. 217-222.

institutions, they needed books for devotion as well as for study. R. M. Thomson considers 'library' too specific a term for what were in the Anglo-Saxon period little more than book collections for worship in the cathedral, for reading aloud in the refectory or rumination upon in the cloisters.[25] There are few survivals from this time; the earliest extant Canterbury work, the magnificent *Codex Aureus*, dates from c.750, considerably after the establishment of the famous Canterbury School by Archbishop Theodore and Abbot Hadrian. Nevertheless, Nicholas Brooks thought that 'Latinity… lingered on' although there is little evidence for sustained Christ Church book production until the mid-tenth century.[26]

M. R. James did not consider St Dunstan made any particular contribution to book production but Nigel Ramsay argues that the saint, who was archbishop of Canterbury from 959 until his death in Canterbury in 988, 'encouraged' both a library and a scriptorium, as he had organised in Glastonbury.[27] The Dunstan's monastic and didactic reforms led to continued book production. As Gameson points out, in all over forty Christ Church books survive from the period between 960 and around 1010. This increase in extant Christ Church books from the time of St Dunstan implies he was more proactive than M. R. James suggested.[28]

These strong foundations were subsequently built upon by Lanfranc (1070-1089) and then by Anselm (1093-1109). The fire at Christ Church in 1067 and very different Norman ideas on what a monastic library should hold also necessitated the making of new books. Thus the choice and number of books to be produced

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[25] R. M. Thomson, 'The Norman Conquest and English Libraries', *The Role of the Book in Medieval Culture: Proceedings of the Oxford International Symposium, 26 September-1 October 1982*, ed. by P. Ganz (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), pp. 27-40, p. 28.

[26] *The Codex Aureus: An Eighth-Century Gospelbook: Stockholm, Kungliga Bibliotek, A. 135*, ed. by R. Gameson, (Copenhagen: 2002), p. 17; Gameson, 'Millennium', 2000; Gorman, pp. 48-63; M. Lapidge *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995); R. McKitterick, 'Glossaries and Other Innovations in Carolingian Book Production', Kwakkel *Leaf*, 2012, pp. 21-78; Brooks, *Canterbury*, 1984, p. 99.

[27] *ALCD* p. xxiv; N. Ramsay, 'Cathedral Archives and Library', *Canterbury Cathedral*, pp. 341–407, pp. 343-4; N. Ramsay, M. Sparks, *The Image of Saint Dunstan* (Canterbury: Dunstan Millennium Committee, 1988), pp. 16-24; J. Rosenthal, 'The Pontifical of St Dunstan', *St Dunstan: his Life, Times and Cult*, ed. by N. Ramsay, M. Sparks and T. Tatton-Brown (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992), pp. 143-164.

[28] Ramsay, 'Library', *Canterbury Cathedral*, pp. 343-4.

was widened by Lanfranc, who also insisted in his *Constitutions* that all the monks read books. Both Lanfranc and Anselm were ardent Benedictine reformers who improved the priory library, which also received their bequeathed books. Extant books bear Lanfranc's corrections as evidence of his involvement, although the day-to-day management of the library was under the control of the precentor and, above him, the prior.

Despite the considerable evidence for the production of high quality books at the Cathedral in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, neither Anselm nor Lanfranc included specific spaces designated for either a library or a scriptorium in their ambitious plans for the Cathedral priory (fig. 2.01). Instead, one side of Lanfranc's spacious cloisters were used for writing, with carrels curtained off to provide suitable workspaces. The cloisters were also furnished with chests and cupboards as book storage. Josephus, *De bello iudaico*, Cambridge St John's A8, fol. 103v has an early twelfth-century scribal portrait of a monk named Samuel and scene of scribal copying in the cloisters, most reminiscent of the twelfth century columns in Christ Church Infirmary Cloister (fig. 2.02). The evidence for a library or a bookroom prior to the Upper Library, built in 1444, is dependent upon entries in Henry of Eastry's catalogue of 1326, references in the cathedral registers, and indications from some standing archaeological remains.  The reason this thesis discusses the physical placement of the books, including bestiaries is because the bestiary is considered as a material object which requires contextualisation in terms of place, space and history. Furthermore, its contents were an intrinsic part of monastic culture, worship, and study, tied into the legacy and communal memory of Christ Church Cathedral Priory. This is why the built space is explored in this detail.

**The Passageway Bookstore, the Old Library, and the later Upper Library**

M. R. James and C. E. Woodruff both refused to speculate where the earliest Christ Church Library or bookroom was situated.[29] However, William Hope, Tim

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[29] *ALCD* pp. xliii-iv; C. E. Woodruff, W. Danks, *Memorials of the Cathedral & Priory of Christ in Canterbury* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1912), p. 380.

Tatton- Brown, Nigel Ramsay, and Margaret Sparks all place it near the Chapter House.[30] The obvious space for it was originally an open passageway leading from the south-east corner of the cloister (between the Chapter House and the north-west transept of the cathedral) to the infirmary and cemetery (fig. 2.03). It was roofed over to form a long, narrow, not quite rectangular room (the walls were not parallel) some 25 feet long by 9 feet wide (c. 8m x 3m) possibly around 1160 to 1170, although the event went unrecorded.[31] M. R. James dates the fragmentary earliest booklist written on the last three leaves of a copy of Boethius *Musica et Arithmetica* (now Cambridge CUL Ms Ii. 3.12) to ca.1170, so its use as a bookroom probably began in the 1160s and continued until the mid-fifteenth century.

M. R. James clearly considered Prior Eastry responsible for the completion of a 'special room' even though he did not locate it. He surmises from headings in Prior Henry of Eastry's catalogue that the bookroom consisted of a space with two *Demonstratio* or displays, with runs of bookcases (called *Distinctio*) which probably faced each other on the long sides of a roughly rectangular room, set against its walls with these bookcases divided into shelves or *Gradus*.[32] The books of the first *Demonstratio* up to BC4.502 consisted mainly of pre-1170 books shelved and catalogued in subject order, while the rest of the books in this first display and the books in the cases of the second *Demonstratio* may have also been in a similar subject order but were catalogued and numbered in order of bequest. The second run of shelving begins with book number 783 (BC4.782), the first of Thomas Becket's books.

**The Old Library**

Other Benedictine Abbeys, such as those at Winchester and Gloucester, had new libraries constructed above passageways in the later Middle Ages.[33] Tatton-Brown

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[30] J. Wickham Legg, W. H. St. John Hope, *Inventories of Christchurch Canterbury* (Westminster: Constable, 1902), p. 144; T. Tatton-Brown, 'The Christ Church Medieval Library', *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicles* (1988), 35-41; Ramsay, 'Library', p.357; M. Sparks, *Canterbury Cathedral Precincts: A historical survey* (Canterbury: Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, 2007), pp. 16-17.

[31] Sparks, *Precincts*, p. 16; Ramsay, 'Cathedral Library', p. 350.

[32] *ALCD*, pp. xliv.

[33] T. Tatton-Brown, 'Medieval Library', p. 35.

contends that the Christ Church books of the first *Demonstratio* remained on the ground floor in the passageway (with the volumes placed on their sides since only three or four books seem to be allocated to each *gradus* or shelf) while the second *Demonstratio* was upstairs and starts with Thomas Becket's books.[34] He also considers an upper storey to the passageway could have existed from the twelfth century before it was re-modeled during Henry of Eastry's priorate.[35] Prior Wibert's 'waterworks' plan, (TCC R.17.1) which Sparks dates to ca. 1165, indicates a large round quatrefoil window with a narrow window on each side of it in an upper storey gable-end which would have let in considerable light (fig. 2.04). [36] This evidence would tend to support Tatton-Brown's thesis of an upper storey library.[37]

Repairs to the Chapter House were ordered by Prior Eastry (and recorded in 1304-5).The work on the Chapter House might have affected either or both the ground and upper floors of the adjacent rooms and probably entailed the removal of the books for a period from the old passageway. Standing archaeological evidence in the passage of 'three wide and shallow fourteenth century recesses with segmental heads… probably made to contain bookcases' was noticed by William H. St. John Hope in 1902.[38] Margaret Sparks dated these recesses to c.1300 and noted the evidence was removed by Sir Arthur Blomfield in1896.[39] However, part of one of the arches can still be glimpsed. This is an indication that the library was refurbished after the Chapter House repairs. The ideal time to re-catalogue the books would then have been their return when the building work was finished. It was in 1315 that Eastry began his inventory of Christ Church property

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[34] T. Tatton-Brown, 'Medieval Library', p. 37.

[35] ibid.

[36] Sparks, Precincts, p. 17; F. Woodman, 'The Waterworks Drawings of the Eadwine Psalter', *The Eadwine Psalter: Text, Image, and Monastic Culture in Twelfth-Century Canterbury*, ed. by M. Gibson, T. A. Heslop, and R. W. Pfaff, (London; University Park: MHRA, Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), pp. 168-177, p. 175, either 1153-67 or before 1170; P. Fergusson, *Canterbury Cathedral Priory in the Age of Becket* (New Haven: 2011), p. 3, the prior's obit credits him with the waterworks after Archbishop Theobald's gift of the springs in 1155, which indicates 1165.

[37] Sparks, p. 6; 'Plan 1: The Great Cloister and Adjoining Buildings', p. 12, marks the three recesses in the north wall of the Slype.

[38] Legg & Hope, *Inventories*, p. 144.

[39] Sparks, p. 16.

(now part of BL Cotton Galba IV) which included the library books, and had the books press-marked; additions continued to the list until 1326.[40]

Nigel Ramsay has remarked on the lack of extant books which date from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the 'over-representation' of late-eleventh and twelfth century works.[41] One answer might be the loss of a substantial quantity of books in the higher-numbered ranges of the second *Demonstratio*, if they were indeed housed on the first floor, after the earthquake of 1382 which left the cloisters and Chapter House in a 'ruinous and dangerous' state and the Library possibly in need of a new roof.[42]

Christ Church used 'libraria' to describe this space for books. One of the registers from Prior Eastry's time (CCA Register J, f.514), contains a reference that the sacrist's servant should be given a loaf and half a gallon of small beer for carrying books from the library ('*de libraria*') to the Chapter House for the yearly inspection.[43] Using '*libraria*' rather than '*armaria*' indicates a library rather than cupboards. Earlier, Archbishop Hubert Walter (1193-1207) confirmed a grant from ca. 1150 made by Archbishop Theobald of the benefice profits of Halstow near Sittingbourne to Christ Church monks for the 'emendation and repair of the books of their library' (*Chartae Antiquae* CCA H.91). Ramsay notes entries in CCA Register G (fol. 77v (1349), fol. 82v (1348) and fols.110v-111 (1349) all mention the library was next to the Chapter House. If the monastic records use the word library, then that would indicate they considered this space to be an area where books were not only stored but read or browsed.

The library did not include a writing area. Christ Church never had a specific scriptorium (or writing workshop) nor was that unusual, for many monasteries lacked a dedicated space. Woodruff describes how later part of the cloister was

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[40] London, BL Cotton Galba E. IV, 'Ornamenta ecclesiatica in vestiariis Ecclesiae Christi Cantuariae. Ao 1315', fol. 112; 'Textus et reliquiae in Ecclesiae Christi Cantuar. eodem anno.' fol. 122; ' Tituli librorum de libraria Ecclesiae Christi Cantuar. et contenta in eiusdem libris' fols. 128 - 147.' The booklist has additions to 1326.
[41] Ramsay, 'Library', p. 358.
[42] T. Tatton-Brown, 'Medieval Library', p. 41 and adjacent plan on p. 40.
[43] Woodruff, Danks, *Memorials*, p. 379.

probably used as a scriptorium with the lockable book cupboards against the inner wall.[44] From Lanfranc's time every monk was issued a book each year and if he failed to read it he was to 'fall on his face, confess his fault and entreat forgiveness'.

**Canterbury College and the Upper Library**

In 1331 Canterbury College was founded and books from Christ Church were moved to Oxford to set up the college library, beginning a slow, piecemeal loss of possibly up to half the book stock that continued to the Reformation, according to Christopher de Hamel.[45] He also mentions a bestiary noted by Pantin, sent by Prior Goldstone with fourteen other books to Robert Holyngbourne in 1495, which he thinks might be CCA Lit. D. 10, but for no other reason than this thirteenth century bestiary is now in Canterbury Cathedral Archives.[46] Finally, Prior Henry Chichele left money for a library to be constructed over the Prior's Chapel (and money for its books) which was finished in 1444. Ingram's detailed list of lost books, or those in need of repair, drawn up in 1508, refers to books in this Upper library, which had chained books.[47] The upper storey of the passageway may have been destroyed in 1448 on the reconstruction of the north transept of the cathedral after the completion of Chichele's new library in 1444, as Sparks suggests. [48] A chained library would not hold many books, and indeed de Hamel and Ker think Ingram's list of 293 may have been the total, although Ramsay thinks it would have held over three hundred volumes.[49] It seems likely that the Old Library continued in use, with the various *armaria* in the cloisters, vestry, and refectory. The books which were dispersed among the prebends and local families in the period from 1535 to 1570 may have come from these places.

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[44] Woodruff and Danks, *Memorials*, p. 382; M. Beazeley, *History of the Chapter Library of Canterbury Cathedral: Expanded from a Paper Read Before the Bibliographical Society*, March 19, 1906, (London: Bibliographical Society: 1906), p. 18; Ramsay, 'Cathedral Library', p. 350.

[45] C. de Hamel, 'The dispersal of the library of Christ Church, Canterbury, from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century', *Books and Collectors, 1200–1700: Essays presented to Andrew Watson*, ed. by J. P. Carley, C. G. C. Tite (London: British Library, 1997), pp. 263–279, p. 264; Ramsay, p. 362.

[46] De Hamel, 'Dispersal', 1997, p. 264, p. 275, n. 16; W. Pantin, *Canterbury College: Documents and History*, 4 (Oxford: Oxford Historical Society, 1941-1985), 1, pp. 84-88.

[47] Sparks, *Precincts*, p. 36; de Hamel, p. 269; Ramsay, p. 364.

[48] Sparks, p. 16.

[49] De Hamel, 'Dispersal', 1997, p. 270, and p. 276, n. 29.

This concludes the points on the documentary and standing archaeological evidence raised in order to consider the arguments over the location and use of Christ Church library. The discussion now moves on to the content of the catalogues and their bestiary entries.

**Bestiary and Aviarium references in Christ Church, Canterbury catalogues**
The medieval catalogues for Christ Church Priory, Canterbury have yet to be edited by CBMLC. However, Sharpe in *Latin Writers*, the first stage of MLGB3, formulated prefix keys for the various extant catalogues.[50] As mentioned above, the first, incomplete booklist is in Cambridge CUL Ms Ii. 3.12. This fragmentary list gives information on the secular books held up to about 1170 and covered grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, philosophy, arithmetic and music.[51] This list included neither *physica* nor a bestiary, but it does note an *Avianus* (Aesopic animal fables) and also Isidore's *Etymologies*, a main source for the bestiary.[52] From this fragmentary catalogue, shelfmarks in extant books and the few headings in the Eastry catalogue, M.R. James pieced together the reference system of the Old Library, in which most of the first *Demonstratio* contained books which had been housed in the covered passageway in the following order: Theology by author arranged alphabetically(A-V); Chronicles, martyrologies and monastic rules; 'Anglici' books (that is books in Old English); the books kept in the cloisters are also listed in the old section of the catalogue (*Passionales*, lectionaries and homilies) then the secular books mentioned above finished with *physica* as the Eastry catalogue shows. It is in this *physica* section that the two bestiaries are listed, a placing that indicates they probably date to before 1170 as this is approximate end-date for the first part of this first *Demonstratio*. The Eastry catalogue then lists book gifts and bequests in order without shelfmarks, or cross-referencing, starting with Becket's books and continuing into the Second *Demonstratio*.[53]

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[50] Listed above; only BC1 and BC4 are dealt with in this thesis.

[51] *ALCD* p. xxxix.

[52] R. Ellis, *The Fables of Avianus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895), p. 28 on Avianus as a fourth-century author.

[53] *ALCD*, p. xxxix.

Of the two later book lists which James also included in his *ALCD* only one has a possible reference to a bestiary. The first is Ingram's list of books which were lost or required repair, drawn up in 1508, that is so detailed it allows a plan of the Upper Library shelving to be ascertained but does not mention any bestiaries or variable forms thereof (the only reference to animals is *Questiones super librum Aristotelis de animalibus*, BC5.1508). The second is the inventory of books at Canterbury College, Oxford drawn up in 1524 (Canterbury, CCA DCc Roll O.134), which lists under BC6.169, *Textus variorum librorum naturalium*, and is probably books on the theme of 'the nature of things' may have included a bestiary, as Thomas Goldstone had included one among the fifteen volumes he sent to the College in 1495, this may have been one of the two bestiaries listed as BC4.483.[54]

The Christ Church Priory references to bestiaries are identified by the CBMLC prefix adjoined to the *ALCD* catalogue number and catalogue listing. Baxter listed only three such references in this catalogue, whereas this study includes nine, as part of the widening of parameters discussed in the introduction.[55] The date given refers to the date of accession to the library, usually the donor's date of death.

**1. BC4.151**
a: *Dialogus beati Gregorii, libri iv.*
*In hoc volumine cont.:*
b: *Moralia de naturis quarundam avium et bestiarum*
Date of Entry to Library: c. 1150-1200?

The main works in this volume were the four books of the *Dialogues* of Pope Gregory the Great, written in 593, which describe religious life in sixth-century Italy and focused on the miracles of Italian 'Fathers' of the Church under Goth domination, Byzantine resurgence and the destruction of the Lombard invasion.[56] The *Dialogues* are works that, as Nigel Ramsay expressed it, 'conformed to the

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[54] De Hamel, 'Dispersals', 1997, p. 275, n. 16.
[55] Baxter 1998, p. 217.
[56] *The Dialogues of Saint Gregory, surnamed the Great: Pope of Rome & the first of that name. . .*, ed. and trans. by G. F. Hill (London: Philip Lee Warner, 1911), pp. xix-xxvi, <www.tertullian.org/fathers/gregory_00_dialogues_intro.htm#1> [accessed 26th May, 2013].

Anglo-Saxon norm – strongest in works that were intellectually undemanding but morally uplifting'.[57]

As this volume, BC4.151, has such a low number, it may have been an early book. There were several other copies of this popular work at Christ Church and a translation appears in the separate 'anglici' or 'Anglo-Saxon' section of Eastry's catalogue (BC4.303).[58] One twelfth century book survives but now lacks the *Dialogues* (CUL Kk.1.20, s. xii[2/2], BC4.†156).[59] The bestiary was the third text following Isaac de Stella *de Anima* (a work which linked the soul to the body in five ways: 'sensus, imaginatio, ratio, intellectus, and intelligentia' and connaturally joined to the macrocosm'); and the long commentary on Gregory's works, the *Gregorianus* by Garnerius (or Warnerius) of St Victoire. The early position of BA1.151 in the catalogue and the adjacent extant Kk.1.20 (c. 1150-1200) allows a general indication of the date of BC4.151, to pre-1200.[60]

Kk.1.20 contains a late twelfth-century copy of a *Gregorianus* (fig. 2.05). On its medieval flyleaf is a thirteenth-century alphabetical list of all the words explained in the *Gregorianus*, which indicates a monk had studied the work. Nigel Wireker had written a summary on the *Gregorianu*s, as Leland noted on his visit shortly before the Dissolution (*Collectanea* IV.10). It is listed in *ALCD* as '*Excerptiones Nigello de Warnerio Gregoriano super moralia Job Sublimitas superna[tu]rum potestatum*', probably part of his *Distinctiones super Alphabetum* (BC4.1088c).[61] This book allows us to trace a connection between Gregory's works, the *Gregorianus*, and the bestiary. It attests to how the bestiary formed an intrinsic part of monastic reading and the monks' search for spiritual meaning in nature as well as biblical exegesis. Adam the Sub prior of St Augustine's who owned three bestiaries also had a copy of *Gregorianus* (BA1.1556). The later owner of Kk.1.20 may have been John Langdon who

[57] Ramsay 'Library', p. 346.
[58] *ALCD*, p. 51, pp. xxv-xxix.
[59] Binski, Zutshi, 2011, p. 276, No. 304.
[60] A. Astell, *The Song of Songs in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995), p. 5-6; Cambridge CUL Kk 1.20, now lacks *Dialogues*, shelfmark Diiii Gii, *ALCD*, p. 507. Dated s.xii [2/2]: Isaac de Stella, *de Anima* (fols. 3-7v), Garnerius de S. Victor, *Gregorianus,* (fols..7v-138), Binski and Zutshi, 2011, No. 304, pp. 276-7.
[61] *ALCD*, p. 499.

became Bishop of Rochester and Malasche and his *ex libris* may refer to William Molassh, Prior in 1428-38, it reads

> Iste liber constat domino Johanni Langdoun de Caunt.
> Honorificabilitudinatibus esto quod Malasche.'[62]

As bestiaries may be said to be as equally 'undemanding but morally uplifting' as Gregory's *Dialogues*, this may be sufficient reason for the *Moralia de naturis quarundam avium et bestiarum* to have been bound with the *Dialogues* since the latter draws moral meanings from the adversities faced by the sixth-century Church.[63] Another of Gregory' works, *Moralia super Job* (*Morals on the Book of Job*), expounds the historical, allegorical and moral meanings of this book of the Bible. The bestiary reference is entitled *Moralia de naturis quarundam avium et bestiarum* and used the same forms of exegesis to explain God's language of animals, plants and minerals.[64] Gregory's use of the allegory of the fourfold senses makes the bestiary a sensible text to include in this volume. As Nigel Wireker's reference work draws on the *Gregorianus*, this brands the *Moralia de naturis quarundam avium et bestiarum* a much more interesting inclusion in BC4.151 than merely (as Ramsay phrased it) 'undemanding'.

**2. BC4.483**

a: *Liber de naturis bestiarum, i.* and

**3. BC4.484**

a: *Liber de naturis bestiarum, ii.*

Date of Entry to Library : probably before 1200 ?

The two bestiaries will be discussed together for three reasons: their titles are nearly identical; they are adjacent entries; and there is no other information on them, as the Eastry catalogue does not provide incipits. Some form of identification of these *liber de naturis bestiarum* (*Book on the Nature of Animals*) might be found by comparison with the St Augustine's Abbey catalogue bestiary references. The low numbering of these title entries in the first *demonstratio* of the Christ Church

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[62] Greatrex, pp. 217-8, p. 236; *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, 3, ed. C. Hardwick, (Cambridge: 1858), p. 590.

[63] Ramsay 'Library', p. 346.

[64] St Gregory the Great, *Morals on the Book of Job* by, trans. by J. H. Parker and J. Rivington, 3 (London: 1844) <www.lectionarycentral.com/GregoryMoraliaIndex.html> [accessed 26th May, 2013].

catalogue may assist possible dating. Finally, the differences between the two monastic houses' way of cataloguing bestiaries is assessed to glean more evidence on how bestiaries were listed in different sections of their respective catalogues, which indicates differences in how the books were considered.

The St Augustine's Abbey catalogue lists three works where the main title is *bestiarum* and which include an incipit: BA1.869a, *Bestiarum Ade Supprioris* which Baxter identifies as a first-Family bestiary from the incipit but this thesis argues it is more likely to be a Transitional bestiary; BA1.\*870a, which is an extant third-Family bestiary; and finally, with a slightly different title; BA1.1557a, *Tractatus de naturis bestiarum* which is the third of Adam the sub-prior's bestiaries and where the incipit allowed Baxter to consider this entry also to have been a first Family bestiary. Again this study differs and suggests it is possibly a Second family bestiary. There is a possibility that the Christ Church *liber de naturis bestiarum* were, like the similarly titled BA1.1557, both Second family versions.

The Christ Church Old Library seems to have differed from St Augustine's; it did not leave sufficient space on its shelves for later additions to the library to be slotted onto the appropriate shelf in the first part in the first *Demonstratio*. This housed books which had been catalogued in c.1170. From this M. R. James considered that books with catalogue numbers lower than BC4.507 were likely to have been at Christ Church before 1170. These two *liber de naturis bestiarum* are before this cut off. They precede the list of donor bequests that begin with the books of the monks Roger de la Dale and John of London. Both bestiaries may been produced before 1170. It is slightly more likely that one at least was a first-Family bestiary, given the evidence on extant bestiaries for Christ Church presented in the next chapter. However, both Transitional and Second family bestiaries are also possible identifications, although these would be early copies.

This catalogue evidence leads this thesis to consider that bestiaries were perceived rather differently at Christ Church in the late twelfth century than those recorded at St Augustine's Abbey in the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century. The Christ Church bestiaries are in the section of the catalogue headed '*Libri de phisica*'

which as M. R. James noted is 'not in red' which might mean either that 'physica' was not considered a main catalogue heading or the scribe forgot to rubricate it.[65] Besides medicinal books (BC4.480 – 2) there are three herbals or macers; and four lapidaria: BC4.485, *Liber de naturis lapidus, i* and BC4.486, *Liber de naturis lapidus, ii*; and also BC4.487 *Liber de naturis sculptura lapidus, 'In hoc vol. cont. Libellus de virtutibus lapidum.'* The bestiaries are sandwiched between the macers and the lapidaries, very much as part of the section on *physica* and medicine. This was a practical part of the library's holdings, full of medical treatises such as works by Galen. Such a position implies a consideration of the *liber de naturis bestiarum* as books on practical knowledge of the world. One might argue that medieval medicine adopted a more holistic approach and considered the soul and spirit with the body. Christ Church library lacked a section on more general approaches to nature, such as discussed under St Augustine's Abbey library, it appears that the monks who drew up the original placement of the books saw these bestiaries, together with herbals and lapidaries, as useful for medical considerations as well as valued for their theological and spiritual content. This seems a very different categorization to, for example, the placement of a bestiary with Gregory's *Dialogues* where both books were linked by their use of the fourfold allegory. Adam the sub-prior from St Augustine's Abbey had medical tracts with his copies of bestiaries and may have thought them useful for his barbering and medical duties but can Baxter's argument that the bestiary spoke mainly to the spiritual faith of the monks hold much sway in Christ Church when this shelving is of such a prosaic and practical nature?[66]

## 4.    BC4. 514
c: *Libellus de naturis quorundam animalium*
Date of Entry to the Library: c. 1250-66
This entry appears to have been a little book ('libellus'), a short version of a bestiary with selected chapters on certain animals as *quorundam animalium*. It is either the last work in the section of '*Libri de phisica*' or, more likely, as the second

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[65] *ALCD*, p. 55.
[66] Baxter 1998, p.199 and p. 213 on 'medieval beliefs about the natural world'.

entry after the updating of the 1170 catalogue to include bequests, roughly in date order of bequest to ca. 1326.

Here the medieval book catalogue provides the benefit of a named donor, John of London, and his ten books, discussed below. Less straightforwardly, according to Greatrex, the volumes might have belonged to any one of three Christ Church monks named John of London (none of them the John of London of St. Augustine's Abbey who was the friend of Michael of Northgate). However, an analysis of the three John of London bequests which uses adjacent entries in *ALCD* and biographical entries in Greatrex reveals more evidence. The first John of London's name is mentioned in 1250 and 1266; the second John of London died in 1299; the third John of London can be ruled out as he died in 1349 after the Eastry book listings. William de Cherryng's (Charing) book bequest is listed immediately before the second John of London's books which are listed in *ALCD* as numbers 1554-6. According to Greatrex, William's name occurs in 1270 and he died in 1296.[67] The bequest of Ralph de Adesham appears immediately after this second John of London's entry in *ALCD*.[68] Ralph's name occurs in 1280, he was sub-prior to Henry of Eastry and he died in 1300.[69] This implies that the books numbered 1554-6 most probably belonged to the second John of London, who died in 1299, and that those books numbered 505-514, which include the bestiary, probably belonged to the first John of London (fl. 1250-1266).

The first John of London's works are mainly medical treatises, (although a work by Albumazar on astronomy was also included, BC4.505) such as the *Viaticus* of Constantine the African, (BC4.507) or the '*libellus de diversis medicinis*' in BC4.510, which might be why they were placed at the end of the section on *Physica* in the first *Demonstratio*.[70] The final volume is more concerned with pastoral care, or the care of lay brothers or novices. It is a collection of four works, headed '*Collectarium de multis*', and begins with *De sex aliis cherubim* by Alan de Lille, a work on penance

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[67] Greatrex, p. 117.
[68] *ALCD*, p. 130.
[69] Greatrex, p. 67 refers to CUL Ee.5.31.
[70] Constantinus Africanus, OSB of Monte Cassino, c.1015-1087, BCBB, p. 2108.

and confession; followed by *Questiones de officio ecclesiastico* on the duties of the Church; then the excerpts from a bestiary; followed by '*Sermones abbreuiate*' or abridged sermons for the whole year. It seems that the bestiary, called 'Libellus de naturis quorumdam animalium' or 'a small book of the nature of certain animals' was a short form of the bestiary (like the sermons) since it is both a small book and only on certain animals, not brief excerpts of many animal chapters. It was possibly included in his *collectione* for several reasons. Firstly; the bestiary had medical information, such as its references to cures, on the Caladrius, information on mandrakes, and on properties of gemstones which match his other medical interests. Secondly; it may have aided sermon-writing for which the abridged sermons were probably also useful. Thirdly, excerpts from a bestiary were also useful for teaching novices, and this may be why this book BC4.514 also contains the *Questiones de officio ecclesiastico* and Alan of Lille's work on the stages of confession. Similar sorts of texts on sermons, monastic duties and the sacraments are found in Chamberlain Hamo de Higham's *collectiones* at St Augustine's Abbey, and his collection included a book on training novices.[71]

**5.  BC4. 587**
*Summa I. de Abeuile. Continentur, S. R. Anglici et moralitates excerpte de naturis auium*
Date of Entry to the Library : c. 1258

The identity and also the career of the next bestiary owner are known. Roger de la Lee became prior in 1239; the Cathedral still holds his seal of office. His appointment was contested by Archbishop Edmund (d. 1240 and later canonized) who was unhappy that a Christ Church monk was elected prior after a string of forgeries perpetrated by Canterbury monks to bolster the Priory's ancient privileges were uncovered. Roger's books form a handsome bequest to his monastery's library; sixteen volumes were given, presumably on his death in 1258 (he long outlived St Edmund). These books are numbered from BC4.584 to BC4.600 in the catalogue, and included glossed bibles and six books of sermons.[72] One of his

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[71] *ALCD*, BC4.514 p. 62, contained *Collectarius de multis. In hoc vol cont. :* a) *Libellus de vi alis confessio* b) *Questiones de officio ecclesiastico* c) *Libellus de naturis quorundam animalium* d)*Sermones abbreviate per totum annum.* Greatrex pp. 224-5, for John of London (I) and *ALCD* BC4.505-514 and BC4.1554-62.
[72] *ALCD*, p. 69 and Greatrex, p. 221.

books included Gerald of Wales *Itinerarium* and *Descriptio Cambrie* (BC4.586) which also contained three other texts. With the *Summa* of John of Abbeville (d. 1239), which may be his *Sermones de tempore* and the *Statutes in English* (*S. R. Anglici*), Roger included *moralitates excerpte de naturis auium* (moralised extracts on the nature of birds). These are similar in title to BC4.1041 (discussed below) and were probably short extracts from the *Aviarium* of Hugh of Fouilloy and possibly the additional bestiary chapters on birds. They may have been included because of the natural history described in Gerald of Wales *Journey through Wales*, although it is his *Topographia Hiberniae* which includes passages on the crane, kingfisher and barnacle goose.[73]

**6.    BC4. 640**
a: *Liber de naturis* and
**7.    BC4. 649**
e: *Liber Auiculani de tribus columbis*
Date : c. 1307

John of Bocton held various posts from treasurer in 1260-1 to cellarer in 1268 and presided at the court of Canterbury in 1270. When he died in 1307 he not only left his books to the Cathedral library, but also his vestments and two communion goblets ('ciphus') a silver and a maple one to the monastery, so that his name would be commemorated in the life and rituals of the monastery. [74]

John's booklist seems unusually long since it begins with his Bibles at BC4.635 and continues to *Derivaciones partium* at BC4.691, some fifty-six books, a large number of volumes. John must have come from a wealthy family; his name may be toponymic and refer to Boughton (a village between Canterbury and Faversham) where the de Bocton family possessed a manor house in the reign of Edward I.[75] It is possible the name of another monk may have been omitted by the copyist. Greatrex queried this huge bequest and indicated that John possibly had

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[73] *Itinerarium Kambriae*, ed. J. F. Dimock, RS 21/6 (London: 1868), pp. 3–152; *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. J. F. Dimock, RS 21/5 (London: 1867), pp. 207–404.
[74] Greatrex, p. 92.
[75] E. Hasted, 'Parishes: Boughton under the Blean', *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent*, 7 (1798), pp. 2-19: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=63386> [accessed: 16 June 2013].

left only six books to the library, by numbering them as '635 to ??641'. Yet some of John's possible books are noted as missing in a list dated 1ˢᵗ March, 1338 (BC6 in Sharpe's *Latin Writers*). These are *Senatoris* of Cassiodorus, Brito *super prologos Bibliae*, an *ordinale* and a copy of *Grecismus* by Everard de Bethune. Of these, two are readily identifiable among John's volumes in Henry of Eastry's catalogue – the Brito at BC4.642 and much further on, two copies of the *Grecismus* at BC4.687 and 688. So this tends to confirm that John did bequeath over fifty books to the library. His volumes cover a full range of topics from theology and patristic texts (such as Augustine and Ambrose in BC4.667) to sacraments (*Liber de Sacramentis* BC4.641) to tracts on penitence and sermons (e.g. his *Veni mecum*, BC4.647) and more contemporary works too such as *Brut* in Latin and French, and classical volumes on Aristotle (e.g. BC4.668, 677), Seneca (BC4.673) and Ovid (BC4.689 and 690), plus works on canon law, statutes and medicine.

At BC4.640 the *Liber de naturis* was among the first of John's listed books. This is unidentifiable as the title is so short but it might be the *De naturis rerum* by Alexander Neckham as John also owned a copy of Neckham's *Promotheus* (BC4.650) and his same volume contains Aristotle's first book of *De Animalibus*). The *Liber de naturis* and the *De Animalibus* indicate an interest in the natural world, and may be linked to his books on medicine or *physica*. However, John also owned an '*Liber Aviculani de tribus columbis*' a little aviary on the three doves.[76] This might be a short form of the *Aviarium* written by Hugh of Folieto, a twelfth century Augustinian canon, which was also known as *De tribus columbis*. This book took the birds of the bestiary and added moralizations suitable for monastic life, to 'Observe how the life of religious can be taught through the nature of birds.' [77] This then is the text which connects interest in the natural world to the life of a monk; it would have fitted in well with the contents of the rest of the volume; a tract on the Apocalypse (*Tractatus super apocallipsim*);  another on the *Song of Songs*

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[76] *ALCD*, p. 73; BC4.649  contains: a) *Tractatus super apocallipsim; In hoc vol cont.:* b) *Tractatus super Cantica Canticorum ;* c) *Liber testamentorum Mathie, patriarche Constant ;* d) *Liber qui dicitur cherubin ;* e) *Liber Auiculani de tribus columbis ;* f) *Tractatus Noli; monachi de vii uiciis originalibus ;* g) *Quidam tractatus de moralite rerum*

[77] Clark 1992, p. 1.

(*Tractatus super Cantica Canticorum*); a commentary on the Book of Matthew (*Liber testamentorum Mathie, patriarche Constant*); Alan of Lille's *The Six Wings of the Cherubim* (*Liber qui dicitur cherubin*) on confession; the *Aviarium* (*Liber Auiculani de tribus columbis*); a tract on the seven sins (*Tractatus Noli; monachi de vii uiciis originalibus*); and a work on the morals of things (*Quidam tractatus de moralite rerum*). The last work might have matched the allegoresis in the *Aviarium*.

## 8.     BC4. 1041
b: *Libellus de naturis quorundam avium moraliter expositis*
Date of Entry into the Library:  c. 1187-1217

Aaron's entry in the *Bibliographical Register* has two dates (1187 and 1190) and Greatrex ties his name to three *ALCD* entries in the early part of the catalogue: BC4.111 (*Distinctiones super Psalmos*); BC4.261 (*Sermones Candidores* including *Tractatus de Sacramento dominici corporis*, *Libellus de Obediencia* and *Ars Predicandi*); and lastly BC4.262 (*Sermo memento*).[78]  This study notes five more entries in *ALCD* listed under Aaron's name (the only Canterbury monk so named and whose books all fit this time period). Among these books BC4.1041*, Sermo, Parate viam domine*, included the *libellus de naturis quorundam auium moraliter expositis*.[79]  All Aaron's books are standard items for a late twelfth century monk. What is interesting is that three of Aaron's books are integrated into the subject entries of the first part of the Eastry catalogue while five were not. This indicates that he gave three books to the library before he died and also before the library was re-catalogued in c.1170.  The rest of his books were listed under his name upon his death on fol.141r of the catalogue manuscript. His *Libellus de naturis quorundam avium moraliter expositis* (BC4.1041b) bears comparison to the extant St. Augustine's Abbey's list of BA1.1564a,b* called '*de natura quarundam avium cum suis moralitatibus*' (Bodl. Rawl. C. 77).  Only three folios of the bestiary in Rawl. C 77 remain but they are full chapters on birds, not excerpts. The title is also reminiscent of BA1.755, *De naturis auium et animalium moralizatis* extant in a fifteenth century manuscript with matched incipits. This is a rather different collection which contains brief excerpts from a selection of

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[78] Greatrex, p. 66.

[79] BC4.1039, *Cantica Canticorum*; BC4.1040, a second copy of the *Song of Songs*; BC4.1041*, Sermo, Parate viam domine*, BC.1042, *Distinctiones Promethei super decreta*; and BC4.1043, *Iohannes, glosatus*.

chapters from a *Dicta Chrysostomi /Aviarium* version originally put together by Paris Victorines.[80]

The books of his fellow monk, Nigel Wireker, are listed just over the leaf from Aaron's on fol.141v, (*ALCD* BC4.1084-1091), an indication that the deceased monks' book bequests were entered in date order after the reorganisation of the library in c. 1170-1180 and possibly after the fire in the Cathedral in 1174. In 1189 both monks journeyed to the court of Richard I to plead the Canterbury monks' cause against Archbishop Baldwin's plans to found a college of lay canons in Canterbury.[81] Aaron's booklist demonstrates that someone at Christ Church Priory close to Nigel Wireker owned either an *Aviarium* or part of a bestiary on birds.

Nigel was famous for his long Latin poem *Speculum Stultorum* which contains references to the *Aviarium*.[82] For example, the poem mentions the Raven as a figure for secular canons' treachery, gluttony and vain desires.[83] The *Aviarium* discusses the Raven as a figure for prelates who are black with the soot of their sins, then discusses the Cock as a blessed preacher.[84] The next chapter on the Ostrich opens with a quotation from Job; 'The wing of the ostrich is like the wings of the falcon, and of the hawk' (Job 39:13) and compares the Ostrich to the Falcon which is like a preacher who knows of sin but manages to rise above it, before a digression on hypocrisy. In his poem Nigel imagines Burnellus falling asleep under a tree and overhearing or dreaming of a conversation between a Raven, a Cock and a Falcon on the subject of the priesthood, thinly disguised as the nature of birds, and imbues the birds with the attributes given to them in the *Aviarium*. This idea of talking birds, a feature that will later be found in Chaucer's *Parliament of Fowls*.[85]

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[80] Clark 1992, pp. 52-53 discussed by Stewart 2012, p. 116.
[81] Greatrex, pp. 320-1.
[82] Greatrex, p. 66.
[83] *Speculum Stultorum*, l. 3101-2 'Te gula, te venter, te vicit inepta voluptas,/ Proderes ut dominum perfidus ipse tuum'; Regenos, 'Your gluttony and vain desires prevailed/ On you to be a traitor to your Lord.' p. 139.
[84] Clark 1992, Chapter 40, Raven, pp. 174-181, pp. 180-1; Cock, pp. 180-187, pp. 180-1; Ostrich, pp. 188-198, p. 188.
[85] *The Riverside Chaucer*, gen. ed. L. Benson, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988, 3rd ed.), pp. 383-394.

Aaron's book on the certain natures of birds, a form of *Aviarium*, may have been the source for some aspects of the *Speculum Stultorum*, not previously noted.

**9.    Canterbury College Catalogue  No. 169**
*Textus variorum librorum naturalium*
Date of Entry into Canterbury College Library :1495 (possibly there in 1524)
Finally, from the *Inventory of Boo*ks at Canterbury College, Oxford in 1524, there is an entry on 'various texts of books on nature' which might have included a bestiary and/or an *Aviarium* and/or works by Aristotle, Isidore, Maurus, Bede and Alexander Neckam. Although the entry is too vague to identify what books on nature were included, as mentioned above in this chapter, Thomas Goldstone sent a bestiary to Canterbury College in 1495.[86] The reference and possible mention in 1524 indicate a continued interest in the bestiary.

**Conclusion**

Beast literature flourished in Christ Church Canterbury during the period under discussion. Outside the remit of this thesis, the catalogue also contains references to works by Avianus, Aesop, Odo of Cheriton's *Parables*, and copies of Isidore's *Etymologies*, which indicate the richness of beast literature of which the bestiary formed part. As subsequent chapters demonstrate, the monks used the bestiary and its related works in a variety of ways and formats. These volumes were not sitting idle and unread in the monastic bookroom. Evidence of space and place has been interpreted as part of the 'ductus' or flow of monastic life, added to the biographical details of the monks and then to their books, which formed an intrinsic part of their lives of worship and study. In this way a more rounded cultural and social history of the bestiary in Canterbury emerges.

**Section 2: St Augustine's Abbey**

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[86] Pantin, *Canterbury College, Oxford*, I, pp. 84-88.

This section discusses the monastic library of St Augustine's Abbey, and focuses first on the library as a space and place and then assesses the evidence from the bestiary references. The bestiary is viewed as an integral part of the book culture of this Benedictine Abbey.

Both Barker-Benfield and Tatton-Brown have discussed the physical evidence for the library itself.[87] Not only does the library catalogue list the monastery's books (except those used for worship and those venerated as relics); it also provides the main evidence for the physical medieval monastic library itself, as the monastery is now a ruin and little remains above ground level except the separate gatehouse. The shelfmarks in the catalogue were sometimes written on the flyleaves of extant books, in particular from the late thirteenth century, possibly on the orders of Abbot Nicholas Thorne or Abbot Thomas Findon. Where they survive, these shelfmarks together with the catalogue reveal something of how and where books were placed in the room, and permit a partial visualisation of the medieval library.[88]

**The 'Bochouse'**

Books had been written and stored at the Abbey from its foundation in c. 613, probably mainly in cupboards in the cloisters.[89] The earliest dedicated room seems to have been built in the early twelfth century.[90] Some sixty feet long by twenty feet wide, it was on the north side of the Abbey Church, in the cloisters next to the Chapter House. The ground floor room had access only from the Abbey transept and this lack of easy access is an indication that this room was probably the vestry and treasury. Tatton-Brown thinks library was probably housed immediately above, which would account for the lack of archaeological evidence for it, as so little

[87] T. Tatton-Brown, 'The Abbey precinct, liberty and estate' in *St Augustine's Abbey Canterbury*, ed. by R. Gem (London: English Heritage, 1997), pp. 123-142.
[88] BCBB, pp. xci-xcviii, at p. xci.
[89] Tatton-Brown, 'Abbey precincts', 1997, pp. 123-4.
[90] Tatton-Brown 1997, pp. 124-5.

survives of the upper fabric of the monastery and there is no archaeological indication left of a staircase or the position of a door to the library.[91]

Emden notes Thorne's *Chronicle* records a fire in 1168 which damaged documents '*Multe codicelle perierunt*' and M. R. James thought books might have also been burnt or damaged but there is no record of subsequent repair works.[92] Little is known of the library until the Chapter House was rebuilt in 1324-32. This is when Abbot Bourne may have remodelled the library next door, or at least ensured the proper housing of his predecessor's, Abbot Thomas Findon's bequest of one hundred books. The earthquake in 1382 meant the Chapter House had to be rebuilt again, so if the original of the catalogue transcript was written between 1375 and 1420 (as Barker-Benfield suggests) it may have been the earthquake which led to the library's renovation or rearrangement.[93]

The word '*bochouse*' was used by the early fourteenth-century St Augustine monk, Michel de Northgate, in the *ex libris* in his *Ayenbyte of Inwyt*.[94] *Bochouse* may derive from Old English '*bochus*' which the Antwerp-Leiden Glossary defines as a '*librarium*'.[95] This implies a room rather than a cupboard or a storeroom, since '*bochord*' is a defined as a library or receptacle for books in the entry immediately above. Books for study or copying were carried to the carrels in the south walk of the cloister, either from the *bochouse* or from the Cloister book presses, just as a modern library separates work and storage areas. The customary (Cambridge, Gonville and Caius 211) places the Cantor in charge of library and all the book cupboards.[96] The *Customary* also notes the cloister as the place for writing

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[91] Tatton-Brown 1997, pp. 124-5 and plan.

[92] Emden, 'Donors', 1968, p. 1-2, *ALCD*, pp. lxii-lxiii.

[93] BCBB, p. lvii.

[94] BL Arundel 57, fol. 2r, BA1.*1536; *Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt*, ed. R. Morris, EETS 23, (London: Trübner, 1866, rev. repr. ed. by P. Gradon, 1965), pp. 270-1.

[95] *The Antwerp–London Glossaries*, ed. by D. Porter, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), p. 126, 'boc hus: *librarium*', (library), c. 1025.

[96] '*Cantor…. Et custodia similiter de librario ad ipsum pertinent, et de universos armariorum libris curam geret, et eos in custodia habit; [sed eius studii et scientiae est [erased]] ut eorum custodia ei competenter debeat commendari.*' The Cantor is similarly the custodian of all that pertains to the library and all the cupboards where books are kept and has them in his keeping [for study and knowledge] and a competent man should be appointed.', *Customary Of The Benedictine Monasteries of Saint Augustine,*

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> Scribitur bene in claustro, nisi sit Dominica vel duplex festum. Non scribendum inter ablucionem pedum in claustro die Sabbati nec inter rasturam.[97]

William Thorne's *Chronicle* noted the books of the living and the dead were brought to the Chapter House each year, for checking and commemoration

> Abbas... instituit ut singulis annis in perpetuum in principio Quadragesimæ, die qua Librarium defertur in Capitulum, vivorum animæ commendentur, et absolvantur animæ defunctorum, per quos Librarium hujus Ecclesiæ fuerit aliqualiter emendatum.[98]

This ritual indicates the value the Abbey placed on its books. Given the possible large room size and close location to the south walk cloister carrels and Chapter House, this thesis agrees with Barker-Benfield that the *bochouse* was of a more spacious design than a simple storage room but was used for browsing rather than for active study, given the nearby positions of carrels in the nearest cloister walk.[99]

Information on the *bochouse* layout, fittings, and fixtures is derived from the shelfmarks in extant books; Barker-Benfield considers, in line with James in the *ALCD*, that there were probably eighteen bookcases (*Distinctio*) with various numbers of shelves (*Gradus*) which depended on the size of the books. Instead of dividing the room lengthways with theology on one side and education on the other, this thesis considers it possible the room was arranged widthways so that the theology holdings occupied the larger section and education the smaller part, with dictionaries easily at hand near the doorway as some shelfmarks indicate.[100]

Barker-Benfield also thinks the number of volumes in each bookcase or *Distinctio* would not lend itself to a lectern design (i.e. a reading desk with inbuilt shelves above and below, such as in Duke Humphrey's Library at the Bodleian in Oxford, or as depicted in a contemporary illustration (fig. 2.06). There were probably fewer shelves to accommodate large bibles in one bookcase and while

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*Canterbury, And Saint Peter, Westminster,* 23, part I, ed. E. Maunde Thompson (London: HBS, 1902), p. 96.

[97] *Customary Of The Benedictine Monasteries of Saint Augustine, Canterbury, And Saint Peter, Westminster,* 28, part II, Appendix, ed. E. Maunde Thompson (London: HBS, 1904), p. 251. 'Writing may well be undertaken in the cloister unless it is a Sunday or a high holy day. Writing may not be undertaken between shaving and feet washing on Saturdays'.

[98] William Thorne*, Chron.* ch. 21.16.

[99] BCBB p. lii and p. xcv.

[100] *ALCD*, pp. lxi-lxiii and BCBB pp. xci-c; on dictionaries BCBB, p. lii and p. xcvi.

another had more shelves for slimmer, smaller volumes of poetry. '*Distinctio 3, Gradus 4*' more commonly abbreviated to D.3.G.4, written on the flyleaf of an extant manuscript would indicate that the book was shelved in Bookcase number 3 on Shelf number 4, in the Biblical studies section which took up the first three bookcases and contained bibles, psalters and biblical glosses, commentaries and compilations.

Biblical studies was followed by: Theology (*Distinctio* 4-7); then religious works which included sermons, devotions, hagiographies, histories and various texts on nature and allegories, and bestiaries (*Distinctio* 8-10); Latin grammar, prose and poetry (*Distinctio* 11); Aristotle and commentaries thereupon, astronomy and science (*Distinctio* 12-13); Medicine and canon and civil law (*Distinctio* 14-15); and that serendipitous section in every library, Miscellaneous, which here also included vernacular works (*Distinctio* 16-17). [101]

As mentioned, some books were stored elsewhere, e.g. in various cupboards and chests in the cloisters, near the abbey for *Monastica* and *Liturgica*, and near the refectory for mealtime readings, and elsewhere, since the Precentor's former title was *Armarius* (from the Latin for cupboard). William Urry thought relics which included the books Pope Gregory was said to have given to St. Augustine (such as the late sixth century Gospels, now CCCC 286) may have been stored behind the high altar in the ambulatory.[102] Thomas Elmham depicts six books ('sent by Gregory to Augustine'), that is the Abbey's foundation relics, on the high altar in his *Speculum Augustinianum* of 1414 (Cambridge, Trinity Hall 1, fol. 77r) and the *Customary* notes four monks were to remain there overnight, presumably to guard them.[103]

**The Library Catalogue**

The library catalogue provides data on medieval ownership and readership of books in the monastery, and this includes references to bestiaries in compilations

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[101] BCBB, pp. xcii-xciii.
[102] Urry, (1967) plan 114, n. 3.
[103] BCBB p. xcix; Tatton-Brown, 1997, p. 125, p. 80; BCBB plate 8.

and stand-alone volumes. This catalogue was drawn up by a number of scribes and was annotated by Clement of Canterbury, the precentor, in the fifteenth century. However, this catalogue was based on an earlier listing made between 1375 and 1420, which Barker-Benfield has discerned from the various patterns of entries and insertions.[104] His edition of the St Augustine's medieval library catalogue allows many of the donors, their books and their borrowers to be identified and dated.

The datable catalogue entries for bestiaries in St Augustine's cluster around two time periods. The first period at the turn of the thirteenth century reflects Adam the Sub prior's bequest, which included three bestiaries. The second cluster occurs mainly during the abbacies of Nicholas Thorne (1273-83), Thomas Findon (1283-1310), and Ralph de Bourne (1310-34) with some later bestiary references possibly datable to Findon's immediate successors up to 1360.[105] Abbot Thorne and his Prior, William of Wilmington (d. 1289), may well have begun many of the scholarly improvements such as the provision of a new library catalogue, as indicated in the provision in the 1274 *Customary*.[106] Findon amplified and continued these advancements to the extent that Barker-Benfield has emphasised this abbot hosted an intellectual and cultural revival, and discusses his 'scholarly leadership' and 'far-sighted library provision'.[107]

Part of the acquisition improvements begun by Thorne and continued by Findon were the *ex libris* inscriptions added to the flyleaves of donated books. The *ex libris* then became part of the title which was listed in the medieval library catalogue.[108] Barker-Benfield attributes many of the extant books' *ex libris* inscriptions to a single hand which he has tentatively identified as that of the sub-prior Aluph of Boughton (fl. s. xiii[ex]), based on Aluph's annotations in his (probably second-hand) book of Lombard's *Sentences*, now Cambridge Christ's

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[104] BCBB, p. 88.
[105] Dr Thomas Poucyn (1334-1343), William Throwley, (1343-46), John Devenish (1347-1349, who died in Avignon), and Thomas Colwell (1349-1375), D. M. Smith, V. C. M. London, *The Heads of Religious Houses, England and Wales*, 2, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 29-30.
[106] Thompson, *Customary*, 1902, 1, p. 39; BCBB, pp. lxxx- lxxxi.
[107] BCBB p. li and p. lxxxi and pp. lxxx-lxxxii.
[108] BCBB p. lxxxiii.

College, 1 (BA1.*503, s. xiii[2]).[109] Sub-prior Aluph de Boughton's *Sentences* also contains sketches Michael Michael has associated with a circle of fine illuminators who also enjoyed court patronage, evidence which has been discussed by other scholars, including Barker-Benfield and Luxford.[110]

Although, of course, donors' names (and dates) can be ascertained by many other ways than an *ex libris*, the regular provision of this information transcribed to the library catalogue as part of the book title, has allowed Barker-Benfield to deduce that thirty-three brothers and five external donors gave books to the library during Findon's abbacy (and eighteen monks and two other donors under Ralph de Bourne's aegis).[111] The large number of bequests and donations centred on Findon's abbacy includes sixteen books previously owned by his predecessor Nicholas Thorne (who resigned to join the Carthusians). The '*de acquisitione*' policy for increasing book donations through the offer of masses for the donors both living and dead, was effective.

Julian Luxford has also highlighted Findon's and Bourne's policies of luxury book acquisition in pursuit of evidence of an increase in court-associated monastic patronage in the fourteenth-century.[112] Luxford suggests this policy was undertaken for two reasons. The first was to reflect the prestige and status of their house as the first monastery founded by St Augustine. The second reason was the Abbey's rivalry with Christ Church Priory, exacerbated by recurrent attempted archiepiscopal predations of their long-standing abbatial privileges and independence. How much was this emphasis on intellectual revival and competitive splendour reflected in the bestiaries owned by St Augustine monks in this period? Was there an increase in the number of any type of bestiaries which can be

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[109] BCBB, lxxxii n. 71; p. 2263 for Aluph as a donor and his book-giving.

