

The Bestiary in Canterbury Monastic Culture 1093-1360

Volume 2: Figures and Appendices

This thesis is submitted for the degree of PhD at the
University of Kent by Diane Elizabeth Heath
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Introduction

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Fig 0.3:
 Hugh de Fouilloy,
De avibus,
 Oxford, Bodl, Lyell 71,
 fol 4r
 (N. Italy, c. 1300)



Fig 0.4
 Hugh de Fouilloy, *Aviarium*,
 Malibu, Getty, Ms. Ludwig
 XV 3, fol 2,
 'Concerning the Dove'
 (Franco-Flemish c. 1270)



Figures

Chapter 1: Major debates in bestiary studies

Fig. 1.01: Stage killing serpent, Canterbury Cathedral Crypt Capital, south row, column 2.



Fig. 1.02: Oxford, Bodl. Laud Misc. 247, Stag or *Cervus* fol 160r

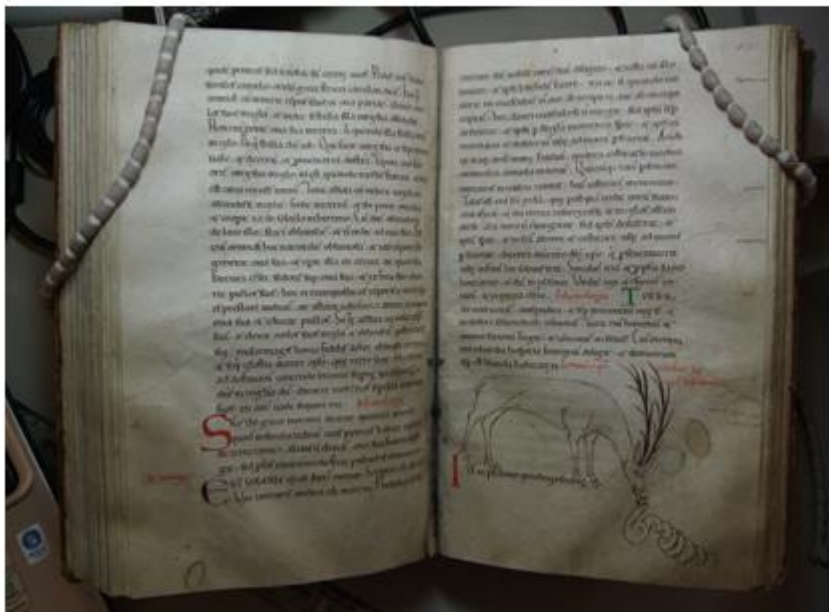


Fig.1.03: Carved arch, s. xii^{2/3}, St Mary, Alne, Yorkshire
Outer arch with framed bestiary animals in lunettes



Fig. 1.04: Cambridge, CUL Gg.5.35, Iuvenecus, *Ars Iuvenecus*
fol. 1r, glossed classbook, s. xi^{med}



Figures

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

Fig. 2.01: Canterbury Cathedral Precincts Groundplan

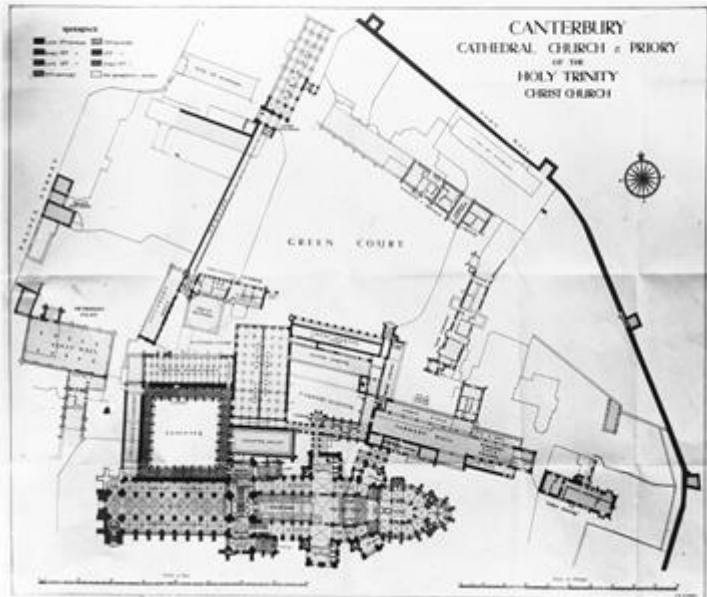


Fig. 2.02: Cambridge, St John's College, A.8 fol. 103v
Early twelfth-century scribal portrait, Samuel imagining taking dictation from Josephus. Current Infirmary cloisters

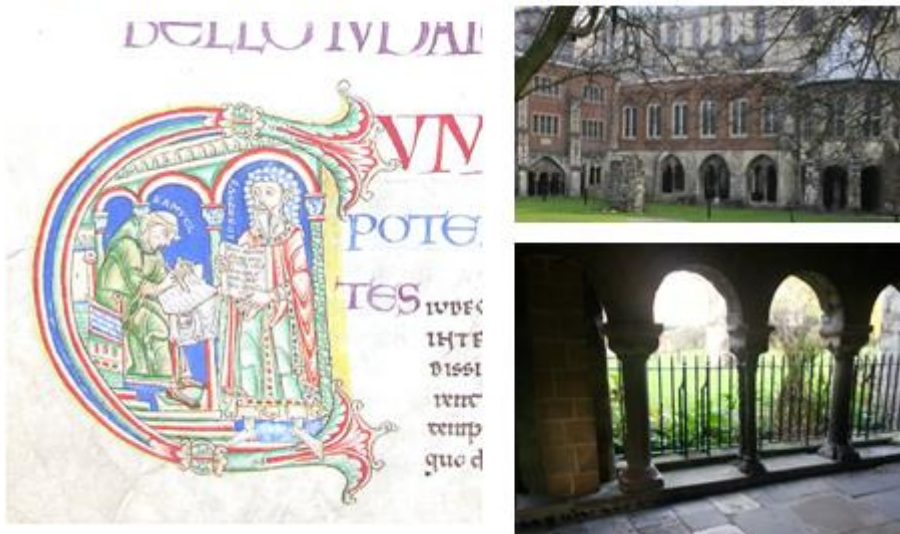




Fig. 2.03: The Slype

The Slype entrance is next to the Chapter House in the Cloisters; the fourteenth-century door with its perpendicular window has the outline of a larger twelfth-century arch above.

Fig. 2.04: Prior Wibert's *Waterworks Plan* of Christ Church Canterbury, ca. 1165, TCC, R.17.1, Eadwine Psalter fol. 286. The gable-end of the upper storey is visible under the central tower, between the transept and the Chapter House. It has a quatrefoil window with two narrow windows either side of it.

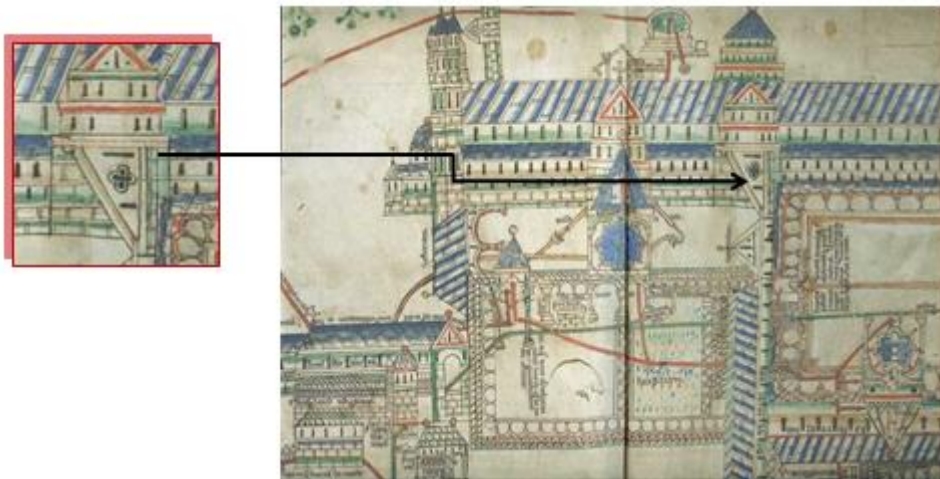


Fig. 2.05: Garnerius de
 Sancto Victore,
Gregorianum BC4.156:
 CUL Kk.1.20

s.ii^{2/4} vellum, 287 x 207 mm
 fols. 1-140.