[110] M. A. Michael, 'Some Early Fourteenth-Century English Drawings at Christ's College, Cambridge', *The Burlington Magazine*, 124 (Apr., 1982), 230-232. BCBB pp. 1741-2; J. M. Luxford, 'Out of the Wilderness: A Fourteenth-Century English Drawing of John the Baptist', *Gesta*, 49 (2010), 137-150; Sandler, IV, No. 57; L. Dennison, 'Monastic or Secular? The artist of the Ramsay Psalter', ed. by B. Thompson, *Monasteries and Society in Medieval Britain: Proceedings of 1994 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stamford: 1999), pp. 221-61, on St Augustine's Abbey psalters New York, Morgan G. 53 and Oxford, Bodl., Ashmole 1525.

[111] BCBB, p. lxxxii.

[112] Luxford, 'Wilderness' 2010, 137-150, p. 137.

attributed to this period? Are there changing or continuous patterns of ownership or patronage, and compilation, or annotation which may be discerned in these bestiaries? The findings on these topics are used in the second part of the thesis to question and investigate the impact of bestiaries and associated beast literature on the community of monks at St Augustine's in this period.

**Selected Entries from St Augustine's Abbey Book List**

Bruce Barker-Benfield has established seven bestiary references in his edition of the library catalogue.[113] In this chapter section the CBMLC references from the *List of Identifications* are used as headings for each bestiary, *Aviarium*, or excerpt thereof identified, followed by a discussion of its contents. Books in the catalogue were listed under their sole or main title, usually the first text, with their *secundo folio* as a further identification. Bestiaries were contained in books from various parts of the library but when they were the main text in a manuscript they were placed in the catalogue at the end of the section of 'Works on the Natures of Things' in *Distinctio* 10 *Gradus* 6, before allegories and satires. This section began with shelved copies of Bartholomeus Anglicus's *De proprietatibus rerum* (BA1.863 and 864), Alexander Nequam's *De naturis rerum* (BA1.866);[114] with cross-references to Rabanus's *De naturis rerum*, Isidore's *De naturis rerum* and Bede's extant *De naturis rerum* (BA1.*447a), two copies of William of Conches's four volumes of *Philosophia mundi* (BA1.866.1-5), followed by two shelved volumes of Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum naturale* (BA1.867 and 868). The next entry in the catalogue is BA1.869 which refers to a stand-alone Bestiary that belonged to Adam the Sub prior.[115] This book was followed by the second and last bestiary shelved here, the extant BA1.*870, a Third family bestiary (Oxford Bodl. Douce 88E). Cross-references in the medieval catalogue linked two bestiaries in non-extant books shelved elsewhere, to BA1.650b, where the lead text was Raymond de Pennafort's *Summa de casibus poenitentiae* and a reconstructed entry BA1.M1848c also contains *Filia Magistri*, and *Cherubim de confessionibus* in what was probably the missing late thirteenth century

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[113] BCBB, p. lvii.
[114] *Speculum Stultorum*, note to line 1152 'posteriorum obliti' p.115.
[115] Baxter 1998, pp. 172-3 and Appendix on Catalogue entries.

collection 'H' of Michael of Northgate (that is, his eighth volume of *collectiones*). The next book on the shelf is the *Speculum Stultorum* cross referenced in the catalogue to four other copies (BA1.871.1-4), which included BA1.1557 that also belonged to Adam, and possibly contained a Second family bestiary.[116]

The next section held allegories and satires on monastic life. This juxtaposition is interesting since it may reflect a link between the bestiary as a work on the nature of things and the *Speculum Stultorum* which reflects on the nature of monastic life. Baxter thought that it was the bestiary which fitted into 'works on monastic life'.[117] This has been criticized by Barker-Benfield who finds it 'harder to justify' the bestiary next to the *Speculum Stultorum* 'except perhaps on the grounds that its hero is an Ass.' He suggests Baxter's view 'underplays' the *Speculum Stultorum*'s satire on monastic life which follows the bestiaries and also 'overlooks the possibility of random accrual' in the works on 'Miscellaneous moral philosophy' which included William of Conches's *Moralium dogma philosophorum* and followed the *Speculum Stultorum* in this section, as the shelving of D.8 G.5, may be a latter addition.[118]

There were solid, contemporary arguments for the placement of the bestiary with the 'Works on the nature of things' because the bestiary was part of the same encyclopaedic urge of Late Antiquity as it contained extracts from Isidore's *Etymologiae*. There are arguments too for the *Speculum Stultorum* to go after the bestiary entries. This is not solely because the hero is an animal mentioned in the bestiary. This thesis suggests that the bestiary was not merely to do with general 'works on monastic life' as Baxter argues. Instead the bestiary was a foundational part of the *sensus spiritualis* of monasticism. As part of medieval scriptural exegesis emphasised in the *Physiologus*, (as its chapters on each animal embraced the literal, allegorical, moral and spiritual aspects of the creature) and the encyclopaedic etymological approaches of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, which drew significance from the word for the animal, its twin forebears, the bestiary had a broad influence

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[116] Baxter 1998, p. 173, linked 'femina' to Firestones and a First family bestiary.

[117] Baxter 1998, p. 178.

[118] BCBB p. 894.

on the learning of mnemonics and rhetoric; it taught ways of looking at the nature of the world, and the use of allegory. Moreover, the bestiary engaged with practical understanding of the world, emphasised in Adam's extant bestiary where it is bound up with lapidary and medical texts, as well as expositions on the mass. Its place as a subsection of encyclopaedia makes sense before the moral philosophy section in which the *Speculum Stultorum* was shelved.

**1.    BA1.302e: *Tractatus moralis de natura Auium et animalium*** [119]
2o fol. 'Abacuc'
Shelfmark  D.3 G.4,
Date of Entry in the Library: c. 1300-1400(?)

This listing cannot be dated more accurately than 1300-1400. This timeframe is based on a bestiary with a similar title which belonged to to Abbot Thomas (probably Findon, d. 1310) but even this attribution is not assured.[120] This copy of *Interpretaciones nominum Hebraicorum* was the first book listed in the medieval catalogue which also contains a bestiary as the fifth entry (the 'e' at the end of the reference BA1.302**e** denotes it was the fifth of six entries in the volume). The book was placed with other biblical commentaries, works on 'biblical names and vocabulary in three original blocks, shelved primarily at D.3 G.4.' as part of an eponymous sub-section on 'Interpretation of Hebrew Names' where most works were probably copies of Archbishop Stephen Langton's early thirteenth century work *Interpretationis nominum Hebraicorum* but some, as this may have been, were copies of Jerome's much older version, *Interpretaciones nominum Hebraicorum*.[121] Both Jerome and Langton wrote on the long listing of Old Testament names (which were often memorised) and the etymological meanings of the names were linked to spiritual understanding as part of the allegory of the fourfold senses. Michael Camille commented on an early twelfth-century Rochester copy of Jerome's work which has an inhabited decorated initial A of a bear eating the letter itself. This is a

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[119] BCBB p. 492, *ALCD* p. 217: a) *Interpretaciones nominum Hebraicorum et in eodem* b)*Tractatus super totam bibliam,* c) *Quidam sermones*, d) *Sintillarium,* e)*Tractatus moralis de natura Auium et animalium,* f) *Quidam sermones alii cum B.*
[120] BA1.304; Abbot Thomas's two versions: BA1.305 and BA1.306, BCBB p. 493-4.
[121] BCBB, p. 488.

pun on *ursus* and *orsus* which indicates that mouthing the letters aloud will aid comprehension.[122]

The second work *Tractatus super totam bibliam* was probably a lexical gloss arranged in Biblical book order but it has not been identified.[123] It may have aided understanding the first text, *Interpretaciones nominum Hebraicorum*.[124] This is followed by the third item, 'quidam sermones' certain sermons included presumably as exemplars, while the fourth item, *Liber Scintillarum* or *Book of Sparks*, dates from c.700-750 and was the Defensor of Ligugé's anthology of some 2,500 pithy sayings from the New and Old Testaments and patristic texts arranged under various suitable headings (e.g. *De caritate*, Charity) a work much used in monastic circles throughout Europe and extant in some 370 manuscripts.[125] The bestiary excerpts (or excerpts taken from an *Aviarium* and a bestiary) duly complements Jerome's work as both link to the same exegesis of the fourfold allegory. When compiled with the *Book of Sparks*, the gloss of difficult words and two sets of sermons, the contextualisation points to the original monastic scribe owner who attempted to fathom deeper spiritual meanings in the main text as well as making use of the books to produce his own sermons, since more sermons were bound at the end of this volume. Other books in this short section (301-306.1) are by either Langton or Jerome. One of these, BA1.304, was given by Adam the sub-prior (fl. 1200) who owned three bestiaries and a copy of Nigel Wireker's *Speculum Stultorum*. His *Allegory on Sacred Scripture*, possibly by Garner (or Warnerius) of Langres, was a book also owned by Nigel. This indicates their similar tastes in studies.[126]

BA1.302e may refer to an expanded *Aviarium* by Hugh de Fouilloy rather than only a bestiary as it is entitled *Tractatus moralis de natura Auium et animalium* (*A moral treatise on the nature of birds and beasts*). CBMLC has categorised this volume

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[122] TCC O.4.7, fol. 75r, Michael Camille, 'Seeing and Reading: Some Visual implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy', *Art History*, 8 (1985), 26-49, plate 2, pp. 29-30.
[123] BCBB, p. 492.
[124] BCBB p. 492.
[125] R. H. Bremmer, Jr, 'The Reception of Defensor's *Liber Scintillarum* in Anglo-Saxon England' *…un tuo serto di fiori in man recando: Scritti in onore di Maria amalia D'Aronco* (Udine: Forum, 2008), pp. 75-89, p.78.
[126] BCBB pp. 492-494, book entries BA1.301-306.1; Adam's copy is BA1.304.

under both entries, but other similarly titled works, BA1.470g and BA1.1564ab, only under *Avicularius*.[127] As this volume also contained glosses and texts on the long lists of Old Testament names, these excerpts also may have been included for mnemonic purposes, perhaps to tie the names to vivid animal attributes. It reflects similar ideas to those expressed by the decorated initial of the bear spouting his ABC in the Rochester copy of Jerome's *Hebrew Names* was depicted (TCC O.4.7). The inclusion of two sets of sermons indicates a volume which takes etymologies as a basis for preaching.

### 2.    BA1.470g: *De naturis animalium* [128]

2° fol. 'in libro. vel multo'
Shelfmark  D  G ( i.e. not given: previous entry D.6 G.1)
Date of Entry into the Library: c. 1272-1291

In the Theology section of the library the volumes which contained St. Bernard of Clairvaux's works followed those of St. Anselm. Shelf D.6 G.1 was allocated to seven copies of *Flores Bernardi* by William of Saint-Martin of Tournai (fl. 1250) who wrote his compendium of excerpts from Bernard's works when ill in bed as his own book illustrates; it provides useful pictorial information of how a medieval book was put together (fig. 2.07).[129]

BA1.470g is the first reference in the St Augustine's medieval library catalogue to a bestiary which also gives the donor's name, Henry of Cockering. This information enables us to discover the other books this monk gave to the library and thus situate his bestiary not just in terms of one particular entry but amongst his whole collection and amongst the monastery's holdings with regard to his datable and individual cycle of reading. The donor's bequest is discussed in Chapter Four. Barker-Benfield considers this entry may refer to a form of bestiary,

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[127] Sharpe, *Latin Writers*, p. 338.
[128] BCBB BA1.403, p. 646, a) William of Tournai, *Flores Bernardi* c. 1260; b) pseudo-Augustine, *De Spiritu et anima*, c) Anselm, *Proslogion*, d) Ps Bernard, *Meditationes püssimae de cognition humanae conditionis*, e) *Flores Augustini*, f) Hugh of St Victor, *De Arra anima*, g) *de naturis animalium*, h) Sigerum (?), *Summa de viciis secundum Sigerum* and i) *Summa de Virtutibus*.
[129] S. A. Poor, 'Transmission', ed. by A.  Hollywood, P. Z. Beckman, *The Cambridge Companion to Christian Mysticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 240-252, p. 244. *Flores Bernardi*, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris 753, fol.9 (c.1260).

but as this is the seventh item in the list of volume contents there is no *secundo folio* to trace it further. It is not mentioned by Baxter.

### 3. BA1.650b: *Bestiarium*[130]

2o fol.: *penitens.*
No shelfmark, but added under 'Penitence and Confession'
Date of entry into the Library: unknown, 'a late insertion' c. 1260-1500 [131]

The third of the ten entries with bestiary references in the St Augustine's *Book List* is categorically a bestiary, since it is called *Bestiarium*. This however, is the sum total of our knowledge of it, as it is the second rather than the first work in the volume it does not have a *secundo folio* reference. The first text is written as *Penitentiale Reymundi* and Barker-Benfield notes it was probably a latecomer to the library since it should have been listed beneath BA1.639, rather than among these miscellaneous works on confession.[132] The other titles in this volume were *Vitas patrum*, a Lives of the [Desert] Fathers and either the *Summa de Poenitentia* or the *Parabolae* of Odo of Cheriton. It is interesting to note that Douce 88A contains a bestiary with Odo's *Parables*, but the other texts it includes are not mentioned here. The *Parables* would match the Bestiary text most aptly since they are moralised animal fables but in all probability it is Odo's work on penitence which is here, as this is the subject of the first text in the volume. However, as all the works in this volume were written before the mid-thirteenth century, this book might be from the thirteenth century, and just misplaced earlier. If so, this bestiary is slightly more likely to be a Second family bestiary (the most common recension), as this provisional date of the first half of the thirteenth century would otherwise make it a very early Third family version but there is no way to verify this. Douce 88A contains a Second family bestiary c. s. xiii [2/4]. Douce 88A also contains Odo of Cheriton's *Fables* but it lacks the Desert Fathers and *Penitentiale Reymundi* and also includes the Life of the Cross and other texts in the same hand which are not part of the listing for BA1.470.

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[130] BCBB BA1.650, p. 761; Baxter 1998, p. 187 and p. 217; *ALCD* p. 266 (TCD 360, fol. 47, column 1, book number 22) a) 'Penitentiale Reymundi et in eodem libro, b) Bestiarium, c) vitas patrum et Penitenci [p]ale ( ?) magistri Odonis de Ciretune.
[131] BCBB, BA1.650, p. 761.
[132] BCBB BA1.650, pp. 760-1

Nevertheless it is mentioned here to demonstrate the possibility that BA1.470 may have included a Second family bestiary.

**4. BA1.755d:** *De naturis auium et animalium moralizatis*
2o fol.: *intellegere.*
No shelfmark but placed between two entries D.9 G.4
Date of entry into the Library: Contents copied in a late fourteenth century book: c.1350-1400?

This entry in the medieval catalogue appears in the section on sermon aids. This position may mean it was a late insertion into the catalogue as the leading text (on the letters of Mary's name) is a lecture not specifically a sermon aid and the actual book may have been shelved elsewhere.[133]

The St Augustine's Abbey catalogue gives the first of six entries for the *collectiones* of a John Hawkhurst who was either the Abbot of the Abbey (1427-30) or possibly a monk who was ordained deacon there in 1452 (this confusion arises since abbots are usually, but not always, given their title in the catalogue). Abbot John had two rather mixed collections of works (the four other Hawkhurst volumes contained classical works, e.g. Cicero's *De amicitia*, BA1.1013). None of these books are extant.[134] This late date might seem to imply that the contents are outside the remit of this thesis but the incipits can be traced to another work which belonged to a St Augustine's monk within the timeframe.

Although this St Augustine volume is not extant, a late fourteenth century copy and an early fifteenth-century one were made at separate points (that is, both have been identified from their matching incipits but the later was not copied from the earlier) and both copies were at Worcester Cathedral in the fifteenth century. The earlier fourteenth- century one is now Oxford, Bod. Auct F. inf. 1.3, Part A and the early fifteenth-century version is now Worcester Cathedral library, MS. Q. 56. Four of the five works listed in this St Augustine entry appear in these two extant books (only the work on chess is omitted). Chapter Three discusses the

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[133] BCBB BA1.755, pp. 806-7, *ALCD* p. 2 74 (fol.51, column 1) a)*Tractatus qui ist incipit hoc nomen maria cum tabula et in eodem libro* b) *Narraciones diuerse* c) *Liber de moribus hominum et officiis nobilium compositus super ludo scaccorum* d) De *naturis auium et animalium moralizatis et* e) *Exempla extracta de Joh' Crisostomo super matheum.* The donor is listed as 'Johis hawkherst'.
[134] BCBB, p. 807.

extant manuscripts. The contents began with eight lessons on Blessed Virgin Mary with the incipit '*Hoc nomen maria habet quinque littera*' (The name Maria has five letters), with a table; then '*narraciones diuerse*' (possibly the eighty-six *collectiones* on nature duly moralized which appear in both Worcester manuscripts); thirdly a tract by Jacobus de Cessolis's book on chess, *Libellus de moribus hominum et de officiis nobilium super ludo scaccorum*' (not copied into either Worcester manuscript); then *De naturis auium et animalium moralizatis* the extracts from animal *exempla* discussed below; and finally, *exempla extracta de Johanne Crisostomo super matheum*, excerpts from ps-John Chrysostom on Matthew. Probably it was Carmelite devotion to the Virgin Mary that prompted this copying of this volume.

The Worcester manuscripts re-title the fourth St Augustine entry *De naturis auium et animalium moralizatis* (*On the moralized nature of birds and beasts*) to '*Tractatus de volucribus et bestiis et earum naturis cum applicatione*' (*Treatise of birds and beasts and their natures with applications*) but begin with the same incipit '*Duae sunt species accipitris [Domesticus et Silvestris]*' ('There are two types of hawk, domestic and wild'), a line from the bestiary but also used in the *Aviarium*.[135] The rest of the incipits match the St Augustine's Abbey catalogue, so there is a possibility that both texts copied a different fourth text, although this seems unlikely. This work has been identified by Barker-Benfield as 'presumably' a series of *exempla* on animals rather than a complete bestiary, since this is what appears in the two Worcester manuscripts.[136] This thesis identifies these as extracts from an Aviary with a *Dicta Chrysostomi* bestiary to which further notes from Alexander Neckam's *De Natura Rerum* have been added. The second entry in the St Augustine's catalogue for BA1.755b (and the eighth in BA1.1558g) '*Narraciones diuerse*', have also been matched to the Worcester manuscripts. They are abbreviated and tabulated lists originally taken from the bestiary and other sources (incipit *Avis rapax, sumit audaciam ad rapiendum*, 'A predatory bird, it takes courage to rob') and may date from the late thirteenth century, as they form one of the three *collectiones* of Hamo of Higham, (1272-1284)

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[136] BCBB p. 807, Thomson *Worcester*, 2001, p. 155.

who gave eighteen books to the library, and whose work included the supervision of novices.

Although the extant manuscripts are later than the period under discussion and may have been copied from books produced for St Augustine monks also after the timeframe, there remain several points of interest which may justify their inclusion here. Firstly, Barker-Benfield considered the number of matching incipits as a sign of the high degree of copying activity at St Augustine's. This chapter suggests this may have occurred in the timeframe 1273-1360. Secondly, the link to Hamo of Higham warrants attention because he was a monk under the abbacies of Nicholas Thorne and Thomas Findon and his large donation of books may be interpreted as an indication of the success of the *de acquisitione* policy. Thirdly, as Hamo was involved in the training of novices, he may have found the short excerpts from the bestiary a useful educational aid.

### 5. BA1.*758d (* denotes extant): *De natura Bestiarum et auium* [137]

2o fol. *Cantore*
Shelfmark: D.9 G.4 (in book D.7 G.4)
Date of Entry into the Library: c. s.xiii[1]

As Baxter pointed out, this is one of the books given by Adam the Sub prior (*fl.*1200) who seems to have had a particular interest in bestiaries, as he bequeathed three copies to the Abbey. Barker-Benfield has added a fourteenth to Baxter's list, a volume on civil law, deduced from his analyses of cross-references of the original catalogue.[138] This catalogue reference is listed among works on the mass and sacraments. These books would have been shelved at Distinctio 9, Gradus 4. The shelfmark in the book itself seemed to refer to D.7 G.4, (the ink has now faded beyond recognition but it was recorded by both Ker and Omont) which implies

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[137] BCBB BA1.*758, pp. 809-11, *ALCD* p. 274: a) *Expositio misse et in eodem libro* b) *Miribilia que sunt in Britannia* c) *Exposicio misse versifice* d) *De natura Bestiarum et auium* e) *Exposicio super Apocalipsim* f) *Miraculum quod[d]am quod contigit in ecclesia sancti Magni Martiris* g) *Miraculum de duobus militibus quod contigit in alemannia* h) *Gesti Alexandri* i) *De Pussibz [pulsibus]* j) *Venarum cognicio* k) *Lapidarius tripliciter versifice latine et gallice et* l) *Quibus oris vena aperienda sit ade supprioris.*
[138] Baxter 1998, pp. 215-216, p. 149, pp. 172-175, p.191, pp. 196-9, p. 212; BCBB p. 811.

that the volume may have originally dwelt among the theology books.[139] As the main work is an exposition of the mass, the original shelfmark may have been an error.

The detailed study of the unillustrated First family bestiary in this extant book, now BnF NAL 873, will be presented in Chapter Four. The catalogue reference is included here for comparison and completeness.

## 6. BA1.869a: *Bestiarum Ade Supprioris*

2° fol: *deret in*
Shelfmark: not given but listed between books indicated as at D.10 G.6
Date of Entry into the Library: c. s.xiii[1]

This was the second bestiary donated by Adam the Sub prior which was absorbed into the Abbey's library on his death. BA1.869a contains only one work, the bestiary, so the Book List gives a second folio reference. This is 'deret in' which Baxter thought was possibly a reference to a slightly misspelt 'videri[e]t in mare' and he linked this entry to a 'Laud type', i.e. a First family bestiary, a conclusion with which Barker-Benfield agrees.[140] 'Viderit' occurs in the fourth chapter on the *serra* (sawfish); in an unillustrated bestiary of similar date (BL Royal 2 C XII) this falls at the start of the second folio (fig. 2.08).[141]

This chapter considers a different viewpoint, not only because the attribution rests on a scribal error, 'videret' for 'viderit', but because BL Royal 2 C XII is an unillustrated, large two-column volume (340 x 240 mm), which is an unusual size and layout for a bestiary. The second folio reference is of course specific to each manuscript, the point here is that a two column format in book of above average height for a bestiary will mean that the same words in a slightly smaller, and more

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[139] BCBB p. 811, quotes Neil Ker's *MLGB* card index held in Bodleian Library, Oxford; H. Omont, 'Nouvelles acquisitions du département des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale pendant les années 1905-1906', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes Revue d.Érudition*, T.68 (1907), 5-74, p. 16-17.

[140] Baxter 1998, p. 173 and BCBB, p. 811.

[141] Baxter 1998, p. 173, London, BL Royal 2 C XII (s.xiii[1], 340 x 240 mm, 2 columns, bestiary, fols. 133-146), partial *ex libris* of Thomas de Bredone, Abbot, St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, 1224-1228; Mann, 1889; Ilya Dines, 'The Bestiary in British Library, Royal MS. 2 C. XII and its Role in Medieval Education', *Electronic British Library Journal*, (2014), 1-22 discusses it as a schoolbook, but its large size makes this perhaps unlikely.

usual single column format book will fall well beyond the second folio of BL Royal C XIX. Moreover, there is a non-variant spelling of the second folio 'deret in' found in 'patre descen**deret in** uterum virgini' from the second paragraph of the *primo natura* section of the lion. This could apply to both illustrated Transitional and to Second family bestiaries, which frustratingly widens the field even more. However, Second family bestiaries' second folios usually begin with the chapter on the tiger (for example, Oxford, Bodl. Bodley 533 and BL Additional 11283).

It seems more likely that this particular bestiary was an illustrated Transitional bestiary (without a prefatory cycle) rather than an unillustrated First family bestiary such as BL Royal 2 C XII. Extant Transitional bestiaries without their prefatory cycle do exist, although they are all later than the late twelfth- to early thirteenth-century dates of Adam the sub-prior.[142] The earliest Transitional bestiaries (all with a prefatory cycle) date from the last third of twelfth century.[143] One of these, St Petersburg, Russian National Library Saltykov-Shchedrin Lat.Q.v.V. 1, is a late twelfth-century Transitional bestiary which has a prefatory cycle partly in a different hand, but the second folio of the bestiary ('Ecco in dormitabit neque dormiet qui custodit' from the second nature of the Lion) is just a few lines further on than the St Augustine's catalogue entry notes 'deret in' occurs in the first nature of the Lion. The wording falls on the penultimate line of fol. 6v of BL Royal 12 C XIX, an illustrated Transitional bestiary with a creation cycle. If that prefatory cycle were excluded, then the phrase is one line from the start of the second folio.

This chapter reasons that Adam the Sub prior owned not only the extant unillustrated First family bestiary identified by Baxter as BnF NAL 873 and matched to the St Augustine's Abbey catalogue entry BA1.*758, but he also owned what was possibly an illustrated Transitional bestiary without a prefatory cycle. This

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[142] Transitional bestiaries without a prefatory cycle: Cambridge, Gonville and Caius 384/604, Baxter, 1998, c. 1275 and 1300, p. 147; Morgan II, 1987, c. 1270-1290, p. 172; Cambridge, Trinity College, R.14.9, Clark 2006, 'mid-thirteenth century', p. 252 but Morgan, II, 1987, 1260-1270, p. 129; Baxter 1998, p. 147 thought ca. 1275-1300. The Transitional bestiary in Cotton Vespasian E. X, fols. 6r- 43v , s. xiii[ex] - s. xiv[in] Stewart, 2012 Appendix 1, p. 3.
[143] C. White, *Ark to Pulpit*, 2008; I. Dines, 'The problem of the Transitional Family of bestiaries', *Reinardus*, 24 (2011-2012), 29-52. Stewart 2012, pp. 122-173.

is significant since it is evidence that Adam possessed different types of bestiary rather than three copies of the same recension, as Baxter concluded, and indicates that he may have worked on the First family and Transitional family before copying another version into a volume of his own *collectiones*. This is important as it presents the possibility that a variety of bestiary versions were available to twelfth- and early thirteenth-century Canterbury monks and the implications of this are discussed in Chapter Four.

## 7. BA1.1557a: *Tractatus de naturis bestiarum* [144]

2º fol.: *feminas*
Shelfmark:  D.8 G.5
Date of Entry into the Library: c. s.xiii[1]

This entry is discussed out of catalogue numerical order because, were it extant, the book would be the third volume from the collection of Adam the Sub-prior which contained a bestiary. It is listed in the section of the medieval catalogue (BA1.1550-BA1.1660a) that contains the collection books (or *collectiones*) of monks and it is not in subject order. Although not extant, it is discussed it with its extant sister volume (BA1.*758 now BnF NAL 873) in Chapter Four as it contains what would have been an early copy of Nigel Witeker's *Speculum Stultorum*. This chapter confines itself to the discussion prompted by the catalogue entry.

Baxter stated that the second folio '*feminas*' indicated that this *tractatus de naturis bestiarum* was another First family bestiary, since he writes that this word appears in the third chapter on the Firestones.[145] However, it is not '*feminas*' but '*femina*' which is used in the Firestones chapter. Only in Transitional and Second family bestiaries does the word '*feminas*' appear early enough to be a *secondo folio*.[146] It

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[144] BCBB BA1.1557, a) *Colleciones eiusdem cum b. in quibus continentur tractatus de naturis bestiarum* b) *Item phisonomia* c) *Relacio de Ioseph et asenach* d) *Compotus Brandani* e) *Proverbia undecunque collecta* f) *Accusatio duorum Judicum in Susannam* g) *Dissuasio Valerii de uxore ducenda ad ruffinam* h) *Versus flaviani ad quintillianum de curia vitanda* i) *Fabule esopi* j) *Lapidarium* k) *Epistola Nigelli* l) *Speculum stultiorum et alia,* sec. fol.: *feminas.*

[145] Baxter 1998, p. 173 'the *secundo folio: feminas* in 1557 is probably from *lapides igniferi*, another chapter found only at the start of Laud-type bestiaries.' BCBB p. 1470 confirms the 2o. fol. as '*feminas*'.

[146] 'femina' appears in the Firestones, the Viper, and the Elephant chapters, 'feminas' only appears in the Transitional and Third family bestiaries.

is found in the phrase '*In viros potius quam in feminas seviunt*' in the chapter on the Lion and its third nature. In the large deluxe Aberdeen Bestiary, which is a Second family bestiary that dates from around 1210, it is on the twentieth line out of thirty on the *verso* of the first page of the bestiary text.  In Oxford, Bodl., Douce 88A, a smaller, illustrated Second family bestiary, 'feminas' appears on the fourth line from the bottom of the first folio verso. In Pierpont Morgan M 81 (a Transitional bestiary with a prefatory cycle) it is the second line on the *verso* of the second folio of the bestiary text, which is rather too far away. So although it has not been possible to find a manuscript match, the library catalogue's note of the *secondo folio* still allows this (BA1.1557) one of Adam's bestiaries to be strongly considered to have contained a Second Family bestiary as its first entry. This means Adam owned a First family, and possibly one Transitional, and one Second family bestiary rather than three of the same as Baxter thought.[147]

### 8. BA1.\*870a: *Bestiarium*

2o fol: *enim Greco*
Shelfmark: D.10 G.6
Date of Entry into the Library: c. 1240-131 s.xii/s.xiii [148]

This extant Third family bestiary appears in the catalogue at fol.59, column 2, as book number 18 and is given a shelfmark of *Distinctio*10 *Gradus* 6. While it has no corroborating shelfmark, the extant manuscript matches the catalogue entry (although some texts are lost) and also, a key point, the second folio.  The book now Oxford, Bodleian Douce 88E (or Douce 88 II) was identified by N R Ker as *ALCD* 870 (BA1.\*870).[149]

According to the catalogue entry, it belonged to Henry of Burham (Henrici de Burgham), who is not recorded elsewhere. This book is his sole contribution to the monastic library. Henry's volume contained eighteen other sometimes single leaf texts and its 'messy compilation' gave the *Book List* compilers a great deal of

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[147] Baxter 1998, p. 173.
[148] Baxter dates Douce 88E to 1240-1260, Dines: c. 1280, Barker-Benfield: s. xiii ᵉˣ but a text with this bestiary refers to popes from the beginning of the fourteenth century.
[149] *MLGB*, p. 46.

work.[150]   Baxter considers it to date from around 1240-60, which would more closely match the Second family bestiary present in the same volume, Oxford, Bodl. Douce 88A. Dines dates the bestiary to c. 1280 and emphasises that rather than merely a 'clumsy' work, this was a clever adaptation of certain illustrations from a First family bestiary (now Oxford, Bodl., Bodley 602) to a Third family text (see figs. 2.09-11).

There is no direct evidence to suggest Bodley 602 was a Canterbury, let alone a St Augustine's book (which is why it is not included in the list of bestiaries discussed in detail in this thesis). Nevertheless, the bestiary in Douce 602 (fols 4r - 36r) has a Laud type First family bestiary text and its designs (for example, the Sirens) were copied in Douce 88E. Unlike the monochrome Laud Misc. 247, Douce 602 has a bright colour palette reflected in Douce 88E. Douce 602 also has an *Aviarium* (fols. 36v-65v, missing the last eight chapters). Morgan noted that Bodley 602 has an earlier *ex libris* to a Benedictine House at Hatfield Peverall in Essex before its late fifteenth-century owner, an Augustinian canon from Newark Priory near Guildford.[151]

Ilya Dines links Douce 88E not to St Augustine's Abbey but to Lincoln where William de Montibus (who Dines believed constructed the Third family bestiary) was Chancellor from 1183 until his death in 1213.[152] This interesting theory does present some problems. Rod Thomson points out that there is no record that any of William de Montibus's books were at Lincoln Cathedral Priory. However, there is plenty of evidence that his books were known in Canterbury

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[150] BCBB BA1.*870, pp. 898-902, at p. 899, contents *ALCD* p. 290: a)*Bestiarium et in eodem libro* b)*Prognosticationes* c) *Quedam mirabilia Indie* d) *Quedam de rege Alexandro* e) *Expeditiones eiusdem in Iudica* f) *Versus Sibille de diecem iudicii g) Narration qualiter [Ihesus] fuit sacerdos in templo* h) *De xii abusionibus seculi* i) *Sermo Augustini in quo describit que sit vera penitentia* j) *Ymago mundi* k) *Epistola Alex' ad Aristotelem de situ Indie* l) *Epistola bragmanorum ad Alexandrum* m) *Versus de Roma* n) *Versus de proprietatibus arborum* o) *Versus de proprietatibus de herbarum* p) *De mirabilis Anglie et* q) *Alii quedam propheta paparum* r) *Nominale et verbale et* s)*Versus de Susanna,* F. Madan, S*ummary Catalogue,* 4, 1897, pp. 516-7, SC 21662  Douce 88 A & E (BA1.*870); Douce 89 is BA1.*1565, BCBB p. 1481.
[151] Morgan I, p. 101.
[152] I. Dines, 'The Copying and Imitation of Images in Medieval Bestiaries', *JBAA*, 167 (2014), 70-82.

soon after they were written.[153] William's pupil, Richard de Wetheringsett, became Chancellor of Cambridge University in 1222, and it is possible the same man was also Archbishop of Canterbury from 1229 until his death in 1231, which may be one explanation for why the William de Montibus's books were in Canterbury.[154]

Douce 88E was donated to St Augustine's Library, as the name of the donor was included in the catalogue entry title. This means the donor noted in the catalogue, Henry Burham, was probably a monk there. Barker-Benfield gives a date range for the volume from the end of the thirteenth century to the beginning of the fourteenth, as in Douce 88E item q) ff.140r-146v, on papal prophecies *Genus nequam*, cannot be earlier than 1304-5, since it includes Boniface VIII (1294-1303) and possibly Benedict IX (1303-4) which would warrant the later dating.

Dines considers the evidence of the St Augustine catalogue unimportant, as he believes it dates from the late fifteenth-century. Yet, as Barker-Benfield has proven, the catalogue exemplar has recoverable entries from the original catalogue from the fourteenth century and it still retains information on donors and borrowers from the late thirteenth century. It also seems likely that Douce 88E dates to the start of the fourteenth century, given the dates of other texts with which it was bound. So there is far less of a gap between catalogue entry and bestiary date than Dines has perhaps realised – although still more than enough time for a book to move from Lincoln to St Augustine's. Yet, as Thomson states that there were no copies of any de Montibus works at Lincoln, it seems at least as likely, and indeed more probable, that Henry Burham's Third family bestiary, Oxford Bodl., Douce 88E, on the evidence of the catalogue and the volume's contents was produced at St Augustine's Abbey rather than at Lincoln.

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[153] *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library*, ed. by R. M. Thomson, (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, 1989), p. xv n.23.

[154] J. Goering, 'Wetheringsett , Richard of (fl. c.1200–c.1230)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). Nigel Wireker's c. s.iii[in] 'distinctiones Alphabetum' was possibly de Montibus, *Distinctiones Theologicae*. *Distinctiones Theologie* also owned by William of Northwich of Christ Church; Michael of Northgate's 'distinctiones lincoln' in his 'C' volume (BA1.1595); Richard of Canterbury, c. s.xiii[ex] owned de Montibus *Numerales*.

**9. BA1.1564**
**a: *Colleciones Joh' pistoris cum A in quibus continentur de natura quarundam avium cum suis moralitatibus,***
**b\* *Item de naturis bestiarum et avium cum suis moralitatibus***

2o folio: (original no longer extant in the book) *Amat*
Shelfmark: D 8 G 4
Date of Entry into the Library: possibly after 1265 (derived from reference in Booklet IV).[155]

This volume contained some form of *Aviarium*, followed by Second family bestiary chapters of birds, of which just the final three folios remain, with various selected chapters on birds from end of the chapter on the Parrot (*psitacus*) to the Bees, extant in its original binding.[156] Oxford, Bod. MS Rawl. C. 77 has been identified as BA1.\*1564 by Barker-Benfield. [157] It is one of ten volumes donated by the thirteenth century monk, John Pistor. His BA1.\*1565 is also extant (Douce 89). In fol. 1r, line 7 Rawl, C. 77 adds *corporis* to *hominis* as found in Douce 88A.

**10. M1848c: *Bestiarium***

No second folio nor shelfmark known
Date of Entry into the Library: 1340

This entry is not mentioned by either James or Baxter as the medieval *Book List* finishes at 1837 volumes, eleven volumes before this reference. However, the existence of this volume has been deduced by Barker-Benfield from references entered in other volumes in the medieval library catalogue, and identified as *collecciones cum .H.*[158] It is a reference to one of the thirty volumes given by Michael of Northgate, who Hanna calls Dan Michel de Northgate as the Kentish dialect for Dom is Dan.[159] His bequest is missing the 'H' volume elsewhere in the catalogue.

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[155] BCBB, BA1. 1564, pp. 1478-1481, at p. 1481.
[156] *Latin* Writers, p. 338, Bodl. Rawl. C. 77, first text (a) is missing, the bestiary (b) extant from end of the parrot chapter.
[157] BCBB BA1.1564, pp. 1478-1481.
[158] BCBB, BA1.536.5, BA1.638.4 and BA1.869 and BA1.\*870.
[159] R. Hanna, 'Dan Michel of Northgate and his books', *Medieval Manuscripts, Their Makers and Users: A Special Issue of Viator in Honor of Richard and Mary Rouse* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 213-224.

This contained a copy of *Filia Magistri*, followed by *Cherubim de confessionibus* with the *bestiarum* as the final text.[160]

This bestiary reference is an important find since it emphasises Michael's interest in the natural world, as well as in alchemy and magic.[161] Barker-Benfield pondered whether Michael's interest in magic and science gave way to devotion as he aged, as his famous translation of *le Somme le roi* as *Ayenbite of Inwit* (BL Arundel 57) is written in a 'wavery' hand, but Michael certainly did not consider his collected works on alchemy required purging.[162] Klaassen points to BA1.1170 (Oxford, CCC 221) where the *De Natura Rerum* and Gregory's *Dialogues* are joined by texts on magic to postulate that it was natural wonders and *mirabilia* which emphasised divine power and omniscience that were of interest to Michael, perhaps for use in his sermons because Michael had been an ordained priest at St Gregory's before he became a monk at St Augustine's.[163] The bestiary, with its wondrous as well as mundane animals, and its references to the properties of stones, and plants (such as the mysterious mandrake) fits into Michael's exploration of the nature of the monstrous, miraculous, and magical.

**Conclusion on St Augustine's Abbey bestiary catalogue entries**

This section has sought to discover the type, number, and patterns of ownership and readership which may be deduced from the catalogue when contextualised by an understanding of the place, space, ownership and readership of St Augustine Abbey's books. The holdings of bestiaries and related texts at St Augustine's Abbey fall into two distinct periods. The first is that of the late twelfth century to the early thirteenth century, due to the collection of Adam the Sub-prior with his

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[160] BCBB M1848, p. 1714, pp. 1851-1854; W. R. Knorr, 'Two medieval monks and their astronomy books: MSS Bodley 464 and Rawlinson C. 117', *Bodleian Library Record* 14 (1993), 269–84; F. Klaassen, *The Transformations of Magic: Illicit Learned Magic in the Later Middle Ages and Renaissance* (University Park PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013), pp. 54-44; S. Page, *Magic in the Cloister: Pious Motives, Illicit Interests, and Occult Approaches to the Medieval Universe*, (University Park, PA; Penn State University Press, 2013), pp. 19-20, p. 34.
[161] *ALCD*, p. lxxvii, on three natural history books including Aristotle *de Animalibus* and Roger Bacon's 'Experimental Science'.
[162] BCBB, p. 1852.
[163] Klaassen, *Transformations*, 2013, pp. 52-53, BCBB BA1.*1170.

three bestiaries.  It now seems more likely that Adam owned different recensions of bestiaries and the implications of this finding are discussed in Chapter 4.

The second period fits quite snugly into the Thorne/Findon/de Bourne intellectual and cultural revival of the Abbey.  The deluxe Psalter owned by Richard of Canterbury (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, G. 53, c. 1310-20) was illuminated by the artist of the Queen Mary Psalter (Royal 2 B VII), a prestigious book which contains a bestiary cycle.[164] This is an indication of the fine quality of illuminated books available to the monks of St Augustine's Abbey, a wealthy institution perhaps keen to emphasise its splendour in the face of its rival Christ Church.

In contrast, the three folio survival of a bestiary in an unillustrated collection-book, Rawlinson C. 77, remains a key fragment; it links the *Aviarium* and the bestiary to sermon preaching, and brings Douce 88A closer to St Augustine's Abbey than Barker-Benfield considered.  Hamo de Higham's short extracts on bestiary and related topics (BA1.1558) also dates to this period and informs our thinking of how the bestiary was used to teach novices.  BA1.1558 and BA1.755 indicate that thirteenth-century monks who attended the Paris schools (which became a University by charter in 1215) may have brought back a French bestiary/*Aviarium* combination, such as Sloane 278, that was also subsequently excerpted. Henry de Cockering appears to have used his bestiary to engage more deeply with other spiritual works. This information garnered from the medieval catalogue indicates the variety of purposes for which the bestiary was read, owned, and used.

## Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has emphasised the importance of the bestiary by examining the references to it in the Canterbury monastic library catalogues. The chapter has also focused on the place and space where books (including the bestiary) were produced and read. It has emphasised how the space for books was configured and

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[164] Sandler, No. 57, pp. 66-67; BCBB pp. 1741-2.

shaped to form an integrated part of the monastic enclosed life; places in which to think, to study, and to pray. Alexandra Walsham notes

> Religious belief and knowledge must be acknowledged as critical agents in the making of physical environments…and of the ways in which they have been perceived, interpreted and experienced across the centuries.[165]

The monastic environment also shaped beliefs, thought modes, and communal memory in the regular life of the monks, as part of a sacred and highly symbolic space. Their books and where they kept and studied them mattered to the monks too.

Spatial dynamics furthers our understanding of how the Canterbury monks of both houses used the interconnected spaces of their monastery and in particular, their library, carrels and various book storage spaces. Both documentary evidence and standing archaeological remains reveal the changing patterns of the use of books by monks and others via their journeys, discussed by Gilchrist as an 'embodied perspective' of sacred space.[166] This physical movement involved, for example, visiting the library to locate required texts; fetching books to copy or to study in the cloister carrels; or borrowing one to read and ruminate upon in the cloisters, is part not only of the monastic routine but also, this study contends, a fruitful interaction of space, place, movement and objects in what Paul Crossley has termed a *ductus* or flow. *Ductus* mirrors the pen's flowing moves as it traces letters across the page and is akin to the procession of monks through their cathedral (and beyond in procession through the streets of Canterbury on occasions). Professor Crossley has linked architecture to rhetoric, defined as a journey through a work of art, via *loci* and logical flow, and used Chartres Cathedral as a case study to demonstrate how the built space and its sculpture and artworks were designed to enhance the experience of clergy and pilgrims as they processed through the Cathedral and the crypt.[167] Anglo-Saxon processions are a key aspect

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[165] A. Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, & Memory in Early Modern Britain & Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 565.

[166] R. Gilchrist, 'Monastic and Church Archaeology', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 43 (2014), 235–50, p. 246.

[167] Crossley, 'Ductus and memoria', 2010; T. A. Heslop, 'Contemplating Chimera in Medieval Imagination: St. Anselm's Crypt at Canterbury', ed. by L. Golden, *Raising the Eyebrow: John Onians*

of Helen Gittos's argument on the active dynamic of Anglo-Saxon monastic life, while monastic public reading spaces in the Chapter House and Refectory have been explored by Tessa Webber.[168] Sheila Sweetinburgh has focused on the monastic practice of gathering in the monks' cemetery for commemoration of the dead; Barker-Benfield has discussed how Abbot Findon's revised *de acquisitione* process described in Thorne's Chronicle added masses for the commemoration of 'those through whom the library had been improved in any way'.[169] This is a whole body movement of memorisation, learning, and sense perception that is linked to two vital monastic precepts: their spiritual journey (*sensus spiritualis*) and their *opus dei. Ductus* connected to the *sensus spiritualis* which included the grammatical, rhetorical, dialectical, and moral and spiritual understanding of biblical and patristic exegesis, emphasised in the bestiary. *Ductus* also linked the monks' vocation (their desire, calling, or '*voluntas*') and their divine worship. The *Opus Dei* and their mental spiritual pilgrimage, their '*ratio*' and '*intellectus*', was linked to memory, as St Augustine of Hippo wrote

> And I enter the fields and spacious halls of memory, where are stored as treasures the countless images that have been brought into them from all manner of things by the senses. There, in the memory, is likewise stored what we cogitate.[170]

This chapter argues that *ductus* may also be applied to monks' physical and intellectual use of their libraries (as well as in their books) as both communal memory repositories and keys to illumination because *ductus* links space, place and flow to memory, perception and cognition. The old library and the *bochouse* were at the intersection of Chapter House and carrel, cloister and sacred space; mind to memory; body to soul. The catalogue entries demonstrate that the bestiary continued to be read in positive and dynamic ways, for study, teaching, meditation,

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*and World Art Studies: An Album Amicorum in his honour*, (Oxford: BAR International, 2001) on Christ Church monks processing through the crypt.
[168] H. Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 105; T. Webber, 2013, pp. 221-240.
[169] S. Sweetinburgh, 2010, 257-266; BCBB p. lxxx, n. 68.
[170] '*et venio in campos et lata praetoria memoriae, ubi sunt thesauri innumerabilium imaginum de cuius cemodi rebus sensis invectarum. Ibi reconditum est, quidquid etiam cogitamus,*' St Augustine, *Confessionum* 10.8, *PL* 32 col. 784; *The Confessions of St. Augustine,* ed. A C. Oulter (Mineola, NY: Dover Publ., 2002), p. 178.

and preaching at St Augustine's and Christ Church. Patterns of bestiary ownership widened; there is evidence for both later medieval Benedictine preaching and for a continuance in the search for a spiritual understanding of the natural world. Far from in decline, the catalogue entries indicate that the bestiary at St Augustine's Abbey and Christ Church Priory was flourishing. This evidence now needs to be compared to that for extant bestiaries from Canterbury, the topic of the next chapter.

## Chapter 3
## The bestiary in Canterbury: assessing the manuscript evidence

T his thesis argues that the medieval Latin prose bestiary played an important role in the construction and shaping of the monastic culture of Canterbury. This chapter analyses what can be said about the bestiaries in Canterbury between 1100 and 1350. Extant examples are examined and evidence for their production and traceable communal or personal ownership is considered. The chapter begins with bestiaries with the most secure attributions to specific Canterbury monastic houses, because the establishment of the date, and production place and/or early provenance of these bestiaries increases our knowledge of the localized textual tradition. This arrangement immediately highlights those manuscripts which are most important to this thesis.

Most of the fifty-eight bestiaries identified as English have been excluded for one of the two reasons discussed in the introduction; either there is no available evidence for their attribution to any specific location (e.g. BL Burney 327, designated as of 'indeterminate origin') or they have secure attributions to other locations.[1] The Rochester *Physiologus* (BL Royal 6 A. XI) and the Rochester Bestiary (BL Royal 12 F XIII) fall into the second category; they have been excluded because they are from Rochester Cathedral Priory, the daughter-house of Christ Church Cathedral Priory: both have early Rochester *ex libris* marks.[2]

The bestiaries have been selected because firstly; there is evidence that they may have been produced in Canterbury; or secondly; they have codicological, palaeographic, and/or textual evidence of Canterbury patronage or ownership; or thirdly; they were

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[1] Stewart, 2012, Appendix 1, p. 7; Clark, 2006, p. 250, 'from 'England or France'.
[2] M. Richards, 'Texts and Their Traditions in the Medieval Library of Rochester Cathedral Priory', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, New Series, 78 (1988), i-142, p. 35 on BL Royal 6 A XI; Baxter 1998, pp. 175-6; Clark, pp. 235-237; Morgan I, N°. 64, p. 111, BL Royal 12 F XIII.

possibly produced by illustrators and/or scribes associated with Canterbury, between 1093 and 1360. They have been chosen by examination of the primary source evidence i.e. the manuscript's codicological or palaeographical evidence which matches them to proven Canterbury manuscripts; and where other scholars' comparative palaeographical or iconographical or textual analysis opinion concurs. For example, Bodl. Laud Misc. 247 had been considered a Canterbury manuscript by M. R. James and it matches codicological evidence from two Canterbury manuscripts, although not written in the house 'prickly' script. This chapter arranges the chosen bestiaries according to their association with St Augustine's, then to Christ Church, followed by those considered to be from Canterbury but which are not currently attributed to either house. A discussion of the major points of interest germane to the thesis is presented for each bestiary and an appendix for each bestiary contains a manuscript description.

**Bestiaries from St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury**

The two bestiaries and an extant fragment from St Augustine's Abbey cover three different types and periods. This range allows changes in the Latin bestiary in Canterbury to be examined over the time frame. There is a late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century First family bestiary (Paris, BnF, Nouvelle Acquisition Latin Ms 873); a mid-thirteenth century fragment of Second family bestiary extracts (in its original binding and most of its subsequent contents, now Oxford, Bodleian, Rawlinson C. 77); and an illustrated Third family early-fourteenth century bestiary (later rebound with a partial Second family text), with original accompanying works (Oxford, Bodleian, Douce 88E). The evidence of reception and readership deduced from these extant manuscripts, such as matching texts, annotations, and other marginalia can then be added to the information on bestiary references garnered from the medieval catalogue discussed in Chapter Two. Bestiary ownership, patronage, reading, and copying practices of this textual community might then be established by the collation of this bibliographical evidence and the biographical information on the monks.

**1. BnF NAL 873**                    s. xii/xiii     figs. 3.01, 3.02

**Discussion:**

This is an important bestiary for this thesis because it has a firm attribution to St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, by shelfmark and catalogue entry. Before this discussion focuses on the bestiary itself, some preliminary points will be made on the later history of the book, and then on the early owner and his other books. The differences among scholars as to this volume's date are also addressed as this has repercussions for the date of the owner's other two non-extant bestiaries.

Where this book was between the Dissolution and its ownership by Archbishop Tennison (d. 1715) is not known. Tennison's books, bequeathed to St Martin's Library in Westminster, were sold in 1861 and the whereabouts of this volume (lot 88), were then unknown until 1905-6 when Henri Omont deciphered the shelfmark on the medieval flyleaf of the new acquisition to the Bibliothéque national de France, BnF NAL 873, and demonstrated the book was from St Augustine's Abbey.[1]

However, it was Baxter who discussed the book (and its bestiary) in detail; he noted it had belonged to Adam the Sub-prior of the Abbey around the turn of the twelfth/thirteenth century by its matched entry in the St Augustine's medieval library catalogue (BA1.*758).[2] The volume was one of Adam's fourteen books bequeathed to the Abbey on his death. His name as usual was added in the genitive ('*Ade supprioris*') and became part of the book title in the later library listing, as his book of Neckam's *Sermones* demonstrates (Oxford, Bodl. Wood empt. 13 (SC8601) BA1.*675).  Each of Adam's bequests were recorded in the medieval library catalogue which means Adam's interest in preaching, scriptural exegesis, the natural world and medicine can be gauged by his book ownership.[3] This information can be augmented

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[1] H. Omont, 'Nouvelles acquisitions du département des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale pendant les années 1905-1906', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes Revue d.Érudition*, T.68 (1907), 5-74.

[2] BCBB pp. 809-811.

[3] Adam's books and their lead texts are in BCBB: 1. BA1. 304, Ps. Antony of Padua (d.1231), *Concordantiae morales Bibliorum*; 2. BA1.405, Gregory the Great, *De cura pastorali*; 3. BA1.*675, Alexander Nequam (d.1217), *Sermones*; 4. BA1.692, *Sermones*; 5. BA1.*758,

by his appearance in the documentary records for the monastery. Adam was Chamberlain around 1200 and Sacrist in 1215, he must have been made sub-prior (third in command after the Abbot and Prior) after this date.[4] Adam's three bestiaries (BA1.869, 758, and 1557), his copy of Aesop's Fables (BA1. 1557), a *Cosmographia* by Bernard Silvestris and the *Speculum Stultorum* by Nigel Wireker, imply an intense interest in the natural world and in beast literature.[5] Baxter has highlighted that Adam's collection of medical tests in BA1.758 (with the lapidaries) point to Adam's earlier role as Chamberlain, when he would have been responsible for health and regular bleeding the monks. Baxter did not mention Adam's own short work on veins which certainly reflects this role too (BA1.*758m). Adam's three volumes which contain sermons (BA1. 304, BA1. 675, and BA1.1557, his Bible *Concordance* (BA1.304b) and his works on pastoral care by and on Gregory the Great (BA1.1556) emphasise his homiletic activity. It is suggested that preaching was part of his remit as sub-prior for the spiritual care of the monks.[6]

BnF NAL 873 begins with a text on the exposition of the mass, then an extract from Nennius (fols. 16v.-17v) before a second work on the mass, Hildebert's *De mysterio missae* (fols. 17v-31r). These two works on the mass explain why the book was shelved under 'Sacramenta' in the library. This is followed by two short works, one from Goscelin's *Life of St Edith* and the other on the Twelve Dancers of Colbeck, which mentions St Edith (fols. 31v-32r and 33v-37r). The bestiary takes up the next twenty folios. The longest text by far is the next one, an anonymous commentary on the Apocalypse (fols. 57v-127r), written by three different scribes and with a great deal of later marginal glossing, such as Clement of Canterbury's long pointing manicules. This is followed by the

Remigius, *Expositio in celebratio missae*; 6. BA1.772, Litany; 7. BA1.869, *Bestiarium*; 8. BA1.1114, Macrobius, *Commentary* on Cicero's *De somno Scipionis*; 9. BA1.1207, *Articella*, medical works; 10. BA1.1406, Reginald of Canterbury (d.1112), *Malchus*; 11. BA1.1556, Isidore of Seville, *Synonyma*; 12. BA1.1557, *Bestiarium*; 13. BA1.1836, Peter of Blois, *Speculum iuris canonici*; 14. M1841, *Tractatus de Accionibus in iure ciuili*.
[4] BCBB, p. 493; Emden, *Donors*, p. 5, p. 27 n. 39, from the *Black Book*, 2 p. 276 and pp. 589-90.
[5] BCBB M1841b, p. 1703, BA1.1557l.
[6] 'A physician of souls', H. Crossley, *The English Abbey* (Huddersfield: Jeremy Mills, repr. 2008), p. 13.

popular Alexander texts (fols. 128r-148r), two very short medical pieces on the pulse (fols. 164r-168v), and then three *lapidaria*, two in Latin and the third in Anglo-Norman prose (170r-197v). The final five folios contain a short extract on the formation of the heavens from Bede's *De Natura Rerum* (fol. 197v), divination pieces, such as unlucky days of the month and signs of impending death (fols. 198r-201r). The last item '*Quibus lunationibus uena sit aluenda*' seems to have been Adam's own work on veins as the medieval catalogue notes '*Quibus oris vena aperienda sit ade supprioris*' (i.e. that which was disclosed from the mouth of Adam the Sub-prior).