(Binski Zutshi No. 304)

In Christ Church, but
 production associated with
 the court of Henry, Count
 of Champagne (d. 1181).

Ex libris John Langdon,
 monk made Bishop of
 Rochester in 1421

Notes fol. 2r in s.xiii hand.



Fig. 2.08: BL Royal 2 C XII
fol. 133v
First family bestiary in
Gloucester in first quarter of
thirteenth century

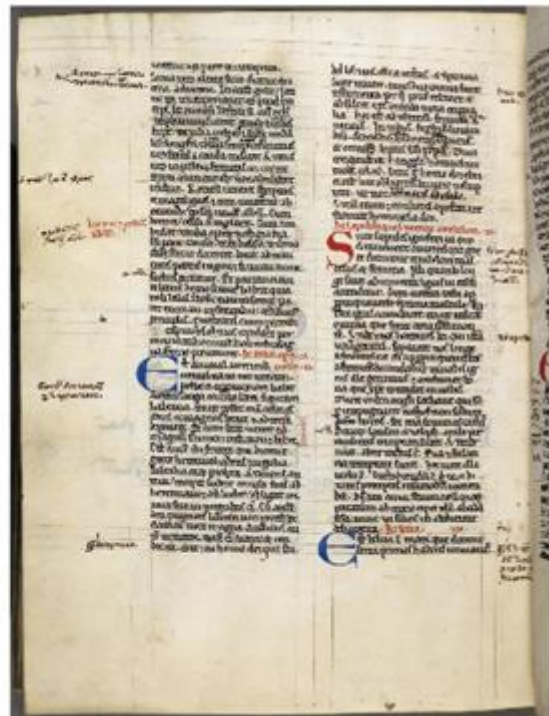


Fig. 2.09: Oxford, Bodl., Bodley 602, fol. 13v, Unicorn
showing *ex libris* from Newark Priory near Guildford



Fig. 2.10:

left: Oxford, Bodl, Douce 88E, fol. 86r, the Unicorn,

right: Oxford, Bodl, Laud Misc. 247, fol. 150r, the Unicorn



Fig. 2.11:

left: Oxford, Bodl, Douce 88E, fol. 138v, Sirens

right: Oxford, Bodl, Bodley 602, fol. 10r, Sirens



Figures

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

Fig. 3.01: Adam the Sub prior's copy of Alexander Neckam's *Sermones*, Oxford Bodl Wood Empt. 1.3, flyleaves



Fig. 3.02: Adam the Sub prior's copy of Alexander Neckam, *Sermones*, Oxford Bodl Wood Empt. 1.3, fol 1r and s.xv cover



Fig 3.03:
J. Pistor, *Collecciones*, 'A', Oxford, Bodl. Rawlinson C. 77, covers



Fig 3.04: Oxford, Bodl. Rawlinson C. 77,
inside front cover



Fig. 3.05: Oxford, Bodl. Rawlinson C. 77, fol. 1r



Fig. 3.06: Oxford, Bodl. Rawlinson C. 77, fol. 1v-2r

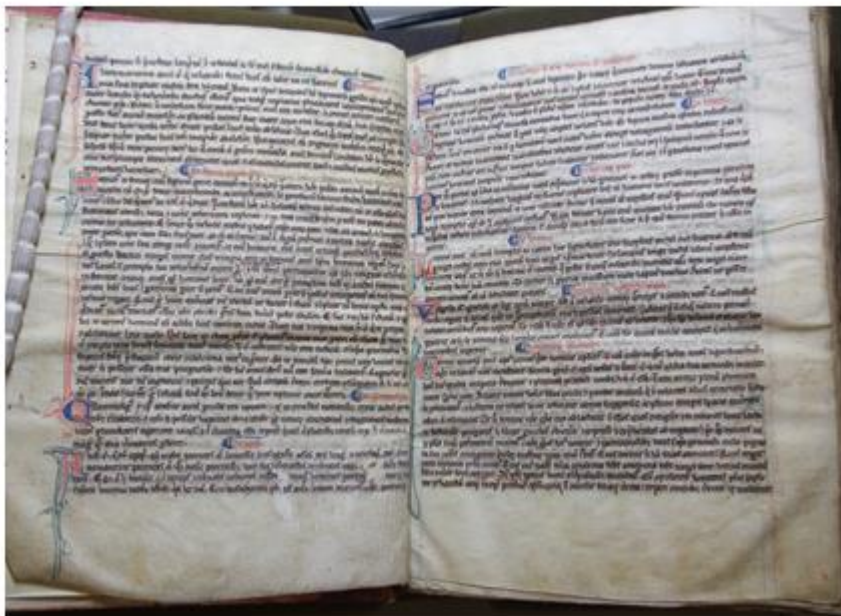


Fig. 3.07: Oxford, Bodl. Rawlinson C. 77, fol. 2v-3r

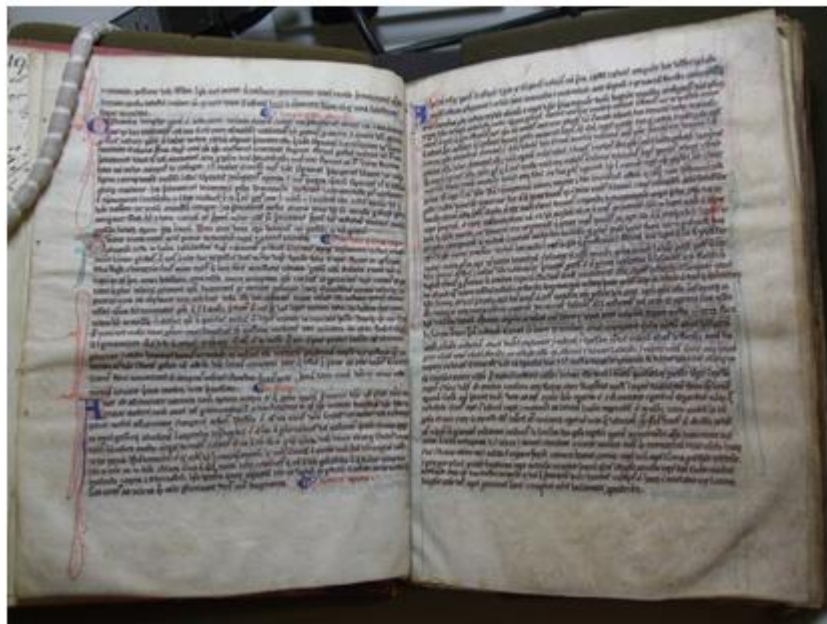


Fig. 3.08: Oxford, Bodl. Rawlinson C. 77, fol. 3v-4r

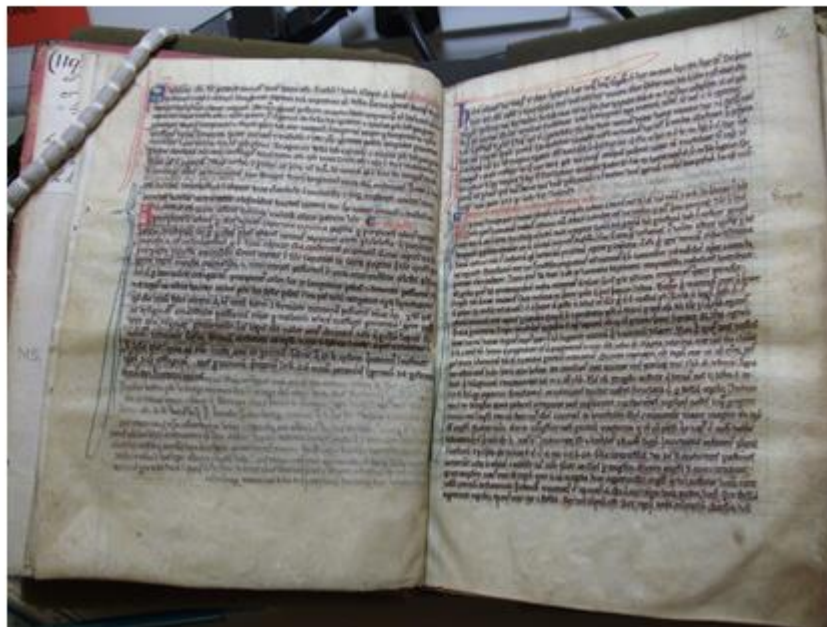


Fig 3.09: Oxford, Bodl. Rawlinson C. 77, fol. 61r

Sermon notes of John Pistor: Matt. 10:16 'Be as wise as serpents and as harmless as doves.' He also discusses the camel and ass.