This is not a 'primarily a collection of *mirabilia*' as Barker-Benfield suggested; the miracle stories only take up seven of the 201 folios.[7] In contrast, its core works on the sacraments and revelation account for one hundred folios. The secondary texts focus on the wonders of Creation (the bestiary, the Alexander group, the lapidaries) and comprise seventy-two folios. The prognostication and medical texts appear rather like practical quire fillers which nevertheless speak to Adam's interest in medicine.

The fourth item in the volume, the bestiary, was dated to c. 1160-80 by Baxter.[8] However, the last item in the book (on fol. 201v of BnF NAL 873) was by Adam himself according to the catalogue entry. As all the hands in BnF NAL 873 are protogothic, i.e. of the same time period, it is more likely that the book is later than Baxter thought. Baxter also presented evidence for a postdate of ca. 1193 by reference to a treatise by Wireker in the catalogue entry to another of Adam's bestiaries in BA1.1557,

> The gift, if it was made all at one time, must postdate the production of
> the latest work: in this case the *Tractatus Contra Curiales et Officiales Clerico* of
> … Nigel Wireker, (described in the catalogue as *Epistola Nigelli*). This text
> is datable between December 1192 and March 1194 by a reference to the
> captivity of Richard I in Germany.[9]

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[7] BCBB p. 810.
[8] Baxter 1998, p. 149.
[9] Baxter 1998, p. 149.

However, it is the *Epistola ad Willelmum*, an epistolary prologue to *Speculum Stultorum* that is in BA1.1557 and not the *Tractatus* which has the reference to Richard's captivity.[10] This means that the datable evidence Baxter found does not apply to BA1.1557. Furthermore, the whole of Adam's bequest has recently been re-dated to the end of the twelfth century by Barker-Benfield, and re-dated for a third time by MLGB3 to s. xii/xiii. This is because a catalogue reference to another book which was also owned by Adam (BA1.304c) on biblical concordances was written in the early thirteenth century by Ps. Antony of Padua who died in 1231.[11] This evidence from Barker-Benfield means all three of Adam's bestiaries (the third is BA1.869) might date from the early thirteenth century because Adam probably died after 1231 on the evidence of BA1.304. This revised date accords with Studer and Evans who considered the lapidaries (fols. 170r-197v) to be from the early thirteenth century.[12]

The date of the latest work in his collection is an indication that Adam must have been much younger than Nigel Wireker. Nevertheless, as Barker-Benfield notes, the early copy of Wireker's *Speculum Stultorum* in BA1.1557 implies the two Benedictines from adjacent monasteries knew each other.[13] This thesis builds upon the general links made by Ron Baxter and Barker-Benfield. It also posits a warmer relationship between the two monks, based on common books which indicate similar interests, and similar concurrent duties in their respective houses which have not been previously fully drawn out from the evidence. For example, both monks owned copies of Jerome, *Interpretaciones nominum Hebraicorum* (BA1.304a and BC4.1090) used for understanding and memorizing the names in the Old Testament and their spiritual meanings. They both also had alphabetical lists of Biblical distinctions (BA1.304b and BC4.1088) and they shared an interest in poetry (Adam owned a copy of Reginald of Canterbury's *Malchus*, BA1.1406). Furthermore, in Adam's non-extant book (BA1.1557) the bestiary, Aesop's *Fables*, a lapidary and other

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[10] BCBB, BA1.1557, p. 1471.
[11] BCBB BA1.304c, p. 493, Ps. Antony of Padua (d. 1231), *Concordantiae Morales Bibliorum*.
[12] Studer and Evans, 1924, p. 5.
[13] Ibid.

texts are followed by Nigel's letter to William of Ely and the *Speculum Stultorum*, these would have been early copies of Nigel's work, despite the revised date of Adam's books.[14] Adam was Sacrist of the Abbey when Nigel was Almoner at the Priory in 1215 and their duties took them outside their respective cloisters. It is not a coincidence that Nigel Wireker wrote a beast epic poem and Adam the Sub-Prior of St Augustine's Abbey owned three bestiaries; they were men of the same place, time, and vocation, with similar pursuits.[15] The discussion now turns to Adam's extant bestiary.

This First family B-Is bestiary in this neat, plain volume has thirty-nine unillustrated chapters written in a clear protogothic hand by a single scribe in black ink in a single column. The first chapter begins on fol. 37v with a red and blue large capital initial 'D', for '*De naturis leonis bestiarium seu animalium regis.*' Although BnF NAL 873 is not a copy of Laud Misc. 247, Adam's bestiary follows the Laud text very closely at the start, with only a minor rearrangement of the text at the end of the Lion chapter.[16] This relationship to Laud is important to establish the type of bestiary BnF NAL 873 is, i.e. whether it follows the chapter order of Laud, the earliest Latin bestiary made in England, or leans to the heavily revised chapter order found in the second earliest extant Latin English bestiary, which is London BL Stowe 1067. Stewart has emphasised the importance in this split between first Family bestiaries as a guide to how the bestiary text was shaped.[17] Baxter pursued the likenesses between Adam's bestiary and Stowe. He pointed out that in Adam's bestiary the Onager and Ape form 'separate, successive chapters'.[18] He saw this separation of a double chapter from the *Physiologus* as a significant start of a re-organisation of Laud- type bestiaries and (with Stowe 1067) part of the

> influential modifications to the bestiary taking place in the first third of the twelfth century, the overwhelming evidence that localizes these changes to Canterbury.[19]

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[14] BCBB p. 811.
[15] BCBB, p. 493; Emden, *Donors*, p. 5, p. 27 n. 39, from the *Black Book*, 2 p. 276 and 2 pp. 589-90.
[16] Baxter 1998, p. 88.
[17] Stewart 2012, pp. 73-4.
[18] Baxter 1998, p. 88 n. 19.
[19] Baxter, 1998, p. 100.

Baxter's ideas are especially pertinent to this study. However, his argument here is weak because these 'separate, successive chapters' in Adam's bestiary, where the Onager is detached from the Ape, are just as separate and successive in Laud Misc. 247 too, where they are separated by an illustration of the Ape, a rubric and a large initial letter. There is no change between the two bestiaries in the chapter order at this point. As the Appendix Table 2.0 shows, six of the chapters after the Ape do move from their position in Laud. Adam's bestiary also omits the text on the dragon, so Baxter's argument that beasts form the topic of chapters 15 – 27 in Adam's bestiary holds.[20] However, this argument also holds true for chapters 15-22 in Laud, which means Adam's work is not quite such an upheaval as he indicated.[21] Furthermore, if the push to oust birds from this section was a deliberate decision to follow Isidore, as Baxter suggests, it seems strange that the chapters do not follow the order in the *Etymologiae*, since the Stag or *Cervus* comes under livestock in Book XII, the *Hydrus* is a snake, while the Weasel or *Mustela* is in a different sub-section of small animals in Isidore and also retains part of its chapter on the Asp.[22] Yet there is clearly an intention to re-order the six chapters and place them together. This may be because the five creatures (which excludes the Asp in the Weasel and the Asp chapter) are all figures for good and follow several chapters that contain figures for the devil, such as the Hyena, the Crocodile, the Onager and the Ape. The chapter on the Weasel and the Ape has not only been moved but partially separated; some information has been added to the new stand-alone Asp chapter at the end of the bestiary (taken from Isidore's *Etymologiae*). This new chapter finishes with a rhyme which mentions evil in Eden and links the Asp to the Fall, headed *Nox horroris*

> Et meroris. subfusa caligine;
> Quando viro te tam diro. tui cum discrimine;
> Coniunx isti. ac nupsisti. malo prorsus omine[23]

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[20] Baxter 1998, p. 88. The chapters moved are the Panther, Weasel or *Mustela*, Asp, Stag or *Cervus*, Elephant, and Amos the prophet, they form chapters 23-27 in BnF NAL 873 after the Ape or *Simia* and before the Partridge or *Fulica*.

[21] Baxter 1998 pp. 90-92, notes chapters 22-6 follow the order of beasts in Isidore's *Etymologiae*.

[22] Baxter 1998, p. 88 n. 19 and n. 20; pp. 90-92; compare *Etymologies* 2006, Book 22, chapter 12.

[23] Night of horror and shame, darkness arose, When the serpent, you dread thing, came between Man and wife, offering the apple of doom.

The poem might be viewed as the end of the leaf. However, this bestiary is immediately before the unidentified *Commentary* on the Apocalypse and there is an eschatological connection between the Fall and the Day of Judgement.[24] There have been deliberate changes made to the standard Laud chapter order in Adam's bestiary to bring the Asp to the end of the bestiary and form this juxtaposition of texts. Yet there are far fewer changes than in the earlier BL Stowe 1067. Stowe was far more radical in its chapter reorganisation; swathes of chapters were moved from the start to the middle of the bestiary and new chapters were added. These different types of changes in Stowe and BnF NAL 873 indicate the shaping of the bestiary in Canterbury was not a simple progression but a series of experiments, indicative of individual choices by its scribes.

Adam's bestiary has various minor corrections in a medieval hand, for example in the chapter on the Fox on fol. 43r in the penultimate line of the chapter *huit* has been amended to *habuerit*; in the Panther in the last line of fol. 48r, *paulus* has been corrected to *plinius*. The bestiary also has a series of fifteen marginal marks at the start of various chapters and faint ticks at the ends of lines of these chapters. These marks are relevant because they may indicate preparation for reading aloud. As Webber has remarked

> Such strokes might be applied in the context of the teaching of grammar (which included instruction in pronunciation and accentuation) but they also had a practical application in assisting readers in, or preparing for, the task of public reading (*lectio publica*)—that is, the oral delivery of a text to the assembled community in the choir, chapterhouse or refectory.[25]

The marginal marks are an 'A' at the start of the chapter on the Night Owl (fol. 39v), an 'a' by the Eagle (fol. 40r); a long dash by the start of the Hoopoe (fol. 40r) with a pale crayon mark '*epupa*'; similar black line by start of the Hedgehog chapter (fol. 42v); the Unicorn chapter (fol. 43r); the Hyena chapter (fol. 44v, with a faint crayon '*hiena*' in the margin), a black slash mark by the beginning of the Hydrus chapter (fol. 44r, with '*hidrus*' in crayon); another black dash by the chapter on the Goat (fol. 45v);

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[24] S. Kay, 'Post-human philology and the ends of time in medieval bestiaries', *Postmedieval*, 5 (2014), 473–485.
[25] T. Webber, *Reading the Refectory: monastic practice in England c. 1000-c. 1300*, London University Annual John Coffin Memorial Palaeography Lecture 18 February 2010 (London IES 2011, rev. 2013), pp. 4-5.

and by the Onager (fol. 46r); by the chapter on the Panther (fol. 46v); an '=' in the margin by the Elephant chapter (fol. 48v); a dash by the start of the chapter on the Weasel (fol. 49v); by the Partridge (fol. 50v); and by the Turtledove (fol. 52r). These may be marks for teaching but the book has no evidence of heavy glossing, a typical feature of school textbooks, and the main works are not school texts. The two letters and the two marginal words are protogothic so the marks may have been made in the early part of the thirteenth century. Webber has noted that Refectory and Chapter House readings usually focused Bible readings, patristic works such as homilies on the Gospel and the Mass, or Saints' Lives.[26] However, this thesis posits that the evidence from this bestiary indicates short chapters from the bestiary may sometimes have also been used for public reading in the monastery, of which the most likely time for such may have been the in the Refectory where they may have been added to the standard bible readings, Gospel homilies or *Vitae*.[27] It is possible that such readings may reflect Adam's duties, as sub-prior he would have been in charge of the refectory in the absence of the abbot and prior.[28] In addition, there is a manicule by the precentor Clement of Canterbury (c. 1495) which points to the start of the chapter on the Perindens Tree (fol. 53v) and this demonstrates the bestiary was being read in the late fifteenth century. Furthermore there are tick marks throughout the bestiary text, mostly at line ends. It is impossible to tell when these marks were made and for this reason it is not possible to tell their context or purpose, whether they reflect teaching or public reading. The absence of heavy glossing may indicate the latter rather than the former. These marks indicate the manuscript was read and annotated in this period.

The evidence of the number of bestiary versions Adam held as was discussed in Chapter Two, together with the other beast literature he possessed, indicates his deep interest in nature and Creation. The chapter re-ordering and additions to the final chapter in his extant bestiary demonstrates he owned a work with thoughtful (if

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[26] Webber, 2013, pp. 25-26.
[27] BCBB, BA1.3-4, p. 373 and Webber, mentions this 'biblia mensalis' as a Refectory Bible, p. 29.
[28] J. Kerr, *Monastic Hospitality: The Benedictines in England, c.1070-c.1250* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007) p. 135.

not radical) scribal interaction with the bestiary text. The marginal marks against some bestiary chapters points to some form of monastic *lectio publica* of the bestiary on occasion. This stained, holed, creased, and unillustrated book provides significant evidence for the reading and book ownership habits of St Augustine monks and Adam in particular. Adam's bestiary is a key part of the evidence for the bestiary and beast culture in Canterbury.

**2. Oxford, Bodleian, Rawlinson C. 77** s.xiii[2/4]     figs. 3.03-3.10
**Discussion:**
The identification of Bodl., Rawlinson C. 77 was made by Barker-Benfield on two pieces of evidence. Firstly; the extant manuscript matches the incipits in the St Augustine's medieval library catalogue (except for '*quidem sermones*'). Secondly; Barker-Benfield has identified the notes and marginalia of Clement Canterbury throughout the first booklet (e.g. on fols. 11v, 49r, and 52v-55v), although there are none in the bestiary text. [29]

Nothing of the *Aviarium* of Hugh of Folieto and only the first three folios remain of this mid-late thirteenth-century unillustrated Second family bestiary fragment.[30] The three extant folios (fols. 1-3r) contain chapters on birds, the Bat and Bees from the Second family bestiary but with several chapters omitted. The omissions are those chapters on birds already sufficiently discussed in the *Aviarium* and reveals the bestiary has been re-worked in conjunction with this preceding text. This was standard practice in the Parisian 'H' *Aviarium*/Bestiary combination but this is not the version used here because the bestiary in Rawlinson C. 77 is a Second family bestiary not a *Dicta Chrysostomi* version.[31] The inclusion here of bestiary chapters on the Dove and Turtledove is unusual as they are dealt with in great detail in the *Aviarium*.[32] Their inclusion in Rawlinson C.77 required detailed knowledge of both texts because the bestiary chapters on these two birds, although much shorter,

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[29] BCBB, p. 1479.
[30] Clark 1992.
[31] Clark 1992, p. 53.
[32] Stewart 2012, pp. 118-9.

are different to the *Aviarium* which does not include the opening phrase on which John (if him) built his sermon. '*Columba simplex avis est*'.[33]

Textually, the bestiary chapters deviate little from the standard Second family text of BL Additional 11283.[34] Where there are differences in the text, Rawl. C. 77 usually has the same variant reading as Oxford, Douce 88A (c.1240-60). For example, on fol. 1r, line 7 adds *corporis* to *hominis* as found in Douce 88A, so Rawlinson C. 77 seems to provide some evidence that Douce 88A was also in Canterbury, as Baxter considered.[35] However, there are minor additions in Rawlinson C. 77 which are not in Douce 88A, and also text in Douce 88A which is not in Rawlinson C. 77; this means this fragment is not a direct copy of Douce 88A. Moreover, the bestiary chapters and the rest of Booklet I (fols 1-60) in Rawlinson C. 77 are written in a formal, tiny gothic *textura*, possibly that of a professional scribe; they may not have been written in Canterbury.[36] Barker-Benfield tentatively identified a more spidery script in Booklets II and III as that of the thirteenth-century monk, John Pistor himself, to whom this collection book belonged. This is because the covers of the book (but not the spine) have evidence of medieval clasps which are early enough to have been original. This means the texts in the volume may be in the original owner's hand. We might have the book in almost its original form, for the first quire, nearly all the second and possibly the last are lost. The losses may have occurred because the book's spine was damaged at some point, surmised from the evidence that it was re-backed in the nineteenth century.[37]

There are no further details known of John Pistor, apart from an *ex libris* in his other extant book. This is BA1.*1565 (now Oxford Bodl. Douce 89), a late twelfth-century collection of sermons. This book must have been second-hand when it belonged to John. Douce 89's *ex libris* reads '*Liber Fratris I. Pistoris*' and the shelfmark on its medieval flyleaf is written in a thirteenth-century hand; '*fratris*' indicates that

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[33] Clark 2006, pp. 84-86; Clark 1992, Dove, pp. 115-137; Turtledove, p. 153-157.
[34] Clark 2006, p. 253.
[35] Baxter 1998, pp. 141-2.
[36] BCBB, p. 1479, 'A modest but professional production in formal gothic script with small flourished initials, s.xiii[2/4-med]'
[37] BCBB, pp. 1478-1481, at p. 1479; BA1.*1565 (Bodl. Douce 89), pp. 1481-85.

John was a monk at St Augustine's Abbey, although he has not been traced further by either Barker-Benfield or Emden.[38] John Pistor bequeathed eight more non-extant books to the library.[39] They include Peter of Riga's *Aurora* (BA1.38, a rhymed exposition of the (abridged) Bible with etymological explanations). The *Aurora* was based on Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*, an exegetical narrative of Bible history written to aid preaching, in turn a synthesis of Lombard's *Sentences* which John also owned (BA1.505). John also possessed expositions on Genesis (BA1.1607), the Creed, the Paternoster (BA1.717), and a glossed psalter (BA1.83). He also owned an aid to paraphrase these works; his extant twelfth-century copy of Garland's work on synonyms, *Tractatus de Aequivoca* in Rawlinson C.77.[40] It may be possible to determine some changes in reading practices concerning the bestiary by the monks of St Augustine's Abbey through the examination of John Pistor's extant manuscripts and the medieval catalogue list of his non-extant books, compared to those of Adam the Sub prior. For example, John Pistor's book collection formed a body of key texts for sermon writing, centred on his *Historia Scholastica* and *Aurora*. Furthermore, his bequest included three volumes of sermons, and three volumes of collections which also included sermons (which is perhaps why the medieval catalogue duplicated the entry for BA1.*1564 (Rawlinson C.77) at BA1.715). The *Historica Scholastica*, the *Sentences*, and the *Aurora* may have been included for their didactic, rhetoric, and mnemonic value as well as to aid his sermon compilation. Yet taken together they demonstrate how John Pistor used the standard *sermo modernus* methods developed from Comestor and also Stephen Langton; i.e. he constructed his sermon around a

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[38] Neither Pistor nor 'Baker' is found in Emden, *Donors*, or in the *Black Book*, Oxford, Bodl. Douce 89 (BA1. *1565) *Collecciones cum B* excerpts of theological works, probably gathered at the end of the twelfth century and obtained 'secondhand' by John Pistor; BCBB p. 1482.

[39] 1. BA1.38, Petrus Riga (d. 1209), *Aurora*; 2. BA1.54, Peter Comestor, *Historia Scholastica*; 3. BCBB p. 2266, Appendix 2.2: BA1.83, glossed Psalter; 4. BA1.505, Peter Lombard, *Sentences*; 5. BA1.701, *Sermones diuersi cum B*; [BA1.715, *Sermones diuersi cum A*, (duplicate entry to BA1. *1564)]; 6. BA1.717, *Sermones diuersi cum C*; BA1.1606, *Collectiones Johannes pistoris in quaternis cum C*, loosely bound; 8. BA1.1607, *Collecciones cum a*.

[40] D. Luscombe, 'The Place of Peter Comestor in the History of Medieval Theology', *Pierre le Mangeur ou Pierre de Troyes, maître du XIIe siècle*, ed. by G. Dahan, Bibliothèque d'Histoire Culturelle Du Moyen Âge, 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 27-45, p. 27; M. A. Zier, 'Preaching by Distinction: Peter Comestor and the Communication of the Gospel', *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 105 (1991), 301-329.

Bible verse, for example '*Surrexit Jonas et abiit Ninevah*' (Jonah 1:3), as he did on fol. 67v of

Rawlinson C.77. He then extrapolated upon it, for his sermon on St Benedict; he

divided the sermon into sections based upon the scriptural exegesis of the verse.[41]

We do not know whether or which of these sermons were preached in Latin or in

English, or whether they were directed towards the monks or for the laity. However,

the sermon on St Benedict on fol. 67v of Rawlinson C.77 may have been aimed at a

monastic audience since it mentions the Order's founder.[42] As the topic of the notes

on fol. 61r focus on the Apostles sent out to preach (from Matthew 10:16), that also

may have been devised for monks rather than the laity.

It was Clark's view that John Pistor's book contained 'spiritual material suited to

a sermon writer' and that this material encompassed the chapters from the bestiary

and the lapidary.[43] However, Clark did not link any of the sermons to the bestiary in

John Pistor's volume. Stewart has spotted references to animals, such as the eagle,

the lion, and the snake in the sermons in Booklet I in Rawlinson C.77 which are

in the same neat and possibly professional hand as the bestiary chapters. She

noted that the sermon texts did not marry up to the *Aviarium* or bestiary in

John's book but 'seem to indicate the influence of the *Physiologus* and other

bestiary sources.'[44] However, further on in Rawlinson C. 77 there is stronger

evidence for a link between the bestiary, sermons, and the St Augustine's monk John

Pistor, in this volume. The extant bestiary chapter on the Dove begins '*Columba

simplex avis est*' (fol. 2r) and develops the theme on the connection between the

dove and preaching.[45] In Booklet II (fol. 61r) there are notes on the simplicity of the

dove and the prudence of the serpent (Matt. 10:16).[46] This was a common theme but

the diagrammatic *distinctiones* and sermon notes indicate detailed preparation for a

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[41] Mark Clark, 'Le cours d'Étienne Langton sur l'Histoire scolastique de Pierre le Mangeur: le fruit d'une tradition unifiée', *Pierre le Mangeur*, 2013. pp. 243-266.
[42] Macray, 1978, p. 25; Oxford, Bodl. Rawl. C. 77, fol. 67r-v.
[43] Clark 200, p. 253, and p. 95, col. 1, her comments on the date of the work and its bindhave been superseded by BCBB pp. 1478-81.
[44] Stewart 2012, pp. 46-48, notes sermons mention the eagle, lion, and snake on fols. 5r, and 14r-15r , p. 48.
[45] Clark 2006, p. 184.
[46] Clark 2006, p. 95, col. 2.

sermon, with separate points drawn from the simple nature of the dove, then the wisdom of the serpent, with suitable Bible references e.g. to Solomon and to the '*Glosa*'. After his notes on the dove and the serpent, John (if this is his hand) then praises the (assumed) innocence (*innocuas*) of the sheep, the humility of the camel, the heart (*cordis*) and hardness (*duricia*) of the ox, and the '*simplex*' nature of the ass. Although the bestiary chapters on these animals are no longer extant in this work they were standard chapters in the Second family bestiary (chapters 33, 38-9, 40, and 41) and mention some of the attributes given by the writer, such as these beasts are ruminants. [47]   Rumination is linked to cogitation in John's notes (if by him) on how people should imitate the qualities of these animals.[48] Unlike the Dove reference, this part of the notes do not quote the bestiary for these animals but they draw out similar attributes; as Stewart noted in regard to the sermons in Booklet I of Rawlinson C.77. Together they indicate that the writer of the notes, who may have been John Pistor, used the bestiary chapters in his volume to aid his studies and compose his sermons.

This extant manuscript, although such a short fragment of the bestiary chapters, gives valuable information on the circulation of the Second family bestiary text in St Augustine's Abbey and an active readership presented in the preparation of sermons.

**3.     Oxford, Bodleian, Douce 88E** s.xiii[ex]-xiv[in]        figs. 3.11 and 3.12
**Discussion:**

This Third family bestiary is full of colourful depictions of animals and monsters painted in a direct and simple style (fig. 2.11).  Indeed it is the very naivety of the style with its strong outlines, block colours, and basic compositions which make this bestiary appear to be a schoolroom text. Yet Dines has called the Third family bestiary text 'the most serious innovation ever made in the field.'[49] There is a tension between the simplicity of the illustrations and the complexity of the text. This is

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[47] Clark, 2006, pp. 151-155, Chapter 41 on ruminants, p. 155.
[48] Bodl. Rawl. C. 77 fol. 61r, sixth line from end, 'ungulam namque in findit'.
[49] Dines, 2013, p. 108.

analogous to the tensions explored in the sermon notes of John Pistor, just discussed, on the simplicity of the dove and the wisdom of serpents (Matt. 16:10), a common preaching theme as Clark has pointed out, but one which in a bestiary text was most apt.[50] If this is a Canterbury bestiary, as has been accepted until recently, then John Pistor (fl.1260-70) and Henry of Barham (fl. 1280-1305) may have known each other as brethren of St Augustine's Abbey.

The complexity of the text, in a contrast to the illustrations, is the result of a multiplicity of new sources added as extracts around the core Second family bestiary text. Moreover, this core text was re-arranged in the Third family bestiary to follow Isidore's main framework of *Etymologiae* Book XII; the sections begin with domesticated then wild beasts, birds, fish, snakes, and then small animals, which includes insects. Marvels and wonders bookend this rearrangement so that the bestiary begins with Isidore Book XI. 1-8 (fol. 68r-70r) and ends with chapters on the Sirens and the Sawfish or *Serra* from the Second family bestiary (fols. 138v-139v). The new sources add information on the animal chapters, for example the tale of Androcles to the chapter on the Lion.[51]  New sources are also added before the sections on the different types of animals, for example, the introduction taken from Isidore *Etymologiae* Book XI on the monstrous races. The text states it includes '*Plinius, Physiologus, Isidore, et Bernardus Francus*' i.e. Bernard Silvestris (fol. 82r). However, it begins with William de Montibus's *Distinctiones Theologicae*, as identified by Dines (but not referenced except as forthcoming), on the good and the bad attributes of animals, to which a suitable six lines on the malice of men which makes them like beasts, '*homo animalis sive bestialis dicitur*' has been added from the *Policraticus*.[52] The new sources include *Epistola Alexandri*, Honorius Augustodunensis *Imago Mundi*, and many extracts from Bernardus Silvestris, *Cosmographia*.[53] The Second family bestiary has 123 chapters, compared to the thirty-nine in the First family ones, and it often dispensed with moralisations to these animals. The Third family bestiary adds some tropological

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[50] Clark 2006, p. 95, col. 2.
[51] Dines, 2013, p. 110-111.
[52] Dines, 2013, p. 109-110.
[53] De Boer, *Epistola Alexandri*, 1953; Honorius Augustodunensis, *Imago Mundi*, *PL* 172 cols. 0120B-0188B; Silvestris, Bernardus, *Cosmographia*, ed. by P. Dronke (Leiden: Brill, 1978).

and spiritual points to the Second family text. It does this in some individual chapters, such as the Ape on hypocrisy.[54] The chapter on the Eagle adds '*rostro quid super modum excrescente obstructus oris aditus ne nidus fumere possit*', on how its beak obstructs its mouth. Then the text has moralisations added that compare the Eagle to the religious (last line fol. 98r- first line 98v) as the beak to the rock, 'religiosis… *conferat rostrum quid ad petrum*.' and spiritual comparisons of the Eagle that flies to the light as Christ rose on Ascension Day; and as the Phoenix relates to the Resurrection '*Christus est aquila dicitur in ascensione ut fenix in resurrectione*' (fol. 98v, line 9). The Third family bestiary also adds moralisations to the various section introductions. For example, the prologue on the Birds ends with a direct anagogical analogy as avian figures for the devil, '*Avis dicitur diabolus*' (fol. 98r). The Phoenix is not depicted nested in flames in the section on marvels, as is usual (for example as it is earlier in the bird section on fol. 100r, or BL Harley 2751, fol. 45r, or Bodl. Ashmole, 1511, fol. 68r). Instead the chapter on signs of death from the previous page has been illustrated immediately above the Phoenix chapter on fol. 121v, as a re-visualisation of the Caladrius. The patient has been portrayed at the moment he faces an angel of death in black robes, instead of the Christ-like white bird, with text of the Phoenix and the illustrated chapter of the fiery Salamander immediately below (fol. 121r); the implication is the dying man will go to Hell.[55] This example demonstrates the importance of the relationship between text and image in this bestiary manuscript. A second example on fols. 138v-139r matches the three web-footed Sirens at the top of the left hand folio with three Geese which warned Rome; at the foot of the left hand *verso*, the dragon lies in wait at the Perindens Tree for a Dove to fall into his clutches; on the *recte*, sailors are about to meet the Sawfish. The *Genus Nequam* papal prophecies (on fols. 140-146v) illustrated by the same artist, have a similar interplay of text and image, a very visually appealing combination of papal and imperial figures with angels, beasts, and emblems, unframed save by short texts and headings. This form of text has been described as a

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[54] Bodl. Douce 88E fol. 89v, Dines, 2013, p.111.
[55] Bodl. Douce 88E, fol. 121r; Barker-Benfield, BCBB p. 900 refers to this illustration and chapter as the 'prophetic Caladrius' but the text refers to the Phoenix '*Est phenix singularis auis et pulchrima*'.

new genre.[56]. These were political prophecies about late thirteenth and early fourteenth-century popes (Boniface VIII (1294-1303), and Benedict XI (1303-1304)) which may have emanated from the Spiritual Franciscans and also concerned the problems between the Franciscan 'doves' and the Dominican 'crows'.[57] Such tensions over preaching rather than the papal disputes that eventually led to the Schism may be a more local reason for the inclusion of these texts.

If, as Dines suggests, this Third family text was put together by William de Montibus, either when he taught in Paris (c.1170-80) or when he was in Lincoln after 1186, this means the Transitional, Second and Third family texts were all composed, edited, and altered at the end of the twelfth century. The St Augustine's library catalogue tells us that BA1.*870 now Bodl. Douce 88E was donated by Henry de Burham. Burham (or Borham) is a village near Aylesford in Kent, mentioned in the Domesday Book.[58] Greatrex lists several variants of Burham (Berham, Bereham, Barham, and Borham) as the toponyms of monks at Christ Church Cathedral Priory from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century but none of these variants appear in Emden's *Donors to St Augustine's Abbey*.[59] Nevertheless as a donor of an early fourteenth century volume of a *collectione* in a script Barker-Benfield described as a 'clumsy' bookhand with unprofessional illustrations, it is reasonably likely he was a St Augustine's Abbey monk, very few donors of books of this type of work were from outside the Abbey.[60]

The reference in the St Augustine's library catalogue to a named donor is important because Dines has claimed that this Third family bestiary is more likely to be from Lincoln rather than Canterbury, 'The precise place of its production is

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[56] 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 summarises debate on dates of these prophecies to 1280-1305, p. 167-169; *The Late Medieval Pope Prophecies: The Genus nequam Group*, ed. by Martha H. Fleming (Tempe: Arizona State University, 1999), p. 54, pl. p. 129.
[57] Blumenfeld-Kosinski, 2011, p. 169.
[58] *Open Domesday*, ed. by J.J.N. Palmer (Hull, online: 2014) Kent, p. 14 <http://domesdaymap.co.uk/book/kent/14/>[accessed 5 July, 2015] .
[59] Greatrex p. 88.
[60] BCBB p. 899.

unknown, but various features connect it to the region of Lincoln.'[61] Dines considers the St Augustine's Abbey medieval catalogue reference unimportant since the catalogue is from the late fifteenth century.[62] However, one of the most important discoveries by Barker-Benfield was his careful unpicking of the previous fourteenth century catalogue from corrections and changes to the updated fifteenth-century version. The entry for this volume, BA1.*870, is from the earlier catalogue.[63] Furthermore, Barker-Benfield dated ps.-Joachim of Fiore's papal prophecies (fols. 140r-146v, in the same hand as the bestiary) to the early fourteenth century and this *Genus nequam* incipit is also listed in the medieval catalogue.[64] Dines dates the Third family bestiary to 1280-1290. As discussed in Chapter Two, this period was when Abbot Thorne (1272-1283) and Abbot Findon (1283-1310) promoted donations to the library and when they put the *de acquisitione* system in place at St Augustine's, so book donors would receive masses for their souls, and their names were added to their books and included in the medieval library catalogue. The donor of this early fourteenth century book, Henry de Burgham, had his name entered in the fourteenth-century catalogue. The 'unprofessional' style of script, rubrication and illustration points to donation within the house of the author. His local Kent toponym means Henry was more likely to be a monk at St Augustine's than a Lincoln canon.

The history of interest in the bestiary at Canterbury and the early copies of William de Montibus works available in Canterbury libraries, as discussed in Chapter Two, make St Augustine's a natural place for an interest in different forms of bestiary. Moreover, an essential part of Dines's argument for a Lincoln provenance is the inclusion of parts of the *Policraticus* text in the Third family bestiary. Yet John of Salisbury had very strong connections to Canterbury (for he was secretary both to Archbishop Theobaldus and Thomas Becket and gave Thomas Becket a copy of his

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[61] Dines, 2014, p. 72.
[62] Dines, email, 28 September, 2014.
[63] BCBB p. 900.
[64] BCBB, p. 900, M. H. Fleming, 1999, p. 53; MLGB3

*Policraticus*).[65] These connections to John, Becket, and Canterbury in the Third family bestiary text would have appealed to a St Augustine's monk. It is not a surprise that the scribe/artist would illustrate his work with depictions copied and altered from another bestiary version if he did not have an illustrated Third family version available. Muratova has demonstrated that bestiary illustration cycles are not always dependent on the text family.[66] Dines has discussed Bodley 602 as the possible exemplar for the illustrations of Douce 88E but not that Bodley 602 may be linked to a Benedictine house, rather than solely to the Augustinian Canons. One of the works in Bodley 602 has an *ex libris* from the Benedictine Priory of Hatfield Peveral (Essex) as Morgan noted.[67] It is only a tenuous link but it opens the possibility that Bodley 602 was available to a Canterbury Benedictine monk. There is evidence of the strength of interest in the bestiary and related works in Canterbury catalogues, extant bestiaries, and beast art and literature. Conversely, this is no evidence for communal or personal bestiary ownership at Lincoln.

This description concludes that the Third family bestiary text in Douce 88E is more likely to have been originally compiled by William de Montibus or his circle, as Dines's thesis has put forward, as against Baxter's theory that it derives from Peter of Cornwall's work, *Pantheologus* on which the Rochester Bestiary drew.[68] This study suggests that this inclusion of excerpts of suitable texts is an intrinsic part of the versatility of the bestiary, which had always demonstrated aptly sponge-like absorption powers, as the inclusion of extracts from Alexander Neckam's *De Natura Rerum* in the *Dicta Chrysostomi* excerpts of BA1.755 also demonstrates below. The possible Lincoln origin of the Third family text in late twelfth- or early thirteenth century, does not prevent the bestiary in Douce 88E from being written at St Augustine's Abbey, probably by its donor Henry de Burham in the late-thirteenth or early fourteenth century. The codicological and catalogue evidence is stronger for a

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[65] David Luscombe, 'Salisbury, John of (late 1110s–1180)', *ODNB*.
[66] X. Muratova, 'Workshop Methods in English Late Twelfth-Century Illumination and the Production of Luxury Bestiaries', ed. W. B. Clark and M. T. McMunn, *Beasts and Birds of the Middle Ages*, (Philadelphia 1989), 53–68.
[67] Morgan I, p. 101-2.
[68] Baxter 1998, p. 175.

Canterbury attribution than for a Lincoln one for Douce 88E.  This bestiary text is significant since its content differs so radically from the other bestiary families in terms of the number of additions from a wide range of sources, the length of the additions, and their moral and spiritual content. Furthermore, this Third family bestiary is bound with a politically-inspired propaganda text for the Spiritual Franciscans against the Dominicans, set out as Doves against Crows. Such avian metaphors had been used by Nigel Wireker in his poems against the secular canons, the 'ravens' discussed in Chapter Two. The allegoresis in the bestiary and *Aviarium* added bite to the projections of public emotions generated over competition between friars, secular and regular clergy over preaching to the laity. The *Policraticus* excerpt in the Third family bestiary emphasises man's usually sinful emotions are thought of as animal attributes. In Douce 88E the devilish qualities of birds, the black-robed Angel of Death at the foot of the sick man's bed, are powerful text-image combinations on which to focus tensions about friars and preaching to the laity. Douce 88E demonstrates the shaping of the bestiary in Canterbury was not only about the study of natural history but was an integral part of the monastic way of life and way of thinking.

4.      **Worcester, Cathedral Library Q. 56** s. xv[in.] [69]       fig. 3.13
**Discussion:**

These excerpts were copied by Carmelite friars in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century from a volume which once belonged to St Augustine's Abbey. They have been traced by Barker-Benfield to BA1.755 because they contain nearly all the incipits which the St Augustine library catalogue lists (the Carmelites omitted the work on chess).[70]  The St Augustine's Abbey book was probably copied by the friars because contains sermons on the Blessed Virgin Mary, the focus of Carmelite devotion.[71] Both the excerpts and the owner of the original St Augustine's book are beyond the timeframe of this thesis. The reason this extant book is included is because it reveals

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[69] R. M. Thomson with M. Gullick, *A descriptive catalogue of the medieval manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 155.
[70] BCBB p. 806, Thomson and Gullick, 2001, p. 155.
[71] Valerie Edden, 'Marian Devotion in a Carmelite Sermon Cycle of the Late Middle Ages', *Medieval Studies*, 57 (1995), 101-29, (pp. 103-119 and p. 129).

another type of bestiary existed in Canterbury; the copied extracts demonstrate the subsequent influence of the bestiary in another religious order, and also because the original St Augustine's book copied contents from another earlier St Augustine book, which is in the set timeframe. Copies of copies are of course not direct evidence of readership or patronage but the entries in the St Augustine's Abbey library catalogue are sufficiently detailed to make a case for the examination of the excerpts as general examples of monastic study of the bestiary.

The Carmelites copied excerpts from an *Aviarium* and a bestiary called a *Dicta Chrysostomi* (DC) version. This version derives from a different branch of the *Physiologus* called Version Y, not the Version B from which the First, Second, Transitional and Third families of bestiaries descend. This DC recension was much more common on the continent, where it was sometimes combined with an *Aviarium*, probably first by the Victorines in Paris in the early thirteenth century.[72] It is possible these excerpts were taken from a DC bestiary brought back to Canterbury from France or copied abroad, possibly by a monk who attended the University of Paris around the mid-late thirteenth century. There are records of four Christ Church monks who attended at Paris in this period and a Worcester monk, John of St Germans, who was a student in Paris and then lectured at St Augustine's Abbey between 1308-1310 before he returned to Paris.[73] There was no shortage of contacts between the monastery and Paris in the late thirteenth century so a French Latin bestiary would not be an unusual purchase. The excerpts were taken from a DC bestiary and written at St Augustine's Abbey sometime between the thirteenth and fourteenth century.

A postdate of the late fourteenth century applies to these extracts because they appear in a second Carmelite copy (Oxford Bodl. Auct F. infra 1.3, SC 2747),

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[72] Clark 1992, p. 86.
[73] T. Sullivan, *Benedictine Monks at the University of Paris, A.D.1229-1500: A Biographical Register* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 18 (Richard Clive), 246 (Stephen of Faversham), 319 (Andrew de Hardres), 544 (Godfrey Poterel), 311-312 (John de St Germans) on the latter, R. Thomson, 'Worcester Monks and Education, *c.* 1300', ed. by James G. Clark, *The Culture of Medieval English Monasticism* (Woodbridge, Boydell, 2007), pp. 104-112.

dated to the late fourteenth century by its script.[74] The Worcester Q.56 copy of BA1.755 was made by a Carmelite friar named John Staunch, as a fifteenth-century inscription notes '*composita a frater Johanne Staunch de ordine fratrum Carmelitarum*' and this book too was in the Worcester Cathedral Library as its *ex libris* demonstrates, 'Iste liber constat monasterio Wygornnensi.' [75] The Worcester and Auct manuscripts are not copied from each other, since Auct includes different texts. A table in the Appendix sets out the contents and St Augustine Abbey owners of both books. What evidence is there for a DC bestiary with an *Aviarium* in Canterbury in the thirteenth and fourteenth century?

London BL, Sloane 278 is an *Aviarium* and DC bestiary produced between 1250 and 1260 in Flanders and subsequently owned by Archbishop of York, George Neville (d.1476). [76] This DC bestiary and *Aviarium* cannot be identified as the exemplar for Worcester Q. 56 (or Auct) as there are two chapters in the *Aviarium* section in Q. 56 which are not in Sloane (Ibis and Coot) although the bestiary excerpts in Worcester and Auct do match the order in Sloane, with some omissions to be expected of excerpts. Clark posits an earlier exemplar used for the *Aviarium* in both Bodley 602 and Sloane 278, which must have been made before 1230.[77] This Sloane bestiary has been connected by Clark to Oxford, Bodl. Bodley 602, on similarities in their *Aviarium* texts [78] Bodley 602 is an earlier illustrated B-Is Bestiary and *Aviarium* which she thought might be from St Albans and dated to c. 1240-50.[79] However, Morgan disputes Clark's St Albans' attribution and instead considers Oxford, Bodley 602 was a Southern England production and dates it to 1230 rather than 1250, a date with which Dines concurs.[80] Morgan also connects Bodley 602 on iconographical evidence to Cambridge, CUL Kk.4.25 (c. 1230). He also connects this Cambridge bestiary to London artists (Morgan I, p. 100, No. 53). The reason for mentioning these links is because some Oxford Bodl. Bodley 602 miniatures were

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[74] Madan, *Summary Catalogue*, II, part 1, p.526 (SC2747).
[75] Madan, *SC*, II pt I, 1922, p. 526.
[76] BL CIM Sloane 278, James 1928, p. 11.
[77] Clark 1992, 59.
[78] Clark 1992, pp. 58-60, p. 144, n. 13, 289-90.
[79] Clark 1992, pp. 58-9, 297.
[80] Morgan I, p. 101-2.

copied and some adapted in Oxford, Bodl. Douce 88A.[81] We have entries in the library catalogue for the ownership of extracts based on the *Aviarium* and the DC bestiary texts; we have the manuscript evidence in Auct. F. inf 1.3, that the excerpts were drawn up by the late fourteenth century from this combination; and we have in Douce 88E a late thirteenth-century Canterbury link to Bodley 602 which contains the same type of *Aviarium* as the later Sloane 278. These excerpts in Auct F. infra 1.3 and Worcester Q56 demonstrate that the *Dicta Chrysostomi* version of the bestiary had come to Canterbury (perhaps via monks who studied at Paris) and that this version was further worked upon by the addition of notes from Alexander Neckam's *De Natura Rerum* to the moral expositions in the *Aviarium* by Hugh of Folieto.

Furthermore, Hamo of Higham, a monk from the late thirteenth century, owned a book (BA1.1558g) with one of the same titles as in BA1.755b to which Barker-Benfield has drawn attention, which contained short references to the bestiary and other topics. This means we have knowledge of another book with bestiary excerpts in circulation in the thirteenth century, and we have later evidence of such excerpts also in St Augustine books. This allows a case to be made for a copy of a DC bestiary to have been present in the later thirteenth century when Douce 88E was produced in Canterbury and continual interest in the bestiary to be established, beyond the remit of this thesis.

**Bestiary manuscripts with possible provenances to Christ Church Cathedral Priory, Canterbury**

The bestiaries introduced below have been associated with, but never fully attributed to, Christ Church Cathedral Priory, Canterbury. They are Oxford, Bodl., Laud Misc. 247 and London, British Library, Stowe 1067. They are the earliest extant bestiary manuscripts identified as produced in this country, although as Baxter noted, the earliest reference to a bestiary in England is from Peterborough.[82]

There is some scant evidence for early knowledge of the *Physiologus* and First family bestiary in eleventh century Canterbury in allusions to bestiary motifs in the

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[81] Dines, 2013.
[82] Baxter 1998, p. 220, *Liber Bestiarum* given by Bishop Aethelwold c. 970-84.

Bayeux Tapestry, made for Bishop Odo for his new Bayeux Cathedral (fig. 3.14). The tapestry was possibly made in Canterbury between 1066-8 (or designed by someone with Canterbury connections) as Richard Gameson has discussed in a review

> there is plentiful evidence that the designer of the Tapestry had a connection with Canterbury.[83]

The tapestry has several animal motifs embroidered within its top and bottom borders. Beneath scenes 4 and 5 (fig. 3.14) the spotted panther attracts other animals by the sweetness of its breath, followed by a scene with what may be a dragon (or as Yapp considered, an ostrich) and a panther.[84] The next scene, 'Adam names the animals' is from Isidore's *Etymologiae* Book XII introduction.[85] There are many other animals depicted in the tapestry margins which also feature in the *Physiologus* and the bestiary, such as lions, antelope, camels, donkeys, eagles and other birds, and the mythical griffin, the Onocentaur, and the dragon. Jill Mann has traced Aesopic fable allusions in the margins of the tapestry; Shirley Ann Brown has considered the *Chanson de Roland* as a source; and C. R. Hart has considered the Canterbury *Aratea* as an iconographical source for the animals. Only Brunsdon Yapp mentioned the bestiary or its main authorities (the *Physiologus* and Isidore's *Etymlogiae*). He identified the Ostrich next to the Panther but a case can be made for their consideration beneath these two scenes.[86] There is no chapter on the Panther in the Theobaldus Physiologus but it is one of the three chapters in an early bestiary extract have been found in a s.xi-xii book probably from Worcester.[87]

**5. Oxford, Bodleian Laud Misc 247 (SC1302)** s. xi[ex]        figs. 3.14-3.24
**Discussion:**

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[83] Richard Gameson, 'Review: *Was the Bayeux Tapestry Made in France? The Case for St Florent of Saumur* by George Beech', *EHR*, 121 (2006), 1162-1164, p. 1164.

[84] Mann, 1888, pp. 60-61; W. Brunsdon Yapp, 'Animals in medieval art: The Bayeux Tapestry as an example', *JMH*, 1 (1987), 15-73; Mann, 1888, pp.56-58.

[85] <http://panograph.free.fr/BayeuxTapestry.html > [accessed 14 May 2015].

[86] Lapidge and Mann, 2002, II, 1-33, n. 7; S. A. Brown, 'Cognate Imagery: The Bear, Harold and the Bayeux Tapestry', pp. 149-60; C. R. Hart, 'The Cicero-Aratea and the Bayeux Tapestry', pp. 161-78, both in *King Harold II and the Bayeux Tapestry*, ed. by G. R. Owen-Crocker (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2005).

[87] CCCC 448, fols 88v-89r.

Laud Misc. 247 contains an illustrated First family bestiary with thirty-nine chapters; it is the oldest Latin extant bestiary from England which naturally would make it germane to this thesis, wherever it came from.[88] The only provenance is Archbishop Laud's *ex libris* is at the foot of f.2r of Laud Misc. 247, dated 1633. Laud gave some 1,242 books to the Bodleian Library in three main swathes of donations, beginning in 1635. This book was in the first tranche of his bequest when he had just been made Archbishop of Canterbury, so it is possible it was sourced from his first visit to Canterbury.[89] This discussion examines the catalogue, codicological, and comparative evidence for the attribution of the bestiary to Christ Church.

**Catalogue Evidence**

There are two references in the Eastry catalogue to texts which are in Laud Misc. 247. The contents are noted twice in a medieval hand on fol. 1v. *The History of the Vandal Persecutions* by Victor of Vita, which starts on the opposite page (fol. 2r). The later list of contents from fol. 1v is below:

1. *Historia Wandalorum*
2. *Historia Longobardorum*
3. *Vita karoli magni* (Autore Eginhardo)
4. *Liber Bestiarum*
5. *Ortus Vita obitus Alexandri magni* [90]
6. *Epistola euisdem ad Magistrum suum*
7. *Liber Appollonii*[91]

The deeds of Alexander the Great and his letters (items 5 and 6 as listed in the contents) are works that appear in the Eastry catalogue at No. [BC4.]158:

 'Gesta Alexandri Magni.
In hoc vol. cont. :
Epistola eiusdem de Aristotile'

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[88] Baxter 1998, p. 83, n. 1.
[89] Oxford, *Bodleian Electronic Catalogue of Medieval & Renaissance Manuscripts*, <http://www. bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/online/medieval/laud/laud.html> [accessed 5 July. 2015].
[90] *Latin Writers*, p. 329 and p. 330: *Gesta Alexandri magni* often with *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem de situ Indiae*; and sometimes *Historia de proeliis*.
[91] *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri: Latin Writers*, also p. 329.

However, it is more likely that Laud Misc. 247 was the work listed as '*Historia Longobardorum, libri vi*' at No. [BC4.]160 as Paul the Deacon's *History of the Lombards* is the main text although not the start text. The bestiary and the other works might not have been recorded as a separate item (just as the first text, *Historia Wandalorum* was not). This is not conclusive evidence but it shows the possibility that a book containing the major work was in Canterbury Christ Church library in the late twelfth century.

**Codicological Evidence**

There are no extant bestiaries which have been unassailably linked to Christ Church, Canterbury, although M. R. James did indeed consider that Laud Misc. 247 might be a twelfth-century Christ Church Canterbury production.[92] Martin Kauffmann chose a more specific date, 1120-1130, based on stylistic grounds but gave no production location other than England.[93] However, Baxter decided St Augustine's Abbey was the more likely candidate, based on script and drawing style.[94] In contrast to Baxter and in the same year, Richard Gameson found none of the distinctive script or iconographic styles which he considered should mark out either a Christ Church or a St Augustine's Abbey manuscript of this age, such as prickly script and finely painted decorated initials. He did not suggest any provenance for Laud Misc. 247 and dated it to s.xii[1].[95]

The codicological report is in the Appendix, what follows here is a summary. The book, (fols. 1-223), including the bestiary in two quires fols. 139v-168v), measures 265 mm x 164 mm. The quire signatures are a neat roman numeral on the verso of the last leaf of the quire, centred in the foot margin, they provide evidence that the book is complete, without additions, except the short ps.-Augustine, *De Imagine Dei in Homine* on fols. 168v-170r, (fol. 170v. is blank). It is written in various minuscule hands on yellowish, sometimes holed parchment, in various shades of

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[92] James 1928, p. 7.
[93] Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, no. 36, pp. 75-6 and pl.103, 104, fig 43. Baxter 1998, p. 148, 1110-1130.
[94] James 1928, p. 7, p. 10; Baxter 1998, p. 83, n. 1.
[95] R. Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England 1066-1120*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), no. 752, p. 140, dated s.xii[1] (no provenance).

black-brown ink, above top line, in a single column. It was pricked and ruled in hard point, with vertical tramlines bounding the text area. A single scribe wrote the bestiary, and his notes to the rubricator have been left in the margin. The main decorated initials contain dots and swirls of colour, usually in red, purple, violet, and green (e.g. ten line high red Q[vondam] on fol. 2r). Rustic capitals in black have been tipped in red and green on fol 2r. Other initial letters have a minimum of ornamentation, perhaps a small swirl in a single colour. These and the completely plain initial capitals, (usually two lines high but sometimes longer when extended into the margin) are in red, green, and purple.

## Comparative Evidence

Michael Gullick has been particularly interested in tracing Eadmer's hand and other Christ Church scribes. He uses evidence from charters in the same hands to date other manuscripts.[96] Tessa Webber has built upon Gullick's research. She has argued that there were books at Canterbury in the late eleventh and early twelfth century which were not written in the famous 'prickly' script developed by Eadmer.[97] This script has emphasised pointed serifs; it lengthened and condensed letters without biting into them, producing a flowing but upright hand that was beautifully legible but took up less space than the rounded Anglo-Saxon or Carolingian minuscule scripts; it became generally used Christ Church and used by St Augustine's as well in the early twelfth century.[98] There were some scribes who did not use prickly script and some monks who owned books written in different script styles that were illuminated at Canterbury; for example, Cambridge Trinity College B.3.14 *Pratellensis super Genesim Pt II*.[99]

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[96] M. Gullick, 'The Scribal Work of Eadmer of Canterbury to 1109', *Arch. Cant.*, 118 (1998), 173-190; M. Gullick and R. W. Pfaff, 'The Dublin Pontifical (TCD 98 [B.3.6]): Saint Anselm's?', *Scriptorium*, 40.2 (2001), 284-294.
[97] T. Webber, 'Script and Manuscript Production at Christ Church, Canterbury, after the Norman Conquest', ed. R. Eales and R. Sharpe, *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest: Churches Saints and Scholars 1066-1109*, (London: Hambledon Press, 1995), pp. 145-158, pp.148-150.
[98] Webber 1995, p. 156.
[99] R. Gameson, 'English Manuscript Art in the Late Eleventh Century: Canterbury and its Context', ibid., pp. 95-144, p. 108, n. 45; Webber 1995, p. 158.

Among the books which Webber has confirmed were Christ Church manuscripts but which do not contain the Christ Church style prickly script are 'TCC O.4.34 (Orosius), O.10.28 (Eutropius, etc), and O.10.31 (Victor Vitensis, etc)' which are all histories. [100] It is these books in particular that have pertinent features shared by Laud Misc. 247 and which Richard Gameson described as 'decidedly awful' in his article on English manuscript art, but he did not tar CCCC 187, Eusebius, s.xi[ex] with the same condemnation, although it is another Christ Church history book written in English minuscule.[101] As his points on these Christ Church manuscripts are relevant to this discussion, a summary is presented here drawing attention to these specific history books. Gameson mentions that in the Christ Church 'surviving non-liturgical manuscripts' the parchment is poor quality, yellowy, holed, sometimes patched; the ink colour changes and is often brown rather than black; 'pedestrian decoration' is limited to initials at the start of the work and sometimes these are unfinished. Two of the history books use an artist who Gameson designated as 'B' for their decorated initials (TCC O.4.34 and O.10.28). He is described by Gameson as having 'minimal talent', although T. A. M. Bishop merely called him 'moderate'.[102] Gameson also noted marginal letters and notes to the rubricator are often left in the margin in Christ Church books, although this does not occur in the three history books. Most Canterbury non-liturgical books have smaller colour initials in a very plain style, but some have minor ornamentation, while others have more colours added; this is visible in all three history books.[103] Gameson also noted the text might be only written by a single scribe, or by several scribes. [104] All three history books have several scribes, sometimes more than one to a folio. The quire signatures in all three history books are the same, normal Christ Church type which Gameson called a 'discreet

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[100] Webber 1995, Table 11, p. 158.