Fig 3.10: Oxford, Bodl. Rawlinson C. 77, fol. 10r

Pointing finger of Clement of Canterbury in the margin.

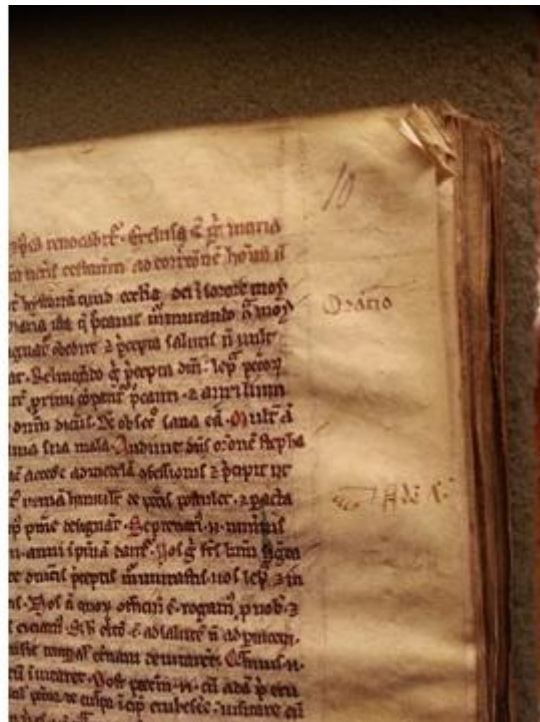


Fig. 3.11: *Liber Bestiarum*, Oxford, Bodl. Douce 88E, BA1.*870, donated by Henry of Burham, fols 121r-122v: *Mors*, *Salamandra*, 'horribilis' beasts; below fols. 114v-115r: *Cerberus*, *Chimaera* and *Centaur*



Fig. 3.12:
 Left: Bodl. Douce 88A, fol. 30, *History of the Cross*
 Right: Bodl. Douce 88E, fol. 132r, *Imago Mundi*



Fig. 3.13:
Worcester Cathedral Library, Q.56, f.49r, *Aviarium* excerpts

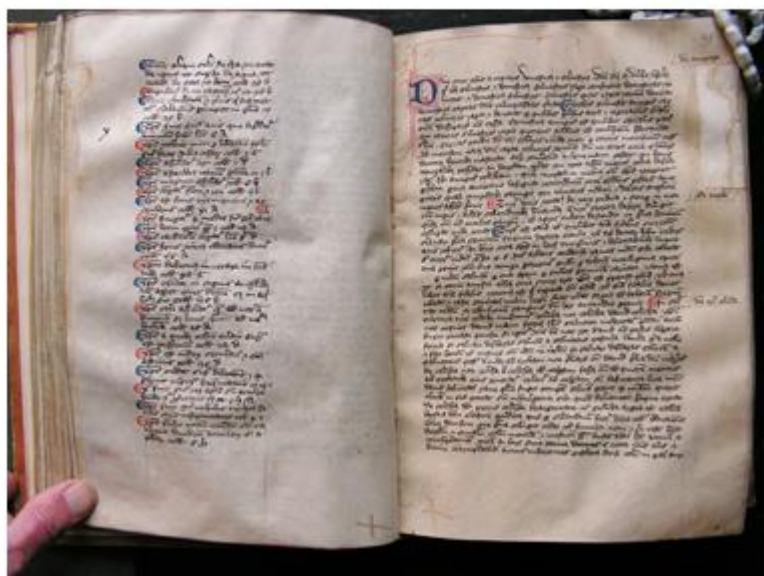


Fig. 3.14:
Bayeux Tapestry scenes 4 and 5



Fig. 3.15:
 BAV Reg. Lat 258, fol. 22v Siren & Onocentaur,
 iconographical links to Bodl. Laud 247

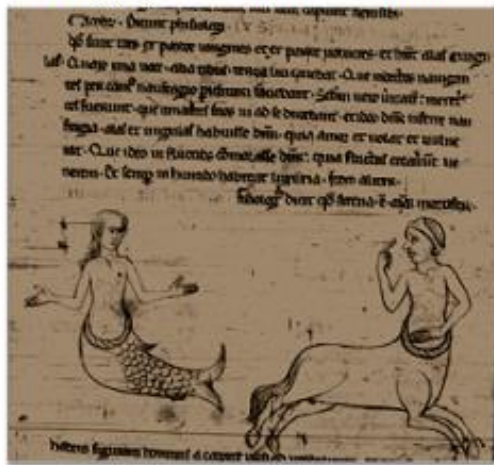


Fig. 3.16: Oxford, Bodl. Laud 247; a) Antelope fol 141r; b) Siren &
 Onocentaur fol 147r; c) Hedgehog f.147v; d) Ape fol 153v



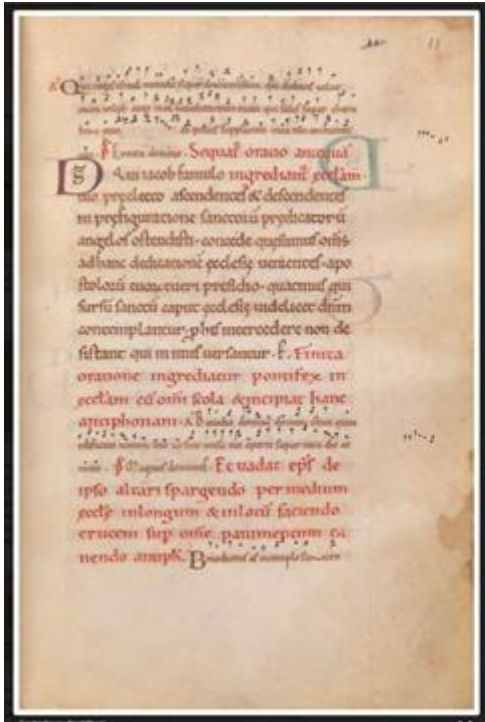


Fig. 3.19:
Canterbury Pontifical,
 Dublin, Trinity College, 98
 left: fol. 11, below, fol. 156:
 Minuscule hand of the
 rubrication and 'A' in TCD 98
 match Laud Misc. 247 fol. 144r.

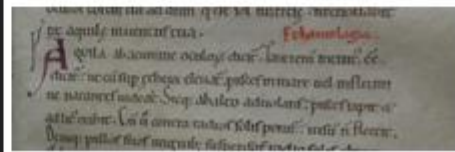
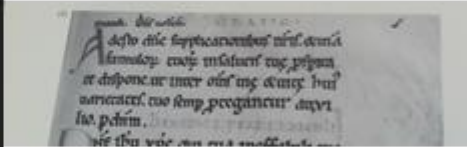


Fig. 3.20: Initial Capitals and Display Script:
 Left. Victor Vitensis, Laud Misc. 247, fols. 1v-2r;
 Right top. Victor Vitensis, TCC O.10.31, fol. 5r, middle. Eutropius, TCC
 O.10.81, fol. 42r, foot. Orosius, TCC O.4.34, fol. 42r