[101] Gameson 1995, p. 120, n. 87; CCCC 187, Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiatica* was also copied for or at Rochester, CCCC 184, s.xii[1].

[102] Gameson 1995, p. 117, n.74; T. A. M. Bishop, 'Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts, Part I', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 1 (1949-1953), 432-441.

[103] For example, initial capitals in: TCC O.4.34, fol. 46r 'Scio aliquantos', TCC O.10.28, fol, 42r 'Cessante iam'; TCC O.10.31, fol. 5r 'Quondam veteres', see fig. 2.20.

[104] Gameson 1995, pp. 120-121.

Roman numeral in the centre of the lower margin of the final verso of each quire'.[105] In his Appendix 2, Table 7, Gameson specifically described TCC O.4.34 and O.10.28 as having 'long lines' (i.e. single column), with hard point ruling, and initials by Artist B; while TCC O.10.31 is also written in a single column but ruled in hard point and lead/ink, with some display script.[106]

Michael Gullick has added to Gameson's research. Gullick described some plain capitals with an 'occasional wavy line' in Anselm's *Pontifical*, TCD 98 (obviously a liturgical manuscript) with an example, 'A' on fol. 156r, in plate 60b.[107] Gullick added that these purple, red, green, or violet initials were the work of a single rubricator and this 'minor decorative device was common in Christ Church books but not often found in books from elsewhere.'[108] Furthermore, Gullick has mentioned that hard point for ruling 'rarely' occurred after 1100.[109] He has also drawn attention to the long-standing rubricator (who he designates as 'R') of Christ Church books who used a 'a hand which is very round in general aspect and English-looking' who 'only rubricated but never wrote text'; who was active in the late eleventh to early twelfth century and worked on seven extant Christ Church books and may have been 'a figure of some magnitude at Christ Church.'[110] The three history books have been dated by Gneuss and Lapidge in 2014 as s. xi/xii with their origin as Canterbury.[111]

Laud Misc. 247 fulfils every single parameter set out by Webber, Gullick, and Gameson for a Christ Church non-liturgical book. It is a history book which contains a complete copy of Victor Vitensis, *Historia Wandalorum*, the *History of the Lombards*, Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne*, the *Alexander* texts, and *Apollonius of Tyre*. It is written in a range of ink tones on yellowy, occasionally holed, parchment, and its pages are ruled in hard point, visible on the blank folio 139r, although the pricking

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[105] Gameson 1995, p. 108 n. 43; e.g. TCC O.4.34, fol. 80v, fig. 2.18.
[106] Gameson 1995, p.142, see fig. 2.20 for display script.
[107] Gullick and Pfaff, 2001, p. 191 and pl. 60b of TCD 98, fol. 56r.
[108] Gullick and Pfaff, 2001, p. 191.
[109] Ibid, p. 190.
[110] Ibid., p. 191, n. 17 for list and dates of R's Christ Church books including TCC B.4.26 datable to or before 1096 to TCC B.3.32 'probably after 1100'.
[111] Gneuss and Lapidge 2014: TCC O.4.34, p. 165; TCC O.10.28, p. 166; TCC O.10.31, pp. 166-167.

has been mostly trimmed away. The style of Laud Misc. 247's quire signatures match those Gameson described in other Christ Church manuscripts, and in particular, TCC O.4.34 and O.10.28, visible for nearly every quire.[112] Laud Misc. 247 is by several hands of the late eleventh- to twelfth-century, written in a single column; the bestiary is in a single very rounded minuscule hand. Furthermore, Laud. Misc. 247 has plain coloured capitals, some with minor elaboration, and occasionally larger ones with splashes and dots of contrasted colours, in a colour scheme of purple, red, green, and violet (e.g. fol. 2r; and fols 139v and 140 in the bestiary) which matches the colour scheme of TCD 98, as Gullick discussed. Laud Misc. 247 also has marginal letters and notes for the rubricator throughout (e.g. fol. 162v).

This link between the Christ Church history books and Laud Misc. 247 has not previously been noted. The bestiary, although it forms three separate quires (14-16), is an intrinsic part of the volume; it shares the same ruling, quire marks, rubrication, and capital initial styles as the TCC history books and is written in a contemporary minuscule hand. This is not the rotund English hand Webber identifies in TCC O.10.31 and CUL Ff.3.29, which is much more condensed, and the g and x are formed differently.[113] The Laud hand closely resembles the hand of rubricator 'R' in the TCD 98 Pontifical when he uses minuscule in his rubrication but for whose hand no text has been identified.

Besides the history subject matter, the evidence of the quire signatures, ruling in hard point, and matched coloured initials and rubrication provides an origin, date, and early provenance for the bestiary of late eleventh century Christ Church Cathedral Priory, Canterbury. This is further strengthened by the entry of the main text *Historia Longobardorum* in the Eastry Christ Church Catalogue.[114] This identification is a significant finding as it proves the earliest Latin bestiary in English was made at Canterbury, Christ Church, as M. R. James originally thought. The wider implications are that the bestiary can now be viewed as part of the work produced at Christ Church under St Anselm's aegis, as discussed in Chapter Four. The connection to Orosius,

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[112] Appendix 2.5 has a list of the quire signatures.
[113] Webber, 1995, p. 154, n. 40, pl. 16b.
[114] *ALCD* p. 33. No. 160.

TCC O.4.34 and Eutropius TCC O.10.28 is also significant because their initial capitals by Artist B are similar to the drawings to another bestiary in Stowe 1067.

**6.    British Library, Stowe 1067** s. xii[1]                figs. 3.25-3.27
**Discussion:**
This bestiary has been dated to ca. 1120-30 by Baxter and attributed to St Augustine's Abbey.[115] Its text has been very well discussed by both Baxter and Stewart. Their interest is because Stowe's changes to the text of Laud Misc. 247 are important in the development of the First family bestiary, for example, it switched the *Etymologiae* sections to the front. Stowe's alterations include the addition of new chapters and abbreviations of old chapters to make it easier to read, for example by the excision of repetitions and a reformulation of sentences. These changes demonstrate the renewed interest in the bestiary text in the early part of the twelfth century; they shaped a leaner, more animal-focused rather than spiritual text, as Stewart has demonstrated by her meticulous, in-depth analytical comparison between Laud Misc. 247 and Stowe 1067.[116] Stewart has put forward evidence that some of the changes in Stowe 1067, such as the new chapters on the Ibis, Dog, and Wolf, came from an early continental version of a bestiary.[117] Rather than re-iterate the textual arguments put forward by Stewart, with which I concur, this study concentrates on the evidence which secures this bestiary's attribution to Christ Church Priory.

This sixteen folio (two quire) manuscript has twenty-eight small, unframed half-column-width line drawings in the first quire, which usually fall on the right of the page, touched with occasional colour and described by Kauffmann as 'somewhat crude'.[118] This first folio was written by a single protogothic hand in one column. At least two scribes took over in the second quire, there are no drawings in the second quire, although there are spaces left for illustrations and initial capitals. The second scribe at the start of the second quire on fol. 9r does not finish off the chapter on the Hoopoe that had been started on fol. 8v. Instead he started afresh with Ants. From

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[115] Baxter 1998, pp. 96-99; Stewart 2012, pp. 93-100, pp. 199-200.
[116] Stewart 2012, Appendix 10, pp. 61-107.
[117] Stewart 2012, p. 94
[118] Kauffmann 1975, p. 76.

this lacuna Baxter inferred that the two quires used different models, the first quire contains the most radical changes.[119]

The rendition of the creatures' compositions, stances, gestures and details (such as glass bead decoration an banding) indicate direct contact with Laud 247 by the artist of Stowe 1067. The artist of Stowe 1067 has both simplified the drawings he copied from Laud Misc. 247 and yet also embellished them, for example with the addition of spot colour (fig. 2.25). Other specific examples of direct copying include the pincer shape of the serrated horns of the Antelope or *Autolops*. In Laud, the Antelope (fol. 141r) has been drawn in profile as a cloven-hooved, short-tailed quadruped with a long neck, short snout, and pointed ears. Its head is bent down and its two serrated pincer horns are entangled in highly stylized acanthus scrolled foliage which loops around its horns and trap its offside hind leg. In Stowe 1067 the Antelope (fol. 1v) has more rounded paws, its tail, neck, and its horns have grown longer, the head is twisted so both eyes are drawn, and a furry coat is indicated by short regular waves of curl marks. The thorn bush is equally stylized but instead of looping the animal's back leg, the branch is drawn in front of its body and some leaves and perhaps a flower picked out in pale blue and red. The composition and stance of the animal and the curves of the foliage are copied but the foliage has been simplified and the Antelope has become more canine in appearance.

In the Caladrius chapter illustrated on fol. 7v in Stowe 1067, the man in bed now points to the long-necked Caladrius bird which hovers above his sickbed but with its wings not stretched in flight. The folds of the bedclothes are not drawn in detail, only two thirds of the space has been utilised, but the bed legs match those of Laud, as does the curled top of the bedpost. In Laud the bird has its wings and legs outstretched as if about to perch on the bed. Again the elements of the composition have been retained, simplified perhaps to assist the less skilled artist who does not use the space provided to good effect but whose drawing is livelier. The Firestones has not been copied from Laud by the Stowe artist, perhaps because only a small three line space was left by the scribe. Instead a different and unique composition has two

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[119] Baxter 1998, p. 95.

human figures perhaps surrounded by flames who hold two round shields or mirrors which depict fiery rocks. The humans point to each other, the one on the left is beardless and may be female but closely resembles the figure in the decorated initial on TCC O.10.28 fol. 1r.  The style and execution resemble the hand of Artist B (as identified by Gameson). He uses a fine line but not an assured one, for example, in the Antelope drawn on fol. 1v where the stylized bramble is similar to that in the decorated initial in TCC Orosius O.4.34, fol. 1r, and Eutropius O.10.28, fol. 1; as are the wavy lines of the fish scales of the Serra in Stowe fol. 7v and the glass bead treatment of dragon and bird wings in Stowe (fols. 8r and 5r), although they have some odd upright tail feathers (figs. 2.25, 26, 27).

M. R. James attributed Laud 247and Stowe 1067 to Christ Church mainly on their scripts.[120] Like Laud, the scribes of Stowe do not use a 'prickly' script. The scribe of the first folio uses a neat hand in a rounded minuscule, with an enclosed g, rounded serifs on minims turn to the right, and a short-tailed x. This compares well to the English hand noted by Webber and illustrated in her plate 16.[121] The other scribes in the second quire also use rounded minuscule although they do have not such neat and regular hands as the first scribe; for example on fols. 9r-v, the  g is open , the letters not joined up, there is a bifurcation of h and b, x tail to left drops below bottom line. The hand changes on fol. 9v, it becomes larger and pricklier, then settles down to a more uniform height, the letter b has a tick bifurcation to the right, the d is usually bent back over the bowl, or with the same flick to top of ascender as the b. On fol.16v the hand is spread out and untidier on the last ten lines. In the first quire the initial are coloured, just two lines high, in blue, alternates with purple, sometimes the blue initial have dots of contrasting red. The parchment has been pricked and ruled in hard point.  The second quire is ruled in plummet the initial letters are in red, only the initial D in red has a brown infill swirl.

Stowe has poor quality yellowed parchment with large holes (e.g. fol. 16). Its illustrations are by a moderate artist. Yet the text has been carefully ruled, rubricated

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[120] James 1928, p. 7 and p. 10, and *ALCD* p. 33.
[121] Webber 1995, p.154, pl. 16b.

(until fol. 14) and annotated in a number of hands.  This combination of poor material, indifference as to artist or different script hands makes a case for Stowe to have been part of a monastic collection volume, although it now stands alone. No. 151 in *ALCD* (BC4.151) would appear to be the only possible match in Eastry's catalogue, for although Stowe is early enough to have been in the earliest Christ Church catalogue of school texts, this list is incomplete and does not mention any bestiaries.[122] This thesis considers it likely that the change in hands, rubrication, and the change to ruling in plummet (which Gullick has indicated came after hard point) indicates a gap in time between the production of the first quire, and the addition of the second quire, which does not finish the chapter on the Hoopoe at the end of the first quire. However, the main hand of the second quire has added in the Laud text as a marginal note (most evident on fol. 1r). This may indicate that the exemplar which Stewart posits the first scribe used was no longer available.

In conclusion, Stowe 1076 incorporates new information, edits and re-arranges Laud Misc. 247 also uses another early Continental exemplar as Stewart has argued. Laud Misc. 247 has an illusion to the Peter Damian text which draws on an early bestiary in its illustration of a prone woman and an Ape which is not in the Laud text. This may indicate the presence of a Continental exemplar in Canterbury.[123] The discovery in Bodley Lat e. 9 of three chapters of an early bestiary text shorn of spiritual symbolism also strengthens the case for such an exemplar. The Stowe artist copies the illustrations in Laud Misc. 247 in a hand that closely resembles Christ Church Artist B as identified by Gameson. This bestiary is a significant witness to the re-shaping of the bestiary text in Canterbury.

**7.    Oxford, Bodl. Bodley Lat. Th. e. 9** s.xii²       figs. 3.28-3.30

**Discussion**

This book is a previously unidentified volume from Christ Church Cathedral Priory. It contains a broad collection of didactic material; the first two books of the

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[122] *ALCD* pp. 3-12.

[123] Damian, *De Bono Religiosi*, 'Nam et naturales actus pecorum per spiritualem intelligentiam reperiuntur in moribus hominum', *PL* 145, col. 767A. On the Ape; *PL* 145, col. 789D-790A; Laud Misc. 247 fol.153v.

*Elucidarium* are 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 size, layout, general protogothic script, marginalia, and particularly quire signatures this matches a range of books produced at Christ Church Priory, Canterbury including the group of histories discussed in regard to Laud Misc. 247, although the hands in Lat Th. e. 9 are slightly later as they exhibit more protogothic features which are discussed below. This thesis also matches this book to the Eastry catalogue, BC4.219, '*Elucidarium*'. This copy of the *Elucidarium* and other didactic monastic tracts is important for three reasons. Firstly; the *Elucidarium* was one of the works where Honorius used Anselmian ideas to practical purpose in supplying Benedictine monks with suitable texts for teaching and lay preaching, so it is important to have traced an early copy of this work to Canterbury Christ Church. Secondly; this book contains three short chapters on the Lion, Unicorn, and Panther from an unknown early bestiary (fols. 56v-57v). These three animals are associated with Christ's passion, nativity and preaching and used by Honorius in the *Speculum Ecclesiae*. The chapters are not identified in any bestiary scholarly edition nor do they match *Physiologus Versio* B, or *Versio* Y, nor the metrical Theobaldus version. Thirdly; these three chapters and the following verses from Vergil are an exact match to CCCC 448 (fols. 88r-89v), to which Gneuss and Lapidge accord a possible Worcester attribution and date of s.xi/xii.[124]

Bodley Lat Th. e. 9 is a carefully compiled volume of suitable texts for monastic teaching, for example, it includes poems on how the monk's tonsure is his regal crown (fol. 76v). The contents of this Latin volume are similar to a contemporary Old English collection in Cotton Vespasian D XIV of Aelfric's homilies (including one on the Phoenix) which also has a translation of part of the *Elucidarium*, and saints' lives, put together this period by Christ Church monks, perhaps made for the nuns, handmaids of Christ, at St Sepulchre's in Canterbury as it mentions '*ancilla*' which means handmaid.

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[124] Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014, No. 114, p. 120.

The complete correspondence between Lat. Th. e. 9 and CCCC 448 is rather a surprise. The text for all three chapters is the same and the copyist also added the two short ps-Vergil poems. These poems are clearly not page-fillers in either CCCC 448 or Lat. Th. e. 9 for in the former they go over to the next leaf and in the latter they are in the middle of the quire and precede a blank page. Furthermore, the spelling error on line 4 of fol. 57v ('omnim') results from badly written word on line 12 of fol. 88v of CCCC 448 and indicates direct contact, as two further corrections in CCCC 448 are included in the text of Lat. Th. e. 9 ('poter**unt**' corrected on line 5 and 'est' have been added to the last line of CCCC 448, fol. 88v).

Gneuss and Lapidge pointed to 'Worcester ?' and the Parker Library summary proposes 'probably' from Worcester even though the CCCC 448 *ex libris* on the last verso, fol. 103v, '*Henr. dei gratia Wint. ecclesie minister Rich. archidiacono suo sal*' indicates the book was at Winchester; a Richard was archdeacon there in c. 1128.[125] Lat Th. e. 9 could be a Worcester book which added the poems from an earlier volume to appreciate them in a new context. It might have been a Winchester book, in which case Richard may have copied it there himself, although there is no mention of an *Elucidarium* at Winchester in *MLGB*.[126] Either of these attributions would be possible. Yet the hands, layout, and quire signatures in Lat Th. e. 9 resemble books attributed to Christ Church Priory, Canterbury. This is not a deluxe volume but more like the history books of Orosius (TCC O.4.34), the Eutropius (TCC O.10.28), and the Victor of Vita (TCC. O.10.31) which Gameson called 'shabby' and 'decidedly awful'.[127] The later Royal 1 A XIV Gospels written in Old English in a similar strong high x-height script (for increased legibility) is similarly plain and has the same quire signatures in one instance (fols. 39v-40r, numbered .i. and ii) and although the rest of the quires generally use catchwords, there may have been others which

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[125] Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, p. 120; CCCC 448 summary on Parkerweb; 'Archdeacons of Winchester diocese', ed. by D. E Greenway, Monastic Cathedrals, 2, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300* (London: Institute of Historical Research, 1971), 2, pp. 91-92.
[126] *MLGB3* <http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/> [accessed 5 July. 2015].
[127] Gameson, 'Manuscript Art', 1995, p. 120.

were trimmed. There is enough codicological evidence to consider this may have been a Canterbury volume copied from the Worcester Prosper of Aquitaine, *Epigrammata* (CCCC 448) and the link between the two places may be Honorius.

So little is known of Honorius's career that it cannot be certain that he was at either Canterbury or Worcester but both had early copies of his works. Flint posits Honorius was at Worcester when he wrote the *Elucidarium* and Heslop considered Honorius was there in 1103 and linked the stained glass programme at both cathedrals to Honorius's and St Anselm's influence.[128] The *Speculum Ecclesiae* which has sermons based on the bestiary was written for Christ Church monks, so a copy of Honorius's *Elucidarium* to which had been added the chapters on the Lion, the Unicorn, and the Panther would not be unexpected at Canterbury. Furthermore Adso's *De Antichristo* has also been linked to Honorius's *Elucidarium* and his *Speculum Ecclesiae* on the Antichrist as an antitype for Christ (the Lion is a figure for both), in an apocalyptic salvation history, *Hortus Delicarum* by Herrad, Abbess of Hohensburg.[129] Therefore its inclusion in this volume ties into both Honorius's and wider Benedictine interests.

These chapters from an unidentified *Physiologus* or bestiary are admirably direct. They retain the literal information on the animal and the access to the biblical allegory by keeping the key Biblical references. Yet they jettison the moral and anagogical signification. This allows new moral and spiritual connections to be made, as Honorius demonstrated in the *Speculum Ecclesiae*. Here the Lion unusually represents Antichrist '*Per leonem Antichristus intelligitur*' (*PL* 170 col. 0915C). The Panther, rather than Christ as in the bestiary, signifies

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[128] V. Flint, 'The Career of Honorius Augustodunensis: Some Fresh Evidence', *Revue bénédictine*, 82 (1972), 63-86. T. A. Heslop, 'St Anselm, Church Reform and the Politics of Art', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 33 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011), pp. 103–26, pp. 113-4. Walter Andrew Hannam, 'The *Ineuitabile* of Honorius Augustodunensis: A Study in the Textures of early Twelfth-Century Augustinianisms', PhD thesis (University of Boston, 2013), p. 33, disputes Flint's assurance of Honorius's links to Anselm, Canterbury, and Worcester but has not drawn on Heslop's work.

[129] N. Campbell,"Lest He Should Come Unforeseen': The Antichrist Cycle in the Hortus Deliciarum', *Gesta*, 54, (2015), pp. 85-118, p. 88-9, p.117-118 partial translation of *Elucidarium*.

the priests who imbibe scripture and then breath it out to their flocks, '*Per hanc bestiam significantur sacerdotes multis virtutibus*' (*PL* 170 col. 0887B). Honorius uses the Unicorn's horn to signify Christ's cross (*PL* 170 col. 0847B).

Lat Th. e. 9 represents an intelligent gathering of texts to teach aspects of monastic spirituality which were far from basic. Furthermore, the uncatalogued bestiary fragment (only mentioned by Flint) may be significant evidence for the connection between Honorius, Worcester, Christ Church and the bestiary. [130] It may help to strengthen arguments put forward in the second part of this thesis on the reasons Canterbury was the centre for shaping and exploring this text.

**Bestiaries linked to Canterbury**

This section details four bestiary manuscripts which have been considered by scholars to be from either Christ Church Priory or St Augustine's Abbey. They are BL Additional 11283, Brussels Bibliothéque Royal MS 8340; Oxford, Bodleian Douce 88A; and Canterbury Cathedral Archives Lit. D.10. The last three bestiaries have also been connected textually to BL Additional 11283. Furthermore, Brussels, Bibliothéque Royal MS 8340 also copies its illustrations. BL Additional 11283 is the earliest extant Second family bestiary and there are many other bestiaries linked to it in terms of transmission of textual variance and iconographic references, so the specific connections of BBR 8340, Douce 88A, and CCA D.10 require detailed analysis. [131]

**8. London, British Library, Additional 11283** s. xii[2]    figs. 3.31-3.32
**Discussion:**

This is the earliest complete Second family bestiary; it has 103 illustrations and 123 chapters (there are no illustrations after the section on Serpents) in 41 folios. It is written in a single column in 33 lines in a protogothic script by a single scribe. The rubrics usually 5-6 lines high are in alternate blue and red with contrasting penscrolls.

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[130] V. Flint, 'The Place and Purpose of the Works of Honorius Augustodunensis', *Revue bénédictine*, 87 (1977), 97–127, p. 112;

[131] Clark, 2006, p. 256 lists nineteen bestiaries with 'group relationships…mainly determined by textual variants, a subset dependent on Aberdeen UL 24 has a further eight.

There are various pen trials and names of a later date but none traceable.[132] There are several *nota bene* marks in a fourteenth century hand and one in particular attracted Clark's attention as it refers to '*Stagno d*[e? missing, trimmed] *Blakemore*' (f.31r); this is a different spelling to the one Clark gives ('*stagno pro Blakemere*'). She thought it might give a hint of a Northern provenance as there is a Blakemere swamp near Chester. However, there is a village near Chelmsford in Essex called Blackmore in the Middle Ages after its black swampy soil, which means that the Northern provenance she inferred from the swamp reference might rather apply to the South.[133]

Two artists have drawn the 103 unframed outline illustrations. Clark traces a link for the more skilful artist's work to examples in St Omer Bibl. Mun. 12, and forges iconographical connections between CCCC 22 and BL Additional 11283 in the depiction of the ibex.[134] The drawings have occasional flecks of colour added; the Tiger has the most with blue, red and green added to its body (fol. 2r) to indicate its stripes and spots. Some occasional background details are added such as an occasional wavy line for the ground, or highly stylized trees. The illustrations mainly concentrate on the animal without adding details from the text; the Tiger duped by the hunter and King Garamantes being rescued by his dogs are exceptions.

Corrections to the text have been made in a careful hand in neat black ink . One on fol. 9v (l.18) incorporates a correction to the text of some interest. The correction also appears in the text of CCA Lit. D.10 on fol.4v (*nota caprat catulis finis s*[ed missing, trimmed] *in longinquo. Quod [si] op' fuerit ut p'dam*) which has been outlined in wiggly red ink with three dots above linked to three red dots marking the missing text. Further down fol. 9r on l.26 a correction has been added above the text 'illo'. This word appears in D.10, fol.4v, l.18. In D.10 on the penultimate line beginning'[L]*upi fig[u]ram diabolis*' the missing word '*portat*' has been added in the same neat tiny hand. BL

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132 Fol.3r: 'Cuthbert S. Sigswick'; fol.16r upside down in the outer margin 'Ann Broad Book' and below 'Thomas Buttler ow[n]e ths booke'; fols. 28v, 30r and 31r: 'George Sparkes' all written in fifteenth-sixteenth century hands
133 P. H. Reaney, *The Place Names of Essex* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1935), Blackmore was called 'la Blakemore' in 1213; a 'black swamp' with many springs.
134 Clark 2006, p. 232 and p. 25 for the ibex chapter.

Add.11283 has a another correction similarly surrounded in red with missing words '*pietatis et pr[u]dens intellectus et cognitionis insigne*' on fol.23r l.1 a correction for the swallow, fol. 21v. Tracing glossing or correcting hands is most difficult since the registers and idiosyncrasies of a more normal hand are much less in evidence. However, there are a few lines in this glossing hand on f.4v of Add. 11283 on the topic of the elephant

> Hanc naturam habet elefans bellum ingressus ut crudelior fiat
> attendant ductores erus ante eius oculos … crucifixi

There is a reference to 'Maccabees xviii' [a later hand references 6: 34] the glossing hand has '*elephanus ostenderunt sanguinem uvae ad acuendos eos in proelium*'.[135] The hand is quite similar to fol.10 of BL Cotton Vespasian A II (BA1.1170, s. xiv[in], <u>*Kalendarium*</u>, Rogeri Bacon, owned by Michael of Northgate); it has high 'a', neat serifs on minims bent back, stubby 'd', forked ascenders for 'h' and 'l', not such a fluid hand perhaps but from the same period.[136] The significance of these corrections in BL Additional 11283 is that it points to a careful check of the books and an interest in bestiaries, and such thoughtful amendments were taking place in St Augustine's Abbey in the late thirteenth century under the renewed intellectual vigour of Abbot Findon's abbacy.

BL Additional 11283 is the earliest witness for the Second family bestiary and Clark has traced its influence in several other bestiary manuscripts, as noted above. While George Zarnecki put forward the case for a Canterbury provenance for Additional 11283 in his article on Canterbury Romanesque capitals, basing his opinion on the page layout, scribal hand, and style of illustration, this thesis suggests that St Augustine's Abbey is a more likely source because of the corrections, and the copied illustrations in the later BBR 8340.[137] These palaeographic and iconographic indications suggest this earliest Second family bestiary was in Canterbury in the medieval period. This thesis considers it is more likely for the reasons outlined above

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[135] 1 Maccabees 6.34, *Septuagint* NETS (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 588, 'And they showed the elephants juice of grapes to incite them to war'; over ten litres of wine are needed to make elephants drunk <www.ncbi.nlm.nih. gov/pubmed/16555195> [5 July, 2015].
[136] *Kalendarium Rogeri Bacon*, BL Cotton Vespasian A II, s.xiv[1], fols. 1-10, also extant in Oxford, CCC 221, BA1.*1170, BCBB, pp. 1197-1201, 2035, owned by Michael of Northgate.
[137] G. Zarnecki, 'Romanesque Capital from Canterbury', *Arch. Cant.* 95 (1979) p. 1-6.

that Additional 11283 was present at St Augustine's Abbey rather than Christ Church in the medieval period.

## 9. Brussels, Bibliothéque Royale, 8340 [138] s.xiv²⁻³     figs. 3.31, 3.33-3.34

**Discussion:**

This manuscript is included because it is a very close copy of Additional 11283 produced in ca. 1350, at the end of the timeframe of this thesis. Both text and illustrations are so close in some instances that Clark considers the artist must have had 'direct contact' by which she means visual contact, or perhaps used some designs made via a transfer sheet from the original which points to a close acquaintance.[139] However, a fifteenth century list of contents may be of help to establish whether this bestiary has ever been used in Canterbury. A 1959 article by Hubert Silvestre, (which Clark does not note in her bibliography) has thrown some light on the accompanying texts with this bestiary, including a work by Walter Burley.[140] An entry in Richard Sharpe's *List of Identifications* for Walter Burley (1275-ca.1344) notes a copy of this text was donated to Pembroke College and recorded in two lists of benefactors and also by Leland in 1535 [refs. UC43.142 = UC44.7 = UC47.152].[141] Silvestre believes the Burley text in Bibliothéque Royale 8340 may have been copied from a manuscript in England in the 'seconde moitié de ce siècle'; Silvestre makes the point that Burley wrote this work in the last years of his life on the continent, probably at Avignon or in Northern Italy; he died in ca.1343.[142] Furthermore, since Silvestre established that Bibliothéque Royale 8340 was written in part by one scribe who wrote both the bestiary text and the Burley text (fols. 1-103, 133-157, 164-215 are in this hand and the bestiary forms fols. 183-215) this gives a not before date of around 1340-50s at the earliest for the bestiary manuscript, rather than Clark's 1300.[143]

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[138] The bestiary is now referenced as BBR 8327-8342.

[139] Clark 2006, p. 226 and see below.

[140] Hubert Silvestre, 'Enfin un manuscrit anglais du *De Vita et Moribus Philosophorum* de Walter Burley?' *Scriptorium* XIII, 2 (1959), 255-259.

[141] *Latin Writers*, p. 743.

[142] Silvestre, p. 255, R. Sharpe, *Latin Writers*, p. 743 'after 1344'.

[143] Silvestre, p. 257.

Clark's identification of this bestiary manuscript as the closest copy to BL Additional 11283 extant makes it a particularly relevant addition to this chapter. This is because it demonstrates that the bestiary was still seen as a suitable text for copying when it was already – if Silvestre's date is the more accurate – around 170 years old and long after the bestiary is considered to have passed its zenith of popularity.[144] However, BBR 8340 may have been transferred to Flanders soon after it was made, if as Silvestre suggests, it accompanied the Burley manuscript was copied into a London Dominican manuscript, Cambridge, Trinity College O.2.50 (identified as written in a Flemish hand by M. R. James, before 1410).[145] Barker-Benfield notes the contents of a St Augustine's volume which belonged to Dr. John Mankael includes many works by Walter Burley, as well as other *magistri*, who were all at Merton College, Oxford in the early part of fourteenth century.[146] So it is unsurprising that there were such connections between Oxford *magistri*, such as Walter Burley, and St Augustine monks, given their attendance at the Benedictine Worcester College at Oxford. The combination of a text by Burley and a bestiary is also found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, University College 120, which also includes the tract on the cure of horses which appears in Douce 88A, discussed below. From the evidence given above, it seems likely that the fourteenth century parts of Bibliothéque Royale 8340 were copied at Oxford from BL Additional 11283.

**10.   Oxford, Bodleian Douce 88A** s.xiii³      figs. 3.35-3.38
**Discussion:**
Douce 88A is a mid to late thirteenth century illuminated bestiary of 24 folios, paginated in the top margin in a late medieval hand in grey ink. A leaf has been lost and unnumbered between fols 28 and 29 which Douce noted. The pagination also jumps from p. 147- p. 150 between fols. 12 and 13. This indicates that at least the Fox and the start of the Wolf chapters are lost and possibly the chapter on the Yale.[147] It is also clear that the pagination jumps from p. 175 to p. 188, between fols. 21-22,

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[144] Baxter 1998, p. 167, fig. 1.
[145] M. R. James, *The western manuscripts in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge: a descriptive catalogue*, 3 (Cambridge: 1902), pp. 164-6.
[146] BCBB, BA1.1423, pp. 1366-7.
[147] Baxter 1998, p. 142-3.

from the Siren to the Peredixion Tree, which neither Douce nor Baxter noted. The outline illustrations are drawn in black in what Clark has described as a 'provincial' professional hand.[148] The compositions are simple; usually the creature is depicted alone with a cursory line to indicate ground or a light green wash to indicate the sea. The animals are, in general, fat-bodied with spindly legs, rather stiff and wooden, carefully framed inside solid background tints which alternate between green (which has reacted to the vellum and become blotchy) and warm red. The rubrication has also been professionally produced, the scribe has left small letters occasionally visible in the gutter margin as indicators to the rubricator who has alternated the initials in red and blue with contrasting penscrolls and occasional puzzle initials (e.g. fol. 22r).

The same script (with the exception of the short work on Mary Magdalene, 'Narrat Joseph' in a different, cursive hand) and illustrations and rubrication by the same artist, together with continuous medieval pagination, indicate that this bestiary was produced at the same time as the contents of Quires B-D, the *History of the Cross*, Odo's *Parables* and the *Seven Deadly Sins* tract, and the tract on horse care too. Three copies of the *Parables* were listed in the St Augustine's library catalogue (BA1. 458f; 871.b; and 1610b). The first book was owned by Abbot Thomas, probably Abbot Findon. It contained Anselm's *Similitudines* and also the tract on the *Seven Deadly Sins* as well as the *Parables*. Barker-Benfield thinks the catalogues entry may have 'unspecified texts not all at the end'.[149] BA1.871 was owned by Ralf de Gatewyk who was ordained in 1297and the first entry in this book was the *Speculum Stultorum*; no other entries match those in Douce 88A. BA1.1610 was owned by John Preston, made Prior c. 1461, so this entry may be a little late for this thirteenth-century volume. It is interesting to note that the *Parables* have some glossing in a *cursive anglicana* hand very similar in aspect to that in TCC B.4.1 Prior Wylmington's *Gloss on Paul* (fol. 35r). This thesis has tentatively identified the glossing hand as the scribe of CCA Lit. D.10 but there is very little of the script so the identification cannot be definitive.

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[148] Clark, 2006, p. 242.
[149] BCBB BA1.458, p. 623.

This Second family bestiary manuscript is now bound with Henry de Burgham's Third family bestiary, Douce 88E, discussed above. Baxter considers Douce 88A and E might have been bound together while both were at St Augustine's although this argument has been dismissed as 'circuitous' by Barker-Benfield.[150] However, if there is no direct proof that this bestiary was bound with Douce 88E at St Augustine's, there is some other evidence which makes it likely that this bestiary was near Canterbury. This is because Douce 88A is bound with fols.1-4 of an earlier calendar which has the *ex libris* of Thomas de Wharton, the rector of Speldhist, in Kent, dated 1336, on f.1v.[151] This calendar has Bartholomew Salmon's name written in a sixteenth- century hand. Bartholomew has also written his name several times in different inks on fol. 52r, in the tract on horse care in quire D. This means the twelfth century calendar and the bestiary quire were together before they were bound in the nineteenth century for Francis Douce; this is not a nineteenth century marriage of suitably-sized texts. The manuscript was been paginated in a late medieval from fols.1r-4v (pp. 1-10) and from fols. 5r- 68 (pp. 131-286), indicates lost texts before the bestiary which was paginated as pp. 131-204. As the calendar ends on p. 12, this means fifty-eight folios are now missing.

Douce 88A has many annotations which Clark has linked to teaching in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Clark thinks this bestiary provides evidence for her theory that the text has been used in 'elementary' education, since it has 'q' marked against some twenty illustrated chapters but not against a single unillustrated one. Clark considered this indicated the manuscript was used in the classroom, 'The *q* gloss for an illustration could be used by the teacher to test a pupil's recollection'.[152] Yet it does not prove that the bestiary was originally produced for the classroom. Her mention that the tract on horse cures is not an academic work, to strengthen the case for schoolroom use of Douce 88A, is weakened by the presence of the same tract in a university collection (Oxford, University College MS 120)

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[150] Baxter 1998, p. 143; BCBB p. 899.
[151] 'equorum' in *Latin Writers*, BA1.647f, possibly the same tract on horses, but the incipit could not be traced using Brepols *In Principio*.
[152] Clark 2006, p. 243.

which also contains a Walter Burley scholastic tract, and is very much an academic compilation (as mentioned above).

Douce 88A has several long interpolations which are not in Additional 11283. They are mainly taken from the *Aviarium* and the *Etymologiae* and indicate Douce 88A was not originally intended for the schoolroom.[153]

The decorated initials of the accompanying texts, such as Odo's *Parables* and the *History of the Cross*, in Douce 88A are similar to the one in Douce 88E which begins the short fragment of *Imago Mundi* (fig. 2.23) as if the scribe of Douce 88E copied the style. The evidence collated here indicates that Douce 88A may have been more closely connected to St Augustine's Abbey than Barker-Benfield considered, and may be linked to Abbot Thomas Findon's bequest at BA1.458. This would mean Baxter was correct in thinking this bestiary probably came from St Augustine's Abbey but not that it was bound with Douce 88E in the medieval period.

**Conclusion**

These bestiary manuscripts have been examined from a material and historical standpoint as artefacts. These bestiaries which have connections to Canterbury have naturally fallen into discrete groups. The first section which has those which are firmly from St Augustine's Abbey, plus matched exemplars, are potentially the most interesting. This is because the original St Augustine owners can also be identified. These bestiaries reveal the continual development of medieval interest in the bestiary text. They indicate the internal patronage of the bestiary at St Augustine's Abbey, a patronage rooted in the spirituality of their studies yet also produced for the reputation of their monastery. The texts are well-presented, the rubrication carefully planned and carried out, the drawings betray levels of thoughtfulness and different skills. The substrate is nearly always substandard, St Augustine monks did not waste expensive vellum on their own collection books. Instead the best vellum was reserved for their Bibles and liturgical books.

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[153] Clark 2006, pp. 242-3.

Bestiary manuscripts in the next section compared the various codicological, textual and iconographic evidence with confirmed Christ Church manuscripts to put forward the thesis that both Laud Misc. 247 and Stowe 1067 are from the Cathedral priory. The implications of this finding are examined in Chapter Four. This chapter has also examined Bodl. Lat. Th. e. 9 and proposed it too may be a Christ Church manuscript, its single leaf on the Lion, Unicorn, and the Panther emphasise the importance of these beasts to think about Christ and Creation for they are all figures for Christ. In this they accord with the aims of the *Speculum Ecclesiae* which is discussed in Chapter Four.

The final part of this chapter discussed the possibility that BL Additional 11283 was from St Augustine's Abbey. This led to an examination of how parts of Brussels Bibliothéque Royal 8370 were probably copied from Additional 11283 perhaps in Oxford, which has important ramifications for the consideration of bestiary ownership and reading not only the cloister but the university.

The majority of extant bestiaries belong to St Augustine's Abbey, which may be the result of time and serendipity but also because it seems St Augustine monks were more interested in the bestiary later in the thirteenth and into fourteenth century than their Christ Church brethren. They gathered different versions, excerpted parts of the different recensions and adding new texts, such as Neckam's *De Natura Rerum*. John Pistor had a copy of an *Aviarium* and a bestiary copy that links to Douce 88A; he used these works in a draft of a sermon. Henry de Burgham copied a Third family text probably himself and adapted First family illustrations for it. Excerpts from John Hawkhurst's books indicate he added Neckham to his *Dicta Chrysostomi* bestiary chapters. Their work on this text was part of the increased intellectual activity inspired by their Abbot Thomas Findon.

Although medieval bestiaries are not glossed in the same fashion as, for example Bibles, legal texts, and scholastic works, Baxter considers the inclusion of

prefatory material as a form of glossing. [154]  The inclusion of these texts justifies and frames the approach of the bestiary, even when it is not the main text. These contemporary accompaniments for bestiaries inform, introduce, connect or otherwise gloss the bestiary, for example, the frequent inclusion of a lapidary, the Alexander texts, or the four examples of an *Aviarium*, as well as excerpts Isidore's *Etymologiae*. This chapter has drawn together the web-like strands of evidence to conclude that Canterbury was indeed a centre for bestiary development and production throughout the period 1100-1350.[155] The next chapters investigate the implications of the evidence presented in these first chapters.

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[154] Rather than standard commentaries, such as the Bible's *glossa ordinaria*, some Transitional and Second family bestiaries had prefatory illustration cycles of the Genesis Creation scenes, e.g. Pierpont Morgan 81 and Aberdeen UL 24. Baxter 1998, p. 112.
[155] Baxter 1998, pp. 173-5, pp. 196-99; on *Pantheologus* in the Rochester Bestiary, p. 173.

## Chapter 4
### The bestiary: shaping and affect in Canterbury monastic culture

This chapter seeks to build on the evidence gathered in Chapters Two and Three by embedding the bestiary in Canterbury monastic culture to understand how the bestiary became a key book in this specific location. One way it looks to understand this process is by considering the 'audience and affect' of the bestiary in this location. In this aim the chapter is drawing on the work of Ann Stanton, whose exhaustive analysis of the Queen Mary Psalter as a material object led her to conclude how important the Psalter was for its royal female audience's devotional and didactic purposes and that 'it was the narrative affective quality of the images typical of books of hours that helped make them more popular than Psalters'.[1] Images from bestiaries do form uncaptioned illustrative cycles in another royal psalter (the Isabella Psalter, Munich, BSB Cod. gall. 16) owned by the same Queen Isabella, wife of Edward II. However, there are significant differences between the psalter and the bestiary, for example, in terms of audience and material culture. Stanton's chosen psalter has royal court connections but the bestiaries studied in this thesis are either monastic productions or produced for monks and often their owners, patrons and readers are unknown. Stanton particularly noted this royal psalter depended for its affective quality on images and many bestiaries, particularly monastic ones, are unillustrated. Despite these differences, understanding the bestiary's role in shaping audience and affect remains a similarly worthwhile aim. The relevance of Stanton's work to this thesis is her emphasis on audience and especially affect which is linked here to 'affectus'.

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[1] A Rudloff Stanton, *The Queen Mary Psalter: A Study of Affect and Audience* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2001), p. 69.

This thesis proposes to examine aspects of extant bestiaries and related texts and illuminations to gauge their affective quality as well as their perception and reception in the monastic milieu. For the purpose of this thesis affective quality is defined as a combination of emotional appeal and rational desire. This chapter seeks to discover if these attributes can be connected to the bestiary (via its subject matter and didactic purposes, such as teaching the fourfold senses, and preaching) and to particular aspects of the Anselmian intellectual revival at Canterbury. The first section explores both Anselm's part in the shaping of the bestiary and the way the bestiary may have, in turn, shaped some of his similitudes.[2] The second section of this chapter will build on this Anselmian shaping by considering the impact of Honorius Augustodunensis's work addressed to the Canterbury monks, *Speculum Ecclesiae*. The third section then explores Canterbury monks' interest in the bestiary and beast literature at the end of the twelfth century during the tumultuous political events following Becket's martyrdom in 1170. The final section examines the bestiary as part of the intellectual renewal of St Augustine's Abbey in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century.

**St Anselm, Christ Church, and the bestiary**

This thesis sought in Chapter Three to establish that Bodl. Laud Misc. 247 was produced in Christ Church Cathedral at the end of the eleventh century, during St Anselm's archiepiscopate (1093-1109). Codicological evidence links the earliest extant English Latin prose bestiary with two volumes of history definitely from Canterbury before 1100 (Orosius, TCC O.4.34 and Eutropius, TCC. O.10.28). This chapter now argues for the importance of the bestiary at this significant period in the history of Canterbury and in the history of monastic reform.

One of the research questions posed in this thesis is whether renewed interest in the bestiary at this time a product of St Anselm's cultural, spiritual, and

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[2] Anselm's similitudes or parables appear throughout his work and his spoken ones were recorded by Eadmer and Alexander. Southern discussed how Eadmer's *De humanis moribus per similitudines* and Alexander's *Dicta* were combined c. 1115-30 into *De Simiiltudinibus*, *Memorials*, pp. 12-13. Some of Anselm's similitudes refer to animals from the First family bestiary (e.g. Eagle, Owl, Partridge, and Pearl).

intellectual impact upon Canterbury monks? Was this fervour inspired by his emphasis on human reason, desire and will (*ratio, affectus, voluntas*)? McCord Adams has regarded Anselm as God's 'teacher's aid', arguing that while the monastery trained monks to control their will by taking vows of obedience, Anselm's works sought to combine meditations to stir their emotional responses and mental exercises to stimulate their intellectual striving towards seeing the face of God.[3] This training programme is summed up in Anselm's Prologue to his *Prayers and Meditations*

> Orationes sive Meditationes quae subscripta sunt, quoniam ad excitandam legentis mentem ad dei amorem vel timorem, seu ad suimet discussionem editae sunt, non sunt legendae in tumultu, sed in quiete, nec cursim et velociter, sed paulatim cum intenta et morosa meditationem [4]

and his similitude in *De Concordia* compares such spiritual training to cultivating one's crops to produce a better harvest.[5] In *Cur Deus Homo*, begun when Anselm was made archbishop, McCord Adams points out that Anselm set intellectual logic challenges for Boso and subsequently elicited his emotions ranging from despair to joy.[6] She points out that there were similar exercises in the *Proslogion*. For example, Book 1 chapter 1 is headed '*Excitatio mentis ad contemplandum deum*'.[7] Chapters 14-18 are written to arouse emotive responses, e.g. '*Conabar assurgere ad lucem dei, et recidi in tenebras meas.*' [8] The *Proslogion* also addresses intellectual rigour in chapters 2-13 and 18-23, e.g. at the start of chapter 2 '*Ergo, domine, qui das fidei intellectum, da mihi, ut*

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[3] M. McCord Adams, 'Anselm on faith and reason', ed. B. Davies, *Cambridge Companion to Anselm* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 32-60, p. 35 and p.51.

[4] McCord Adams, 2007, p.35; her *Cur Deus Homo* (*CDH*) references are to *Anselmi Opera Omnia*, ed. by F. Schmitt, 1-6, 1 (Edinburgh: Nelson, 1946-61), (S); S I :50-6; *CDH* I. 2-10; S I: 68-94, *CDH* 1.11-24 (e.g. 'miser hommuncio' wretched little man, S I: 94.9); and S I: 101-131 *CDH* II. 6-19, e.g. 'gaudio exultet cor meum' (S I.131.5) *CDH* II. 19. Adams also mentions Anselm, *Orationes sive Meditationes*, (S III: 3.2-4), translated as 'The prayers or meditations which are written below, for exercising the mind of the reader to the love or fear of God or to his own careful self-scrutiny, should not be read in a noisy place, but in the quiet, and not hastily and quickly, but gradually, with an intense and sombre reflection.'

[5] Anselm, *De Concordia*, 3.6 (S II: 270.16–18), 'illas vero, quae nobis ad vitam nutriendam maxime sunt necessariae, non sine magno laborare atque cultore nec absque seminibus.'

[6] *Anselm of Canterbury: The Major Works*, ed B. Davies, G. R. Evans (Oxford: Oxford University Press, repr., 2008), p. ix; M. McCord Adams, 2007, p.36.

[7] S I. 97.3 'A rousing of the mind to the contemplation of God', *Major Works*, 2008, p. 84.

[8] S I. 114. 1-2; 'I strove to ascend to God's light and I have fallen back into my own darkness', *Major Works*, 2008, p. 97.

*quantum scis expedire intelligam'.*[9] The book ends by inspiring the will in chapters 24-26, e.g. *'Excita nunc, anima mea, et erige totum intellectum tuum'*.[10]  This indicates that Anselm was putting together a means to train his monks in these three areas of reason, emotion, and will to aid their spiritual development. This chapter proposes that the renewed interest in the bestiary text fits into this rigorous mental training.

**St Anselm's argument on animal and rational**

This period in Christ Church's history saw a complex process of intellectual renewal, fired by Anselm's original ideas on the nature of Creation and man's place within it, and combined with tensions over the nature of monastic *renovatio* (for example, on whether Benedictines should be allowed to preach to the laity). This section will focus upon Anselm's early exploration of human reason and animal desire in *De Grammatico* (written between 1059 and 1060) and then concentrate upon one of his animal tropes in his *Similitudes* written during his archiepiscopate.[11]

This chapter contends that the earliest extant bestiary from Canterbury (Oxford, Bodl. Laud Misc. 247) is in harmony with St Anselm on the relationship between God and Creation. As the bestiary is an older text it could hardly be said to support Anselmian ideas, so the relationship needs to be carefully established. This First family bestiary added information from the *Etymologiae* to the ca. third-fourth century *Physiologus* at the end of every chapter. The *Physiologus* had been used by St Augustine of Hippo (354-430) in his *De Doctrina Christiana*. This was not surprising for, as F. Diekstra mentions, 'the *Physiologus* was associated with the great Christian writers of religious instruction'. However, the specific passage in *De Doctrina Christiana* which refers to information from the *Physiologus* chapter 'On the Serpent' has not been linked in the scholarship to the *Physiologus*, although the passage is

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[9] S I. 101.3; 'Well the, Lord, You who give understanding to faith, grant me that I may understand', *Major Works*, 2008 p. 87.

[10] S I.117.22; 'Now my soul rouse and lift up your whole understanding', *Major Works*, 2008, p.101; M. McCord Adams, 2007, p.36.

[11] Anselm, *De Grammatico*, ed. F. Schmitt, *Anselmi Opera Omnia*, 1-6, 1 (Edinburgh: Nelson, 1946-1961), pp. 141-168 (S); translated in B. Davies, G. R. Evans, *Anselm of Canterbury: The Major Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, repr., 2008), pp. 123-150; *Memorials of St. Anselm*, ed. by R.W. Southern, F.S. Schmitt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969).

quoted by Buellens and he considered it important in establishing the principles of scriptural exegesis.[12] This passage in *De Doctrina Christiana* is discussed in detail in Chapter 5 (pp. 133-134) as its topic was alluded to in several Canterbury Christ Church decorated initials, another indication of its importance. Here the point is that as St Augustine had used the principal source of the bestiary to explicate his scriptural exegesis, the bestiary was broadly in line with St Anselm's theosophy as Anselm 'was clearly influenced' by St Augustine's works, particularly *De Trinitate*. [13] For example, St Anselm took up St Augustine in his key idea that faith seeks understanding, not only in his *Monologion*, (*Prologus*, S I: 7.2-8.26) but also in *De Incarnatione Verbi*, as Gareth Matthews has pointed out.[14] This idea is also expressed in *De Incarnatione Verbi* (S II: 8.7-19). This reference is of particular relevance, for here Anselm added references to the bat and also to the Owl and the Eagle; two birds with adjacent chapters (seven and eight) in the First family bestiary;

> Velut si vespertiliones et noctuae non nisi in nocte caelum videntes de meridianis solis radiis disceptent contra aquilas ipsum irreverberato visu intuentes [15]

According to Anselm, beginners who try to grasp intellectually what should first be believed are like the nearly blind nocturnal bat and the Owl, rather than the sun-soaring Eagle.[16] Although it has not previously been linked to this passage the

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[12] St Augustine, *DDC,* Book 16, chapter 2. 64, p. 91; Curley, *Physiologus*, On the Serpent, pp. 16-20, n. p. 86; F. Diekstra, 'The *Physiologus*, the bestiaries and medieval animal lore', *Neophilogus*, 69 (1985), 142-155, p. 144; P. Buellens, 'Like a Book Written by God's Finger: Animals showing the Path towards God', ed. by B. Resl, *A Cultural History of Animals in the Medieval Age* (Oxford: Berg, 2007), pp. 127-152, p. 130.

[13] G. Matthews, 'Anselm, Augustine, and Platonism', ed. B. Davies, *Cambridge Companion to Anselm* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 61-83, p.73

[14] Ibid. p. 66.

[15] Mann 1888, pp. 41-42. The bat reference is possibly from Isidore, *Etymologiae* XII.7.36 'Vespertilio pro tempore nomen accepit, eo quod lucem fugiens crepusculo vespertino circumvolet'; 'The Bat takes its name from the time of day because it avoids the light and flies around in the dusk of the evening (*vespertinus*).' *Etymologies*, 2006, p. 266.

[16] Anselm, *De Incarnatione Verbi*, 'Palam namque est quia illi non habent fidei firmitatem, qui quoniam quod credunt intelligere non possunt, disputant contra eiusdem fidei a sanctis patribus confirmatam veritatem. Velut . . . intuentes.' (S II : 7.10-8.6) 'For they evidently do not have the strength of faith who, since they cannot understand the things they believe, argue against the same faith's truth confirmed by the holy Fathers. This is as if bats and owls, who see the heavens only at night, should argue about the midday rays of the sun with eagles, who gaze on the sun itself with undeflected vision.' Translation quoted from Matthews, 2007, p. 73.

bestiary tells how the Owl or *Noctua* love shadows more than light 'tenebras amat magis quam lucem….et est avis lucifuga et solem videre non patitur'.[17] The Eagle instead seeks out a spring of water 'querit fontem' and from that spring rushes towards the sun to burn the cataracts from its eyes, 'evolat in altum usque ad etheram solis, et ibi incedit …caliginem oculorum comburit de radiis' (a metaphor for enlightenment), before it dunks itself back in the spring to be renewed 'se mergit et statim…renovatur'; the link is also made to baptism in the same bestiary chapter by a reference to John 3:5, 'Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu sancto, non potest intrare in regnum celorum', (a similar lesson to the Stag in the bestiary).[18] Ian Logan links Anselm's reference in *De Incarnatione Verbi* to the Eagle and the sun to the passage in the *Proslogion* (S I: 112. 16.23), 'sicut infirmus oculus quod videt pro lucem solis videt' where Anselm notes how humanity's weak eyed 'search for God should take place where the light is reflected', i.e. in the rational mind, which is the mirror and image of God.'[19] In using the bestiary reference in *De Incarnatione Verbi* Anselm perhaps sought to emphasise the importance of eagle-eyed acuity.