Fig. 3.21: Christ Church History Books: Orosius and Eusebius

Orosius, TCC O.4.34,
fol 1r, s.xi/xii

Eusebius, CCCC 187,
fol 1r, c. 1100

Eusebius, CCCC 184,
fol 1r, s.xii¹



Fig. 3.22: Orosius, TCC O.4.34, fol 1r



Fig. 3.23: Orosius TCC O.4.34 fol. 1r

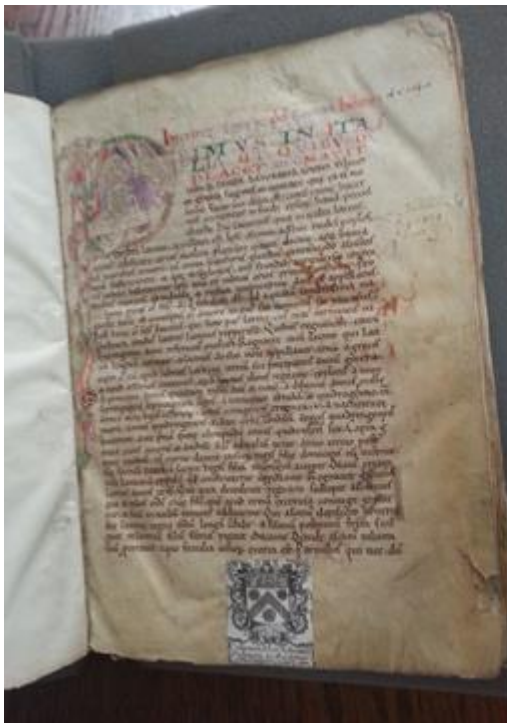
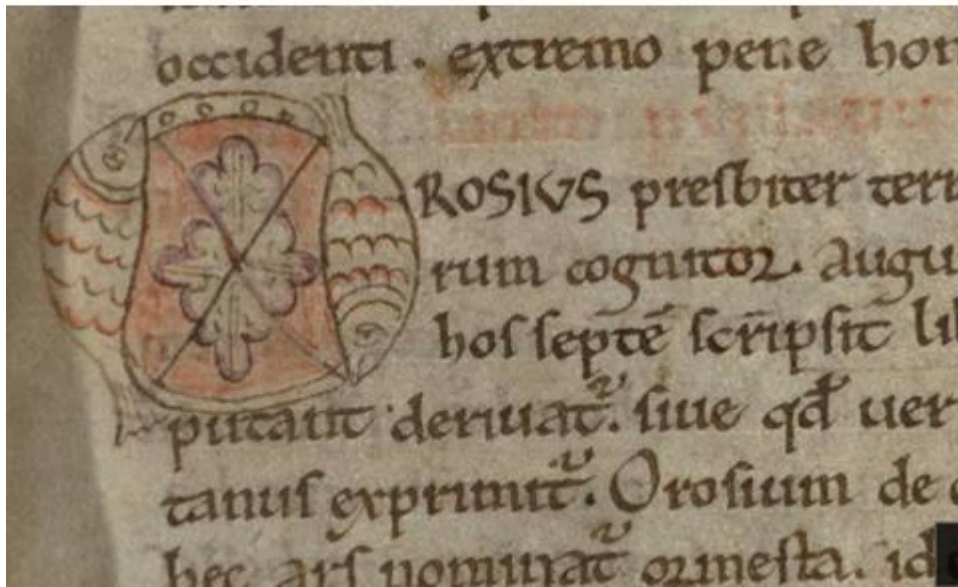


Fig. 3.24: Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Romana*, and Eutropius, *Historiae*, TCC O.10.28, fol. 1r

Fig. 3.25:

London, BL Stowe 1067, f. 1v, Autolops, Onocentaur and Ericius, similar to Laud Misc. 247; and TCC O.4.34, fol. 1r



Fig. 3.26: TCC Paulus Diaconus, (Eutropius)

O.10.28 fol. 1r Decorated initial: scribal portrait and 1 1-6



Fig. 3.27: Orosius, TCC
O.4.34, fol. 1r

Below:

BL Stowe 1067, fol. 3r
Hyena

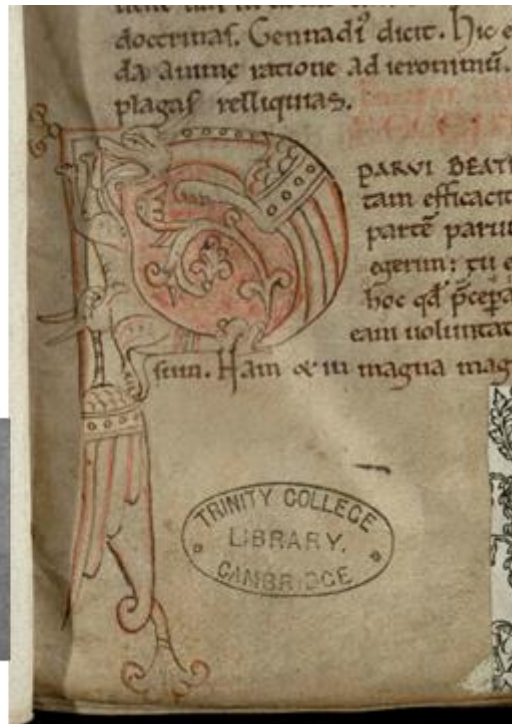


Fig. 3.28: *Elucidarium*, Oxford, Bodl. Lat. Th. e. 9, fols. 56v-57r,
'Leo tres naturas habet'; quire mark ,vij.