The addition of Isidore's *Etymologiae* to the *Physiologus* text emphasised the importance of the spiritual, God-given meaning of the word, which is an essential part of Anselmian understanding, also expressed in considerable detail in *De Grammatico*, as demonstrated by Stock and also by Heslop.[20] The question is whether Anselm's use of rhetoric, mnemonic devices, and vivid animal attributes, to pursue an understanding of God's Word may have helped to make the bestiary such an important and popular book. *De Grammatico* explored the differences between rational and animal, set out in his favourite classical form of conversation or *sermo*. Anselm first led the conversation to the false conclusion that 'Nullus igitur homo animal est' 'No man is an animal' before introducing the concept of 'grammaticus'

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[17] Mann 1988, p. 41, my translation; the *Noctua* 'loves the shadows more than the light …and it is a bird that avoids the light and cannot bear to see the sun'.
[18] Mann 1888, p. 42, my translation; John 3:5 'unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.' Douay-Rheims.
[19] I. Logan, *Reading Anselm's Proslogion* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), p.105.
[20] B. Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983) pp. 329-362.

or 'litteratus' as both a substance and a quality.[21] This careful and systematic question and answer approach allowed a more fruitful analysis of the key spiritual and philosophical issues such as free will. Brian Stock has read *De Grammatico* as Anselm visualizing 'God as a dialoguer'; because the Word of God becomes the text of creation; 'Creation is thereby made coterminous with 'talking about creating.''[22] Mankind becomes more important in 'the old three-cornered conflict' as Southern described it between God, Devil, and Man.[23] For Anselm all mankind may seek God not simply via baptism (as the bestiary chapter linked to the Stag) but actively and penitently through the suffering of Christ (as in the Eagle's search for light). This points to a 'eucharistic and sacramental' affective piety as well as one founded on reason, since *affectus* involves desire, appetite and emotion, even if some of these emotions are sinful and beastlike attributes that need the mediation of willpower and reason. The reason behind this exploration of Anselm's triple conception of the mind is not that it follows Augustine's *De Trinitate* (Book XV, chapter 3), in how these three aspects of the mind reflect the Trinity but that Anselm changes these aspects from '*memoria*, *intelligentia*, and *voluntas*' (memory, reason, and will), to emotion, reason, and will.[24] Emotion or *affectus* is reflected in the emotive sins and virtues attributed to creatures in the bestiary; so the bestiary provides some understanding of public emotions and tensions. For example, Alexander's recollections of Anselm, *Dicta Anselmi*, chapter 17, based on *De Moribus* (which R. W. Southern thought might be an unfinished book by Anselm) describe how human deadly sins become wild beasts in the valley of pride and include the

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[21] S I: 147.27; *Major Works*, 2008, p. 126, 3.233.
[22] Stock 1983, p. 361.
[23] Stock 1983, p. 360.
[24] Augustine, *De Trinitate*, Book XV, Chapter 3. vi, '. . .est altera trinitas ubi apparerent eadem tria unius esse substantiae, imaginatio corporis quae in memoria est et inde informatio cum ad eam conuertitur acies cogitantis et utrumque coniungens intentio uoluntatis.' The Latin Library,<www.thelatinlibrary.com/augustine/trin15.shtml> [accessed 20 June, 2015]. 'Next, we found yet another trinity in the mind itself, . . wherein the same three things, as it appeared, were of one substance: the image of the bodily object which is in the memory, and the form thence impressed when the mind's eye of the thinker is turned to it, and the purpose of the will combining the two.' New Advent: *Church Fathers*, <www.new advent.org/fathers/130115.htm> [accessed 20 June, 2015].

cruelty of the lion, the cunning of the fox, the treachery of the serpent, and (the rather less scary) hot temper of the frog

> Unde fit ut in valle ista tenebrosa vitiorum sit copia, quasi bestiarum crudeliam magna multitudo. Denique crudelitas ut leo, calliditas ut vulpecula, invidia ut serpens, iracundia ut rana, ceteraque vitia quasi mortifera animantia ibidem conversantur.[25]

In the same chapter rationality is described as angelic, appetite as brutish, and will as both; and that will is the median way between desire, *affectus* or appetite and rationality.[26] Rubinstein has argued that Guibert de Nogent took up these arguments on the tri-partite nature of the mind, which Anselm had based on St Augustine's earlier model of 'memoria, intelligentia, and voluntas' which was a reflection of the Trinity.[27] Rubinstein and Abulafia, following Klaus Guth, further held that Guibert, Anselm's disciple, later added a fourth form *intellectus* from St Augustine, to *affectus* as desire or appetite, *uoluntas* or will, *ratio* or reason. These four aspects were then linked by Guibert to the fourfold allegory – the first two (*affectus* and *voluntas*) to the literal and allegorical; the third *ratio* to the moral; and the fourth *intellectus* to the spiritual, as an aid Guibert's scriptural exegesis.[28] It was in this way of thinking about the human mind that paralleled the bestiary's careful literal animal descriptions, allegorical biblical references, and moral and spiritual lessons. This is because the *Physiologus* from which the bestiary developed, had emerged in Late Antiquity as part of the impetus to link Christian theology to classical rhetoric.

**St Anselm's animal *Similitudines***

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[25] *Memorials*, p. 7; *Liber ex dictus beati Anselmi*, p.110, l. 14-16; and *De Moribus*, p. 81, c.100-8.
[26] *Memorials*, cap. XVII, l.21-22, '*Ratione assimilamur angelis, appetitu brutis animalibus, voluntate utrisque.*'
[27] J. Rubinstein, 'St Anselm's Influence on Guibert of Nogent', ed. D. Luscombe, G. R. Evans, *Anselm: Aosta, Bec and Canterbury* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), pp. 296-309, p. 298.
[28] Guibert notes three or four parts 'tripartio aut quadripartio', Guibert de Nogent, *Autobiographie*, ed. E.-R. Labande (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1981), p. 140; Rubinstein, 'Influence', 1996, p. 301, and Anna Sapir Abulafia, 'Theology and the Commercial Revolution: Guibert of Nogent, St Anselm and the Jews of Northern France', ed. by A. Abulafia, M. Franklin and M. Rubin, *Church and City 1000-1500: Essays in Honour of Christopher Brooke* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 23-40, p.32-3, cites K. Guth, 'Zum Verhältnis von Exegese und Philosophie im Zeitalter der Frühscholastik: (Anmerkungen zu Guibert von Nogent, Vita I, 17)', *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* 38 (1971), pp. 121-136, who first associated the allegory of the fourfold senses to St Anselm.

*De Similitudinibus* were the memorable parables Anselm told, recorded by both Eadmer and Alexander, some of which also appeared in Anselm's own works.[29] Anselm used these *Similitudines* to aid the comprehension of his theological arguments by those not usually classed as '*litteratus*'. Eadmer's *Vita* includes *De relaxatione avis*, about how a boy tied a bird to a piece of string and pulled it back when it tried to fly away (an analogy of the devil's snares); and the Owl safe in her hole, instead of being attacked by other birds represented the cloister as Anselm's haven.[30] Thirdly, Eadmer reports that when Anselm was taken ill in about 1105-6, he requested some partridge to eat, a very specific request, and some was immediately (and miraculously) found and brought to him.[31] In the bestiary the partridge, a lusty bird, steals others' chicks but on hearing their true parent calling, they return to their real mother, an analogy of a sinner returning to the Church, and the sick man to health.[32]

As noted, the *Dicta Anselmi* begins with the deadly sins depicted as wild beasts in the vale of pride, a trope which is also used (via the *Policraticus*) in the Third family bestiary.[33] For these types of analogy, rhetorical *topoi* based on animal commonplaces were ideal, as Anselm clearly knew. From Antiquity rhetoric was designed to appeal to all men, to persuade, blame, defend, or praise, by reason, emotion or character, whereas dialectic was aimed at argument among the educated elite.[34] As G. R. Evans has pointed out, each of Anselm's analogies is 'carefully constructed so as to match its counterpart meanings exactly.'[35] Examining Anselm's *Similitude* on the Pearl or *Margarita* provides another example of how St Anselm's work aided renewed monastic interest in the bestiary. It also shows that in some

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[29] *Memorials*, pp. 12-13 on how Eadmer's *De humanis moribus per similitudines* and Alexander's *Dicta* were combined c. 1115-30 into *De Simiiltudinibus*.

[30] *The Life of St Anselm by Eadmer*, ed, by R. W. Southern (London: Nelson, 1962), pp. 90-91, pp. 70-71.

[31] Southern, *Eadmer*, 1962, p. 136

[32] Mann 1888, pp. 59-60.

[33] Dines, *Policraticus*, 2013.

[34] Gideon O. Burton, *Silva Rhetoricae* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University) <http://rhetoric.byu.edu/ > [accessed 4 June, 2015] on rhetorical *topoi*. E. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* p. 527, praises Anselm's originality.

[35] G. R. Evans, 'St Anselm's Analogies', *Vivarium*, 14 (Jan., 1976), 81-93, p. 86.

small ways the bestiary was used by St Anselm, in a complex intertwining of old and new references and allusions.

Anselm's parable of the pearl is in *Cur Deus Homo* Book 1, Chapter 19, rather than Alexander's *Dicta*, or Eadmer's *Vita*.[36] In this chapter Anselm is explaining to Boso, one of monks who came with him to Canterbury, why *Quod homo non possit salvari sine peccati satisfactione*, 'mankind cannot be saved without recompense for sin', the title of the chapter.[37] The question is about how God can allow mankind to replace the fallen angels in heaven when mankind has fallen into sin. The analogy is made of a wealthy man with a priceless pearl in his hand 'which no dirt has ever touched' '*margaritam pretiosam, quam nulla umquam pollution tetigit*'. [38]He is about to put it into his treasure chest with all his most precious items. Yet he allows the pearl to be knocked out of his hand by an evildoer (which he could easily have prevented) and so it falls into the mud.[39] Would the man have not cleaned the pearl before he put it away? Boso replies that it would be better to clean the pearl than store it still dirty.[40]

This analogy was used by Anselm to illustrate his theory of atonement; that Christ, being both human and divine, was offered to redeem mankind's sins. Christ washes away mankind's sins and thus allows mankind's entry into heaven when recompense (via purgatory) has been made. Only Christ's willing sacrifice can cleanse humanity and allow the return to heaven, or as Strimple puts it 'human salvation follows upon this meritorious death of the God-man' which is why he thinks the title of the work is *Cur Deus Homo* – Why the God-man?[41]

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[36] *S. Anselmi cantuariensis archiepiscopi opera omnia,* ed. F. S. Schmitt, 6 (Edinburgh: Nelson 1946-61), S.II, 85, 6-25. B. Davies and G. R. Evans, eds., *Anselm of Canterbury: The Major Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, repr., 2008), pp. 301-2.

[37] S II: 84.5.

[38] S II: 85.6-7.

[39] S. II: 85.12-14, 'Quid si ipse permittat eandem margaritam ab aliquot invido excuti de manu sua in caenum… Putabisne illum sapientem? *Major Works*, 2008, p. 301.

[40] S. II: 85.15-16.

[41] R. B. Strimple, 'The *Cur deus homo* and John Calvin's doctrine of the Atonement', eds. D. Luscombe and G. R. Evans, *Anselm: Aosta, Bec and Canterbury: Papers in Commemoration of the Nine-*

The chapter on Oyster or *Mermecolion* in the First family bestiary, via the *Physiologus* (and originally from Pliny), recounts how the Pearl or *Margarita* is formed.[42] It was not a small piece of detritus which was responsible for the oyster's pearl, as is now known, rather as the bestiary reveals the oyster rose to the surface and opened its mouth to catch a heavenly dewdrop aglow in the sun's rays to form its gem

> Ergo cum ascenderit de loco suo super mare, aperit os suum et suscipit intra se de rore celi et circumfulget eum radiis solis et sic fit intra eum margarita preciosa.[43]

The Pearl is thus a heavenly sunlit gift from the divine to mankind. This understanding of the Pearl was 'broadcast' from the *Physiologus*, according to Friedrich Ohly, and was the reason the pearl came to be associated with the Blessed Virgin Mary's Annunciation (and later her Immaculate Conception).[44] No one has linked the bestiary chapter on the Pearl to Anselm's *similitudine*. Yet understanding that the Pearl was God-given, and related to the light of the sun (just as in the Eagle similitude) adds to our understanding of Anselm's parable. The bestiary chapter spells out, drawing on Matthew, that the pearl was not only a literal gem, but allegorically linked to the wise merchant (a figure for God) who sold all he had to buy the best pearl (Matt. 13:45-46).[45] It was a morally instructive '*res*' or thing implying one ought to give everything for Jesus (Matt. 10:39) and anagogically, that the Pearl is heaven's gift of Christ. To St Anselm, Christ is the God-man and the Pearl emphasises his meaning.

Anselm's intellectually stimulating critical thinking was presented in truly engaging and inspiring rhetorical tropes, some of which drew on animals and animal attributes, such as the Pearl, the Hare, and the Owl or *Bubo* or *Nicticorax*, led

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*Hundredth Anniversary of Anselm's Enthronement as Archbishop, 25 September 1093* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), pp. 348-360, pp. 350-1.

[42] Mann, 1889, '*De mermecolion et de naturis eius*', Chapter 37, pp. 71-2.

[43] Mann, 1889, p. 71.

[44] F. Ohly, 'Dew and Pearl: A lecture', *Sensus Spiritualis*, 2005, pp. 234-250, p. 235.

[45] *De Perdice*, Ch. 26. 'Est volatile, quod dicitur perdix. . . pullos . . . ubi matris sue vocem audierint que ova generavit, statim evolant et conferunt se ad suos parentes naturales.' Mann, 1888, p. 72, 'There is a bird which is called the partridge . . .whose chicks when they hear the voice of the mother who laid them, immediately fly to be with their natural parents.'

the bestiary to become a natural choice for monks to meditate and experiment upon.[46] They joined a renewed vigour and excitement in exploring theological problems about nature and the nature of God to the culture and rhetoric of Late Antiquity which the bestiary had inherited from the *Physiologus*. To touch upon the different viewpoints of Anselm in the historiography, it is suggested here that it is in his spiritual wisdom and his practical teaching rooted in the scriptural exegesis and rhetorical training of Late Antiquity that St Anselm truly embraced Christ's exhortation to his disciples to be 'as innocent as doves and as wise as serpents' (Matt. 10.16). This is in contrast to arguments on Anselm's sanctity and political acumen, although this is the same verse from Matthew which Sally Vaughn used to contrast her concept of the realist St Anselm as against the unworldly saint Southern identified.[47] Recently Giles Gasper has re-evaluated the Augustinian inheritance of St Anselm and pointed to other patristic works in Bec library, but his work has not dismissed the influence of St Augustine on St Anselm, especially *De Trinitate* and *De Doctrina Christiana*.[48] David Hogg, like Stock (although Stock is not listed in his bibliography) has emphasised the importance of *De Grammatico* as part of Anselm's '*weltbild*' to understand God's nature, the 'Imago Dei in his Imago Mundi'.[49] It is the contention in this chapter that this '*weltbild*' by definition includes divine Creation and thus, creatures. St Anselm's intense concentration upon the relationship between God, Christ, and Creation, and his use of animal *similitudines* meant that the bestiary may have been viewed in Canterbury as a useful vehicle to present this new thinking on the beauty of divine Creation in an easily absorbed didactic format of short chapters on each animal's literal, allegorical, moral and spiritual significance. Furthermore, the role of Christ as God-man via an

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[46] Green, *DDC*, p. 91, *Physiologus*, On the Serpent, Curley pp. 16-20, n. p. 86.

[47] R. W. Southern*, Saint Anselm and his Biographer: A Study of Monastic Life and Thought 1059-c.1130* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) and *Memorials of St. Anselm*, ed. by R.W. Southern and F.S. Schmitt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969); S. Vaughan, *Archbishop Anselm 1093-1109: Bec Missionary, Canterbury Primate, Patriarch of Another World*, Series (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

[48] Giles Gasper, *Anselm of Canterbury and his Theological Inheritance* (Aldershot: Ashcroft, 2004)

[49] D. Hogg, *Anselm of Canterbury: The Beauty of Theology* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 84, p. 190.

exploration of bestiary animal attributes was perceived to enhance this new and more Christocentric world order.

## The bestiary and Honorius Augustodunensis's *Speculum Ecclesiae*

The Gregorian reforms begun in the mid eleventh century had led to a shortage of priests, since they were no longer supposed to hold multiple benefices and were also supposed to be celibate.[50] During Anselm's archiepiscopate this scarcity of priests led to increased pressure on monks to perform pastoral duties. Arguments soon arose over whether secular canons or monks were best fitted for the *cura animarum*, yet this pressure to supply priests for the laity demonstrated the need for simple and direct works for monks to aid their contentious pastoral role. This chapter argues that bestiary development was in part a response to the arguments on monastic reforms of the period in Canterbury about monks preaching to the laity.

George Younge has argued use of Old English in Canterbury continued in twelfth-century books, in part as a practical necessity for the education of the lay brothers, whose numbers increased in Lanfranc's and Anselm's time. [51] He has also highlighted St Anselm's use of monks to say mass when too few priests could be found, due to the aforementioned Gregorian reforms which banned simony and insisted on priestly celibacy. Despite his emphasis on the cloister, Anselm preferred to send monks into the parishes rather than relax these strict priestly requirements, and the injunction which banned married priests was issued to the Canterbury archdeaconate.[52] Chibnall, van Engen, and Flint have discussed a general 'crisis' in pastoral pressures from 1050 to 1150, that resulted in tensions between monks and

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[50] M. Chibnall, 'Monks and Pastoral Work: a problem in Anglo-Norman History', *JEH*, 18 (1967), 165-72; S. Vaughn, 'St Anselm and the English investiture controversy reconsidered', *JMH*, 6 (1980), 61–86.

[51] G. Younge, 'An Old English Compiler and his Audience: London, British Library MS Cotton Vespasian D. xiv, fols 4-169', *English Manuscripts before 1400*, eds. A. S. G. Edwards and Orietta Da Rold (London, The British Library, 2012), pp. 1-25, p.17.

[52] Younge, 2013, p. 18 and n. 117, p.25; Anselm's epistle 254, S IV: 165.6-7; 'iubete ut interim monachi missas dicant populo, ubi ipsi fuerint, et faciant corpus domini, quod per claericos portetur aegrotis'; and S. IV: 169-170 banned married priests.

secular priests.[53] The *cura animarum* of laypeople by monks was banned by Canon 17 of the First Lateran Council of 1123 (after the Concordat of Worms in 1122). However, Canon 17 did not ban preaching to the laity by monks who were also priests, as Rupert of Deutz (c.1070-1129) argued in his *Quod liceat monacho praedicere* (*PL* 170: 537 - 542), which was written as an altercation between a monk and a cleric.[54] As noted by Joseph Endres and Valerie Flint, Honorius Augustodunensis was heavily involved in the promulgation of preaching by black monks, and he wrote *Quod monachis licet praedicare* which reflected many of the opinions of Rupert of Deutz.[55] Colish has placed Honorius's advocacy of Benedictine pastoralism within the context of early twelfth century scholasticism. Guibert de Nogent also supported such monastic work outside the monastery as Zemler-Cizewski has also argued.[56] Such rivalries between regular and secular clergy, and especially cathedral canons and monastic cathedral priories in England, were to feature strongly in the twelfth century and the controversy continued into the thirteenth century.[57] The arguments naturally included who should receive the tithes of the parish church. Whether or not they were allowed to officiate at the mass, monks were needed to preach to the laity and this required new texts. Flint argued works of Honorius were specifically associated with Benedictine pastoral care so as

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[53] M. Chibnall, 'Monks and Pastoral Work: a problem in Anglo-Norman History', *JEH*, 18 (1967), 165-72; J. van Engen, 'The 'Crisis of Cenobitism' Reconsidered: Benedictine Monasticism in the Years 1050-1150' *Speculum*, 61(Apr., 1986), 269-304, p. 275; V. I. Flint, 'The 'Elucidarius of Honorius Augustodunensis and Reform in Late Eleventh Century England' Chapter X in *Ideas in the Medieval West* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1988), pp. 178-198.; and idem, 'The Place and Purpose of the Works of Honorius Augustodunensis, Chapter XII, pp. 97-127.

[54] J. A. Endres, *Honorius Augustodunensis* (Munich: Kösel'schen, 1906); J. van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

[55] J. A. Endres, 1906; Flint, 'Elucidarius and Reform' 1988.

[56] M. L. Colish, *Studies in Scholasticism* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2006), p. 140; W. Zemler-Cizewski, 'Guibert of Nogent's How to preach a sermon', *Theological Studies*, 59 (1998), 406-419.

[57] C. Colt Anderson, 'St Paul and Reform Rhetoric in the High Middle Ages', ed. by S. Cartwright, *A Companion to St Paul in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 325-348, pp. 338-9. C. Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley CA: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 39, C. Muessig, 'Introduction', ed. by C. Muessig, *Medieval Monastic Preaching* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), pp. 3-19, and in the same volume, J. Greatrex, 'Benedictine Sermons: Preparation and Practice in the English Monastic Cathedral Cloisters', pp. 259-278.

to provide the Benedictines with the means to shew themselves fitted to undertake the care of souls just where and just when they were most urgently involved in the pursuit of it.'[58]

Honorius's *Elucidarium* was, she suggested, written as a didactic aid for monks to preach to the laity. It was composed perhaps in the first exile of St Anselm) around the time the bestiary was written. Later, in the 1120s the Canterbury Cathedral Priory monks wrote and asked Honorius to help them on this same subject. It was for them Honorius produced the *Speculum Ecclesiae* which contains sample sermons for preaching to the laity.[59]

Flint did not examine the bestiary or its sources for the *Speculum Ecclesiae* but she did list the books Honorius drew upon for the *Elucidarius* which included the Orosius and Eutropius available at Canterbury.[60] Flint also noted two twelfth-century collections which include the *Elucidarium* also contain extracts from bestiaries (Oxford Bodl. Bodley Lat. Th. e 9 and Oxford Bodl. Fairfax 26 on fol. 22r-v).[61] Honorius's *Imago Mundi*, Munich, BSB clm 536 and clm 14348 also contain bestiaries. Evidence of these twelfth century collections of Honorius's works which include bestiary extracts demonstrate the link was made in this period between these works by Honorius and the bestiary. Furthermore, there is an *Elucidarium* reference in Canterbury Christ Church Priory (BC4. 219), and the style, layout and quire signatures in Oxford Bodl. Bodley Lat. Th. e 9 also match other Christ Church works.[62] This volume's three bestiary chapters only fill a single leaf but confirm the link between Honorius's work, the bestiary, and Canterbury.

The *Speculum Ecclesiae* will be examined to investigate how Honorius built on the ideas of Anselm and used the bestiary to present a series of Christological

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[58] Flint, 'Place and Purpose', 1988, p. 118.
[59] *Speculum Ecclesiae* PL 170 Col: 807A – 1107.
[60] Flint, 'Elucudarius and Reform', 1988, p. 194.
[61] Oxford, Bodley Lat. th. e. 9 (SC 32710), England, s.xii, *Elucidarium* in a 'theological miscellany' in Latin, with works by Peraldus and Adso, *De Antichristo*. <www.bodley. ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/online/medieval/lat/latin-th.html> [accessed 5 July, 2015]; Oxford, Bodley Fairfax 26, (SC 3908), England or N. France, c.1200, fols. 1-82, 'commonplace-book', bestiary extracts at fol. 22r-v. <www.bodley .ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss /wmss/online/medieval/fairfax/fairfax.html> [accessed 5 July, 2015].
[62] ALCD, p. 41, just a single volume away from BC4.221, Orosius TCC O.4.34.

sermon *exempla*. These sermons were designed to be preached to the laity by the monks of Canterbury in their cathedral and in their parishes. The *Speculum Ecclesiae* is a long work (over 100,000 words), a great gift from Honorius to Christ Church. There are no extant Christ Church Canterbury witnesses but several catalogue entries (BC4.99c, 270j, 894a, 943, 1259b). The references to animals in the *Speculum Ecclesiae* do not match verbatim to those in the bestiary as Honorius wrote in rhymed prose. Nevertheless strong evidence is found in the exposition of the sermons for their bestiary connections. Honorius appears to have taken up the suggestions from Guibert to help the illiterate understand the sermon but not to bore the literate with familiar expositions

> by expounding the gospel lections, we introduce an interpretation according to the moral sense, different from what the usual commentaries have and in a way make old material new by painting over it [63]

Thus Honorius sometimes provides new moralizations for the animals he mentions. Nevertheless, there are enough similarities to suggest this was a re-working based the First family bestiary text. For example, the Lion sleeps with his eyes open, sweeps his pawprints away with his tail to fool hunters, and breathes life into his cubs. These are attributes that appear in the bestiary, the *Physiologus*, and the *Etymologiae*. However, it is the *Physiologus* and bestiary which likens this leonine behaviour to Christ which Honorius uses, as well as the bestiary's opening reference to Jacob, '*praedixit Jacob patriarcha praecipuus: Juda dormiet ut catulus leonis. Quis suscitabit eum*?' (*PL* 170 col. 935C) which compares with '*Etenim Iacob, benedicens filium suum Iudam, ait: Catulus leonis Iudas, filius meus, quis suscitabit eum*?' in the bestiary.[64] Yet Honorius also uses the Lion as a figure for the Antichrist ('*Per leonem Antichristus intelligitur*') in his sermon for Palm Sunday.[65] He discusses the Caladrius (which only appears in the *Physiologus* and the bestiary), as a white bird which if it looks at a sick man will then fly to the heavens with his illness.[66] Honorius likens the bird to 'Christus de Virgine natus' rather than 'Nostri Salvatoris', but Christ is still the cure

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[63] Guibert de Nogent, *Liber quo ordine sermo fieri debeat*, *PL* 156.29A; translated in W. Zemler-Cizewski, 1998, p. 415.

[64] Mann, 1888, p. 37.

[65] *PL* 870 col. 915C.

[66] *PL* 870 col. 958C.

of the soul's sickness. Honorius also links the seven natures of the Dove from the bestiary aptly to Pentecost rather simply than to colours.[67]

There are thirty-nine chapters in Bodl.Laud Misc. 247 which separates the Panther and the Dragon, and the Weasel and the Asp, while the Crocodile is included in chapter on the Hydrus, and the Serpent is discussed as part of chapters on the Stag, Elephant, Panther, Hydrus, and the Pearl. This adds up to forty-one animals and the Peredixion tree. Honorius includes the Tree and eighteen bestiary animals in his thirty-six chapter descriptions.[68] Another five First family animals are mentioned in the main text of *Speculum Ecclesiae*: the Elephant, Turtledove, Weasel, and Ant (plus a one word reference to the Fox). Seventeen First family bestiary chapters are completely are omitted.[69] However, the Eagle is mentioned three times and the Lion twice in the *Speculum*'s chapter headings. Honorius drew on the bestiary (and some of the small animals in the *Etymologiae*) and of course frequent references to the Bible, patristic texts, and some hagiographies, to fashion simple but memorable sermons that reflect the temporale of the liturgical calendar and could also be used in an easily-visualized decorative programme to beautify the Church itself. In this work his sermons on the Lion, the Caladrius, and the Unicorn were to prove the most popular. The liturgical year focuses on the events in the life of Christ from Advent to Trinity, and it is in the sermons for these important festivals that Honorius concentrates his bestiary animal references. One sample sermon for a Sunday in Septuagesima was specifically aimed at laypeople and addressed them by occupations ('On the Eagle as a warning to priests and judges, rich and poor, soldiers and traders, peasants and wives'), indicated his target lay

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[67] *PL* 870 col. 0962C.

[68] The bestiary animals named in the chapter headings are the Unicorn, Peredixion Tree, Eagle I, Stag, Serpent, Siren, Eagle II, Panther, Lion I, Asp, Dragon, Lion II, Phoenix, Pelican, Crocodile, Hydrus, Eagle III, Caladrius, Dove, Pearl, and Partridge. These are listed and referenced in the Appendix Table 4.

[69] The seventeen bestiary chapters not in *Speculum Ecclesiae* are: the Antelope, Firestones, Sawfish, Nightowl, Hoopoe, Swallow, Ibis, Beaver, Hyena, Onager, Ape, Coot, Aspidicelonis (possibly a Sea Turtle or Nautilus), Ostrich, Salamander, Amos, and Diamond.

audience.[70] Moreover, in accord with Guibert de Nogent's 'How to preach a Sermon' addressed to monks who preached to the laity, Honorius's emphasis on fourfold exegesis also finds sturdy support in the bestiary,

> the study of nature supplements the text where allegorical or moral
> significance is to be sought in the material objects named in the text.
> By this means, an allegory or moral meaning may be devised for a stone,
> gem, bird, or beast according to the investigation of their nature
> (per naturae ... inspectionem).[71]

For example, in the *Speculum Ecclesiae* the Unicorn trapped by the Virgin is discussed at Advent; the Panther on Christ's approach to Jerusalem in Quadragesima; the Pelican's sacrifice of its blood to revive its chicks at Easter. Although the *Speculum Ecclesiae* is not a bestiary text, its appropriation of over half the bestiary animals, its similar methods of exegesis, and its stated purpose to enhance Benedictine preaching to the laity, make it an important text for the assessment of the impact of the bestiary. Although there is no direct evidence that these sermons were preached in Canterbury, the links between the bestiary, the Anselmian impetus to the intellectual and cultural environment at Canterbury, and the sermons written for Christ Church monks, allow us to consider the *Speculum Ecclesiae* as important evidence for the reception and affect of the bestiary in Canterbury at this important period in monastic history.

The thesis suggests that the *Speculum Ecclesiae*'s use of the bestiary emphasises how much the *liber bestiarum* was an intrinsic part of Christ Church and later the wider Benedictine culture; and how it reflected their renewed pastoral interests. References to the bestiary were later used in works which reveal the intense rivalry between monks and canons over the right to preach. Yet Emile Mâle and Ron Baxter assumed Honorius's *Speculum Ecclesiae* had no connection to the bestiary.[72] The problem may lie in Mâle's assumption that Honorius worked from the most common form of medieval bestiary, which is the Second family version that has over 120 animal chapters. This inferred from his mention of the tiger, heron, and peacock which are not found

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[70] *Speculum Ecclesiae*, chapter IX: *De Aquila*: '*admonitiones ad sacerdotes, ad judices, ad divites, ad pauperes, ad milites, ad mercatores, ad rusticos, ad conjugatos*', *PL* 870, col. 809A
[71] W. Zemler-Cizewski 1998, 406-419.
[72] E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XIIIe siècle en France* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1898); Baxter 1998, pp. 9-10.

in First family bestiaries. The few references to the many later animal additions in the Second family bestiary led him to consider

> En résumé, nous croyons que les Bestiaires, dont les archeologues ont tant parlé, n'eurent d'influence véritable sur l'art, que le jour ou leur substance eut passé dans le livre d'Honorius d'Autun, et de son livre dans les sermons. J'ai vainement cherché dans nos cathédrales l'image du hérisson, du castor, du paon, du tigre, par exemple, et de plusieurs autres animaux qui figurant dans les bestiaires, mais dont Honorius ne dit rien.' [73]

Flint established the *Speculum Ecclesiae* was written in 1120s whereas the Second family bestiary is believed to date from final third of twelfth century as the earliest extant version, BL Add. 11283, has been dated 1170-1200. Moreover, Mâle did not take into account the purpose of Honorius's choice of bestiary animals which were selected for the specific festivals from Advent to Ascension to celebrate the time of Christ on earth. This thesis contends that Honorius took examples from the bestiary to illustrate particular aspects creation as a celebration of Christ's life, to fulfil Anselm's vision of beauty that extolled Christ in Christ Church, as the Mother Church of England.[74] This is why not all the bestiary creatures were used, although as the sermons were samples, there were enough animals left to be used for the monks' own sermons, if they wished. It is argued that artists did not need to use other animals from the bestiary because Honorius had cherry-picked the best ones to use to beautify the Church and he had done it at the very moment more churches were built. To conclude, the *Speculum Ecclesiae* uses over half the animals from the First family bestiary to produce a series of sermons whose animal topics would appeal to the lay audience of the Black monks, and representations of the same animals could

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[73] E. Mâle 1898, p. 62; 'To sum up, we are of the opinion that the Bestiaries of which we hear so much from the archaeologists had no real influence on art until their substance passed into Honorius of Autun's book, and from that book into sermons. I have searched in vain for representations of the hedgehog, beaver, peacock, tiger and other animals which figure in the bestiaries but which are not mentioned by Honorius.' E. Mâle, *Religious Art of the Thirteenth Century in France*, trans D. Nussey (London: Dent, 1913), p. 45.
[74] T. A. Heslop, 'The Good Samaritan window at Canterbury Cathedral', *JWCI*, 77 (2014), 1-32, p. 29.

also be used to beautify the Church to symbolise aspects of the life of Christ. It was a deliberate assimilation of the bestiary for political as well as religious reasons.[75]

**The bestiary and the wealth of late twelfth-century Canterbury beast literature**

Paris BnF NAL 873 contains one of the selected bestiaries discussed in Chapter 2.[76] This section uses this unedited St Augustine's Abbey manuscript to re-examine the shaping and effect of the bestiary on other 'beast literature' on Canterbury in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century.[77] This section posits the bestiary also played a role in the cultural, political, and ecclesiastical tensions present in Canterbury at the end of the twelfth century. It suggests links between the library donations of this donor of this bestiary, Adam the sub-prior of St Augustine's Abbey, and Nigel Wireker, whose main work, *Speculum Stultorum*, in turn shaped medieval English culture and was also widely known on the Continent.[78] For example, Chaucer knew and borrowed from Nigel's poem as he wrote in *The Nun's Priest's Tale*, 'I have wel rad in 'Daun Burnel the Asse'.[79] This chapter takes up Barker-Benfield's suggestion that Adam and Nigel must have known each other, to explore the possibility of the two men's friendship, based on book-sharing.[80] This is the first study of the relationship between Adam's contemporary bestiary and Nigel's *Speculum Stultorum*.

The link between the bestiary, the *Speculum Stultorum* and Canterbury political events lies in their formation of monastic responses to secular clerical abuses.

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[75] The detailed Tables of Correspondence for *Speculum Ecclesiae* and the First Family bestiary are in Appendix 12.

[76] BCBB, BA1.*758, pp. 809-811.

[77] Jill Mann coined this phrase, *From Aesop to Reynard: Beast Literature in Medieval Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p.1.

[78] Nigel de Longchamps, *Speculum Stultorum*, ed. by J. H. Mozley and R. R. Raymo, University of California English Studies 18 (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1960). A. G. Rigg., 'Nigel of Canterbury: what was his name?', *Medium Ævum*, 56 (1987), 304-07; J. Ziolkowski, *Nigel of Canterbury: The Passion of St. Lawrence, Epigrams and Marginal Poems*, ed. and trans. by J. Ziolkowski (Leiden: Brill, 1994). J. Mann, 2009, p.100 prefers Nigel Longchamp; J. Greatrex, pp. 320-321, Nigel Wireker. W. Urry, *Canterbury Under the Angevin Kings* (London: Athlone Press, 1962), p. 159, and B. Barker-Benfield, BCBB, p. 1471, prefer Witeker. Nigel Wireker is used here.

[79] Chaucer's *Nun's Priest's Tale*, *Canterbury Tales* VII, line 3312, *The Riverside Chaucer*, gen. ed. L. Benson, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 259.

[80] BCBB, BA1.1557.

These responses echo the earlier tensions on monastic preaching to the laity, for example in Honorius's *Quod monachis licet praedicare* and his use of the bestiary's lively and vivid use of Christological animal attributes in sermons to the laity, which supported St Anselm's emphasis on Christ's humanity. In the late twelfth century these tensions between secular canons and monks became even more bitter as accusations of simony, nepotism, worldliness, and lack of celibacy made the antipathy between the Orders became commonplace. John Cotts has drawn on the *Speculum Stultorum* and the presence of Peter of Blois in Canterbury on the Archbishop's staff to demonstrate these arguments on the 'pretensions and moral decrepitude' of clergy involved in secular administration. He noted Nigel had little compassion for secular clerics' often difficult financial and moral position.[81]

This section also contends that the bestiary had a role in the on-going monastic, archiepiscopal, and regal power struggles in Canterbury which Becket's martyrdom on 29th December, 1170 exemplified but which did not end until the translation of his relics in 1220. Of course, these were not merely local but international concerns. This chapter works towards understanding how the bestiary, so much a product of the thought modes of Late Antiquity, could have fitted into medieval monastic culture and politics of this time. It does this principally via the consideration of the animal representations used in the bestiaries of Adam and the poems of Nigel, set against the background of a wealth of beast literature in this period of Canterbury history. In this way the study builds upon Jill Mann's arguments in *From Aesop to Reynard* which has brought several important issues about beast literature to the fore. Her question 'How do animals mean?' used the *Speculum Stultorum* as a case study for the medieval beast epic.[82] Her work probes beyond the poem's surface similarities to fable, to explore the themes of the rule of nature, of speech and silence, of animal and human, and of rhetoric and satire in

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[81] J. D. Cotts, 'The Critique of the Secular Clergy in Peter of Blois and Nigellus de Longchamps', Studies in Medieval History, *Haskins Society Journal*, 13 (2004), 137-150, p. 140.
[82] Mann 2009, p. 1. J. Mann, 'Does an Author Understand his Own Text? Nigel of Longchamp and the *Speculum Stultorum*', *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 17 (2007), 1–37 dates the poem to 1190s, p. 32, n. 128, and p. 34, n. 133. Mann, 2009, pp. 98-148, pp.160-163, and pp. 24-27, p. 126 and J. Mann, *Ysengrimus; Text with Translations, Commentary and Introduction* (Leiden: Brill 1987).

*Speculum Stultorum.* Yet Mann has called the sources for beast literature in later twelfth century Canterbury 'meagre.'[83] This section instead emphasizes the richness of the Canterbury medieval sources on animal art and literature which allow a fuller investigation, contextualization and integration of the poem as part of the *sensus spiritualis* of the Benedictine rule that involves the search for the divine in all of nature, not only the animal. A synopsis of the political and social context of late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century Canterbury is given and the reception, perception, and audience of the bestiary and beast literature is assessed.

## Paris, BnF NAL 873

Adam's First family bestiary (Paris BnF NAL 873, BA1.*758) forms the principal subject of this chapter and has already been discussed as a material object in Chapter Three and in Appendix 2.[84] Adam's other non-extant books have also been discussed in Chapter One.[85] This thesis posits that Adam owned three different bestiaries, as well as Aesop's *Fables*, various medical texts to support his role as Chamberlain, and an extant copy of Alexander Neckam's *Sermones* (Oxford, Bodl. Wood empt 13), this early witness to the text which indicates the importance of Adam's bequest in terms of the up-to-date works he donated.[86] Nigel might have portrayed something of Adam and his medical role as Chamberlain in the wise doctor Galen in the *Speculum Stultorum*.[87] Furthermore, the Abbey library also held Alexander Neckam's *De naturis rerum* (BA1.866) which mentions the tame and the

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[83] Mann 2009, p. 100.
[84] The bestiary is on fols. 37v-57r . BCBB, p. 810-11. for the contents list.
[85] Baxter 1998, pp. 196-99, bestiary analysis on pp. 88-91. BCBB Index V, p. 2263; Adam's were in: BA1.*758d *Expositio missae*; BA1.869 *Bestiarium*; and BA1.1557 also contained *Tractatus de naturis bestiarum*, Aesop's *Fables,* a lapidary, *Epistola ad Willelmum* dated ca. December 1192 - March 1194,*Speculum Stultorum*, pp. 1470-1.
[86] Baxter 1998, pp. 88-91, agreed by BCBB, pp. 810-11. BA1.*675, now Oxford, Bodleian, Wood empt. 13. Adam was a contemporary of Neckam, BCBB p.777. Baxter, 1998, pp.198-9; *Speculum Stultorum* line 1509; Burnellus was bled on his arrival in Paris.
[87] Canterbury doctor Master Feramin helped the monks obtain a papal bull during the dispute, S. Sweetinburgh, 'Caught in the Crossfire: Patronage and Institutional Politics in late twelfth-century Canterbury', *Cathedrals, Communities and Conflict in the Anglo-Norman World* eds. P. Dalton, C. Insley and L. Wilkinson (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011), pp.187-202 at pp.195-201.

wild ass, taken from a Second family bestiary, and Wireker quotes a line from it in the *Speculum Stultorum*.[88]

### *Speculum Stultorum*

Previous chapters have established that themes of nature, allegory, and rhetoric were an intrinsic part of the bestiary. Mann points out such themes were readily taken up in Nigel Wireker's *Speculum Stultorum*.[89] Mozley first emphasised Wireker's wordplay and his 'favourite antithesis of name and thing'.[90] It is Nigel's delight in etymology and rhetoric which found, this thesis suggests, so much to imbibe from the bestiary. This is because, as previously discussed, the bestiary is imbued with the allegory of the fourfold senses; each chapter of the First family bestiary has elements of literal, allegorical, moral and spiritual information about the animal and its relevant characteristics.[91] The addition of extra details from the *Etymologiae* at the end of each chapter usually included the etymology of the beast's name. This connection of the word '*verbum*' e.g. the name of the animal to the thing '*res*', the animal itself, was also an essential part of medieval exegesis. Nigel's poem builds on bestiary exegesis of two related creatures; the Tame Ass or *Asinus* and the Wild Ass, *Asinus Agrestis* or Onager. In the Second family bestiary the Tame Ass is a beast of burden, stubborn and used to neglect; Wireker uses this description of the Tame Ass to make puns about *onus* or burden, e.g. '*Non honor est sed onus tales aures habuisse*' (line 145) or '*Non honor est, sed onus, haec mea cauda mihi*' (line 246).[92]  In the First family bestiary the Wild Donkey or Onager divides its time by hours by braying in Famemoth (March); lives in the desert; where the colts might be emasculated by older males.  These attributes made it a figure for monks who are celibate dwellers

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[88] *Speculum Stultorum*, note to line 1152 '*posteriorum obliti*' p.115.

[89] Mann, 2009, p. 188.

[90] J. Mozley, 'The Unprinted poems of Nigel Wireker', *Speculum*, 7 (1932), 398-423, p. 400.

[91] Clark 2006, pp. 22-23, 'In the Second-family and other Latin bestiaries, the description and lore of an animal belong to the literal or historic, while the moralisations encompass the three figural modes the allegorical…the tropological…and the anagogic.'

[92] Clark 2006, Chapter 42 *De Asino*, '*laborem tolerat, et negligentiam propemdum non recusat*,' 'tolerates work and almost never protests neglect.' p. 155; *Speculum Stultorum* line 145, It is not an honour but a burden having such great ears', line. 246, 'My tail is not an honour but a burden to me'; a common wordplay, e.g. Walter Map, *De Avaritia et Luxuria Mundi*, '*non honor est sed onus semper sustinere ferentem*', l. 72, *The Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes*, ed. T. Wright, v. 16 first series, (London, Camden Society, 1841), p. 165.

in the wilderness of the cloister, bound by bells to a life of prayer.[93] Nigel made his asinine anti-hero Burnellus a figure for the monk who wants to leave his cloister, a Wild rather than a Tame Ass.[94] Burnellus ceases to be a Wild Ass when he returns home and becomes, once more, silently obedient to his master 'dominus subditus' (line 3560), returning to his head, *caput*, and not his tail, *caudam*.

Nigel Wireker probably began his 3,900 line *Speculum Stultorum* in elegiac couplets around 1180 but later added to it in the 1190s.[95] This epic poem is partially datable by a reference to Louis VII who died in 1180 (line 201) and a mention of attendance at the Westminster court where Nigel went on 8th November, 1189 (line 2638).[96] His poem is a parody on monastic life seen through the travels and travails of the hero, a small brown ass, called Burnellus (literally, 'little brown one') who wishes for a longer tail to match his long ears and travels from his home town of Cremona to Salerno and to Paris before he returns home to his master who docks his ears to match his accidentally and painfully shortened tail. There are scattered, inserted episodes most of which concern the antics of several other animals such as cows, a cockerel, and further on, a raven, cock, and hawk, and in the tale of three grateful beasts, a lion, an ape and a serpent.[97] Other animals such as hounds, wolves, foxes, sheep, parrots, and hares are also mentioned.[98] As Mozley and Raymo point

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[93] Chapter 21, *De Honagro*: '*Est animal quod dicitur onager. . . .duodecies in nocter rugit similiter et in dei . . . et in deserto vagantes . . .Nacentibus masculis zelant et testiculos morsibus detrucant.*', Mann 1888, p. 54.

[94] *The Anglo-Latin satirical poets and epigrammatists of the twelfth century*, ed. by T. Wright (London: Longman 1872), p. 4 line 16 'Asinus est monachus. . .' to p. 5, line 10 'transplanetetur'; Regenos, p. 24, 'This ass represents a monk. . .who lives in a cloister…utterly weary of the cloistered life…He strives in every way to be taken off and transferred.' Regenos, p. 24.

[95] *Speculum Stultorum*, pp. 2-8, Ziolkowski, Lawrence, p. 40 considers the poem dates to 1179-80. Mann 2007, p. 34 and n. 133, argues for 1190-1, or 1194-5.

[96] *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I : Epistolae Cantuarienses*, ed. by W. Stubbs, RS 38, 2 (London: Longman, 1864), pp. lxxv-vi and letter CCCXXIX.

[97] *Speculum Stultorum*, on the two cows Bicornis and Brunetta, l. 236-594; the vengeful rooster, l. 1251-1502; the raven, cock and falcon, l.2932-3458 gave Chaucer the basis of his *Parlement of Foules*; the tale of Dryanus, the lion, serpent, and ape, l. 3509-3774.

[98] *Speculum Stultorum*; Fromundus sets his hounds on Burnellus who kicks him into the river, l. 827-1074; preferring to be a horse rather than a mule i.e. a bishop rather than an abbot, l. 1688; on pastors as wolves in sheep's clothing, l. 2674-2698; dogs returning to their vomit, l. 2820; the apparent harmlessness but deceit and violence of the fox, wolf, hawk and ram, l. 2859-2868; on revenge being stronger than the desire of the wolf for the lamb, l. 1304; on the parrot repeating what it has overheard, l.3055-30632; on the running hare (*lepus*) and the limping goat as omens of misfortune, l. 3467.

out, evidence for the poem's influence in the Middle Ages is plentiful such as Chaucer's use of Gundulf's vengeful cockerel in the *Nun's Priest's Tale* and references in the *Parliament of Fowls*.[99] Forty manuscripts and incunabula of the poem from England and the Continent dating from the thirteenth to the early sixteenth century are still extant; such wide geographical coverage over so long a period indicates the poem's continued popularity.[100] The main reasons for this esteem was its light, humorous touch, for example the parodies of hymns and rhetorical exercises with which his medieval readers were most familiar, as they had undertaken similar school exercises, and references to clerical and monastic weaknesses and abuses.[101] Some twelve extant English manuscripts and nine Continental ones also include the explanatory letter sent to William de Longchamp, Bishop of Ely (1189-97) to accompany the *Speculum Stultorum*.[102]

Nigel, now known for the *Speculum Stultorum*, composed many religious poems which include the *Miracles of St Mary*, the *Life of St Paul the Hermit*, and the *Passion of St Lawrence*, and his autograph of some of these has been identified by Ziolkowski in BL Cotton Vespasian D XIX (*ALCD* No. 278); his copy of the *Cronica decani London* also contained a life of St Thomas Becket (whom Nigel may have known) and included his own verses on Pope Innocent and St Lawrence (*ALCD* No. 1086).[103] In addition to his own volumes, Nigel owned several books, which included *Interpretaciones ebraicorum nominum* (*ALCD* No. 1090). This is a common work but another copy was nevertheless a book also owned by Adam the

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[99] *Speculum Stultorum*, pp. 8-9, parody of *Dies Irae* lines 403-425.

[100] Mozley 1963, introduction, p.vi.

[101] *Speculum Stultorum*, manuscript list on pp. 9-15 and also n. 56 on pp. 127-8 for two later copies from Germany. *The Book of Daun Burnel the Ass. Nigellus Wireker's Speculum Stultorum*, trans. G. W. Regenos (Austin: University of Texas, 1959). A parody on rhetoric exercises appears in Bicornis and Brunetta, on the uses of a tail, Mann 2009, p. 126.

[102] It is easy to confuse this letter with Nigel's tract against clerical abuse, *Contra curiales et officiales clericos sive De eruditione praelatorum*, ed. T. Wright, *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets*, 2, RS 59 (London: Longman, 1872), 1.146–53 (verse), 153–230 (prose); *Nigellus de Longchamp dit Wireker Tractatus contra curiales et officiales clericos*, ed. A. Boutemy, (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1959), 144–9 (verse), 150–210 (prose) which was also sent to the same William of Ely, as did Baxter 1998, p. 149.

[103] N. Ramsay, British Library catalogue entry for BL Cotton Vespasian D XIX <www.hrionline.ac.uk/cotton/mss/ves4.htm> [accessed 31 March, 2014]; incipit: '*Incipiunt miracula sancte Dei genitricis uirginis Marie, uersifice*', *ALCD*, BC4.*278, p. 48.

Sub prior at St. Augustine's (BA1.304). Another of Nigel's books was a copy of Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* now Cambridge, Trinity College B.15.5 (*ALCD* No. 1084) which has some of his poems and other marginalia.[104] On fol. 78r Nigel notes that '*in asino stultorum uel cordia figuratur*', the ass is a figure of stupidity or the human heart.[105] This marginalia on fol. 78r has not been noted elsewhere. This is an interesting comment because it demonstrates Nigel's use of an anagogical figure which indicates his use of the fourfold senses. Furthermore, this marginalia implies that Nigel intended the *Speculum Stultorum* featuring the hapless ass Burnellus to be a compassionate and understanding elegy on human nature, not simply a parody of clerical abuses.

Jill Mann has written extensively on the *Speculum Stultorum*. Most pertinent for this thesis is her article from 2007, which discusses the poem in the context of the turbulent events in Canterbury of the late 1180s and early 1190s.[106] However, Mann does not see the bestiary as a main source for the Nigel's work, she foregrounds the medieval traditions of Aesopic fables (including those by Avianus) and particularly, the beast poem, *Ysengrimus* (of which she has written the definitive critical edition) and where she finds a strong reference in the *Speculum Stultorum*, particularly in the Bicornis and Brunetta episode where the cow's tails are frozen in the mud, and the doctor who sends Burnellus to obtain spurious medicines from Salerno.[107] Jan

[104] Nigel of Canterbury, *The Passion of St. Lawrence, Epigrams and Marginal Poems*, ed. by J. Ziolkowski, (Leiden: Brill, 1993) does not mention this reference but includes the poems written in the margins of TCC B.15.5.

[105] *ALCD*, p. 101, No.s 1084-1091, and W. Pantin, *Canterbury College, Oxford*, vol. 1, p. 5, p. 13, p. 22, and p. 59.

[106] Mann, 2007, p.32, n.128 on how the poem 'fits' this dating. This thesis questions certain arguments in this article; that the Christ Church monks wanted William of Ely for their archbishop after September 1191, pp. 17-18; that Nigel wanted preferment from William, pp. 36-37; and how many monks named Nigel appear in the Obit Books for Christ Church, p.12, n. 28, essential to discerning the date of Nigel Wireker's death.

[107] On the *Speculum Stultorum* Mann 2009, chapter 3, pp. 98-148; 'How animals mean in the bestiary' pp. 160-163 and pp. 24-27; link to the *Ysengrimus* episode of the wolf's tail frozen in the river, p. 126. J. Mann, *Ysengrimus; Text with Translations, Commentary and Introduction* (Leiden: Brill, 1987), p. 65. Mann mentions the bestiary as the source of the fox, Reynard, in *Ysengrimus* 'playing dead' to coax birds to settle nearby so he can catch them, p. 23; compare Mann 1888, Chapter 25 *De Vulpe*, '*Vulpis est animal dolosum et nimis fraudulentum et ingeniosum…proicit se in terram et volvit se super eam quasi mortua. . . . Aves vero videntes eam. . .et decendunt. . . .Illa vero rapit eas et devorat.*'p. 48-49; BnF NAL 873, *Vulpis* fol. 43v.

Ziolkowski links Nigel Wireker's main character, the 'little brown donkey' Burnellus, in very general terms to the bestiary's animal symbolism.[108] This thesis hopes to proceed a little further than Ziolkowski's conclusion that the bestiary and its main source the *Physiologus* 'may have affected beast poetry indirectly, through the allegorical approach to animals that it embodied.'[109]

Barker-Benfield notes that the copy of the *Speculum Stultorum* in BA1.1557 must have been one of the earliest made. The argument that the bestiary was one of the sources for *Speculum Stultorum* is made not only possible but feasible given the copies of Nigel's works in Adam's books and that Adam and Nigel knew each other.[110] The two Benedictine monasteries were only a few hundred yards apart and both monks had similar responsibilities which took them out of their cloisters on occasions, for example, in 1215-16 when Adam was Sacrist at St. Augustine's, Nigel was Almoner at Christ Church.[111] Christ Church Treasurer's Accounts records an obit for Nigel from 'Adam parvo'.[112] Adam's name does not appear elsewhere and was not the name of any traceable Christ Church monk of this period. As Adam was sub-prior of St Augustine's, the reference may be to him as 'parvo' i.e. less important prior. Evidence gathered from library, treasury and almonry records also allows the date of Nigel's death to be established with greater accuracy. Previous scholarship set his death at points between 1198 and 1216, with matters further confused by two other Nigels including one in the antiquarian Dart's history of the Cathedral of 1726.[113]

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[108] J. Ziolkowski, 'Literary Genre and Animal Symbolism', 1997, pp. 1-24, pp. 7-9.

[109] J. Ziolkowski , *Talking Animals: Medieval Latin Beast Poetry, 750-1150* (University Park, PA, Penn University Press, 1993), p. 35.

[110] Baxter 1998, pp. 148-9, BCBB p. 894 and p. 304.

[111] BCBB, p. 1471 and J. Greatrex, pp. 320-321, his name occurs in 1215 and also 1216 as Almoner, in CCA DCc MA1, fols 56v, 58v.

[112] *Treasurer's Account Book, 1207-1308*, Canterbury, CCA-DCc/MA/1, fol. 60v, Ade parvo per eodem  xxvii sol. vii d obiit. Nota x marks quias commendavimus praedicto N. elemosinarius'

[113] A. G. Rigg, 'Canterbury, Nigel of (c.1135–1198?)', *ODNB*; A. Boutemy has 1200, "Sur le 'prologue en prose' et la date du *Speculum Stultorum*," *Revue de l'université de Bruxelles* 40 (1934–1935), 67–90; BCBB, has 1206 as noted; Mozley 1960, pp. 124-125, n.4, has early thirteenth century and Greatrex, pp. 320-321, notes 'not mentioned beyond 1216'. Mann 2007, p. 12, n. 28, refers to  J. Dart, *The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury and the Once-Adjoining Monastery* (London, 1726), Appendix, pp. xxxvi (twice) and xxxvii.

Nigel Wireker's own extant book of poems, BL Cotton Vespasian D XIX, has been dated to s.xiii ᶦⁿ by Mosley and Raymo.[114] The date of this book in which his handwriting has been identified allows Nigel to be matched to Canterbury Cathedral archive records where he is listed as almoner in the early thirteenth century. Nigel died between Michaelmas 1216 and St Leonard's Day, 1217, because the entry in Christ Church Priory *Treasurer's Account Book 1207-1308* for the year to 29th September 1216 names him as almoner and the next entry, made on 6th November, 1217, notes the alms received for his obit, meaning he died between these two dates; the same records show monies were received in his name until 1222, demonstrating the scale and popularity of his almonry work.[115] The date range of Nigel's death can be further narrowed. Robin Fleming has researched the Obit books of Christ Church.[116] In passing Fleming notes that antiquarian 'Dart was a terrible editor. … there is hardly a date, personal name or gift to which Dart has not done violence.[117] Fleming spotted a reference to 'Nigellus frater noster' on '7 Ides of November' in in the fourth column of the Obit records in BL Cotton Nero C IX, I, fol. 11r. However, Fleming notes names in this fourth column were for lay brothers and sisters. This means the third Nigel was a lay brother and not the monk, Nigel Wireker.[118] There are two references for monks named Nigel in BL Arundel 68; 14th April and 13th August; because the latter refers to a priest, and Nigel mentions he is a *gradu presbyter* in his prologue to the *Tractatus*, this thesis establishes Nigel Wireker's date of death as 13th August, 1217.[119] The identification means Nigel's name can be linked to the triple increase in almonry property which

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[114] Mozley 1960, pp. 124-125, n.4.
[115] *Treasurer's Account Book, 1207-1308*, Canterbury Cathedral Archives CCA-DCc/MA/1, fol. 53r *Dno Nigellus* in 1213 and fols. 56v (1215) to 67r (1222) as *Nigellus Elomosinarius* or almoner; his obit monies fol. 60v (1217), including 40 s from Widoni le Taillur, i.e. an artist or sculptor <http://www.anglo-norman.net/cgi-bin/form-s1> [accessed 5 July, 2015].
[116] R. Fleming, 'Christchurch's Sisters and Brothers: an Edition and Discussion of Canterbury Obituary Lists', ed. by M. A. Meyer, *The Culture of Christendom: Essays in Medieval History in Commemoration of Denis L. T. Bethell* (London: 1993), pp. 115-53, p. 117.
[117] Fleming, 1993, p. 124. J. Dart, 1726 p. xxxvi, and p. xxxvii. Mann 2007, p. 12
[118] Fleming, 1993, p. 118, p. 124, p. 140. Kemble, *Electronic Sawyer*, Christ Church, 'Obituaries and Lists of Benefactors' <www.kemble.asnc.cam.ac.uk/node/92> [accessed 5 July, 2015].
[119] Greatrex, p. 244, *Obit Book* London BL Arundel 68, fols. 12v-51v, fol. 24 and fol. 48.

Urry noted occurred at the beginning of the thirteenth century.[120] The finding is important for the light it casts on the poet's life as his duties as Almoner involved helping the poor of the city.

This thesis contends that a man so concerned at speaking out against bribery (lines 2593-2649), dedicated to sharing alms, devoted to his monastery, and to the memory of his prior Honorius, is unlikely to have sought promotion from William de Longchamps. Mann argued Burnellus's ambitions reflect Nigel's wishes in the references to the neglect of true merit (lines 2593-2649).[121] This viewpoint does not take into account the archival evidence of Nigel's later life as a dedicated monastic almoner, nor the links Nigel often makes in his poetry between 'honor' and 'onus', i.e. the burden of honour, for monks to bear Christ humbly (like the ass into Jerusalem).[122]

Evidence from Adam's extant First family bestiary forms the basis for the key argument concerning the connection of *Burnellus* to the bestiary Wild Ass.[123] One point to be made is the minor separation of the Onager from the Ape or *Simia* chapter in Paris BnF NAL 873 (only via a rubric).[124] In the better-known Second family bestiary the chapters have been moved far apart; or example, in BL Additional 11283 the Ape is chapter 14 and the Onager 43.[125] This may account for the lack of recognition of the link between the Onager and Ape because the Second family bestiary is much better known than the First family. However, the Second family bestiary (which this thesis has suggested Adam also may have owned) places the Ass

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[120] Wright 1872, p. 153 on Nigel being a priest. Urry, 1962, pp. 33-5, on the Almonry from around 1200; Canterbury CCA DCc Lit Ms D.4 , fols. 61r, 62r, and 64r Nigel as almoner purchasing rentals in Westgate, Canterbury, in Chartham and elsewhere. CCCA ChAnt C 504 on Chartham rentals, dated on reverse [m]ccxvii (1217), marked *Nigellus* and *Cherteham*.

[121] Mann 2007, pp. 10-11.

[122] Ziolkowski 1994, pp. 269-270.

[123] Paris, BnF NAL 873, fol. 46r lines 4-16, on the Onager, '*Est animal. quod dicitur onager*' ends '*eos in secretis occultant.*'; fol. 42r for the Onocentaur, fol 42r l. 18 – fol. 42v, line 18, '*Onocentaurus duabus naturis constare*' line 6 to '*eoquod media specie sit homo. media vero asinus*', line 18.

[124] Mann, 1888, p. 54, *De Honagro* is followed by *De Simia*; BnF NAL 873, fols. 46r-v.

[125] Clark 2006, p. 255.

and the Onager together (chapters 42 and 43) and notes the Tame Ass is slow and obstinate but tolerates hard work and neglect.[126]

In the First family bestiary the Onager is linked to the equinox (l. 4-6) when he brays, marking the hours.[127] Both the Onager and the Ape are related to the devil, the Onager by his noisy braying and searching for food, the Ape by his ugliness and lack of tail, even though as the bestiary states (from Isidore) other kinds of apes do have tails.[128] The reference to the Ape's tail and the devil allows the pun in the bestiary chapter that '*Simius caput quidem habet; caudam vero non habet*' that the 'the Ape has a head [or a beginning] but no tail [or end]'.[129] As T. H. White commented, the phrase is also playing on the homonyms '*cauda*' tail and '*caudex*' or codex, in a reference to Scripture.[130] When Nigel attacks the corruption of the Papal Court in the *Speculum Stultorum* he uses the same wordplay, linking head, tail, and taking away (*caput, cauda, capio*)

> Immemor in caudam fecit abire caput.
> Si caput a capio vel dixeris a capiendo,
> Tunc est ipsa caput, omnia namque capit.
> Sic declinando, 'capio, capis' ad capiendum[131]

The connection in the *Physiologus* and First family bestiaries of the Onager and Ape allow the subsequent connection between the Ape and his lack of a tail, his dirty end and his similarity to the human form and the likeness to the devil. To this is then added the point that nevertheless some Apes do have tails.[132] The theme of tails occurs frequently in Nigel's poem: a silly Ass wanting something which his own nature prevents him from having (i.e. a luxurious horsetail, lines 81-82; '*Auribus*

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[126] Clark 2006, p. 155 'tardum et nulla ratione…. laborem tolerat, et neglentiam'.
[127] Clark 2006, p. 156, n. 178.
[128] BnF NAL 873, fol. 46v, l. 4, '*Simia enim cum cauda est. quam quidam clutram vocant.*'
[129] BnF NAL 873, fol. 46r, l. 17-18: '*Similiter et simia. figuram habet diaboli. Sicut enim simius caput quidem habet. / caudam vero non habet.*'
caudam vero non habet;Curley 1979, p. 39.
[130] 'A monkey has no tail (*cauda*). The Devil resembles these beasts; for he has a head, but no scripture (*caudex*).' *The Book of Beasts: Being a Translation from a Latin Bestiary of the Twelfth Century*, ed. by T. H. White (New York: G. P. Putnam & Sons, 1954), p. 34, quoted in Curley 1979, p. 82.
[131] *Speculum Stultorum*, lines 2510-2512, Regenos, 'Without regard… it made its tail its head./By all made head, just as it was the source/If *caput* you should claim from *capio*/ Then it is *caput* since it captures all.' p. 119 and n. 47.
[132] Mann 1899, p. 55.

*immensis quondam donates asellus/ Institit u caudam posset habere parem*).[133] Bicorn cuts her tail off when stuck in the mud and laments her rashness, lines 469-470 '*Cur mihi cum cauda non est mea vita recisa/ Ut caput et cauda continuata forent*'.[134] Burnellus has his tail partly bitten off by Fromundus's dogs, lines 847-848 '*Ante tamen morsu nimium Grimbaldus iniquo/ Arripiens caudam dinidiarat eam*.' [135] There is also a reference to long-belted English students in Paris, a joke about '*anglici caudati*' ('long-tailed' Englishmen) in lines 1569-1570, '*Spes quoque deperiit caudae superinstituendae,/ Sensit et Anglorum carimna falsa fore*'. In the bestiary chapters of the Onager and *Simia* long tails and 'dirty ends' are both linked to devilish pride. Thus Nigel's parodic references to the desire of Burnellus for a long and luxuriant tail are related, via bestiary references, to the sin of pride:

> Nova cauda et prolixa possit sibi accrescere, scilicet ut prioratum vel abbatiam posset sibi apprehendere, ubi parentum suorum sequelam copiosam possit prius inserere et postea quasi caudam post se quocunque ierit trahere. [136]

Of course, these are also references to simony in the preferment of relatives and thus a form of avarice. In the juxtaposition of the Onager and Ape chapters we have the idea of the Wild Ass ruled by the hours (just as a monk is ruled by his dedication to the hours of divine worship), next to the idea of the ape being similar to a man, and both being figures of devilish pride, '*Onager igitur figuram habet diabolic. . . . Similiter simius figuram habet diaboli*'.[137] So in one way the Wild Ass and Ape are devilish and Nigel links this aspect to pride. In another signification, Jean Leclercq has pointed out that the Onager braying on the hour was also linked to monks performing the Divine Hours.[138] Nigel criticizes the Cistercians by comparing

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[133] Regenos, p. 32, 'It happened that an Ass with ears immense/Desired to have a tail in size to match.'

[134] Regenos, pp. 44-45, 'Why was my life not severed with my tail/ So that my head and tail might both be joined?'

[135] Regenos, p. 62, 'Grimaldus first in most atrocious way/ Caught hold his tail and tore it half away,'

[136] Mann, 2009, pp. 314-5, 'a new and luxuriant tail may grow on him, that is, that he may be able to get himself a prioracy or abbacy, where he can first introduce a numerous retinue of his relatives, and then drag them after him like a tail wherever he goes.'

[137] Mann 1888, p. 54.

[138] J. Leclercq, *Etudes sur le vocabulaire monastique du moyen-age*, Studia Anselmiana 48 (Rome: 1961), referenced by W. Clark, 2006, p. 156, n. 178.

Fromund's slower ass-like speed when called by bells to meals instead of mass.[139] In a ringing example, Burnellus describes himself turning to metal and then being struck like a bell, following his years of fruitless studying at Paris

> Durius hoc pectus est adamante meum
> Cor, caput et cerebrum sunt ponderis atque metalli
> Ejusdem, plumbo nam graviora magis.
> Ferrea crura mihi, latus est quasi lamina ferri,
> Non est in toto corpore vena puto.
> Aenea ceu pelvis cutis est mea, quae tamen ictus
> Excipit incassum, nam nihil inde dolet[140]

As metal resonates when struck, it sounds like a bell, 'a brazen vessel'. And this is a turning point in the poem when Burnellus stops desiring a longer tail for his own fine appearance, and instead turns to the Church. This reference to metal being struck is a ringing reminder of the bell that calls monks to the Divine Office. Of course, his humility does not last long. Burnellus is soon imagining himself as a bishop, or founding his own monastic order. But the passage is relevant to the argument that the monk was linked to not only to the Tame Ass but also to Wild Ass from the bestiary, which calls the hours in the desert.[141]

This link between monk, ass, and ape has not previously been considered. Medieval exegesis revolved around the '*res*', so that in a different context, the thing could bear a different allegory or significance, as Ohly demonstrates in a number of cases.[142] The idea of braying in the desert meant other references in a different context could be made besides to the devil for 'the thing has as many meanings as it has properties' and its significance was determined by context.[143] As the Onager marked the hours it is unsurprising it was seen as a figure for monks. This is emphasised in Abelard's *Institutio*,

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[139] *Speculum Stultorum*, lines 880-884. Regenos, p. 63.

[140] *Speculum Stultorum* lines 1603-10, Regenos, p. 87, 'My heart is more inflexible than steel/I have a leaden heart, and head, and brain/Indeed of metal heavier than lead./ My legs are iron, my sides like sheathes of iron,/ In all my body there is not a vein/ Just like a brazen vessel is my skin/Which may be beaten but receive no pain.'

[141] Mann 1888, p. 54 '*duodecies in nocte rugit, similiter et in die.*'

[142] Ohly, 2005, p. 9. p. 61 and also 'Dew and the Pearl: A lecture' pp. 234-250.

[143] Ohly, 2005, p. 5.

> Onager quippe, quem silvestrum asinum vocamus, monachus est qui
> secularium rerum vinculis absolutus ad tranquillam vit solitarie libertatem
> se contulit, et speculum fugiens in seculo non remansit.[144]

The puns Nigel makes about 'honor' and 'onus' refer to the monk's task humbly to bear Christ to Jerusalem. The humble tame ass is contrasted in Neckam with the wild one which emasculates its colts and lives in groups in the desert, taken from the bestiary and Bible references.[145] As noted, Nigel himself spells out that Burnellus is a monk as well as an Ass in his letter to William.[146] This thesis contends that the journey Burnellus makes involves the hero being both a proud wild ass travelling outside the cloister for no good purpose before becoming a tame one that humbly returns chastened to his master. That such connections have not been made might be because the First family bestiary is not as widely-known, having no modern edited edition and translation. Jill Mann commented that 'we have only a few meagre clues as to the beast literature' that Canterbury Christ Church Priory might have held in the late twelfth century, mentioning only three items: a copy of the *Avianus* (*ALCD* No.164), the Bayeux tapestry and the Dover Bible (CCCC4).[147]

Her short list omits items of 'beast literature' to which Nigel Wireker would have had access and known. For example, Isidore's *Etymologiae* (*ALCD* No. 196, *Liber de Ethimologia*) is a main source for bestiary and in the same ca.1180 list of Christ Church school texts as the *Avianus*. This thesis has presented evidence for two extant earlier Christ Church bestiaries (Laud Misc. 247 and BL Stowe 1067). A Rochester Priory book contains *Physiologus* extracts dates from c.1160-80 (BL Royal 6 A. XI) may have come from Canterbury and is probably the one mentioned in the 1202 Rochester catalogue.[148]

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[144] 'Now the wild ass, which we call the ass of the woodland, is the monk, who is freed from the chains of worldly things and has taken himself off to the peace and freedom of the solitary life: he has fled from the world and not remained in it.', *The Letter Collection of Peter Abelard and Heloise,* ed. by D. Luscombe (Oxford: Oxford Medieval Texts, 2013), *Institutio*, 13, pp. 372-373.

[145] A. Neckam, *Naturis Rerum*, ed. T. Wright (London: 1863), p. 266 quoted in *Speculum Stultorum*, note to line 1152, p.115.

[146] T. Wright, 1872, pp. 4-5.

[147] Mann 2009, p. 100.

[148] M. Richards, p. 35.

Moreover, Charles Dodwell lists several Romanesque Christ Church manuscripts from between 1040 and 1200 with bestiary-derived decoration.[149] Some Christ Church books with decorated initials have depictions of an Ass playing a musical instrument, a trope called *asinus ad lyram* derived from Phaedrus, and Boethius, *Consolationes*, when Philosophy asks 'Do you listen as the dull ass to the lyre?' meaning with incomprehension.[150] Laura Cleaver's thesis established these images of asses refer to the ignorance of students, rather appropriate for Nigel's depiction of the English at the Schools of Paris.[151] The trope appears in an illuminated initial in London, BL Arundel 16, fol. 2.[152] Chapter Five examines these bestiary references to explore the bestiary's impact on Canterbury medieval animal art and the Appendix lists forty-five examples found in decorated initials in twelfth century works from Christ Church. An *asinus ad lyram* allusion is found in the remnants of a magnificent twelfth-century Christ Church *Passionale*, CCA Lit E. 42, f.35v.[153] In the late eleventh-century carved crypt capitals of the cathedral there are several examples of this trope with fantastical goats and donkeys breaking boundaries and conventions (like Burnellus) playing musical instruments and pointing to human imagination being a poor imitation of God's Creation.[154]

Furthermore, M. R. James dates the *Prima Demonstracio* of the Christ Church catalogue, that is until the end of the section entitled 'physic' (ALCD 502) as 'carrying us down to the time of Thomas à Becket', a rough dating which includes

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[149] Dodwell, pp.71-75 e.g. lizard in CUL Ii 3.12, fol.106v; vultures in CUL Ms Dd 1.4 fol.34v; hand list of Canterbury Romanesque manuscripts, pp.120-3.

[150] Christ Church had seven copies of Boethius's *Philosophiae consolatio* BC1.80–86. The *asinus ad lyram* is depicted in CCA Lit E.42, f.36v and with other animals in Cambridge St. John's College A.8, fol. 164. *The Comedies of Terence and the Fables of Phaedrus*, trans. by H. T. Riley (London: Bell & Sons, 1887) p. 443. H. Adolf pointed out the idea was 'to extol the unplayed music in the harp, not to disparage the donkey', 'The Ass and the Harp', *Speculum*, 25 (January, 1950), 49-57, p. 53.

[151] L. Cleaver, 'Art and Education in Northern Europe, 1080-1220', PhD thesis (London: Courtauld Institute, 2008) sums up the Phaedrus tale as '[it is] useless to try to do things one is unfitted for', p.76.

[152] M. Budny and T. Graham, 'Dunstan as Hagiographical subject or Osbern as Author? The Scribal Portrait in an Early Copy of Osbern's Vita Sancti Dunstani', *Gesta*, 32 (1993), 83-96.

[153] Canterbury Cathedral Archives CCA Lit. Ms E. 42, f.35v

[154] R. Gameson, 'The Romanesque Crypt Capitals of Canterbury Cathedral' *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 110 (1992), 17-48; T. A. Heslop, 'Contemplating Chimera' 2001, pp. 153-168, 153-4.

the two *Liber de naturis Bestiarium* (BC4.483 and 484), listed with lapidaries and herbals, and *Fabule Ysopice* contained in BC4.495.[155]

By using Joan Greatrex's *Biographical Register* in conjunction with M. R. James's *ALCD*, one of the 'beast literature' books given by a Christ Church monk who was a contemporary of Nigel Wireker may also be dated. *ALCD* 1041 was a book of sermons *Parate viam domino* which also contained a *Libellus de naturis quorumdam auium moraliter expositis*. These were probably excerpts from an *Aviarium* or a bestiary. As the *Aviarium* Chapter 40, 'On Ravens' has similarities to 'The Raven's Opinion' section of the *Speculum Stultorum*, for example its black plumage representing talkative preachers, and sinners.[156] The Cock's reply reveals Nigel's dislike even more clearly, accusing ravens of being treacherous, gluttonous, vain, disloyal carrion eaters.[157]This is important evidence for another source for the *Speculum Stultorum* related to the bestiary. The *Aviarium* belonged to Aaron whom Nigel would have known well. He went with Nigel to plead with the king in November, 1189 concerning the monks' complaints against their archbishop (Baldwin of Forde who had incarcerated the Christ Church monks for eighty-eight weeks in their inner cloister).[158]

Examples of beast literature are most definitely present in the library catalogue for the adjacent St. Augustine's Abbey. Apart from Adam's three bestiaries, the catalogue lists his copy of Aesop's fables (BA1.1557i '*Fabule esopi*'), four copies of *Avianus* recorded (at BA1.448, 1117, 1408, 1478 and 1479 although the last two are probably later medieval copies).

This is not such a meagre list as Jill Mann thought and it does much to demonstrate that the bestiary tradition also plays its part in beast literature and to a much greater extent than has heretofore been realised. The relationship between Nigel's work and the bestiary is in a similar mode to that established by Mann's work on the debt that Chaucer's *Nun's Priest's Tale* owes to the *Speculum Stultorum*,

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[155] *ALCD*, p. xxxix.
[156] Clark, 1992, p. 755, *Speculum Stultorum* l. 2923-3076.
[157] Clark, 1992, p. 755; *Speculum Stultorum* l. 3078-3200, '*Responsio Galli*'.
[158] Greatrex, p. 66, *ALCD* Nos. (BC4.)1084-1091, p. 101.

> The *Speculum Stultorum* has traditionally been interpreted as a moralising and exemplary work, exhibiting the folly of Burnellus the Ass as a warning to others. But episodes where Burnellus' folly appears as part of an emotional idealism, and preferable to a calculating wisdom, complicate this reaction, and taken together with the deliberately emphasized difficulties in applying moral criticism to the animals in the tale, lead the reader to see that Nigel is using the beast form to satirize the easy application of all human intellectual and moral systems.... In Chaucer's use of the animal narrative to defy moral abstractions, and in the subtleties created by obliging the reader constantly to modify his reactions, the Nun's Priest's Tale shows what Chaucer could have absorbed from the spirit of Nigel's work.[159]

This thesis suggests that Nigel had absorbed the precepts of the *sensus spiritualis*, as part of his monastic vocation (a spirituality also emphasised by the bestiary). This spirituality and humility allowed him to value asinine 'stupidity' as a figure for pity at the human condition. This is not to foreground the influence of the bestiary over the beast epic *Ysengrimus* Jill Mann found in the *Speculum Stultorum*. Listed next to copies of *Speculum Stultorum* in the St Augustine's catalogue, was a volume of mostly satirical texts all dating from before the late twelfth century which includes at BA1.873.z, *De Wlpe et lupo* which Barker-Benfield describes as 'Doubtless one of several Latin versions of the death-and-resurrection story of the fox and the wolf in the well'.[160] There are no notes of donation to date the volume more securely but this is nevertheless a fascinating and early reference to a work to which Nigel Wireker might have had access and so is an important link to *Speculum Stultorum* and another piece of evidence for the wealth of beast literature in Canterbury which aids our knowledge in how the bestiary both shaped and was shaped by these sources and the cultural and political milieu.

**The political context of *Speculum Stultorum* and other beast literature in Canterbury**

Although Burnellus wanders around Europe, including Salerno, Cremona, Lyons and Paris, Nigel's poem is very much about Canterbury. In the late twelfth century Nigel's monastery was the site of martyrdom and intimidation, inferno and imprisonment. Becket's horse was mutilated, its tail cut off in a symbolic emasculation, a week before the archbishop's bloody martyrdom in the cathedral on

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[159] J. Mann, 'The *Speculum Stultorum* and the *Nun's Priest's Tale*', in *The Chaucer Review*, 9 (1975), 262-282, p. 262.
[160] BCBB, BA1.873z, p. 908.

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29th December, 1170.[161] On 5th September, 1174, just before Becket's successor, Richard of Dover, arrived in Canterbury, a fire destroyed the cathedral choir. Peter Kidson has suggested that the fire might have been arson by the monks themselves but not many have agreed with this view.[162] In 1188 the next archbishop, Cistercian Baldwin of Forde, had the monks imprisoned in their own cloisters to try to starve them into submitting to his authority.[163] Baldwin had sought to fund a new secular cathedral which would also house Becket's relics at nearby Hackington, paid for by Christ Church's almonry monies. Naturally, the monks refused to agree to break the connection between the archbishop, his monastic priory and the Mother Church cathedral.[164] The arguments and disputes continued even after Baldwin's successor, Hubert Walter was appointed (1193-1205).[165] Pope Innocent III resolved the issue in 1201, only for arguments concerning regal and papal authority to break out again in 1207 over the appointment of Stephen Langton, which led to the papal interdict on England and the exile of the Cathedral Priory to St Bertin from 1207 to 1213. To sum up, Nigel and his brethren lived in interesting times.

What have these political events to do with a poem about a donkey with a short tail? Mozley and Ziolkowski dated *Speculum Stultorum* to 1179-80 and have seen it as a general satire on clerical abuses such as simony and nepotism whereas

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[161] H. M. Thomas, 'Shame, Masculinity, and the Death of Thomas Becket', *Speculum*, 87 (2012), 1050-88.

[162] Peter Kidson, 'Gervase, Becket, and William of Sens', *Speculum*, 68 (October, 1993), 969-991, his arson theory is disputed by Peter Draper, 'Interpretations of the Rebuilding of Canterbury Cathedral 1174-1186: Archaeological and Historical Evidence', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 56 (June, 1997),184-203 and M. Hearn, 'Canterbury Cathedral and the Cult of Becket', *Art Bulletin*, 76 (1994),19-53.

[163] Sweetinburgh, p. 193.

[164] Nigel Witeker's poem extoling all the archbishops of Canterbury, ends with Richard of Dover, A. Boutemy, 'A propos d'un manuscrit du *Tractatus contra curiales et officiales clericos* de Nigellus de Longchamp', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* Tome 12, fasc. 4 (1933), 987-1003 at pp. 1001-3. Stubbs, 1864, p. lxxxv and letter CCCXXVI .

[165] M. Gibson, 'Normans and Angevins 1070-1220', *ed. P. Collinson N. Ramsay, and M. Sparks, A History of Canterbury Cathedral, (Canterbury: Dean and Chapter of Canterbury Cathedral, revised reprint, 2004),* pp. 38-68, at pp. 63-68 on the monks' pyrrhic victory, since the archbishops moved eventually to Lambeth. 504 letters from 1185-1199 were collated by Reginald, later Sub-prior of Christ Church, W. Stubbs, ed., *Epistolae Cantuarienses* RS 38, 2, 1864, Calendar of letters, pp. cxxi – clxvii.

Jill Mann has explored later dates for the poem.[166] This thesis concurs with Mann's later dating of some parts of the poem; the rhyming prologue directed to William was perhaps a later addition in 1191; and the explanatory letter was sent shortly afterwards to back up Nigel's points; while some of the descriptions of various religious orders might have been added even later in the 1190s. Such re-dating of specific parts allows a more focused point to some of Nigel's poem. Peter Kidson's detailed investigations have revealed that the *Tractatus de combustione et reparatione Cantuarensis ecclesiae*, a work recording the fire at the cathedral and the subsequent rebuilding written by Gervase, the historian and Nigel's fellow monk and contemporary, was a propaganda piece on behalf of the priory against their archbishop. Carol Cragoe Davidson's research has indicated that the same tract was probably aimed at the papal investigators sent in 1199, while Marie-Pierre Gelin has linked the tract to Gervase's *Actus pontificum* and seen both works as presenting the same argument on keeping archbishop, priory and cathedral together.[167]

Accordingly, this thesis suggests the *Speculum Stultorum* was used earlier for a similar practical and specific purpose and was sent to William de Longchamp, sometime after the news of Baldwin's death at Acre in November 1190 was received in early 1191. Longchamp was Bishop of Ely, papal legate and Justiciar of England in 1190-1191. He was an able administrator who held the confidence of his king, Richard I, and who was himself seeking to become the Archbishop of Canterbury.[168] However, Richard I's brother, John, Count of Mortain, warned the monks by letter specifically not to support William's candidature.[169] William de Longchamp's loyal, active but tactless government, lowly birth and huge retinues had quickly offended not only John (eager to rule in Richard's absence) but also the

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[166] *Speculum Stultorum*, introduction and Ziolkowski, 1994. Mann, 2007, either 1190-1 or 1194-5, p. 34, n. 133.

[167] Kidson, 1993; Carol Cragoe Davidson, 'Reading and Re-Reading Gervase of Canterbury', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 154 (2001), 40-53; and Marie-Pierre Gelin, 'Gervase of Canterbury, Christ Church and the archbishops' *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 60 (June 2009), 449-63, none mention Nigel Wireker.

[168] 'Longchamp had some ambition of securing election for himself', R. V. Turner, 'Longchamp, William de (d. 1197)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) online edition, May 2007.

[169] Stubbs, 1864, letter CCCCLXXIV.

barons.[170] The immediate problem was how to succeed in keeping William's goodwill to preserve Christ Church Cathedral Priory from the further ire of King Richard, while not necessarily supporting William's bid for the archiepiscopate and thus incurring John's rage and enmity. The answer was a funny, affectionate poem about shortening tails with an appropriate sting in the tail, made clear in the dedicatory letter

> non attendentes faciem scorpionis, sed caudam. Hi sunt qui in adversis
> patienter impatientium impulsiones tolerant.[171]

Thus, on the one hand, the letter delights in an old affection for William and begs for understanding of the monks' predicament 'in times of adversity'; while on the other hand the prologue to the poem makes unsubtle remarks about an ass wearing a lionskin; unsubtle because low-born William was running the country in Richard the Lionheart's absence.[172] Whereas Stubbs, Mann, and William's later biographer, David Balfour, considered that the monks would have wanted William for their archbishop, he might not have necessarily been the best choice for the Priory.[173] Gerald of Wales' description of the pursuit and violent arrest in September, 1191 of Richard I's half-brother Geoffrey, Archbishop of York (who had taken sanctuary in St Martin's Priory, Dover) by men sent by William's sister Richeut (acting as castellan of Dover Castle in her husband's absence), attests to this unsuitability.[174] After a five day siege the Archbishop of York, still in his full regalia after celebrating mass, was dragged from his sanctuary and then imprisoned in Dover Castle. The incident was a vivid reminder of the sanctuary-breaking involved in the martyrdom

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[170] D. Balfour, 'William Longchamp: Upward mobility and character assassination in twelfth-century England', PhD thesis (University of Connecticut, 1996) (Balfour, 1996).

[171] Stubbs, 1864, p. lxxxv; Regenos, p.26 'watching not the scorpion's head but his tail. These are the men who are tolerant of the impulsive acts of others in times of adversity.'

[172] Jean Flori, *Richard the Lionheart: King and Knight* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006) p. 42, Richard 'earned the nickname 'Lionheart" during his campaign in Aquitaine in 1175, much earlier than the First Crusade, John Gillingham, *Richard I* (Yale University Press, 2002), p. 3.

[173] Stubbs, 1864, p. 344, letter CCCLXXI; Mann, 2007, pp. 22-3; Balfour, Ph.D. abstract, 1996.

[174] *English Episcopal Acta 31, Ely 1109-1197*, eds. N. Karn and D. M. Smith (London: British Academy, 2005) pp. lxxxii-x.

of Archbishop Thomas Becket.[175] Although William denied he had ordered this sacrilege, he had certainly ordered Geoffrey's arrest; it was enough for John, the barons and the citizens of London to force him to flee into exile in October, 1191.[176]

Nonant's gleeful description of William at Dover, as a prostitute priest '*sacerdos meretrix*', desperately seeking to leave the country disguised as a woman, might not be wholly reliable but indicates the strength of feeling against William.[177] Nigel's *Tractatus contra curiales et officiales clericos* was written between 1192-4 when William had recovered from his spectacular fall and was on various diplomatic missions throughout Europe on Richard's behalf.[178] In it Nigel stresses that William had failed in all his episcopal duties. This thesis considers that the echo of Becket's martyrdom in the attack on Geoffrey, Archbishop of York, by William's relatives would have made William a most unsuitable candidate in the eyes of the monks, including Nigel. Geoffrey also needed to be mollified after the events at Christ Church's Dover Priory.

**Aberdeen Bestiary**

The focus of medieval world attention on Canterbury upon the martyrdom of Thomas Becket and the influx of pilgrims and offerings had been followed by the creation of a re-beautified and re-envisioned Cathedral. It was accompanied by a surge in the creation and outflow of material cultural objects such as reliquaries, liturgy and music, letters, poems, and books by or for the monks,

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[175] *English Episcopal Acta 27, York 1189-1212* eds. M. Lovatt and D. M. Smith (London: British Academy, 2004) pp. xli-xlii; *Vita Galfridi*, in *Giraldi Cambrensis opera*, eds. J. S. Brewer, J.F. Dimock, G. F. Warner, 8 vols., 4 (London: Longman, 1873), pp. 388-9; *Radulfi de Diceto Decani Lundonensis Opera Historica*, ed. W. Stubbs, RS 68, 2 (London: Longman, 1876), pp. 96-7. I am grateful to Professor Louise Wilkinson for this reference.

[176] R.Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings 1075-1225* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) 'a factional coup', p.34, M. T. Clanchy, *England and its Rulers 1066-1272* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), p. 97 'more popular character'.

[177] R. V. Turner, *ODNB*; F. Barlow, *The Feudal Kingdom of England 1042-1216* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 1999), p. 313; Ziolkowski, 1994, pp. 39-40, William hired singers to chant his praises. Hugh Nonant, decried William as '*sacerdos meretrix, episcopus scurra*', 'priest prostitute, bishop clown', *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series 51, 3 (London: Longman, 1870) pp. 142-147 at p. 146.

[178] Baxter, 1998, pp. 148-9.

some of them directed at obtaining favour for the monks' cause against their archbishops and sovereigns. Among these cultural outpourings, this thesis suggests, may have been the bestiary, reconfigured from Honorius's monastic sermon toolkit into a deluxe object of gift-giving for political favour. This thesis posits that the Aberdeen Bestiary may have been just such a high-value gift to Geoffrey after the unfortunate Becket-echoing sanctuary violation at Dover.

The Aberdeen Bestiary (Aberdeen UL 24) is a luxury production from c. 1200; large (302mm x 210 mm), highly-gilded, and skilfully and expensively illuminated predominantly in crimson and deep blue on the finest parchment.[179] As Caviness demonstrated, the Little Canterbury Psalter (Paris, BnF lat. 770, s.xiii[in]) has angry references to kings and Clark considers the Aberdeen Bestiary used the same circle of artists.[180] Furthermore, the Aberdeen bestiary omits the opening lion illustrations in chapter one. Such an obvious lack of reference to leonine kingship must be deliberate, given Richard I's soubriquet Lionheart. The artist has drawn King Garamantes (fol. 18v) in same blue and crimson clothes as Christ in the Creation cycle (for example Christ in majesty, fol. 4v) and the Caladrius chapter shows the sick king too in Christ's clothes, being gazed at by the Caladrius (fol. 57r). This depiction of kingship has an emphasis on suffering, Christ-like rather than an emphasis on lay sovereignty, which has also been noticed by Luker in the Leiden Psalter (Leiden UB, BPL 76 A), which was owned by Geoffrey (e.g. fol. 29r, the simply-dressed barefoot Christ in majesty).[181] The Aberdeen Bestiary also depicts a

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[179] Aberdeen Bestiary, Aberdeen University Library 24, J. Geddes, *The Aberdeen Bestiary*, <https://www.abdn.ac.uk/bestiary/index.hti> [accessed 20 June, 2015]; Morgan, I, No 17, pp. 60-1; Clark 1992, pp. 73-85, 267-70, 296-7; Clark 2006, pp. 48-9, 68-71, 224-6; X. Muratova, 'Workshop methods in English late twelfth-century illumination and the production of luxury bestiaries', ed. by W. B. Clark and M. T. McMunn, *Beasts and birds of the middle ages*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), pp. 53-68.

[180] M. H. Caviness 'Conflicts between Regnum and Sacerdotium as Reflected in a Canterbury Psalter of ca. 1215', *The Art Bulletin*, 61 (March, 1979), 38-58, p. 54, figure 11; W. Urry, *Canterbury Under the Angevin Kings*, 1967, for example, Fulco in Rental D, 213, ca. 1200, p. 282;

[181] Leiden UB 76 A *Kalendrium Psalterium cum Canticis*, c. 1190, 243 mm x 177 mm <https://socrates.leidenuniv.nl/R/NQX31YTTKKN3JLA13AYA1SEMH5SVVCQREA38H KMLJEYGYPYHCS-00271?func=results-full> [accessed 20 June, 2015]; Caviness p. 42; E. Luker, 'The Representation of David in the Illuminated Leiden Psalter' paper presented at *Psalm culture & the politics of translation* Conference Charterhouse Square, QMUL, London, 15-17 July 2013; her PhD thesis on the Leiden Psalter is forthcoming.

huge wolf which threatens a sheep flock in a churchlike pen(fol. 16v). Nigel's

poem on the *Miracles of the Virgin Mary* includes a reference to Julian as the wolf in

sheep's clothing.[182] There are further references in *Speculum Stultorum* to wolves and

a very angry passage on bribes given to kings (l. 2593-2649), which are emphasised

in Wireker's *Passion of St Lawrence*, about the wicked Roman emperor who takes

money from the church. The stained glass window on apostate Roman Emperor

Julian depicted with heaps of gold emphasises the greed of kings (and seed

suffocated by thorns), and it was re-glassed after the 1174 fire.[183] Furthermore there

is evidence of an artist in Canterbury with particular links to Nigel; Widonis le

taillur left forty shillings for Nigel's obit, and his surname indicates he was an artist,

mason, and stained glass maker, someone perhaps well aware of the monks'

struggles, Nigel's poems, and the stained glass panels of avaricious emperors. All

these separate points indicate a response to greedy (Angevin) kingship which would

accorded with Geoffrey's political ambitions being thwarted by Richard.[184]

> As Caviness and later Stella Panayotova have shown,

> Exegetical, political, social, and ideological layers of meaning can be found
> in seemingly straightforward images. Biblical and even pagan history could
> assume a political inflection, particularly in free-standing Psalters made for
> upper-class patrons.[185]

A deluxe bestiary might follow the same trajectory and contain allusions to and

reflect the political situation. Luxford points out with regard to later patronage that is

in their 'commissioning and financing of a given work or works' the Benedictines

were clever and resourceful, as well as prestigious and rich, and they were adept at

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[182] J. Ziolkowski, *Nigel of Canterbury: Miracles of the Virgin Mary, in Verse* (Toronto: PIMS, 1986), 'De Iuliano Apostata interfecto', p. 30, l. 461-2.

[183] <Canterbury, Christ Church Cathedral, North Quire Aisle> [accessed 5 July, 2015] (n. XV, 1st register, panel 7; originally Sixth Typological Window, panel 26).

[184] W. L. Warren, *King John* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1978), p. 39 and R. V. Turner, *King John: England's Evil King?*(Stroud, UK: Tempus, 2005), pp. 35-36.

[185] S. Panayotova, 'The Illustrated Psalter: Luxury and Practical Use', ed. by S Boynton, D. Reilly, *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Perception and Performance in Western Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), pp.247-269, at pp. 256-7, and n. 48-50, p. 269.

self-promotion.[186] The pouncing of some of the scenes in the Aberdeen bestiary before assembly (as Clark noted) points to the intention to produce further versions, since pouncing allows an image to be re-copied, an indication of the perceived value of the work in terms of gift-giving.[187] The possibility of luxury works such as the Aberdeen Bestiary being produced and financed for Christ Church at the end of the twelfth century is possible as the Little Canterbury Psalter demonstrates; there was a great deal of money generated by the shrine to St Thomas. High status gifts such as deluxe bestiaries would bring highly valued regal, ecclesiastic, and aristocratic favour as well as disseminate cultural influence just as the number of Becket reliquaries and relics produced indicates.[188]

This section of the chapter has argued that Nigel used the fourfold senses of literal, allegorical, moral and spiritual elucidation, also explicated in the bestiary, to take his ass of a monk on a journey which should be a spiritually focused *peregrinatio* but instead remained steadfastly self-centred, prosaic, and picaresque. Burnellus initially had literally longed for a longer tail '*Auribus immensis quondam donates asellus/ Institit ut caudam posset habere parem*' (l. 80-3), allegorically to be like the fabled Lion '*Regna licet teneat sceptrumque leonis asellus*' (l. 57), finally and morally to the point, has his ears shortened to match his docked tail (l. 3507, '*Funditus abscidit aurem Bernardus utramque,/ Cautior ut fieret cauteriatus ita'*. Burnellus then returns to his *caput* but not his *cauda* l. 3509-10, '*Nunc scio vero,/ Vertice cum cauda conveniente mea.*' In this he achieves a spiritual simplicity which pokes gentle fun at those of his brethren who did obtain high office (such as Benedict who became Abbot of Peterborough) as a humble monk; a bestiary ass 'braying' the Divine Office, content to be a celibate beast of burden. [189]

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[186] J. M. Luxford, *The Art and Architecture of English Benedictine Monasteries, 1300-1540: A Patronage History* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2005), p.xvii, pp. 119-122.

[187] Clark, 1992, p. 107.

[188] For example the Becket Casket ca. 1180-1190; V&A M.66-1997 was possibly from Peterborough Abbey. Many enamelled caskets with Becket allusions made in Limoges are extant, S. Caudron, 'Connoisseurs of champlevé Limoges enamels in eighteenth-century England', *British Museum Yearbook*, 2, 1977, pp. 9-33.

[189] Mann 2009, p. 147-8 n.109, n.110.

Different resonances, as well as dissonances, have emerged from this reading. *Speculum Stultorum* is rooted in Canterbury, in the Benedictine *sensus spiritualis*, and in the vicious and bloody politics of its time that saw an Archbishop martyred in his own cathedral, and monks later incarcerated by their own archbishop. To forge from this a playful, word-bending ass with a cropped tail seems to emphasise the very weakness that Henry II's knights mocked by docking the tail of Becket's horse, a week before the saint's martyrdom. Yet Burnellus lives on with his self-reflexive mirror, showing ourselves as others see us, often scarily misunderstood and unintelligible.

This chapter section sought to re-frame how beast literature spoke to political and monastic tensions in late twelfth century Canterbury by adding the bestiary to the beast fable and beast epic in *Speculum Stultorum*. In doing so it nuances the poem with an understanding of the philology developed from St Augustine of Hippo, Isidore of Seville, St Anselm and the bestiary. These all taught a spiritual understanding of the whole of the natural world. These works make monsters and marvels not unnatural but rather the portents of God's will. Burnellus is a monstrous hybrid of monk and beast, the willing bearer of Christ, equating *honor* with *onus*; an apt pun to end the tale of short-tailed monks.

**St Augustine's Abbey reading communities 1273-1360:**
**Textual interconnections**
The three previous sections highlighted how the bestiary's emphasis on Creation and the allegory of the fourfold senses made it an ideal vehicle for some of Anselm's analogies, for Honorius's sample sermons, and for Nigel Wireker's battle against secular canons, the black-hearted ravens of Hackington. The fourth section continues this theme of reinvention and re-use. It examines the implications of the evidence from catalogues and extant bestiaries to study audience and affect around the period of the Thorne to de Bourne abbacies (1272-1334). Changing patterns of ownership were found following the new *de acquisitione* policy instituted in 1274. This policy encouraged the monks to place their own collection books, sometimes not even fully bound, into the library in return for masses for their souls. This

policy also resulted in increasing numbers of bestiary-related full or excerpted texts associated with what might be termed these monastic 'working' compilations, which possibly otherwise might not have been kept. An example of this less finished work is Douce 88E. There are only Adam's three bestiaries and, possibly BA1.650B (which cannot be accurately dated but its other texts date to before the mid thirteenth century) are recorded before this policy was set in place. Instead of a single named owner (Adam the Sub prior), there are now Henry of Cockering, John Hawkhurst and Hamo of Higham, Henry of Burham, John Pistor, and Michael of Northgate, with all their related bequests and interests. It is not possible to deduce whether the St Augustine catalogue entries for non-extant bestiaries refer to complete bestiaries or excerpts because the three attributed bestiaries which match the incipits were complete (as far as can be reckoned for Rawlinson C.77 as only three folios remain), yet the extracts in Worcester Q56 are not indicated as such in the St Augustine's catalogue. This may mean either that they were not recorded as extracts or only extracts were taken from a complete bestiary owned by John Hawkhurst. Nevertheless, in this expansion the bestiaries match the general increase in St Augustine's books between 1272 and 1334.

They do not match Luxford's suggestion of a greater patronage of luxury books.[190] Of course, luxury books were by their nature rarer, but luxury bestiaries do exist. The most opulent extant bestiary which is possibly attributable St Augustine's is BBR 4380, probably made at Oxford. It copies illustrations from the earlier BL Add. 11283 and is professionally illustrated and written but may never have come down to Canterbury. Reasons for this lack of luxury bestiaries in the catalogue or extant may be twofold. Firstly; that the height of luxury bestiary production had passed (one of the latest, the Northumberland bestiary, Getty 100, dates to c.1250-60). Secondly; the court fashions had changed to the production of luxury psalters, some with illustrated bas-de-page bestiary cycles and to French bestiaries, which were perhaps not considered so suitable for monastic study.

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[190] J. M. Luxford, 'Out of the Wilderness: A Fourteenth-Century English Drawing of John the Baptist', *Gesta*, 49 (2010), 137-150, p. 137.

Against these surmises the Peterborough bestiary (CCCC 53, c. 1300) may be set, for Sandler has recently problematized its production centre, noting the artist's work

> took place in a place of considerable resources for the production of manuscripts. Beyond that it is not possible to say definitively which of several centers of production of illuminated manuscripts this might have been – London, Norwich, Oxford, and Cambridge being the leading candidates'[191]

The Peterborough bestiary is now considered to be earlier than its current companion, the Peterborough Psalter, and not necessarily from East Anglia, and produced by one of a circle of court artists to which some St Augustine's Abbey books may be associated but there is no evidence for such a bestiary in the catalogue.

This section identifies and explores four key areas of later thirteenth century bestiary monastic readership based on the evidence gathered in Chapters Two and Three. It begins with Henry of Cockering and his scriptural studies; Hamo of Higham and his teaching; John Pistor and his preaching; and ends with Michael of Northgate on 'onderstondynge'.

**Henry of Cockering (fl.1272-91): study**

Henry of Cockering donated nineteen volumes to the St Augustine's library, probably on his death in 1291. Henry had probably come from Cockington Farm in Thannington just outside Canterbury. He rose from being mentioned as a monk in 1272 to Treasurer in 1287-91.[192] One of his books is still extant, his mid thirteenth-century Bible, now Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 361/442, which has two peacocks on fol. 4r. Peacocks adorn a similar Bible and Barker-Benfield mentions this has been considered as an indication for its production in Canterbury.[193] Barker-Benfield also thinks the peacocks might point to Henry being the first owner of this Bible.[194] The Peacock may be a rebus on Henry's name (peacock for Cockering). There follow in the library catalogue copies of *Historica*

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[191] C. de Hamel, L. F. Sandler, *The Peterborough Bestiary* (Luzern: Faksimile Verlag Luzern, 2001), p.28
[192] Emden, *Donors*, p. 9.
[193] BCBB BA1.*10, pp. 375-6.
[194] BCBB BA1.*25, pp. 382-383.

*Scholastica* (BA1.50 and 51); *Four Gospels*, glossed (BA1.185); a *Postilla* on the Old Testament (BA1.227); while BA1.271 was a *Treatise on Leviticus* by Ralph of Flaix, which Henry used to annotate his bible.[195] These references all fall within Barker-Benfield's summary of them as biblical and patristic studies.

Two of Henry's volumes were his *collectiones* (BA1.1585 and BA1.1586) emphasis his studies in theology. His first volume contained two expositions on the mass and an exposition of bible names. His bible was bound with a work by Richard of St. Victor, *Beniamin in minor.* This was a mystical theological work on preparation of the soul for contemplation, dwelling on vices and virtues, the links between mind and body and sense and reason.[196] The second volume contains *Distinctions on the Psalms*, which might possibly be Henry's own work. Henry annotated his Bible with various marginalia including many diagrams in his own hand, except the Psalms, leading to Barker-Benfield to speculate that Henry annotated his own *Distinctions on the Psalms* instead.[197]

Henry's *Flores Bernardi* (BA1.470) contained seven other works besides this main text (if one counts *Summa de vicijs secundum Sigerum* as part of Sigerum's *Treatise on Virtues* which end the work (the author of both maybe Segerus of Peterborough).[198] After the *Flores Bernardi* the donor copied, or had copied, what is now known to be pseudo-Augustine's *De Spiritu et anima* (*On the Spirit and the soul*) a combination which Hamo also owned, a contemporary of Henry, also made as his donated volume has these two texts as well.[199] This work discusses the soul

> It is called soul when it nourishes, spirit when it contemplates, sense when it senses, intellect when it is wise, mind when it understands, reason when it discerns, memory when it remembers, will when it consents. But these do not

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[195] BCBB BA1.403.

[196] P. Healy, 'The Mysticism of the School of Saint Victor', *Church History*, 1 (1932), 211–221, p. 212.

[197] BCBB BA1.*25.

[198] BCBB, BA1.470, p.646.

[199] BCBB, BA1.471, p. 646.

differ in substance as they do in name, because they are all one soul. Their properties are distinct, but their essence is one.[200]

The pseudo-Augustine is followed by Anselm's *Proslogion* in which the saint sought to prove God's existence in a single argument.[201] This meaty work preceded two shorter ones, BA1.470d, Bernard's *Meditations* and a *Flores Augustini* (BA1.470e). The next text listed is by Hugh of Saint-Victor, *Soliliquium de arra anime* or *Pledge of the Soul*, a fitting accompaniment to the ps-Augustine. Barker-Benfield then considers that the next entry 'de naturis animalium' is related to

> *De bestiis et aliis rebus* under Hugh of Saint-Victor's name at PL 177. 13-164 [which] is the standard combination of Hugh of Saint Fouilloy's *Aviarium* with the anon. H-version bestiary.'[202]

However, Willene Clark has demonstrated that this work in the *Patrologia Latina* is a compilation of a series of bestiaries and not the work of Hugh of Saint Victor.[203] Henry de Cockering did not put the bestiary with these other texts, simply because they were by the same author, as Barker-Benfield assumed. The answer may lie partly in the texts the bestiary precedes. There are chapters in the bestiary which illustrate virtues and vices, such as the Weasel and the Asp. The first animal accepts the seed and reproduces via its ear, the second stops its ear with its tail, thus illustrating the virtue of hearing the Word of God, and the vice of ignoring it.[204] The Weasel also represents a chaste birth since it gives birth via its ear, an indication of the fruitfulness of listening to preachers.

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[200] Ps.-Augustine, *Liber de spiritu et anima*, PL 40, 788-9 'Dicitur namque anima dum vegetat, spiritus dum contemplatur, sensus dum sentit, animus dum sapit, dum intelligit mens, dum discernit ratio, dum recordatur memoria, dum consentit voluntas. Ista tamen non differunt in substantia quemadmodum in nominibus, quoniam omnia ista una anima est. Proprietates quidem diversae, sed essentia una.' Translation by Robert Pasnau, 'The Mind/Soul problem' in Mind', *Cognition and Representation: The Tradition of Commentaries on Aristotle's De anima*, ed. P. Bakker and J. Thijssen (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 3-20, p. 7.

[201] Logan, 2009, p. 26.

[202] BCBB, BA1.470, p.646.

[203] *Latin Writers*, p. 646, which refers to the Syon catalogue, SS1.101f.; Willene B. Clark, 'Four Latin Bestiaries and *De bestiis et aliis rebus*' in *Bestiaires médiévaux. Nouvelles perspectives sur les manuscrits et les traditions textuelles*, pp. 49-69, ed. Baudouin van der Abeele (Louvain-le-Neuve: Publications de L'Institut d'Etudes Médiévales, 2005) and *Patrologia Latina*, 177. 13 - 164.

[204] Mann, Der *Bestiaire Divin*, p. 60.

Henry's collection reveals not just an interest in biblical studies, but a much more rounded indication of a monk working towards an understanding of oneness with God, in soul, spirit, sense, mind, and will. The bestiary extracts with their Christological approach, and their repetitive emphasis on redemption might have formed part of his contemplation, which also draws on the psalms. For example, in the contemporary Queen Mary Psalter, the uncaptioned bestiary scenes form the bas-de-page designs for Psalms 1-37. One scene links the Weasel to Psalm 26 (*Dominus, illuminatio mea* fol. 112v). This bestiary reference is tied to the Incarnation of Christ, and is specifically connected to Epiphany depicted in the miniature above in the Queen Mary Psalter. The Psalm discusses integrity, hence the link to the Virgin birth.[205] It is not unlikely that Henry de Cockering might read the bestiary with his own annotated copy of the Psalms and drawn similar intertextual connections. These book references demonstrate Henry's interest in bible studies, patristic and later theological works, as Barker-Benfield pointed out.[206] They also point to a monk seeking higher levels of meaning in his exegetical studies, of which the bestiary formed a part.

## Hamo of Higham: teaching

A contemporary of Henry of Cockering, Hamo of Higham donated eighteen books to St Augustine's Library. He was Warden of Minster, Thanet in 1284 and may have been Chamberlain in 1272 when Henry of Cockering professed as a monk.[207] His books are mostly devotional works but his first collection book (BA1.1558) is a volume of texts suitable for training novices; it is not unfeasible

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[205]  A. R. Stanton, 'Turning the Pages: Marginal Narratives and Devotional Practice in Gothic Prayerbooks', ed. by S. Blick,  and L.Gelfand, *Push Me, Pull You: Imaginative, Emotional, Physical, and Spatial Interaction in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp.75-121, p. 100-1.
[206] BCBB BA1.185 p. 441 and Emden *Black Book*, volume 2, p. 605.
[207] BCBB BA1.1558, p. 1472, p. 2263; including a Bible BA1.23; glossed psalter 73; Neckam's *Prometheus* (on biblical vocabulary) 308; *Flores Bernardi* (a copy of which Henry of Cockering also owned) with a table on John of Damascus, *De fide orthodoxa*, 471; Lombard's *Sentences*, 515; Bonaventure's *Breviarium* (dated to just before 1257) with a table on Vices and Virtues, 630; Sermons and a table 'quedam tabula' 691; Sermons including '*diuerse deuociones et dicta de beata maria*', 713; psalms, sermons, and orations, 777, 779 and 779, a Priscian at 1395, three *collectiones* 1558-60 (1559 contents not given as the book was worn out); and canon law at 1644, 1707 and 1792.

that he trained Henry of Cockering. The book includes a tract on the ten commandments, a treatise on the sacraments and another 'general' one on virtues, Innocent III's work on the mass (*De missarum mysteriis*), some sermons, *On the profession of monks*, perhaps by Peraldus, as well as '*de instruccione noviciorum*', and '*narrationes diverse*' and other works (*alia*).[208] '*Narrationes diverse*' is a general title but it is an exact and only match in the library catalogue for BA1.755, which was copied twice by Carmelite friars. It is possible that they are the same very short extracts from a bestiary and *Aviarium*, and other sources principally concerned with animal lore, as Barker-Benfield considered.[209] As the other texts in what are now Worcester Q.56 and Auct. F. inf. 1.3 match the incipits of John Hawkhurst's later fourteenth century book (BA1.755) so closely, this thesis considers it feasible to examine how '*narraciones diverse*' might have been used to train novices in the use of the allegory of the fourfold senses. The Marian sermons at the beginning of BA1.755 (incipit '*Hoc nomen Maria habet quinque litteras*') have been ascribed to F. Galvani, but Barker-Benfield notes the extant texts are not exact matches to the standard edition in Kaeppeli. Hamo had several collections of sermons which included Marian ones (BA1.713) but none are extant and his sermon collections were not separately catalogued to enable identification (e.g. BA.1560, '*Sermones quidam*'). What is interesting is that Hamo seems to have tabulated certain sermons and other works in his books (BA1.471, 630, 691, and 1707). The first Marian sermons from Worcester Q.56 which were copied from St Augustine's Abbey BA1.755 are examined to discover how Hamo's '*narrationes diverse*' may have been used at St Augustine's Abbey with an index and bestiary excerpts. It is further posited that Hamo would have had similar Marian sermons even though his own collections of sermons are not sufficiently detailed to identify them. There were copies of bestiaries at St Augustine's if Hamo did not have his own (for example in BA1.1559).

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[208] BCBB, pp. 1471-2.
[209] BCBB BA1.755, p.807.

This thesis has identified the longer bestiary extracts from BA1.755: '*Due sunt species ancipitris, domesticus et silvestris*') which appear in both Worcester manuscripts are from a *Dicta Chrysostomi* (DC) version of the bestiary (from a different branch of the *Physiologus*, popular on the Continent) and an *Aviarium*. These excerpts are evidence which points to the presence of this type of bestiary from France being at St Augustine's Abbey in the late thirteenth century; such a common, if Continental, bestiary at St Augustine's would not be surprising.

An example is now given to demonstrate that the excerpts in Worcester Q56 (which match the incipits of BA1.755 and the entry in BA1.1558 from Hugo de Higham) would be suitable for teaching novices and on a par with the other simple texts in BA1.1588. This study also uses the entries from the tabular index in Worcester Q.56 (on fols. 44v-48v) as this allows a partial reclaiming of the way these collected snippets might have been used by Hamo. The index lists '*Castor proprietatem anchorem*' (fol. 45r) while in the *narrationes diverse* the castor overcomes temptation and is linked to the siren representing temptation to men (Worcester Q.56, fol. 7v). This combination of bestiary animals allows novices to be taught how the moral and spiritual meanings from different chapters may be put together to enhance, as here, an understanding of temptation of the world, the devil and specifically devilish women (*sirene*), and how to withstand that temptation by adopting the celibate life of a monk or hermit (*anchorem*) which the beaver (*castor* linked to *castrare*) represents.

The index which survives in both Auct and Worcester Q.56 gives references from the *narrationes diuerses*, the bestiary/*Aviarium* excerpts, and the Marian sermons: the eagle is a bird likened to Christ, as if they were the elect among men (capit *Aquila aves qui sunt in superficie sic xpc homines quaedo sunt electi*); the bees are noted both for their honey and for how they reverence their king on his death, as we do Christ ('*Apes notificant regem dominum communis comedit de melle*' and '*Apes favorit reverencia regi suo*

*mortuo sic nos Xo*') fol. 45r; the dove is noted for links to the apostles (via the Holy Spirit depicted as a dove) (*Columbas apostoli in similanda*') fol. 45r.[210]

These indexes have been thought of as basic moralizations of natural history – short forms for easy reference. This chapter suggests that they can be used with the *narrationes* and the longer *Aviarium* and bestiary excerpts to focus on a sermon using the mandrake root which makes men sleep '*mandragora que faciunt hominem dormio*' (fol. 7v, l. 18) as a figure for the devil whose temptations kill (fol. 7v, l. 22 'diabolus occidit'). The index to the first two works allows for these sorts of arguments to be taken up – for example, it includes a reference to the mandrake, while Mary is listed in connection to the halcyon bird which watchfully lays its eggs in a period of fine weather between storms '*Maria preparit Christum tempore tempestuouso sic avis qui dicitur alcion*' (fol. 47r) as a discussion of watchfulness. Hamo's collection books would have provided a range of information to be used in sermons. The sermons on fols. 1r-8v (from BA1.1755) which include references to the watchful Eagle (fol. 4v); to the Salamander (fol. 3v) and to precious stones including the Diamond or *Adamas* which signifies reconciliation (fol. 1v) in the first sermon on the significance of the letters of Maria's name are examples of how these *similitudes*, can be fashioned into sermons. Despite Worcester Q.56 not being an original St Augustine's Abbey book, the catalogue entries, incipits and matching texts bring a wealth of extra information in three areas. These excerpts firstly demonstrate how St Augustine monks may have used these bestiary/*Aviarium* excerpts by adding excerpts from Isidore's *Etymologiae* and Alexander Neckam's *De Rerum Naturam* (or his *Prometheus* which Hamo owned). Secondly, they indicate the use of the *narrationes diverse* for extra pieces of information such as on the Halycon, and the versatility of an index to cross-references the entries, which have references marked in the margins in Worcester Q.56. Thirdly, existing Marian sermons demonstrate how to link the *narrationes diuerse*, bestiary excerpts and

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[210] B. D O'Cinnsealaigh, *The Mellifluous Bee: The Marian Theology of Adam of Dryburgh* (Dayton, OH: Institute of Marian Research, 2006), p.181. On Anselmian Marian devotion, S. Vaughn, 'Saint Anselm and His Students Writing about Love: A Theological Foundation for the Rise of Romantic Love in Europe', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 19 (2010), 54-73, p. 69.

the index to the object of devotion, i.e. Mary. This was clearly a swift way to build up an interesting Marian sermon using an array of sources.[211]

Worcester Q.56 permits some links to the education of novices by Hamo of Higham for whom excerpts from a bestiary and an *Aviarium* (as the latter was designed originally by Hugh of Fouilloy for the teaching of lay brothers by monastic teachers) would have been most apt. Worcester Q.56 has enabled some analysis of how the bestiary continued to be read, annotated, excerpted and placed in *collectiones*. These manuscripts also, to some extent, enable an investigation into the reading, scribal, and didactic practices of St Augustine's Abbey monks in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, some of which can be traced back to the late thirteenth century. There are gaps in the evidence which the next extant bestiary helps to fill.

**John Pistor: Oxford Bodl. Rawlinson C.77, and preaching**

As mentioned in Chapter Three, John Pistor has left no trace of his life except in his books. Barker-Benfield's identification of Oxford Bodley, Rawlinson C. 77 now allows some of John's own writings and sermons to be studied. John Pistor's Booklet II has notes for sermons with bestiary animals references (fig. 4.1). Willene Clark concluded that medieval sermon writers preferred to use the original authority rather than any bestiary compilation.[212] This viewpoint has been overturned by Patricia Stewart's article on Pierre de Limoges who annotated and excerpted his bestiary and *Aviarium* and also by Caroline Muessig who has edited Jacques de Vitry's sermons which use bestiary references, including on the Stag from the Second family bestiary, which expels the poison from the snake, takes water and is renewed:

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[211] Clark 1992 on stemma, p. 113; Stewart 2012, Appendix 1 for list of Paris 'H' bestiaries including Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College Library 100; Chalon-sur-Saône, Bibliothèque Municipale 14; Paris, BnF lat. 3638A; BnF lat. 14429; and Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale 101; all mid thirteenth century.
[212] Clark 2006, pp. 94-95.

> Ceruus eger ramos oliue masticat et sanatur, ueneno hausto et
> serpente deuorato, fontem bibit et iuuenescit; unde et coluber
> naturaliter ceruum abhorret et fugit[.]'[213]

Vitry's sermons, based on Genesis, demonstrate the versatility of the bestiary. Moreover, there is evidence of how sermons using bestiary material were fashioned in a Benedictine house during the same period.

Returning to Rawlinson C. 77, Patricia Stewart has discussed the sermons in Booklet 1 which follow the bestiary and are in the same professional hand. Barker-Benfield has identified them as mainly by William de Montibus and they follow the liturgical year. As Guibert de Nogent pointed out, it was important not to bore your audience with the same similitudes but to understand the literal and allegorical so thoroughly that new morals and spiritual lessons could be drawn.

Stewart has not discussed the diagrammatic sermon notes in Booklet II (fols. 61r-67v) which Barker-Benfield notes may be the hand of the compiler, John Pistor (as the binding is possibly original). Fol. 61r indicates preparation for a sermon on a conservative theme. It discusses the simplicity of the dove and the prudence of the serpent (Matt. 10:16) a common topic, and incidentally the one Sally Vaughn used to describe St Anselm.[214] Sermon notes further down fol. 61r praise the virtues of the sheep, '*Oves per possidemus cum cogitationes innocuas perfecta cordis munditia*' (let us possess the pure thoughts and cleanliness of heart of the sheep) the camel's humility, the ox's rumination and the ass's simple spirituality.[215] This praise for beasts resonates with Psalm 72:23 and the Bec monastic profession, 'I am become as a beast before thee'. The bestiary chapters on these animals are not extant in this work (although standard chapters in the Second family bestiary). On the second folio of Bodleian Rawlinson C. 77, the chapter on the Dove begins '*Columba simplex avis est*', adds a connection to Job, and develops the theme on the Dove and preaching.[216] Here is the evidence for thirteenth-century Canterbury monks using information from the

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[213] Muessig, I, 2003, 33-49; Muessig, II, 2004, 45-56, p. 49.
[214] S. Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan: The Innocence of the Dove and the Wisdom of the Serpent* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).
[215] Clark 2006, p. 95.
[216] Clark 2006, p. 184.

bestiary (and of course, the Bible) in their own sermons, although the details of when, where and to whom this sermon might have been given are lacking.

## Dan Michel of Northgate: M1848c and *Onderstondynge*

Barker-Benfield identified this bestiary entry in '*collecciones cum .H*' for Michael of Northgate from references entered in other volumes in the medieval library catalogue.[217] It was one of the thirty volumes given by Michael, who Hanna calls Dan Michel de Northgate as the Kentish dialect for Dom is Dan.[218] This H volume also contained *Filia Magistri*, a commentary on Lombard's *Sentences*, and *Cherubim de confessionibus* a work on the order of confession, penance and renunciation of sin.[219]

Scholarship has rightly emphasised Michael's interest in science, image magic, alchemy, and astronomy.[220] This bestiary reference is significant because it strengthens still further the evidence for Michael's interest in the natural world, and helps to place his interest in science and what Page has termed 'licit magic' in context.[221] In his focus on nature Michael differed from his friend, fellow monk, and astronomer John of London, the mathematician whose bequest of eighty books betrays little interest in nature, except in regard to astronomy and medicine. Michael's interest in magic and science seems to have been rooted in understanding the wonder of God's Creation, 'part of a larger interest in the natural world' as Klaassen phrased it.[222] Michael had copies of *De Natura Rerum* and Gregory's *Dialogues* and two lapidaries in BA1.*1170 (now Oxford Christ Church 221and part

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[217] BCBB, BA1.536.5, BA1.638.4 and BA1.869 and BA1.*870.

[218] R. Hanna, 'Dan Michel of Northgate and his books', *Medieval Manuscripts, Their Makers and Users: A Special Issue of Viator in Honor of Richard and Mary Rouse* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 213-224.

[219] BCBB M1848, p. 1714, pp. 1851-1854;

[220] W. R. Knorr, 'Two medieval monks and their astronomy books: MSS Bodley 464 and Rawlinson C. 117', *Bodleian Library Record* 14 (1993), 269–84; F. Klaassen, *The Transformations of Magic: Illicit Learned Magic in the Later Middle Ages and Renaissance* (University Park PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013), pp. 51-65; S. Page, *Magic in the Cloister: Pious Motives, Illicit Interests, and Occult Approaches to the Medieval Universe*, (University Park, PA; Penn State University Press, 2013), pp. 19-20 and p. 34.

[221] Page, 2013, St Augustine's Abbey's monks demonstrated 'how magical interests and piety could be compatible', p. 129; *ALCD*, p. lxxvii, on three natural history books including Aristotle *de Animalibus* and Roger Bacon' s 'Experimental Science'.

[222] Klaassen, *Transformations*, 2013, p. 65.

Cotton Vespasian A II).[223]  Although his bestiary cannot be further identified, there are references in every recension to the jewel under the Hyena's tongue which can predict the future, to the elephant and the mandrake (noted in the Worcester Q.56), and to the natural wonders such as the Lion that resuscitates its cub and living rocks that produce pearls.[224] The bestiary might be viewed as an understandable choice for Michael's investigation into the natural and supernatural, part of the constant medieval debate Bartlett has identified as the quest for understanding nature and the numinous.[225]

The bestiary was also a work that aided Michael's concern as a priest in the cure of souls. Hanna describes him as a 'thoughtful' priest whose book collection focused on confession and penance, for example the *aliis cherubim* in the same volume as the bestiary, topics which he might have previously spoken about to his flock, and possibly continued to discuss in his sermons when a monk.[226] It was this concern for 'lewede men' that Michael's translation of *Le Somme le Roi* into the *Ayenbite of Inwyt* or *Prick of Conscience* addressed, written probably at the end of his life in 1340.[227] Michael's *Ayenbite* also translated references to the bestiary ('bokes of kende of bestes') contained in *le Somme le Roi*, for example, Michael calls flatterers ('blondere') sirens and poisonous 'eddres'.[228] His two interests in nature and the *cura animarum* were conjoined in a short treatise, at the end of the *Ayenbite*. The single-side piece has been rather dismissed as a page filler by Hanna but this study considers it as more of a coda to Michael's book, and

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[223] BCBB BA1.*1170e, Marbod, and 1170f, 'Techel', pp. 1197-1201,  p. 1199.
[224] Klaassen, *Transformations*, 2013, pp. 52-53, Mann 1888, Lion, '*tertia natura*',p. 38; Elephant, '*mandragora . . femina gustat*', p. 67; Hyena '*Hiena lapidem…sub lingua sua tenuerit, future predicere creditur*', p. 51; Oyster '*Item lapis est in mare*', p 71.
[225] R. Bartlett, *The Natural and the Supernatural in the Middle Ages; The Wiles Lectures given at the Queen's University of Belfast, 2006*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p.2
[226] Hanna, 'Dan Michel', 2011, p. 218 n. 14 and p. 224.
[227] BCBB, p. 1852; *Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt*, ed. R. Morris, EETS o.s. 23, (London: Trübner, 1866), and rev. repr. ed. by P. Gradon, 1965), p. 262. *Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt, 2: Introduction, Notes and Glossary*, ed. Pamela Gradon, EETS 278 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979).
[228] Morris, EETS, p. 61; Gradon, 1965, p. 257; Clark 2006, pp. 50, 52, 200, 220 on sirens as mermaids and snakes.

perhaps to his life, for three reasons.[229] Firstly; it appears to be his own work, rather than a translation. Secondly; it focuses on Michael's twin concerns of nature and humanity, fused into a rumination on the difference between beasts and mankind; the incipit reads 'Nammore ne is be-tuene ane manne and ane beste bote ine onderstondynge'.[230] Thirdly; the themes of understanding and of seeking knowledge of God's creation flow through Michael's whole book collection, and in this tract he gathers these threads together. He compares men firstly to animals, pointing out the fly is faster and the 'pokoce' fairer, but that it is thought and conscience, the 'lyȝt of þoȝtes' which direct men from 'blynde' sin to the light of God's image. This 'lyȝt' of understanding allows them to become not worms in the earth but angels in heaven. The idea of man cleansed of sin by Christ so that he might enter heaven resembles Anselm's pearl similitude. This little tract is a heartfelt prayer that man's bestial nature might earn God's forgiveness through Christ and through atonement.

**Conclusion**

This section has shown how the bestiary was stripped down to its building blocks in the '*narrationes diverse'* of BA1.755 and the Worcester extracts. It was then annotated from various sources, indexed, reworked, reinterpreted, preached, translated, and used as a basis for a new work to give new moralisations and spiritual understandings. This flexibility was an essential part of the book's continued use, the reason for its expanding readership in late thirteenth-century St Augustine's (and later among the Carmelites too). This has been linked to the rise in the fourteenth century of Benedictines attending university, precisely to be able to preach. The need for new sermons echoes the reasons for the production of the *Speculum Ecclesiae* as the monks were now in competition with the friars as well as the secular cannons. Benedictine lay preaching, often in opposition to seculars and later friars, required strong approaches to appeal across different audiences. This study has revealed the

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[229] Hanna, 2011, 'these bits all appear added filler', p. 217.
[230] Gradon, p. 270, BL Arundel 57, fol. 96v.

bestiary's strength and versatility also delivered levels of continuity in terms of theological ideas. These are significant findings regarding ideas on the understanding and diverse uses of the bestiary inside and outside the cloister. The next chapter examines bestiary art in Canterbury.

**Chapter 5**
Bestiary visual imagery in Christ Church decorated initials

C hapter Five explores visual allusions to the bestiary in Christ Church manuscript art. This chapter argues for the importance of bestiary motifs in certain late eleventh- and early twelfth-century decorated initials which employ memorable animal images to allude to literal, allegorical, moral, and or spiritual meanings in their associated texts; it does not discuss historiated initials. This chapter presents evidence from this visual imagery to argue that there were bestiaries in Christ Church Cathedral Priory during Anselm's archiepiscopacy and its immediate aftermath (c. 1093-1125), as this thesis has sought to establish in previous chapters.

**Dates**

The dates of these confirmed Christ Church manuscripts require attention before discussing arguments on the significance of some of their decorated initials. The set date range of c. 1093-1125 coincides with the findings of recent re-investigations of manuscripts from Christ Church, mainly based on palaeographical analysis. For example, Heslop argued that several Christ Church manuscripts might be dated more precisely than Dodwell suggested in his 1954 handlist and furthermore, that some of these manuscripts could be linked much more closely to Anselm and his monk scribes, i.e. 'before 1125', than previously realised.[1] Similarly, Michael Gullick's continuing research has highlighted the importance of both Lanfranc's and Anselm's role in improving the books and expanding the library at Christ

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[1] Dodwell 1954, pp. 120-3; Heslop 2013, p. 59, p. 78 n. 2, 'The whole subject is in need of an overview.'

Church.[2] Gullick's work has complemented Gameson's identification of twelfth century Christ Church artists who produced decorated initials.[3] Gullick's findings also added to Tessa Webber's questioning of the post-Conquest sudden and complete switch to the 'prickly' style of script developed by Eadmer, which Dodwell emphasised.[4]

Gneuss and Lapidge's latest handlist includes more precise dates for some Christ Church books previously thought to have been written between 1070 and 1130, thanks to contributions from Michael Gullick.[5] For example, by using Eadmer's distinctive and frequently datable script, that of his unknown late Caroline inspired 'mentor', and the context of Anselm's periods of exile, Gullick has narrowed the dates of two early Christ Church books. Gullick dated both Jerome (*Super Prophetas* II, TCC B.3.5) previously considered as from 1070-1100 and Ambrose and Augustine, (*Opera*, CUL Kk.1.23, *Hexaemeron*, fols 1-66v, written by Eadmer) from 1070-1093 to 'within a year or two of 1085'.[6] Furthermore, although Gameson identified the artists for the two zoomorphic initials in these books by Jerome and Ambrose as A and '?A', Gullick now considers both initials to be the work of the same man.[7] Moreover, two volumes of Augustine's *Commentaries on the Psalms*, TCC B.5.26 and B.5.28, and Gregory, *Moralia in Job*, TCC B.4.9, were all previously dated 1070-1100 by Dodwell but Gullick has convincingly established they are from the 'late 1080s or early 1090s'.[8] Gameson also established the artist he called E worked on TCC B.5.26 and B.4.9.[9] Artist E has particular relevance for this thesis since he made the most frequent allusions to the bestiary and Gullick's research means artist E worked from the late 1080s onwards. Logan has sought to

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[2] Michael Gullick, 'The Scribal Work of Eadmer of Canterbury to 1109' in *Arch. Cant.*, 118 (1998), 173-190 and on Dodwell's dating, p.187 n. 38.

[3] Gameson 1995; *idem, The Early Books of Canterbury Cathedral* (Canterbury: Dean & Chapter of Canterbury Cathedral, 2008).

[4] Webber, 1995, pp. 145-58, Appendix 3, Tables 9-11, pp. 158-159; Dodwell, 1954, p. 8 'in script there is a complete break with the past'.

[5] Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014, p. xi.

[6] Gullick 1998, pp. 179-180.

[7] Ibid; Binski Zutshi, 10, pp. 13-14 CUL Kk.1.23, s.xi[ex].

[8] Gullick 1998, p. 181.

[9] Gameson 1995, pp. 116-7, Table 7, p. 142; Gullick 1998, p. 179, n. 16.

identify this scribe as Samuel from a portrait initial in Cambridge, St John's College A8 and considered he also worked on Oxford, Bodl. Bodley 271, Anselm, *Opera*, c. 1104-1114, an earlier date than 'post 1125' which Gameson gave to Bodley 271. The appendix to this chapter presents examples of work by artists identified by Gameson in key Christ Church manuscripts.[10]

**Links to the bestiary**

Establishing links between the First family bestiary (e.g. Laud Misc. 247 and Stowe 1067) and illuminated manuscripts with firm attributions to Christ Church in this period present two main issues. Firstly, the need to connect the image of the historiated/zoomorphic initial to the text in which it is embedded, which involves both exploring and contextualizing this relationship. Secondly; assertions that such initials can be used as evidence to support the knowledge of the bestiary in Canterbury must be addressed.[11] Furthermore, merely linking these initials to the *Physiologus*/bestiary tradition does not answer questions of why these animals might be being used in these initials, for as Robert Bartlett puts it,

> how amenable are they to interpretation? The problem is not simply the ancient one of using words to analyze images, but the equally vexed one of attributing intention to artists or patrons....since our evidence for that purpose or viewpoint consists, almost always, in the images themselves, the danger of importing assumptions is great.[12]

Despite these difficulties of interpretation, these text/image relationships are significant and worth exploring; inhabited initials are at the nexus, the meeting point of letter and image. They are not marginal, but often invade the border and the margin; They are not pure text, but nevertheless are designed to be read. They are

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[10] Gameson 1995, pp. 142-3 listed artists A-L; also *The Early Books of Canterbury Cathedral*, 2008, Catalogue No. 22 Lit E. 42 and Lit E 42A, part 1, pp. 226-247, p. 245, listed artists A-C, who are not the same as his 1995 list.

[11] Clark 2006 pp. 21-22 links the Second family bestiary to medieval exegesis (as elucidated by H. Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis*, 1); and gives examples of the moral of the Ant dividing its granary, and spiritual lesson of the deceit of the Fox. The same exegesis applies to the earlier recension of the bestiary as both chapters are from the First family bestiary,

[12] R. Bartlett, 'Comment on Jean-Claude Schmitt's Neale Lecture', ed. by S. Page, *The Unorthodox Imagination in late medieval Britain*, (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2010), pp. 39-44, p. 42. Jean-Claude Schmitt's thesis 'that western Christianity in the Middle Ages had an open and undogmatic approach to imagery' p. 39; 'even the most provocative medieval images were never truly unorthodox', pp. 9-38, p. 34.

decorative, artistic, and meaningful; their letters must obey the 'policed' accuracy of the written word, but their images are freer, being betwixt sign and thing, indeed, as Michael Camille phrased it, a 'becoming'. Nevertheless, as John of Damascus wrote in ca. 787, in his *Orationes apologeticae adversus eos qui sacras imagines adjiciunt*,

> every image exhibits and manifests that which is hidden' which allows these monstrous letters to explore differing, complementary or contrasting allusions and meanings to the text they illuminate.[13]

However, this is not to chase '*what* animals mean' but rather to open out and contextualize these images, to explore and problematize, as Jill Mann puts it '*how* [these depictions of] animals mean' when placed within the monastic setting, the medieval liberal arts education, and the pursuit of the *sensus spiritualis*.[14] Or as Michael Camille discussed, although his was a more marginal quest,

> what do they all mean, those lascivious apes, autophagic dragons, harp-playing asses.... I am more interested in how they pretend to avoid meaning, how they seem to celebrate the flux of 'becoming' rather than 'being'.[15]

These decorated inhabited and zoomorphic initials in Christ Church's late eleventh and early twelfth century books are neither 'purely decorative', nor there just, as Christopher de Hamel phrases it, to 'make a manuscript easy to use', as a newspaper uses different text styles and pictures to break up the information on the page.[16] Richard Gameson admits the 'attractive and interesting' designs of the initials provided 'plentiful fodder for the spiritual and moralising interpretation of beasts, real and mythical for the ruminative mind'.[17] Later on Gameson compares the 'eye-catching initials' not to newspapers as de Hamel did, but to 'some modern advertising campaign' attracting readers with a memorable if not 'necessarily relevant' image, so Gameson's heart does not really lie in interpretation.[18] So, although Gameson mentions Heslop's and Klingender's works, it is with the

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[13] As quoted in J. W. Earl, 'Typology and iconographic style in 'Early Medieval Iconography', *Typology and English Medieval Literature* ed. by H. T. Keenan, (New York: AMS Press, 1992), pp. 89-121, p. 100.
[14] J. Mann, 2009, introduction, p. 1, continued 'that is, in what way individual literary structures imply different ways for the animal to be made significant for the human.'
[15] Camille 1992, p. 9.
[16] C. de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (London: Guild Publishing, 1986), p. 101.
[17] Gameson 1995, p. 135.
[18] Gameson 1995, p. 136.

proviso that they are for 'those with the eyes, conditioning and inclination to see... the lion as the type for Christ, and so on.'[19] The 'and so on' is an indication that this is not where Gameson's interest lies. The literal, and to some extent the mnemonic function is well covered but the allegorical, moral and spiritual are alluded to but ultimately not explored.

On the other hand, Sandy Heslop's arguments do link Paul, Augustine and Bernard of Clairvaux's ideas on the spiritual interpretation to various Romanesque initials, in connection with the text they illuminate; he specifies these sorts of initials as 'rare', 'textually related allegory'.[20] As an example Heslop takes the initial P at the start of Augustine's commentary on Psalm 143 in BL Royal 5 D ii, fol. 197, a Rochester manuscript.[21] Here he discusses the dragon split in half by the ascender of the letter as perhaps having been severed by the sword of the mounted rider in the bowl of the P, whom he describes as 'a modern man to show the continuing relevance of the struggle [between good and evil]' which he denotes as a figurative interpretation of the start of Augustine's argument to 'search for the hidden meaning'.[22] This is indubitably a nuanced, informed, anagogical reading, looking to the text to see how the initial might illuminate it for the reader. However, there are still several problems here. First, while Heslop decries dragons as 'universally evil' (p. 4), as they are also large snakes, it is quite difficult to assess whether what is drawn is something as wise as a serpent or as evil as a dragon; secondly the text, in inviting the reader to search for the hidden meaning, may imply both. Thirdly, by proceeding straight to the anagogical, the 'figurative', Heslop might be said not to differentiate between the literal, allegorical and moral parts of the figures which are also 'heavy in the weight of their meanings'. The sword-slashing knight and his foliage-biting horse in f.127v of BL Royal D 5 ii, are perhaps also a note to consider

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[19] Ibid, p. 136.
[20] T. A. Heslop, 'Brief in Words but Heavy in the Weight of its Mysteries', *Art History*, 9 (1986), 1-11.
[21] Heslop, 'Brief', 1986, BL Royal 5 D ii, St Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 3, before 1123; initial on fol. 197v is plate 6.
[22] Heslop, 'Brief', 1987, p. 5.

the rhetoric of the text, i.e. the argument of the passage and to (literally) digest the meaning.

The argument presented here is that Christ Church monks also produced such 'textually related allegory' initials with particular memorable, literal, allegorical, tropological and anagogical directions, taken from the *trivium* and *quadrivium's* concern with *vox, signum* and *res*, and were part of an intrinsically grammatical approach to spiritual understanding. Furthermore, these initials should not be read only as a commentary on the text but may also work as exegetical models themselves. For example, Richard Gameson points to a series of historiated initials of a naughty monk who comes to a wicked end.[23] Furthermore, Laura Cleaver's thesis has explored 'the ways in which visual imagery was used to represent teaching and learning, and was employed as part of these processes.'[24] Her work contains a substantial number of examples depicting personifications; of Grammar holding a flail; of Rhetoric with a sword; and of Dialectic with a coiled snake, often accompanied by scenes of fighting, wrestling or beard-pulling (fig. 5.01).[25] Another depiction of the *trivium*, which Cleaver notes, uses some different symbols, *Trivium* Paris, Bibl. Sainte Genevieve 1041, s.xii, fol. 1v has three haloed women: the first with a flail, pointing at a small figure with a writing tablet; the second and central woman holds a long green snake in both hands and the third woman on right has a shield and three javelins; they represent grammar, rhetoric and dialectic (fig. 5.02).[26] This tradition of artistic representation of the *trivium* (and *quadrivium*) may be traced to the fifth-century Martianus Capella's *Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, which personifies the seven liberal arts using specific attributes. Copies of Martianus's work were held in Canterbury Christ Church in the twelfth century, confirmed by references in the medieval library catalogue.[27] Rita Copeland expresses the medieval

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[23] Gameson 1995, p. 135 and plates 13a-c.
[24] L. Cleaver, 'Art and Education in Northern Europe, 1080-1220', PhD thesis (London: Courtauld Institute, 2008), p. 23.
[25] Cleaver, 2008 plates 1.13 and 3.3.
[26] Cleaver, 2008, plate 1.31.
[27] *ALCD* Nos. 65-68, 71.

transition from exegesis to image as a journey from scientific classification to iconic value:

> scientific classification lends itself to poetic construction. It provides a picture of a concept.... For this reason, the most obvious and memorable poetic uses of scientific classification are those that emphasize an iconic value. Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* set the standard for medieval visual representations and literary personifications of the arts.[28]

It is unsurprising that the Rochester monastic artist working on initial letters in Augustine's *Enarrationes* would use in his work those grammatical and ontological ideas expressed in the text itself, going from *signum* to *res*. Even the title *Enarrationes*, is a type of didactic narrative that indicates a preoccupation with significs:

> the root of Augustine's numerous statements about signification: [is that] words are signs instituted by convention to signify things or sometimes to refer to other signs that designate things...Thus Augustine too had believed that grammar needs dialectic...[to] move beyond discourse about words to discourse about things, including the nature of language itself. It is in light of such long-held assumptions about language as a referential tool that we should understand how grammatical theory was seen to support the very unity of the arts. [29]

Although this is indubitably simplistic, a starting point for examining inhabited and zoomorphic initials of this period would be to look for the attributes of these *trivium* personifications.

A flail or rod would suggest a grammatical, pronunciation or etymological point is being made; rhetorical points might be indicated by swords; and dialectical arguments by serpents. For example, in TCC B.2.34 Jerome, *Questiones in Genesim*, fol. 79v, A[ethiopia] (fig. 5.03), Artist G's complex initial contains allusions to air, such as a ship with a sail, a hare strumming a harp, dragons with wings, and a man holding a flail, indicating a grammar point on the pronunciation of *Aethiopia*.[30] A sword might be both an indication of a rhetorical point and also to look at where the sword is pointing. For example pseudo-Isidorian, *Decretals*, BL Cotton Claudius E v, fol. 40r, O[mnibus ecclesiis] (fig. 5.04) where the man bearing a shield and

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[28] *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric: Language Arts and Literary Theory, AD 300 -1475*, eds. Rita Copeland and Ineke Slutter, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 13.
[29] Ibid, p.23.
[30] Artist G identified by Gameson 1995, p. 143.

sword has his sword pointing to the incipit above. Although the catalogue entry warns,

> There is no clear link between the subject of this initial 'O' and the adjacent text. There may be an indirect connection (such as the idea that Christians must arm themselves and fight against evil), or the imagery may be mainly decorative rather than meaningful.[31]

In this example the initial's allusion and the rhetorical point of the sword is the reference in the incipit to the contumely of bishops. Artist A in Kk.1.23, fol. 3r, drew an arresting hybrid figure in Old Testament clothing, blowing a horn, holding a sword pointing to the incipit above, and grasping a hare in the other hand, as an indication that *Exameron* was pronounced *Hexaemeron* (fig. 5.05).[32]

The presence of serpents may allude to the *Trivium* and sometimes to the dialectical argument contained in the text which the initial accompanies. For example, in Priscian, *Institutiones Grammaticae*, TCC O.2.51, fol. 34r, the artist has illustrated the initial Q[uoniam] with a thin, winged snake coiled around a prone nude man threatening his eyeball, a note to pay diligent attention to the grammar rules as '*regulis*' (l. 1 and 6) refers to rules and '*regulus*' to a snake (fig. 5.06).[33] In Boethius, *De Musica*, TCC R.15.22, fol. 66r, the artist J has drawn the initial E[t si omnia quae de/monstranda] as a cloaked man who looks to the title and sticks his sword down the throat of a dragon, while its twin threatens him from above (fig. 5.07).[34] This striking visual image may allude to the dialectic argument on the use of memory in the accompanying text.

These complex decorated inhabited initials were not all as Dodwell suggested 'purely decorative', nor merely as Gameson stated 'attractive and interesting', nor as

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[31] BL Cotton Claudius E V, fol. 40r, pseudo-Isidorian, *Decretals*. <www.bl.uk/ online gallery/ onlineex/illmanus/cottmanucoll/i/011cotclae00005u00040000.html > [accessed 5 June, 2014].
[32] Illustrated in Binski, Zutshi, p. 13.
[33] Gameson 1995, p. 126 considered this an English hand in a St Augustine's book but Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, p. 192, lean towards a Christ Church attribution. In Isidore's *Etymologiae*, 2006, XII.iv.6, p. 255, *Regulus* was a name for a type of snake defeated by the weasel, called an asp in the First family bestiary, Mann 1888, p. 60.
[34] M. R. James, 2, 1901, 'early' twelfth century, Dodwell 1130-1160.

Boase considered 'curiously irrelevant'.[35] The presence of serpents in a Heslopian 'textual allegory' initial indicates the type of argument set forward in the adjacent text. Contrary to Dodwell's, Gameson's and Boase's objections, Heslop's example of the Rochester Augustine *Enarrationes*, BL Royal 5 D ii, f.167v, where the P is a bisected dragon-like serpent, demonstrates the association to the 'hidden meaning' mentioned in the text. As Heslop argued, this is a dialectical analysis of the psalms by Augustine, with the image of the man on horseback, with a sword, which shows 'the continuing relevance of the struggle' as a journey through the foliage of the argument.[36]

Another visual commentary on the text is found in Christ Church's pseudo-Isidorian *Decretals*, BL Cotton Claudius E v, fol. 25v, (possibly by artist N) where the initial A[nacletus] begins the decretal of the early pope who allegedly gave judicial immunity to bishops accused of sin, which Gregorian reformers saw as dangerous (fig. 5.08).[37] The dragon claws a young man's foot and another smaller snake bites the ascender of the letter, as an allusion to this name, indeed to re-call or recollect it *ana-lectus* (read or gather) instead of *ana-cletus*. The young man is about to cut the tongue of a dog and the blood will be caught by an angel below. Isaiah 56.10 provides the context, it calls unworthy priests who stay silent when they should speak out 'dogs which cannot bark'.[38] The initial was an ecclesiastical and political comment; the same verse had been used by Aelfric in a homily on clerical negligence.[39]

This allegorical interpretation was a result, as Bernard of Clairvaux put it, of the Crucifixion, when the 'veil of the dead word was rent' from the Old Testament and

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[35] Dodwell 1954, p.71; Gameson 1995, p. 136; T. S. R. Boase, *English Art 1100-1216*, (Oxford, Clarendon, 1953), p. 45.

[36] Heslop, 'Brief', 1986, p. 5.

[37] *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c.350-c.1450*, ed. by J. H. Burns (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 273.

[38] Is 56:10, 'His watchmen are all blind, they are all ignorant: dumb dogs not able to bark, seeing vain things, sleeping and loving dreams.'

[39] R. K. Upchurch, 'A Big Dog Barks: Ælfric of Eynsham's Indictment of the English Pastorate and Witan', *Speculum*, 85 (2010), 505-533, pp. 505, 532-3.

> Everything that is called into language by the sound of a word, every one of
> God's creatures that is named by a word, points to a further, higher sense. [40]

Alan of Lille summed up the *sensus spiritualis* as 'every created being has a meaning.'[41] All the encyclopaedic thrust of Isidore's *Etymologiae*, the lapidaries, herbals, and the *Physiologus* and the bestiary 'serves the science of signification', and this spiritual signification of the thing comes from God's language, 'the language of things'.[42] Eco discussed this in terms of philology and the perfect language. He called St. Augustine, 'the father of hermeneutics' and linked him to those writers of encyclopaedias, like Isidore, and bestiaries and lapidaries:

> There is one sense in which St. Augustine did have a clear idea of a perfect
> language, common to all people. But this was not the language of words; it
> was, rather, a language made out of things themselves. He viewed the world,
> as it was later to be put, as a vast book written with God's own finger.
> Those who knew how to read this book were able to understand the
> allegories hidden in the scriptures, where, beneath references to simple
> earthly things (plants, stones, animals), symbolic meanings lay. This
> Language of the World, instituted by its creator, could not be read, however,
> without a key; it was the need to provide such a key that provoked a rapid
> outflowing of bestiaries, lapidaries, encyclopedias and *imagines mundi*
> throughout the Middle Ages.[43]

Yet Curtius's views of Augustine's ideas on Biblical allegory were less enamoured,

> He [Augustine] had seen that the Bible had a rhetoric of its own. But in his
> study of the sacred text he persisted in the antiquarianizing and allegorizing
> method which Macrobius had applied to Cicero and Virgil. The Bible was
> full of dark sayings, but Paul had taught that it was inspired: "omnis
> scriptura divinitus inspirata" (2 Tim 3:16). Augustine concludes: Everything
> in the Bible which is not directly concerned with faith and morals has a
> hidden meaning. In this he follows the precedent not only of late antique
> Homeric and Virgilian allegoresis but also of the Biblical allegoresis which
> had been accepted since Origen.... his theory became a permanent
> possession of the Middle Ages.[44]

and for Curtius, the link between grammar, one element of the *trivium*, and Isidore's *Etymologiae* (an important source for the bestiary) is also plain,

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[40] Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones in Cantica* 14.4, *PL* 183, col. 841B, quoted in Ohly 2005, p. 3.
[41] Alan of Lille, *In Cantica Canticorum Elucidatio, PL* 210, col. 53A 'omni creatura significante', Ohly 2005, p. 5.
[42] Ohly 2005, p. 19.
[43] Umberto Eco, *The Search for the Perfect Language*, trans. by James Fentress (London: Fontana Press, 1995), p. 15.
[44] E. R. Curtius (1953, repr. 1979), pp. 73-4.

He [Isidore] regards etymology as a part of grammar. 'For if you know the origin of a word, you more quickly understand its force. Everything can be more clearly comprehended when its etymology is known.'[45]

This idea of 'two books' of Creation and Scripture was a long-lived and frequently debated idea in the Middle Ages. The view that Creation functions as a book simply by reading 'things' as St Augustine posits in *De Doctrina Christiana* via the allegory of the fourfold sense as the *Physiologus*, was nuanced by St Anselm's ontological proof of God, 'And certainly this being so truly exists that it cannot be even thought not to exist.'[46] For Anselm God is real because he is conceived as the greatest being possible and all of his Creation is thus part of that proof and thus even more to be reverenced and understood. Visser and Williams emphasised that Anselm understood thought (that conceived the greatness of God) as both 'mental speech' and 'mental vision' for objects called to mind

by an utterance of the mind or reason I mean…[what arises] when things themselves…are examined within the mind by the gaze of thought.[47]

Anselm's *De Grammatico* linked these processes of signification to language, developed from Priscian. Heslop posits that St Anselm's ideas on the importance of the visual 'gaze of thought', found expression in the construction of Christ Church Cathedral quire.[48] This emphasis on the visual and on Creation was also expressed in Christ Church manuscript decoration. So the bestiary's relationship to the *sensus spiritualis* of medieval exegesis becomes clearer; it was part of an attempt to pursue the spiritual significance of words used in biblical and religious texts, made even more precious in Anselm's Canterbury for this intrinsic relationship of nature and the Word to their faith and understanding in God developed by their saint into a rigorous monastic training, as discussed in Chapter Four. The monks desired to imbue their work and their books, with depictions of this relationship between

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[45] E. R. Curtius (1953, repr. 1979), p. 43.

[46] St Anselm, *Proslogion*, I chapter III, 'Quod utique sic vere est, ut nec cogitari possit non esse. Nam potest cogitari esse aliquid, quod non possit cogitari non esse; quod maius quam quod esse cogitari potest.' S. I.102.6-8, *Major Works*, 2008, p. 88.

[47] Anselm, *Monologion*, Book 1, chapter 10, S. I: 24.24-27, S. Visser and T. Williams, *Anselm* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 30.

[48] Heslop 2013, pp. 69-70 on the Christ Church ancestor stained glass window programme and its links to Anselm and Honorius Augustodunensis.

Creation and the Word. Their books were where these ideas of reading 'things' were naturally expressed.

The emphasis on the visual and on Creation translates into the images of serpents, satyrs, sirens, and lions, etc. used in decorated initials by Christ Church monks in the late eleventh and early twelfth century. These are not marginal images, but animals depicted within or actively forming part of the letter, itself part of the text, decorated as a marker and site of memorization and understanding. Michael Camille, took up Leclercq's point and saw this development of inhabited, historiated and/or zoomorphic letters as part of the *meditatio* of the monk, taught to ruminate over his letters, to physically pronounce and chew them

> The monk was meant to feed not on the flesh of animals but on the Word of God in a muscular mastication – a *ruminatio*, so called that released the full flavour or meaning of the text. [This] is a metaphor that can be traced from St. Augustine onwards.... Dragons, humans, mermaids, fishes eat all kinds of things...Their oral gratification has, however, a spiritual aspect in that these were literally eaten in *meditatio*.[49]

Ohly pointed out that the biting (which Camille noticed and connected to reading in the Refectory at mealtimes), was itself subject to exegetical examination, the meaning of '*mordere*', to bite, was drawn into the Christian theology on the biting of the apple of knowledge.[50] Mary Carruthers has shown that '*morsus*' bite became connected to the word for death, '*mors*' via homophony by Hugh of St Cher as a key to memorise other biting allusions in marginalia of a bear (*ursus*), and she noticed links between *orsus, morsus* and *ursus* in a later English bestiary.[51] The same homophony of '*mors*' and '*morsus*' was used in the *Physiologus* and First family bestiary for the chapter on the Hydrus swallowed by the Crocodile, connected to Christ's harrowing of Hell.

The *Physiologus* had influenced Augustine (who drew on the serpent description). Both in turn influenced later writers such as Isidore and Hrabanus

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[49] M. Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (London: Reaktion Books, 1992), pp. 63-4.
[50] Ohly, 2005, p. 18, p. 72.
[51] Carruthers 1990, pp. 128-129, on Hugh of St Cher and chapter 4, pp. 159, 160-2, 179 on uses in Latin and vernacular bestiaries.

Maurus, on the search for spiritual significance of animals. The *Physiologus* and its direct successor the First family bestiary had their chapters, already plundered by Augustine, seized upon by Anselm, Honorius Augustodunensis, and later Hugh of Fouilloy and William Durandus, among others.[52]

Leclercq mentioned some bestiary references linked to biblical exegesis, for example the pelican and the onager, in connection to monastic life and learning.[53] However, allusions to the fourfold allegory from the bestiary have not been studied in inhabited and zoomorphic initials in Christ Church late eleventh- and early twelfth-century works. Given the preponderance of serpents, this is the bestiary creature which most readily springs into focus in these depictions, which Heslop linked in Rochester initials to the understanding of the significance of Creation taken up in Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana*. There are two copies of *De Doctrina Christiana* listed in Christ Church's medieval library catalogue, the first was tentatively identified by M. R. James as CCCC 289 (s.xii, fig. 5.09) and although this is not confirmed elsewhere, both low numbers indicate copies were in Christ Church library from an early date.[54]

### *De Doctrina Christiana* and the *Physiologus*/Bestiary as Sources for Serpentine Inhabited Initials

This reading of *De Doctrina Christiana* infers that the creatures drawn and written about in the First family bestiary (specifically Bodl. Laud Misc. 247) may have influenced the design of some of the decorated zoomorphic or inhabited initials in Christ Church books produced between 1093 and 1125. This assertion is based on the symbolism of snakes, dragons, and other sinuous creatures used

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[52] Anselm, *Cur Deus Homo* S.II, 85. 6-25 *Major Works* 2008, pp. 301-2; Honorius, *Speculum Eccleisae*, on Hugh of Fouilloy *Aviarium* and the bestiary, Clark 1992, p.2, 34. An example of bestiary material culture influence is mentioned in Durandus *Rationale Divinorum Officinorum*, Bk I chapter 3.43 which mentions ostrich eggs as quoted in, *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. by R. Conrad (London: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), p. 218-221.

[53] J. Leclercq, *Etudes sur le vocabulaire monastique du moyen-âge*, Studia Anselmiana 48 (Rome: 1961), pp. 35-36.

[54] *ALCD* No. 18, p. 14-15, possible identification CCCC 289 p. 506; on date of the first *Demonstratio* to 1170, p. xxxix; a second copy was bound with Augustine, *Encheridion*, pt. 2, *ALCD* No. 41c, p. 19.

for letter formation, rather than Dodwell's view that they were of no relevance to the text.[55] Augustine in *De Doctrina Christiana* demonstrated how to read references figuratively; he used the lion and snake as examples

> Ignorance of things makes figurative expressions unclear when we are ignorant of the qualities of animals or stones or plants or other things mentioned **in** scripture for the sake of some analogy. The well-known fact about the snake, that it offers its whole body to assailants in place of its head, marvellously illustrates the meaning of the Lord's injunction to be as wise as serpents[56]

Augustine also established how the same creatures were sometimes figures for evil and sometimes for good:

> The various meanings of a particular thing may be either contrary or just different. By contrary I mean cases in which a particular thing is used sometimes in a good sense and sometimes in a bad one, like the leaven just discussed. Another example is 'lion', which signifies Christ in the passage 'The lion from the tribe of Juda has conquered', [Rev. 5: 5] but 'devil' in the passage 'Your enemy the devil walks round like a roaring lion, seeking someone to devour.' [1 Pet. 5: 8] And 'serpent' is used in a good sense in the passage 'be wise as serpents', [Matt. 10: 16] but in a bad sense in 'the serpent seduced Eve by its cunning. [2 Cor. 11: 3][57]

This appreciation that 'various meanings of a particular thing may be either contrary or just different' is also found in the Caladrius chapter of the *Physiologus*;

> there are many others among the creatures who have double significances, certain are praiseworthy while others are blameworthy, according to their different habits and nature.[58]

The 'roaring lion' (1 Pet. 5: 8) quotation is also used in the bestiary and *Physiologus* in reference to the wild ass or onager. The figurative allusion to wise snakes (Matt. 10: 16) in *De Doctrina Christiana* helps to explain their prevalence in the zoomorphic decorated initials of the Christ Church *Passionale* and other works from Christ Church in the period, such as Ambrose, *Super Lucam*, TCC B.3.9. Augustine discussed the good qualities of the snake and how they relate to Scripture. The interesting point is that his discussion draws on the *Physiologus*.

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[55] Dodwell, p. 75, 'The medieval illuminator was here quite indifferent to the significance of his subject matter; his sole interest was to absorb it into his initial decoration.'

[56] Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, Book II, Chapter 16.24; 'Rerum autem ignorantia facit obscuras …. astutos nos esse sicut serpentes. Green *DDC* provides online facing page translation, p. 85.

[57] Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, Book III, Chapter 25.36; Green *DCC*, p. 167.

[58] Curley, Chapter V 'On the Charadrius', pp. 7-9, at p. 9.

For example, that the snake protects its head rather than its body is discussed by

Augustine

> The well-known fact about the snake, that it offers its whole body to
> assailants in place of its head, marvellously illustrates the meaning of the
> Lord's injunction to be as wise as serpents, [Matt. 10: 16] which means
> that in place of our head, which is Christ, [Eph. 4: 15] we should offer our
> body to persecutors, so that the Christian faith is not as it were killed
> within us when we spare our body and deny God[59]

The same Matthew quotation is used in *Physiologus* to open the chapter on the

Serpent which also mentions the fourth nature of the serpent as;

> when a man approaches seeking to kill him the serpent surrenders his
> entire body to the blows but protects his head. In the time of temptation
> we, too, ought to surrender our entire body but protect our head, that is,
> we ought not to deny Christ. All martyrs acted in this fashion, 'For the
> head of every man is Christ' [1 Cor. 11:3][60]

The last sentence is an excellent pointer for the use of snakes in forming the

initials in a Martyrology, such as the Christ Church one of which BL Harley 624

is a part, as discussed below. Furthermore, the snake which casts off its old skin

within a narrow space is also in the same *Physiologus* chapter, compare the *DCC*

text;

> a snake confined in its narrow lair puts off its old garment and is said to
> take on new strength chimes in excellently with the idea of imitating the
> serpent's astuteness and putting off the old man (to use the words of the
> apostle) [Eph. 4: 22–4] in order to put on the new, and also with that of
> doing so in a confined place, for the Lord said 'enter by the narrow gate'.
> [Matt. 7: 13].[61]

to the *Physiologus*;

> he goes and finds a narrow crack in the rock, and entering it he bruises
> himself and contracts and throws off his old skin and becomes new again.
> We, too, throw off for Christ the old man and his clothing through much
> abstinence and tribulation. And you, seek out Christ the spiritual rock and
> the narrow crack. "The gate is narrow .... few are those who enter through
> it." [Matt. 7:14] [62]

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[59] Green *DCC*, p. 91, 'This interpretation is the usual one in the contemporary Latin Fathers.'
[60] Curley, 1971, p. 19; Carmody, 1941, *De Serpente*, pp.110-112, p. 111.
[61] Green *DCC*, p. 91.
[62] Curley, 1971, p. 16; Carmody, 1941, p. 111. Both verses are appropriate, Vulgate: Matt. 7:13
'Enter ye in at the narrow gate: for wide is the gate, and broad is the way that leadeth to
destruction, and many there are who go in thereat'; 7:14 'How narrow is the gate, and strait is the
way that leadeth to life: and few there are that find it.'

These points in the chapter on the serpent in the *Physiologus*, are evidence that St. Augustine drew on this work. Snakes have also crawled into many chapters of Laud Misc. 247; Caladrius (*serpens immundus est*) fol. 142v; Pelican (*Lacerte, serpents, cocodrilli*) fol. 143v; Hydra (*idrus aquatilis serpens*) fol. 152r; Panther (*Draco maior est omnium serpentium*) fol. 156v-157r; Mustela (*aspis . . .serpentis*) fol. 158v; Cervus (*de foramine extrahit serpentem*) fol. 160v; Peredixion Tree (Matt 10:16 *astuti sicut serpents*) fol. 162r; Elephant (*serpentem qui inimicus est elephantis* i.e. *Draco*) fol. 164v; and the *Mermecoleon* mentions both the serpent and the scorpion (fol. 168r). *De Doctrina Christiana* and the *Physiologus*/Bestiary are linked via the same normative exegesis. They were fruitful sources for allusions in some of the serpentine inhabited and zoomorphic initials from Christ Church.

**Serpentine *Exempla***

Medieval snakes, unlike more modern ones, also frequently come with extra optional details, more or less at will, such as wings, ears, snouts, fangs, legs (two or four), fatter torsos and talons. As an example (although one admittedly a hundred years later) in Harley 3244 (fols. 62v-63r), the siren snake has two legs and long droopy ears; the seps has four legs, greyhound ears and a coiled tail; and the saura, although a lizard, is described as a serpent and drawn with ears, wings, a plump torso and two clawed legs and it perches like a long-necked parrot on the edge of the text. To note every Christ Church initial's use of a serpent or reptile as evidence of knowledge of the *Physiologus* or bestiary, whether or not via *De Doctrina Christiana*, would be an otiose task, given so many serpents inhabit decorated initials. Moreover, such usage does not apply just to Canterbury decorated initials as many medieval artists of decorated inhabited or zoomorphic initials utilised reptile heads, bodies, or tails, often to 'anchor' the bowl of the letter to its ascender; not all will have considered their work needed to allude to the text. The contention is that certain inhabited or zoomorphic initials by some Christ Church monastic artists alluded to the text; sometimes to make grammatical, rhetorical or dialectic points; and sometimes to allude to the fourfold allegory.

Examples are discussed below of the depiction of serpents which specifically allude to the creatures' moral or spiritual significance in BL Harley 624 (part of the remnants of an early twelfth-century, seven volume Christ Church *Passionale*) and TCC B.3.9 Ambrose, *Super Lucam.* There are many other examples of snakes which metamorphosise from foliage in Romanesque decorated initials, Dodwell gives several Canterbury examples.[63] The three points argued here are: that snakes were not, as Heslop stated, 'universally evil'; that secondly not every serpentine initial was symbolic or alluded to the fourfold allegory; and thirdly it was nevertheless the case that the fourfold allegory was the normative exegesis and based on context. Some Christ Church inhabited or zoomorphic initials which contain serpents may be considered as allusive, memorable visual markers and some were also a commentary by the artist on the text.

This discursive analysis of some of the Christ Church initials focuses on those where the bestiary link is particularly strong, or uses serpentine exempla. This research is based on an examination of Christ Church manuscripts with inhabited or zoomorphic initials, based on Dodwell's original list, updated with Gneuss and Lapidge's 2014 handlist and combined with Richard Gameson's identification of artists A-L.[64] It is not exhaustive (for example, it does not include Cambridge University Library manuscripts nor all those of Trinity College, Cambridge) this research nevertheless reveals over twenty Christ Church books which contain initials with over sixty animal images, of which over twenty initials appear specifically to allude to bestiary creatures. Dodwell noted allusions to animals mentioned in the bestiary and included the Peacock, Griffin, Manticore, Amphisbaena, Vulture, and also the Cynocephalus/ Satyr, Siren, Hydrus and Crocodile, Ostrich, Lizard, Panther, and Goat.[65] The first five of the bestiary creatures Dodwell noted come from the later Second family bestiary but as the books in which these initials appear are too early to have alluded to this recension,

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[63] Dodwell, 1954, p. 79.
[64] Gameson 1995, Table 7, pp. 142-4.
[65] Dodwell, pp. 71-75; the Cynocephalus and Satyr are mentioned in the Monkey chapter, Mann, 1888, p.55, 'Cinocephali et ipsi similes…satyri facie admodum.'

they must derive from other sources. This thesis includes the eight other First family bestiary animals Dodwell mentioned and also found allusions to another twelve which are all mentioned in the Bodl. Laud Misc. 247 – twenty altogether. A list of these artists identified by Gameson is given below for convenience.

**List of Christ Church Artists who used bestiary allusions in initials**

**Artist A:**

Very few examples of this artist's work are extant. He was one of the earliest artists with a confident hand, who used a predominantly black, green, and red palette, and outlined his figures in colour. Dodwell thought the initial on fol. 1v of TCC B.3.5 was of two birds but this study has read it as a Hydrus emerging from the Crocodile, for both are snakes rather than birds.

**Artist B:**

Gameson considered artist B less than skilful and described him as possessed of 'minimal talent' but he was a thoughtful one, as his illustration of the Lion and Dragon in combat on fol. 1r of Orosius TCC O.4.34 and his portrait of Paul the Deacon in TCC O.10.28 both demonstrate. He may be the artist of Stowe 1067 bestiary. He outlined in black ink with colour washes, and small dabs of colour, used glass bead decoration with bands and cuffs, and added foliate tails to the creatures he depicted.

**Artist C:**

Not many examples of bestiary allusions were found in C's work; he was a competent artist who used shading to add texture, e.g. the reptile skin parts of the C in Oxford Bodl. Bodley 161, fol. 9r.

**Artist D:**

This is the artist Gameson called the 'best'; he over painted his square-ish figures, usually in dark green, highlighted by touches of mustard, the letterforms were usually mid-blue with dull red backgrounds. Dodwell thought this style was

hard and gaudy. Bestiary allusions are restricted to dragonheads and indistinguishable quadrupeds, usually anchoring thick bands of foliage.

**Artist E:**

Artist E made by far the most allusions to the bestiary, as well as other references, e.g. to the 'asinam ad lyram' theme in Osbern, BL Arundel 16, fol. 2r. He used tertiary warm-hued colours of purple, ochre, and dark green lifted by red and blue-grey. He drew the Ostrich for the initial beginning Anselm's work on prescience in Bodley 271, fol. 72r. His style makes use of small dragonheads with cuffs for serifs, stylized, interlaced foliage and sometimes parti-coloured infills, which produce complex compositions. Gameson did not rate E's drawing of humans very highly (e.g. the Osbern initial).

**Artist F:**

Gameson considered this artist was in the forefront of designs which became common in later twelfth-century initials, noting chiefly his carefully delineated bands of colour in the letter shapes, and delicate frilled serifs, e.g. fol. 1v in Oxford, Bodl. Bodley 161. Unlike artist E he does not appear to have made many allusions to bestiary topics.

**Artist G:**

This artist's work resembles F in its use of coloured bands within the letterform. He also uses spirals of foliage round the ascenders, often ending in palmettes and lilies, again with a tertiary colour palette of mid-blue, red, and green and flesh-tones, as Kauffmann described the initial on 40r in the narrowly dated Register, BL, Cotton Cleopatra E I. This initial has a bald man chasing his 'hare', an irreverent pun on R[everentissimo], not picked up by Kauffmann. G sometimes produced complex designs for his initials which also made grammatical points, such as Aethopia in TCC B.2.34, which also included two hares, as well as simpler bands with lionheads (TCC B.4.2, fol. 1r).

**Artist H:**

This may be a Norman hand, according to Gameson, who used clear lines of

red to draw complicated interlaced designs, with beading, and a highly skilled eye for composition, producing imaginative but neat initials.

**Artists I and K:**

Neither of these artists has been included in this study for little of their work is extant and they did not use allusions to the bestiary.

**Artist J:**

J is perhaps the most 'remarkably fine' illuminator, as Dodwell phrased it, praising his Romanesque style of linenfold drapery on his figures. This artist produced the most complex almost narrative initials, frequently involving various figures caught up in sinuous foliage and dragon coils, hacking though the greenery and often pointing to a salient word, e.g. fol. 66r in TCC R.15.22.

**Artist L:**

L was a competent artist who preferred zoomorphic initials with thick outlines of colour with white bodies; his animals frequently have pricked ears and pointed tails, and made use of a 'marcus' or hammer to make mark a point, as in TCC 2.34, fol. 47r. His colour palette was full of blue and green hues contrasted with red and occasional ochre.

**Artists M and N:**

M and N: were denominated as B and C by Gameson in 2008, although they are different and later artists to the ones in his previous 1995 article. These later artists, renamed here M and N worked on the seven volume Passionale. Their hands are very similar, Gameson did not pick out their individual work, I have tentatively assigned the warmer-hued initials to M, e.g. Harley 624, fol. 93v, and the ones with a restricted palette of green, red and blue to N, who used, as H did, coloured outlines, such as in BL Cotton Claudius E V fol. 28r, Anacletus.

**Artist O:**

Works by two more artists have been considered. The first might be designated as O. He was a fine late eleventh century artist who Gameson considered

worked on St Augustine books but who has been reclaimed for Christ Church by Gneuss and Lapidge. The feathered outlines of his initials in a soft mid-green are distinctive and his light sketched style of drawing gave an immediacy and vibrancy to his detailed initials, full of glass-beaded dragons, centaurs and swordsmen in TCC O.2.51, e.g. fol. 34r.

**Artist P:**

The second artist might be identified as P. He also used the same green with a nut brown in outline over his sketched figures, giving a light and vivacious style full of movement. He had a preference for zoomorphic letterforms, the one illustrating Philo, with a dragon forming the bowl of the letter and perhaps Philo's bearded head at the descender is a typical form (TCC B.3.14, fol. 49r); Gameson had not identified his work with a letter, perhaps as there are some doubts as to whether TCC B.3.14 was made at Canterbury or brought from France. As its last folio (fol. 176v) is dated 1116 beneath the quire signature with a note to say it was made because the previous copy had worn out ('et ob hanc causam inueterata est') it seems more likely to have been a Christ Church book.

These are not the sum total of artists working on Christ Church books in this period from c1090s to 1130. One artist in R.15.22 seems to have a sole example of his work extant, fol. 102r, a complex visual and textual interplay on the pronunciation of 'psalmus', doubtless other artists' work has not survived at all. Yet the number of examples extant by a series of artists points to the communal patronage and practical utilisation of the bestiary in this period both to reflect upon and to inform their readers.

The table below is in the same order as the chapters of the First family bestiary, the initials have been chosen to reflect the range of creatures depicted by the artists Gameson identified as at Christ Church and whose artwork and style are described below. Several artists produced decorated, historiated, inhabited, or zoomorphic initials in these late eleventh- or early twelfth-century Christ Church

books.[66] All my identifications based on Gameson's work are preceded by a question mark to differentiate them from his. These initials with further examples and bibliography are reproduced in colour in Appendix 11 (Table 5.1a, pp. 246-9).

**Table 5.1 Christ Church Inhabited or Zoomorphic Initials of Bestiary animals**

| Bestiary Chapter No. & Animal | | Author/Title, Shelfmark | Initial, Folio | Date[67] | Artist |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Lion | Orosius, *Historia*, TCC O.4.34 | O, fol. 1r | s.xi/xii, GL | B |
| 5. | Caladrius | Ambrose, *Super Lucam*, TCC B.3.9 | E, fol. 15r E, fol. 33r | s.xi/xii, GL | H, H |
| 8. | Eagle | Anselm, *Opera*, OBL Bodley 271 | D, fol. 62r | c. 1114-25, L | E? |
| 12. | Siren | Ps-Isidore, *Decretals*, BL Cotton Claudius E V | D, fol. 54r | c. 1125, BL | E? |
| 17. | Beaver | Boethius, *De Musica*, TCC R.15.22 | S, fol. 49r | s.xii[1], MRJ | J |
| 18. | Hyena | Ambrose, *Lucam*, TCC B.3.9 | E, fol. 33r | s.xi/xii, GL | H |
| 19. | Hydrus and Crocodile | Ps-Isidore, *Decretals*, BL Cotton Claudius E V | O, fol. 36r | c.1125, BL | E? |
| | | Jerome, *Super Prophetas II*, TCC B.3.5 | I, fol. 3r | s.xi[ex], GL | A |
| 20. | Goat | Aug., *Super Psalmos CI-CL* TCC B.5.28 | Q, 45r | 1087-1093, G | C |
| 21. | Onager | Osbern, *Vita S. Dunstani*, BL Arundel 16; *asinam ad lyram* | R, fol. 2r | c. 1093, BL | E? |
| 22. | Cynocephalus/ Satyr [Monkey] | Ps-Isidore, *Decretals*, BL Cotton Claudius E V | B, fol. 4r | c. 1125, BL | E?[68] |
| | Satyr | Jerome, *In Genesim*, TCC B.2.34 | S, fol. 34r A, fol. 47r | s.xii[1], RG, 1999, 136 | L, L |
| 24. | Panther | Preaux, *Super Genesim II*, TCC B.3.14 | P, fol. 49r | s.xi/xii, GL | - |
| 25. | Dragon | Boethius, *De Musica*, TCC R.15.22 | E, fol. 66r | s.xii[1], MRJ | J |
| | | Aug., *Super Psalmos CI-CL* TCC B.5.28 | B, fol. 87v | 1087-1093, G | D |
| | | *Song of Songs*, OBL Bodley 161 | P, fol. 1r | 1100-1130, D | F |
| 28. | Weasel | Preaux, *Super Genesim II*, TCC B.3.14 | Q, fol. 1r | s.xi/xii, GL | - |
| 29. | Asp/Serpent | Ambrose, *Super Lucam*, TCC B.3.9 | S, fol. 4r | s.xi/xii, GL | E |
| 30. | Ostrich | Anselm, *Opera*, Bodley 271 | D, fol. 72r | 1104-14, L | E? |

[66] Gameson 1995 and 2008.
[67] Dates are from most accurate source: G = Gullick, 1998; GL = Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014; BL = British Library CIM; RG = Gameson; L = Logan, 2004; D = Dodwell, 1954; MRJ = rev. TCC catalogue, <http://sites.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/browse.php> [accessed 5 July, 2015].
[68] Dodwell, p. 74 describes this hybrid as a Cynocephalus but its head is bovine/asinine in shape and it has cloven hooves not paws.

| 33. | Salamander[69] | *Passionale*, BL Harley 624 | E, fol.112v | RG, 2008, 245 | M? |
|-----|----------------|------------------------------|-------------|----------------|-----|
| 34. | Dove | Ps-Isidore, *Decretals*, BL Cotton Claudius E V | C, fol. 20r | c.1125, BL | N? |
| 35. | Perindens Tree | *Passionale*, BL Cotton Nero C VII | O, fol. 46r | c. 1110, BL | N? |
| 39. | Pearl | *Song of Songs*, Bodley 161 | C, fol. 9r | 1100-1130, D | C |

In TCC B.3.9 Ambrose, *Super Lucam*, Gameson recognised the work of the most prolific artist (who he identified as E) in the decorated initial on fol. 4r (fig. 5.10.1).[70] Artist E's colour palette of warm tones of green, red, blue, and purple against an ochre background was distinctive and Gameson found examples in several manuscripts including: Augustine, *Enarrationes Psalmus* II, TCC B.5.26 (fol. 1r); Gregorius, *Moralia in Job*, TCC B.4.9; Ambrose, *Super Lucam*, TCC B.3.9 (fol. 4r); Augustine *Epistolae*, TCC B.4.26 (fol. 2r), possibly the Osbern initial in BL Arundel 16 (fol. 2r) (fig. 5.11) and St Odo and the Devil in Harley 624 (fol. 121r).[71] Ian Logan considered 'E' to be the artist in Bodley 271(fols. 50r, 62r, and 72r) which he dated to c.1107-1114. Logan also thought 'E' was the scribe Samuel who named himself in a decorated historiated initial (Cambridge, St John's College A8, fol. 103v, fig. 5.11). Gameson did not identify the artist in Bodley 271 which he considered was produced after 1125.[72] The colour palette of the artist is very different in the Josephus, Cambridge, St John A8, but the distinctive grey blue hair of Joseph in the historiated initial on fol. 103v, also appeared in Bodley 271, fol. 50r. As artist E may have drawn Osbern in BL Arundel 16 (fol. 2r, fig. 5.11), the initial in St John's A. 8 may also be a likeness of another monk called Joseph, rather than a self-portrait, or just a generalised and non-specific image of a monk.

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[69] The Salamander was an apt choice for alluding to martyrdom by fire, 'Eutices, Victorinus et Maro …. flammis compellerentur', Harley 624, fol. 112v.

[70] Gameson 1995, Table 7 p. 143 and plates 2 and 3b; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014, 162, p. 144-5, s.xi/xii, from Christ Church.

[71] Gameson 1995, pp. 117-8 n.78, pp. 142-143.

[72] Gameson 1995, p. 120 n. 85; Logan, 2004, pp. 73-74.

On fol. 4r of TCC B.3.9 Ambrose, *Super Lucam* (fig. 5.09), artist 'E' drew the two sleek, folded-winged and foliate serpents curved to form the S of *Scriptura* mouth a central lionhead (fig. 5.10). Their sinuous forms were suited to the letter shape and perhaps a phonic sibilance is present too for serpent and *scriptura*.[73] The snakes possibly allude to the Caladrius chapter (e.g. in Laud Misc. 247, fol. 142v) on the wisdom of serpents and the lion as king of the beasts in Scripture, 'the serpent is more artful than all the beasts (Gen 3:1). The lion and the eagle are unclean (Dr 14:12) and yet they are compared to Christ by virtue of their regal splendour, because the lion is king of the beasts and the eagle king of the birds.'[74] The serpents emerge from serif 'collars' which at their other end produce two smaller serpent heads, the upper clutches a short vertical red rule, the lower a large-nosed profile head, which might refer to the Jewish Old Testament, as opposed to the new rule of the New Testament above. These indicate that the serpent was chosen deliberately for the relevance of its figurative tradition as well as its suitably curved form.

Further on in Ambrose, *Super Lucam* there is a decorated inhabited E for Et ipse, (fol. 15r) and another at fol. 33r (Eodem) both by Artist H (fig. 5.10). The Siren on fol. 15r as Dodwell noticed, is related to the bestiary, where she turns from the Classical tradition of half-bird half-woman to the medieval mermaid often equipped with a fishtail as well as bird feet and wings, although she still appears among the birds in early bestiaries.[75] The siren is the horizontal mid-bar of the decorated initial E with a fishtail, and grasps two birds. These might be Caladrius seabirds (as this bird was a type for Christ) given that they are drawn opposite knot-tailed serpents which represent evil. The Siren was associated with the sins of lust and avarice, perceived as a prostitute eager to

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[73] Gameson 1995, p. 117.
[74] Mann, 1889, p. 40; Clark 2006, p. 171.
[75] Dodwell, p. 72 and plate 44a.

fleece travellers ('meretrices fuerunt').[76] The Caladrius birds attack the Siren while her snakes in turn fight the birds.

The serifs at the end of each bar of the E on fol. 33r form a frame for the winged quadruped and the long-necked bird below which bites it. The two creatures depicted on fol. 15r may be interpreted as the Hyena and the Caladrius from the First family bestiary; Stowe 1067 on fol. 3r has a winged Hyena. The bestiary Hyena is an anti-Semitic calumny ('inmundum animal est. Cui similes sunt filii Israel') which the Caladrius echoes. The white bird represents Christ as it can predict patients who will die by turning its face away from them, as Christ averted his face from non-believers ('ille avertit faciem suam ab eis propter incredulitatem eorum').[77] All three initials allude via bestiary animals to Christ, as the Caladrius or as the Lion and to his opposites, the Old versus the New Testament, Jews versus Christians, and Christ versus sin, and form a parallel visual commentary to Ambrose on Luke.

London BL Harley 624, fols. 84-143, was part of volume three of a seven volume *Passionale*. The artists in this volume have been identified by Gameson as B and C in his 2008 book and although he does not give examples of their individual work they are not the same artists B and C from his 1995 article; so to avoid confusion they are renamed M and N here and in the appendix.[78] The matter is complicated because Gameson suggested in 1995 that Harley 624 also included an initial by artist E which alludes to St Dunstan (fol. 121r, U); moreover a different and perhaps later hand worked on fol. 115r (B[eatus] decorated with gold leaf and fighting mini-satyrs), so more than two artists worked on this third volume of the *Passionale* from c.1123, 1128-37.[79] This chapter takes M's compositions as the ones which included foliate spirals often adorned with palmettes interwoven around block-coloured bands of the letter-shape in which blue, red and green predominate. G's style in fol. 79v TCC

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[76] Mann 1888, pp. 46.
[77] Mann 1888, pp. 51 and 40.
[78] Gameson, 2008, p. 245, not the same B and C as Gameson 1995, p. 117.
[79] Gameson 2008, p. 245.

B.2.34 (fig. 5.03) and may be compared to M's in BL Cotton Nero C VII, fol. 29v (fig. 5.12), with similar inventive visual and textual wordplay, here on 'eels', Ely and English. While N's style is similar to M's it also resembles that of the earlier artist H (e.g. TCC B.3.9, fol. 15r, fig. 5.10.2,3) who precisely outlined in colour, usually red. However, N sometimes used a lighter blue as infill and he did not use interlacing (BL Cotton Nero C VII, fol. 40r S, fig. 5.13).

On fol. 93v the complex inhabited initial O for O[rtaris/ Vene/rabilis] possibly by artist N, illustrates the start of the life of St. Ambrose (fig. 5.14). The blue border of the O is composed of four flying fish (perhaps the Sailfish or *Serra*) with long, sinuous bodies and fishtails whose mouths meet at medallions of lion masks on the left and on the right, and whose tails touch two four-holed red and yellow 'buttons' or pearls at the top and bottom. As discussed in Chapter Four on St Anselm's *similitudine*, pearls were believed to form when a drop of rainwater from heaven was caught by the oyster and transformed into a pearl. Thus the pearl had a heavenly origin, a theme taken up by the Church Fathers, by the *Physiologus*, *Etymologiae* and later by the bestiary, as well as by Anselm, as evidence of heaven's gift to the world and later connected to Marian devotion (principally the Annunciation and the Immaculate Conception).[80] In the centre of the O, on an orange ground, two rampant, flesh-tinted, claw-pawed quadrupeds with human heads and long green foliate tails are turned towards each other. They both spout snakes which bite the other's body, while between them an acanthus foliage flower opens to reveal a brown-bearded face, which may be meant for Ambrose.[81] The artist has drawn a stylized garden, bounded by the fish, as signs for Christ. The monk-satyr and wild man are bitten by snakes, which may indicate that their animal passions should be curbed. The sweet garden (*hortarum amoena*) is mentioned in the text below the initial is echoed in the first word 'Ortaris', which in classical Latin would be *hortaris*. There are of course Eden references and allusions in any garden,

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[80] Ohly 2005, 'Dew and Pearl: A Lecture', pp. 234-250, 'the pearl contains more of heaven than of earth', p. 234.
[81] Gameson 2008, p. 245.

especially one that features snakes; are these hybrid men bitten by snakes about to leave an Eden, an appropriate topic for the author of the *Hexaemeron*?

London BL Cotton Nero C VII was also part of the early twelfth-century Christ Church *Passionale*. On fol. 40r (S[ancta/virgo, fig. 5.13) has an inhabited initial for the chapter on St Godeberta, a seventh-century virgin who refused all her suitors and became a nun. A green, red and white two-legged, winged serpent spews a foliage swirl and tripartite flower in the top of the S curve and its tail curls twice and then forms the same flower type below with blue infill, perhaps also by artist N. The use of this snake in the initial for the passion of this virgin saint would be apt as the wise serpent here is a type for Christ; the flowers may also be highly stylized lilies, which indicate virginity. Just before, on fol. 29r, the life of St. Guthlac starts with a large zoomorphic initial F for F[uit], the top part of the ascender has a solid blue top with red/white outline, and lower down, a solid red panel with a green/white outline, has six curled green snakes, roundels of masks and foliage, and a white serpent curled round the ascender beneath crossbar, possibly the work of artist M (fig. 5.12). In addition to the wordplay on eels, the wisdom of serpents is indicated, since St. Guthlac was an adviser to Aethelred as well as a saint.

Anselm, *Opera*, Oxford, Bodl. Bodley 271 has been called Christ Church's 'impressive display copy' of the saint's works by Teresa Webber. [82] The manuscript includes *De Concordia, Praescientiae et Praedestinationis et Gratiae Dei cum Libero Arbitrio*, Anselm's treatise on foreknowledge and, as usual in this volume, the new work begins with a decorated, inhabited initial, *D[e tribus]* on fol. 127v (fig. 5.15).[83] Inside the initial letter the artist, possibly 'E', depicts a man on an ostrich (fig. 5.1). The large bird is recognisable as an ostrich because, as the First

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[82] Webber 1995, p. 155; Anselm, *Opera*, Oxford Bodl., Bodley 271 (SC1938), fols. 1-166v, dated post 1125 according to Gameson, 1995, pp. 119-120 n. 85; c. 1120 according to T.A. Heslop, 'Dunstanus Archiepiscopus and painting in Kent around 1120', *Burlington Magazine*, 126 (1984), 195-204, p. 200; and between 1104-1114 according to I. Logan, 'Ms. Bodley 271: Establishing the Anselmian Canon', *The Saint Anselm Journal*, 2 (Fall, 2004), 67-80, pp. 73-74.
[83] *De Concordia, Praescientiae et Praedestinationis et Gratiae Dei cum Libero Arbitrio*, fols 127v-139r;  S. II 243-288;

family bestiary noted, this bird had camel-like feet '*pede autem habet similes camelos*', a piece of information not in Isidore.[84] The bestiary chapter remarked this bird was also known for its foresight, since it knew when to lay its eggs (from the ascent of the star Vigilia) (fig. 5.16).[85] This inhabited decorated initial is evidence that the artist was conversant with the theme of foresight in *De Concordia* and knew the bestiary story. It also reveals that he could make an elaborate visual joke about the ostrich bearing the meaning of prescience. This initial indicates that the visual aesthetic of St Anselm, discussed by Heslop in relation to the Christ Church quire has shaped some of the early twelfth-century Christ Church decorated initials which use bestiary motifs.

**Conclusion**

The wealth of inhabited initials in these Christ Church books revealed a glut of allusions to bestiary animals. The good and bad nature of the snake, as explicated in *De Doctrina Christiana*, is an excellent example of their interpretative range. However, it is impossible to know intention, and in any case there are as many meanings for each animal as there are the 'sum of its properties' so these initials do not represent exclusive meanings but form instead part of a *meditatio*, a continual search for spiritual meaning.[86] For example, not all Anglo-Saxon riddles had definitive answers, since when you have the answer you stop looking, as Jenny Neville discussed with regard to the Exeter Book of Riddles, 'expecting the riddle-game to end upon discovery of the solution obscures the advanced theological pondering that underlies this short text.'[87] The complex visual and textual plays of some inhabited initials explored in this chapter reflect a similar continuing spiritual search.

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[84] Mann 1888, Chapter 28, *De Assida*, p. 61, l. 5; Bodl. Laud Misc, 247, fol. 159r-160v.
[85] Mann 1888, p. 61, l. 8; Job 9:9 refers to the star Vigilia.
[86] Ohly 2005, p. 5.
[87] J. Neville, 'Pondering the Soul's Journey in Exeter Book Riddle 43', ed. by K. E. Olsen, T. Hofstra, and K. Dekker, *The World of Travellers: Exploration and Imagination*, Germania Latina VII (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), pp. 147-162, p. 147.

This research into inhabited and zoomorphic initials has highlighted the Christ Church evidence that the bestiary was part of a communal knowledge and understanding of creation. The bestiary was neither merely utilised for 'elementary' Latin lessons suitable for schoolchildren, nor just useful as *exempla* for sermons. Instead it was part of the *sensus spiritualis* and its chapters were ideally suited to spiritual meditation. This study posits that allusions to the bestiary's allegorical references were part of the dynamic reading practices that included the monastic artists' illumination of Christ Church works; bestiary animals were visual as well as textual bearers of meaning.

# Conclusion

T his conclusion returns to the questions first asked in the introduction, on the place, purpose, and importance of the bestiary in Canterbury. It sets out to unite the various issues which have been raised in the subsequent chapters of this thesis. This conclusion will also seek to identify the wider implications of this investigation for the field of bestiary studies, assess the various limitations of this thesis, and indicate areas for fruitful future research.

It was suggested in the introduction that an examination of the bestiary and a consideration of its two major sources' frameworks for thinking about animals might be productive. The investigation of the bestiary in terms of its inherited thought modes of Late Antiquity from the *Physiologus* (such as the tropes on nature, the *trivium* and *quadrivium*), and the *Etymologiae* on medieval philology and exegesis (including the fourfold allegory, and the 'two books' of Scripture and nature) has helped to understand how and why the bestiary assumed a level of importance in the given medieval timeframe. This thesis also set out to discover how the bestiary and its associated texts were then shaped and re-shaped over time in a specific location. The nature and form of the various families, fragments, extracts, references, and allusions have been explored and extant examples examined. This research, together with medieval library catalogue evidence, and material culture, have been brought together to form a contextualised, place-specific study. The introduction posited that the lack of such research heretofore has prevented historians from fully answering questions on whether and to what extent the bestiary formed and informed medieval animal art and understandings by different audiences. How can any tradition of medieval bestiary study be properly established when basic information on many of the extant witnesses remains unknown? This research might allow hypotheses about the bestiary (previously formed used examples with unspecified places of production or medieval provenances) to be compared and critically assessed. The parameters of the research about the bestiary

were set to Canterbury from 1093 to1360, and specifically to Christ Church Cathedral Priory within the city walls and St Augustine's Abbey, just outside them. The introduction then asked specific questions which have been addressed in the course of this thesis.

**Research Questions**

This is the résumé of the questions which follow from the assessment of the problems of a lack of specific contextualised evidence. One of the first questions was whether previous bestiary research has been too focussed upon a single type of bestiary (English examples of the illustrated Second family Latin bestiary) and what effects this has had on bestiary historiography (discussed in Chapter One). The introduction suggested it might also be productive to ask to what extent the bestiary's connections to the *Physiologus* and *Etymologiae* made it part of Late Antiquity's influence on medieval theology and thought modes? These connections led the study to question the extent of the impact that other forms of the bestiary, besides the well-known Second family, may have had upon medieval animal art and ideas in Canterbury within the timeframe.

This thesis then sought to discover whether other purposes besides the standard historiographical motifs of sermon-writing and animal art might be attributed to the bestiary in Canterbury and specifically linked the bestiary to rhetoric and mnemonics. This in turn led to an interrogation of the evidence for bestiary allusions in decorated initials in Canterbury manuscripts and references in beast literature from this place during the period under review. A corollary question centred on the place of the bestiary's inherited Late Antique thought modes in high medieval monastic culture, particularly in terms of philology and significs, and led to a reassessment of the intellectual value of the bestiary in its various forms to Canterbury medieval monks. These interrogations all question the extent to which the various forms of bestiary texts and formats discovered in Canterbury in this period could repay scholarly attention with regard to wider implications in bestiary studies; on how animals mattered in the Middle Ages.

**Main Findings**

The main empirical findings were established in the chapters on the evidence from extant bestiaries and library catalogues. Chapter Two found more bestiary-related references in the medieval library catalogues than previously established. Chapter Three focussed on the two earliest extant First family Latin English prose bestiaries, Oxford, Bodl., Laud Misc. 247 and London, BL Stowe 1067. It presented evidence to demonstrate that they were both from Christ Church Cathedral Priory, Canterbury, which had been speculated upon but not previously established. Rather than consider the bestiary as a *coup de foudre*, or a new import from Bec, or a direct break with Anglo-Saxon tradition, this chapter proposed the bestiary was perceived as an old text known both in England and on the Continent which had renewed value in Anselm's Canterbury. Current scholarship has found more continuity than sudden change in post-Conquest Canterbury. Treharne, Swann, and recently Younge for example, have argued for the continued use of Old English in Canterbury twelfth century books, in part as a practical necessity for the education of lay brothers.[1] This points to the value found in Anglo-Saxon culture, which would not exclude their Latin books. Furthermore, examples of post-Conquest continuity have been found in the liturgy by Gittos, which is not to imply a static Anglo-Saxon liturgical practice but one that was actively 'revised' and reformed.[2]

To add to this change in perception of continuity in post-Conquest Canterbury, Heslop has investigated the standing remains to uncover traces of St Anselm's reconstruction of the East end of Canterbury Cathedral and how some of the saint's concepts of visual beauty are recoverable.[3] Heslop has used Honorius Augustodunensis's work *Speculum Ecclesiae*, to clarify these approaches. As Honorius's same work also uses the bestiary in sermon examples for preaching to

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[1] *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by E. Treharne, M. Swann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); G. Younge, 2012.

[2] H. Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 278.

[3] T. A. Heslop, 'St Anselm, Church Reform and the Politics of Art', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 33, (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011), 103–26; and *idem*, 'St Anselm and the Visual Arts at Canterbury Cathedral, 1093–1109', *BAA*, 35, (Leeds: Maney, 2013), pp. 59–81.

the laity, Honorius's text and Heslop's research thus draw together the presence of the bestiary in Canterbury and St Anselm's vision of spiritual beauty in Creation in this period. The chapters on the Lion, Unicorn, and Panther from an unknown recension in Bodl. Lat Th. e. 9 are an important find if the evidence that the book is from Christ Church is accepted. These are key animal references in Honorius's *Speculum Ecclesiae* found in a collection which included parts of his *Elucidarium*, and they were copied from what was probably a Worcester book (CCCC 448, s.x). They serve to link Honorius more closely to Worcester and Canterbury.

St Anselm's importance to the cathedral priory brethren has been emphasised by Heslop.[4] Sir Richard Southern saw the community at Canterbury as 'still bitterly divided' in 1093 and posited Anselm as 'the only person who could heal the division'.[5] This bitter divide has been re-evaluated but Anselm as the saint who brought the Canterbury monastic community together in intellectual and spiritual renewal remains. The tensions between Norman and Anglo-Saxon focused upon by Southern have instead been located to differences between monks and secular clerics, a result of the Investiture Controversy reforms. These tensions were explored in this section on Honorius Augustodunensis. These findings, it is believed, have important ramifications concerning the reasons for bestiary production in this place at this time. Further evidence on the use of bestiary motifs in decorated initials in books from Canterbury in this period and the impact of bestiary references in the series of sermon *exempla* prepared for Christ Church monks were also analysed. This evidence established that the bestiary was present in Canterbury in this period, and was read, referenced, and alluded to in contemporary works. This has allowed a more comprehensive understanding of the place and nature of the bestiary within Christ Church during this formative period of the bestiary to be better established.

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[4] T. A. Heslop, 'St Anselm and the Good Samaritan Window at Canterbury Cathedral', *JWCI*, 77 (2013), 1-33, p. 1.
[5] R. Southern, 'St Anselm at Canterbury', ed. by D. Luscombe, G. R. Evans, *Anselm: Aosta, Bec and Canterbury* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), pp. 17-33, p. 21.

The next section analysed the impact of a contemporary extant bestiary (Paris, BnF NAL 873) and other beast literature on a Canterbury work, *Speculum Stultorum*, by Nigel Wireker. The sheer amount of such source materials in both monastic houses at the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries, during a period of relative calm at St Augustine's Abbey but political turmoil at Christ Church was impressive. This thesis has demonstrated that despite these intense problems an exchange of bestiary and related books continued between the twin monastic foundations, between Adam the Sub-prior of St Augustine's and Nigel Wireker, almoner of Christ Church. Findings included not only the remarkable fashioning of animal bestiary, fable, and fool by Wireker for highly political propaganda purposes, but also to the richness and range of beast literature in Canterbury at the end of the twelfth century. Of particular relevance to this thesis was the discovery that different types of bestiary were owned by Adam the Sub-prior, deduced from the medieval library catalogue incipits. These findings, plus the stylistic evidence for the date of the earliest extant Second family bestiary (BL Add. 11283), to between 1170 and 1200, allows Canterbury to be considered as the original location for the development of this most popular form of bestiary, although this cannot be established with certainty.

The final section's empirical findings were centred on the bestiary reading practices at St Augustine's Abbey from the late twelfth century to mid-fourteenth century. Evidence was considered from three types of sources: close readings of passages from extant bestiaries, analysis of medieval catalogue information, and allusions to the bestiary in contemporary manuscript illumination. This research has attempted to position the bestiary within the framework of late Benedictine patronage in a wealthy abbatial setting. A circle of artists, who also enjoyed court patronage, illustrated some of the monks' books, and the monks also retained some of the artists' sketches, as demonstrated by Michael and Luxford. This study has shown that such informal patronage networks extended to bestiaries and associated works.

A monastic intellectual renewal, following the Benedictine pursuit of university level learning, has also been posited by Barker-Benfield and Thomson (the latter with particular regard to Worcester). This thesis has endeavoured to demonstrate that the bestiary was used by these college monks too. This thesis has attempted to establish that a fine quality and beautifully illustrated Second family bestiary, (now Brussels, BMR 8340), was copied at Oxford from either the first extant Second family bestiary BL Additional 11283 (or a close facsimile thereof). The text and illustrations follow Additional 11283 as Clark has demonstrated (although she did not see the link to St Augustine's Abbey's monks).

Evidence has also been found by this study which indicates a dynamic interest in the bestiary at this location and period. This evidence includes the probable import of a French style *Dicta Chrysostomi* bestiary and *Aviarium* combination (traced via Worcester Q 56 and Oxford, Auct. F inf. 1. 3), as well as other Second family bestiaries and excerpts (Oxford Douce 88A, and Rawlinson C.77), and a Third family text (Oxford Douce 88E, illustrated with First family exemplars). This variety in the type of bestiaries demonstrates the wide scope of intellectual activities the monks were pursuing. These ranged from, as Sophie Page has indicated, an interest in licit magic to unlock the powers and understand the wonders of nature (principally by Michael of Northgate and John of London). It included the education of novices undertaken by Hamo of Higham. Furthermore, there is evidence for the annotation of extracts from a *Dicta Chrysostomi* bestiary with Alexander Neckam's work. In addition, we have valuable evidence of Benedictine sermons in Canterbury by Brother John Pistor, whose collection of sermons include some with bestiary references as Stewart has indicated.[6] Moreover there is also evidence that he wrote his own sermons which referred to the bestiary, based on Barker-Benfield's suggestion that his handwriting appears in certain booklets in Rawlinson C.77. Furthermore, Henry of Cockering's list of book donations highlights his pursuit of biblical exegetical studies; the bestiary may have helped with his work on the Psalms. This thesis has shown that these monastic

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[6] Stewart 2012, pp. 45-48.

interests included the provision of full and well as excerpted bestiaries. This finding renders it at odds with the standard historiographical understanding of the bestiary as in decline from the mid-thirteenth century onwards, as put forward by both Baxter and Clark.

The conclusion drawn is that there was both a cultural and intellectual revival at St Augustine's Abbey from Thorne's and Findon's abbacies, as posited by Barker-Benfield, definitely extended to bestiary studies. There are simply more references, allusions, and extant evidence for bestiary readership, patronage, and donation than at any other period in this timeframe in Canterbury.

**Responses to the Research Questions**

The empirical evidence presented in these chapters allowed various issues to be discussed, to assess the importance of the bestiary to circles of monks in Canterbury during the period under review. This conclusion now turns from the empirical findings to focus on how this thesis has answered the specific research questions set out in the introduction and how the points made fit together to form a fruitful argument on the shaping of the bestiary in Canterbury during this period.

Rather than emphasise the importance of the Second family bestiary, this thesis has examined the range, type and impact of earlier forms of the text. By establishing that the earliest extant bestiaries came from Canterbury during (and shortly after) St Anselm's tenure as archbishop, this thesis has shown that these early bestiaries were related to St Anselm's spiritual and intellectual reinvigoration of Christ Church monastic life. Furthermore, these bestiaries were in a part a product of the Gregorian reform movement as their production was a response to arguments on whether monks should preach to the laity. The need for examples that presented both easily-understood and readily-accessible information was identified and produced for Christ Church monks by Honorius Augustodunensis, based on the earliest bestiary recensions. By building on the research of scholars, such as Heslop and Flint, on the importance of Honorius's sermons contained in *Speculum Ecclesiae*, this thesis has demonstrated that this rhyming work was

constructed to show how the bestiary could be used to appeal to a lay audience and, furthermore, how bestiary *topoi*, such as the Lion reviving its cub, could also be used in the beautification of the cathedral itself. This association of the First family bestiary and political and ecclesiastical tensions surrounding preaching has not previously been able to be drawn because the attribution and early provenance of these extant bestiaries was not fully identified.

As demonstrated in Chapter One, the earliest modern studies of the bestiary considered it as a simple work not worthy of sustained literary analysis. The emphasis has been placed instead on deluxe, mostly Second family Latin English bestiaries in terms of art history and looks to questions of patronage, style and iconography. A second strand of bestiary research, led by Ron Baxter, drew on the work of Dom Morson, and indicated the bestiary was mined for suitable illustrative examples for sermons. Morson also referred to the 'strikingly illustrated' Second family bestiary as a source for Cistercian bestiary references in sermons.[7] The understandable bias towards the Second family bestiary (because of the number of extant English examples and their often finely-executed, attractive depictions of animals) was first addressed by Stewart, in terms of Continental bestiaries. Stewart too has drawn attention to the number of unillustrated bestiaries. Her wide-ranging research supports the general findings of this microhistory of the bestiary in Canterbury, in that there are a number of unillustrated extant bestiaries in this location and a wide variety of different types and versions present. This finding is not a surprise since Canterbury monks, except perhaps in their pursuit of magic texts in St Augustine's in the fourteenth century, were generally conservative in their monastic studies, as both M. R. James and Baker-Benfield indicated. This is not to imply that innovations were not made, but rather that they were not made in contentious areas, except over the rights of monastic preaching which they continued to champion.

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[7] J. Morson, 'The English Cistercians and the Bestiary', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 39, (1956), 146-170, p.150 and p. 154.

The thesis has then attempted to demonstrate how these concerns over monastic versus secular canon preaching also came into conflict again at the end of the twelfth century in Canterbury. It has sought to show how the bestiary was one of a number of sources used in literature constructed in part as political propaganda by Christ Church to thwart the establishment of a secular canonry at Hackington. In other words, this thesis has attempted to posit that the proliferation in production of various types of bestiary in Canterbury (if not the original spark of origination) has specific historical reasons. This finding is in contrast to previous bestiary studies which have assumed that the addition of more observational information (and fewer allegories) in the Transitional and Second family bestiaries was merely part of the general turn to a more rational (as opposed to allegorical) understanding of nature.

In this thesis links have also been made to more 'heavyweight' texts, that is to the bestiary's early exegetical exemplars, for example St Augustine of Hippo's *De Doctrina Christiana*, from which St Anselm partly drew for his *De Grammatico*. The connection is the Late Antique concentration on philology, on grammar and rhetoric (specifically with the concept of '*litteratus*' or grammarian for St Anselm) which proceed from understanding the language to forming an argument, and linked the *trivium* and *quadrivium* to the pursuit of the Divine – the Word of God revealed in nature. This has been discussed fully by Friedrich Ohly and later David Wells. This quest initiated by St Augustine had resulted in the encyclopaedic works on the 'Nature of Things' by Isidore, Bede and Hrabanus Maurus. It may have been Carolingian scholars, such as Maurus, who first placed excerpts from the *Etymologiae* at the end of appropriate chapters from the *Physiologus* to form a book on beasts. The short works by Peter Damian and Guibert de Nogent were then used in this thesis to highlight how the words for, and attributes of, animals were utilised to access this Divine Book of Nature via the tradition of scriptural exegesis for specific purposes. Damian's eleventh century work written for the monks of Montecassino, likened their monastery to a *vivarium*, and urged the monks to pursue various perceived animal virtues, e.g. celibacy via the example of the beaver, or

avoid their epitomised vices, such as the deceit practised by the Fox and by its marine mirror, the *Polyp* or Octopus (the tentacled snare of deceit is a very striking image). Of the forty-seven animals mentioned in his chapter headings (as opposed to minor mentions in the text), thirty-three also appear in chapters in the earliest Continental bestiary, Rome, BAV, Pal. Lat.1074 with the same attributes but not the same text. Guibert de Nogent also demonstrated how the bestiary might be used to give effective sermons by monks, and in his own work compared heresy to the slipperiness and sideward slither of the serpent (Coluber).

This research indicates that, while acknowledging the innate simplicity of the core *Physiologus* text, the bestiary as the bearer of a tradition of learning dates back to Late Antiquity and deserves more scholarly attention than it has been given in bestiary studies, except in short articles by Diekstra and Curley on the *Physiologus* and van den Abeele on the bestiary. Sarah Kay has recently discussed late medieval Neo-Platonism and the bestiary – more with regard to French versions and so outside the remit of this thesis. Nevertheless, the Neo-Platonic reflection of the world in heaven is present in some chapters of the *Physiologus*, as Curley has demonstrated. These were carried into the medieval Latin prose bestiary (and from there to the later vernacular translations and adaptations), for example, the Panther, which instead of a fierce carnivore becomes the mild, sweet-scented creature that draws all to him, a *similitudine* on Christ, again an indication of the more scholarly aspects of the bestiary.[8] Honorius extended the analogy by applying Christ's perfumed word to preachers.

This thesis has addressed how the production of the earliest extant First family bestiaries had an important impact on animal art and sculpture in Canterbury in the twelfth and into the thirteenth century. Chapter One firstly considered how bestiary scholars and art historians have examined the iconography of bestiary illustrations and discussed to what extent animal depictions retain their symbolism when plucked from their text. As a corollary to that question was how the bestiary made such an impact on medieval animal art?

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[8] Curley, *Viator*, p. 10.

The findings in Chapters Two and Three have pointed to a specific set of events and processes which aided the popularity and knowledge of bestiary animals and their signification. Curtius discussed the book of nature as a trope, and Henri de Lubac exhaustively explored medieval scriptural exegesis. Friedrich Ohly demonstrated that the allegory of the fourfold senses allowed medieval understandings of nature and scripture to be read together in the four ways of the literal, allegorical, moral, and anagogical. This was the method by which Peter Damian, Guibert de Nogent, and Honorius Augustodunensis read animals, to seek the divine Word in nature, following in the footsteps of St Augustine in his use of the *Physiologus* in *De Doctrina Christiana*, as this thesis has attempted to establish. This mode of thinking, inherited from Late Antiquity, permitted analogies to be drawn which did not depend on the propinquity of a text, but on the memory of the nature of the animal, suitable Biblical and patristic references, and an understanding of the methodology.

Chapter Two examined how the bestiary was part of the monastic space that provided the enclosed sacred environment to change a monk from *illiteratus* to *grammaticus*. The cloister was a creative workplace to transform religious from worms to angels, as Michael of Northgate phrased it. Sacred space, memory, and identity were related to the bestiary in three ways. The first was the idea of monastic enclosure as Damian's *Vivarium* or human zoo (classically a well-stocked fishpond).[9] The second was the procession of monks through their sacred spaces in their embroidered copes (some of which bore animal designs and pearls), and their practices for the commemoration of their book donors. Conjoined with these spatial dynamics, the third envisaged the book and even merely its record in the library catalogue, as arousing a memory of its contents, as an aid to mental peregrination. This reads the bestiary as a medieval lens to picture the East, e.g. the spiritual journey of the Elephant to Eden, so that the bestiary takes its readers to the time and place of the *Physiologus*, associated with the Desert Fathers. It emphasised the long legacy of monasticism and the strength of the community

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[9] Peter Damian, *De bono religiosi et variarum animantium tropologia*, PL 145, 763D-792A.

identity in contrast to the subordination of individual will, as monks professed to be beasts of burden.

The First family bestiary's simple exposition of these four modes of understanding, inherited from the *Physiologus* of Late Antiquity was drawn upon by Honorius specifically for his sermon *exempla* and also suggested how bestiary motifs might adorn the church building itself. Heslop has demonstrated that Honorius adopted Anselm's visual theories on beauty in the same tract, *Speculum Ecclesiae*, on how to beautify the church and thus inspire its beholders. Eric Mâle had already placed the *Speculum Ecclesiae* as the key text which gave rise to proliferation of animal art in ecclesiastical architecture. However, Mâle, and in his wake, Baxter, both denied the bestiary had any part in this work by Augustodunensis. Mâle was correct in that the Second family bestiary with its 123 chapters was not a source for *Speculum Ecclesiae.* According to Flint, Honorius's tract was written in the 1120s, well before the formulation of the Second family (which is dated to c. 1170-1200), which is why Mâle searched for depictions of tigers in vain, as they do not appear in the First family bestiary.[10]

This study has demonstrated in Chapter Four, and its associated appendix that Honorius linked his sermons to the liturgical year and specifically connected certain bestiary animals with Christological associations to episodes in the Life of Christ, such as the Unicorn with the Nativity and the Pelican, the Phoenix, and the Lion with Easter. These animal references in *Speculum Ecclesiae* then became viewed as suitable allusions in church sculpture and stained glass. Evidence for this bestiary connection in Canterbury within the wealth and intellectual bravura of Anselm's stone and glass hymn to Christ in Christ Church, the Mother Church of England, lies in a panel in the stained glass window s. XV (no longer extant) which depicted the Lion reviving a cub as a figure for the Resurrection.

While it has been well attested by art historians, following Mâle, that the *Speculum Ecclesiae* had a profound influence on the depiction of animals in medieval art, sculpture, and sermon literature, it is Honorius's dependence on the First family

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[10] E. Male, *L'art religieux du XIIIe siècle en France*, (Paris: 1910), p. 62.

bestiary and the reasons for his use of it which this thesis has attempted to establish. This dependency on the First family bestiary has previously been neither acknowledged nor properly assessed. This finding points to the importance of the bestiary in Honorius's work and it may also add a further reason for the increased popularity of the bestiary itself in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Borne upon the dove-like wings of understanding animals via the *Speculum Ecclesiae*, it was unsurprising that the introductory Creation sequences of Transitional bestiaries included excerpts from his *Imago Mundi*.[11] The bestiary worked in harmony with other works which utilised the allegory of the fourfold senses. Literal information on animals was linked to biblical and patristic works by allegory, so as to draw the audience towards the moral and spiritual aims of the sermon writer.

A fourth research question widened out the discussion on the purposes of the bestiary and sought to explore how Canterbury monks read versions of this text in ways other than didactic ones via the allegorical method. Clark emphasised the basic learning of Latin from the 'elementary' language level bestiary on evidence of tick marks, *quodlibet* marginalia, and marked passages. This thesis posits that such uses may not have been the primary reason why the bestiaries were originally produced. Bestiaries, like lapidaries and herbals, were composed as part of the response to St Augustine's call to understand the Word of God in the book of nature. Another reason, as discussed above, was the need for suitable information to produce sermons that appealed to in public reading to a monastic or lay audience, as animals are easy to understand and to allegorise.

Bestiaries were also treated as word lists to improve vocabulary (as in *Scutum Bede*, BL Stowe 57, for example). McKitterick has shown how animal noises (the bark of the dog, the croak of the frog, etc.) were applied as memorable tags to reference information, just as Carruthers has posited the bestiary was used by later writers for vivid mental images to access memorised texts. This study connected

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[11] H. de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis*, 1 (1998 ), n. 60 p. 341, Alvarez de Cordoba compares Scripture to a dove, the sign of the Holy Spirit, 'the dove's back [is] understood to be anything that it bears which is mystical and spiritual and rendered weightlessly light by the misty realms of allegory.'

these ideas of mental images from the bestiary to the spiny Hydrus which Honorius imagined the Crocodile swallowed in *Speculum Ecclesiae*. He conflated the serpentine Hydrus ('Enidrus') with the Hedgehog ('Ericius') but certainly a spiny snake is a memorable image (if an unlikely thing for a crocodile to swallow).[12]

It is in the evidence for its companion texts that the bestiary in Canterbury reveals more of its readers' mentalities and requirements. Bestiaries were sometimes listed as stand-alone items in the Canterbury medieval catalogues (such as BA1.869) but they mostly appear as parts of books compiled by the monks for their own collections and study. In these *collectiones* they are linked with a wide range of other material and, where not the lead text, are scattered across the catalogue in a reflection of their scattering across the book room shelves. As the research into Henry of Cockering's books established in Chapter Four, his interests lay in biblical studies. Adam the sub-prior's collected volumes reveal a predilection for etymology and a use for medical books, as well as sermons, but above all an interest in nature. Adam's extant bestiary, Paris BnF NAL 873, is bound with lapidary texts and Alexandrine works (which include letters to King Euax on magical stones). The reason for putting lapidaries and bestiaries together lies not only in their information of the natural world but because the bestiary also has references to jewels. There are precious stones in the tongue of the Hyena; amber is formed from the urine of the Lynx; the volcanic, gendered Firestones burst into flame on contact with the opposite sex; the Pearl is made from a raindrop captured by an oyster as a gift from heaven; and the Diamond can be dissolved in goats' blood. Versions of these Alexandrine texts are also bound with bestiaries in Oxford Laud Misc. 247, and Oxford Douce 88E. The fragments of excerpts of the *Aviarium* and a Second family bestiary in Rawlinson C.77 also include chapters on the Sapphire and the Diamond. This collation of information points to an interest in magical jewels as wonders of nature, which was also explored in magical texts held in St Augustine's medieval library.

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[12] Honorius Augustodunensis, *Speculum Ecclesiae*, PL Book 170, 938A-B.

Other collections tie the bestiary to sermons; Rawlinson C. 77 is a clear case, or the non-extant *Aviarium* excerpts that belonged to Aaron, a monk at Christ Church in the early thirteenth century. There are volumes which include the bestiary and pastoral works, such as Gregory the Great's *Pastoralia* and confession, as catalogue listings of the non-extant BC4.151, and BA1.650 demonstrate. Only Laud Misc. 247 is bound with other history texts (if one excludes the Alexander group), which seems to tie the use of literal information on animals to the historical, that is to the early histories of the Church Fathers, to Charlemagne, Alexander and Apollinarius. In this way the information on animals, birds, some plants, and stones, held in the bestiary, was equated to the historical information from the major historians of the Church, such as Paul the Deacon and Eusebius. This gives the stable, factual footing required to build the allegory, moral, and spiritual framework. For example, a reliable authority, Isidore, tells us that the Phoenix is scarlet, which allows Augustodunensis to link the scarlet bird's revival to the blood of the redeemed Christ in his *Speculum Ecclesiae*.

The First family bestiary has been linked in this study to *De Doctrina Christiana*, the *Physiologus*, and the *Etymologiae*, and its part in the intellectual and cultural impetus that Christ Church received from St Anselm's example and practice has been discussed. It was long considered that the bestiary would not have been useful in the study of Aristotelian works; that the rise of scholasticism spelt the end of the bestiary's wave of popularity. The discovery that the bestiary appears to have been among the books that were sent to the Benedictine College might be viewed as surprising, even though Hugh of St Victor had sought to include Aristotelian thinking into his exegesis in his *Didascalion*. The rise of natural philosophy did not prevent continued use of the bestiary, as an understanding of nature was intrinsic to understanding of human nature and mankind's relationship to the numinous. So it seems it was for this reason that John Lingfield (or his successor) John Preston copied John the Baptist's portrait surrounded by bestiary motifs into the work on natural philosophy by Dumbleton. The hedgehog collected the grapes from the Lord's vineyard, the curly-maned and the fiercer straight-maned lions brought food

for St John too. The animals present their gifts in an interlaced arched bower; the temptress lies at saint's feet, defeated. A desire to focus upon simplicity of understanding rather than the temptation of knowledge might be implied.

Again the main reasons that the bestiary was taken to college and copied seems to have been that it was useful in the preparation of sermons, now given by Benedictines in competition with both canons and friars. The *distinctiones* honed the repetitive structure of the bestiary into gobbets of information, added new texts such as Neckam's *De Naturis Rerum*, and stripped out the allegorical, moral, and spiritual references. This thesis considers that as there is evidence (for example from the Peterborough Bestiary), that students were taught to add the figures and note the significations. Someone trained in this approach would only need to recall the literal information from the bestiary to allow sermons to be constructed with the standard fourfold allegory.

**Implications**

How might the responses generated from the research questions and the empirical findings impact upon our existing understanding of the medieval Latin prose bestiary? This work has attempted to contribute, via original research, a more informed perception of the role of the bestiary in how medieval Canterbury monks perceived the nature of beasts. It has investigated how thinking with animals inflected their reading, studying, teaching, and preaching.

This thesis is in broad agreement with the work of newer writers on the bestiary, such as Stewart, Crane, and Kay who have stepped beyond the previous historiography to consider wider aspects of bestiary reading practices in detailed textual transmission, close-reading analyses, and tensions in the misrecognition of the human/animal. For example, this study has noted the impact of the bestiary in Nigel Wireker's fashioning of a runaway ass gone wild, into a caring, sharing, beast of burden, a reading which resonates not only with Benedictine ideas of *caritatis* in the *sensus spiritualis* and Wireker's role as Almoner but also with bio-politics of animals and community. This study has also built on the invaluable research of

Ohly and Lubac to place the bestiary within the medieval exegetical framework, which older bestiary historiography has not taken into account. It is, of course, indebted to the scholars who have discussed the Canterbury monasteries and their manuscripts and records. It has suggested that the format of the bestiary, as a work composed of separate, non-narrative chapters on single (or occasionally pairs of) animals, had an intrinsic versatility which enabled its readers to engage dynamically by re-ordering, excerpting, adding, and omitting various chapters and to utilise these readings for their various didactic, theological, and scientific interests.

Where this thesis differs from some bestiary research is of course in its focus on a particular place and period. In two areas its findings differ from the main bestiary scholars, Baxter and Clark. Based on this location-specific research, little evidence has emerged for the bestiary as primarily an 'elementary' school textbook, a major conclusion in Willene Clark's examination of the Second family bestiary. This has, of course, much to do with the primary sources this thesis studied which were so closely linked to monastic libraries, rather than to medieval schools. This research has also differed in its findings concerning Clark's argument that the bestiary was an 'elementary text' solely for didactic use. By examining not only the number of bestiaries in the Canterbury libraries but also the texts or references to texts with which they were originally bound, this thesis has found the bestiary had a far wider variety of purposes.

Much work needs to be done. This thesis has omitted, for example, the Rochester and Dover daughter-houses' holdings of bestiaries and associated works, nor presented a full examination of the Aberdeen Bestiary and stylistically related deluxe bestiaries, for reasons of space. It has not applied its findings to other locations, such as the Victorines in Paris. Neither has it considered court patronage and secular uses of the bestiary, nor engaged in historiographical discussion or primary research on vernacular versions. All of these areas would benefit from further research.

This research has attempted to establish the importance of the bestiary in Canterbury during this period. It has found evidence that the earliest extant

versions came from Canterbury. It has suggested that these played a major part in the re-imagining of animal art in the *Speculum Ecclesiae* and infused the monks decorated manuscripts. It has proposed that it is probable that the earliest Second family bestiary was a St Augustine production and that in the same period Christ Church empowered and re-imagined the bestiary as high status political gift-giving and political propaganda tool, linked to the literature of Nigel Wireker. It has emphasised that St Augustine monks later worked on the bestiary in a variety of forms as part of their cultural and intellectual understanding of the animal. This thesis has sought to establish that the bestiary would have been a very different book without Canterbury monks. Furthermore, in medieval Canterbury beast literature, the bestiary mattered.

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