Fig. 3.29: *Elucidarium*, Oxford, Bodl Lat Th. e. 9, fols. 57v, 'De Panthera'; fol. 23r Herigerus of Lobbe, *De corpore et sanguine*

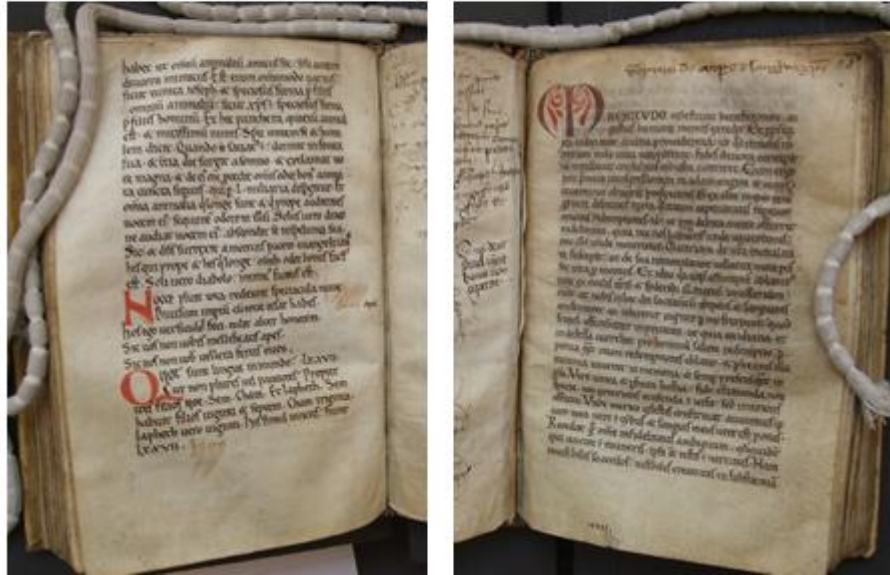


Fig. 3.30: Prosper, *Epigramata*, CCC 488, 'Leo tres naturas habet', fols. 88r-89r

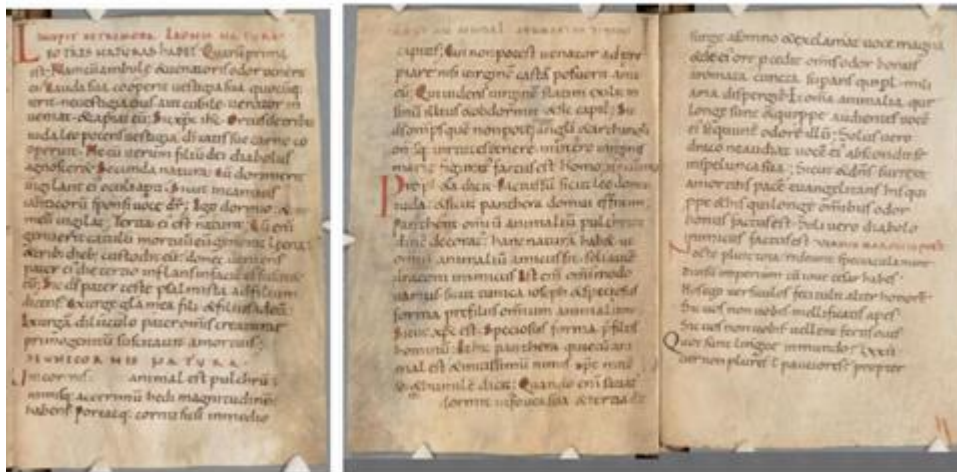


Fig. 3.31:
left. BL Additional 11283, fol. 7v
right. BBR fol. 188r

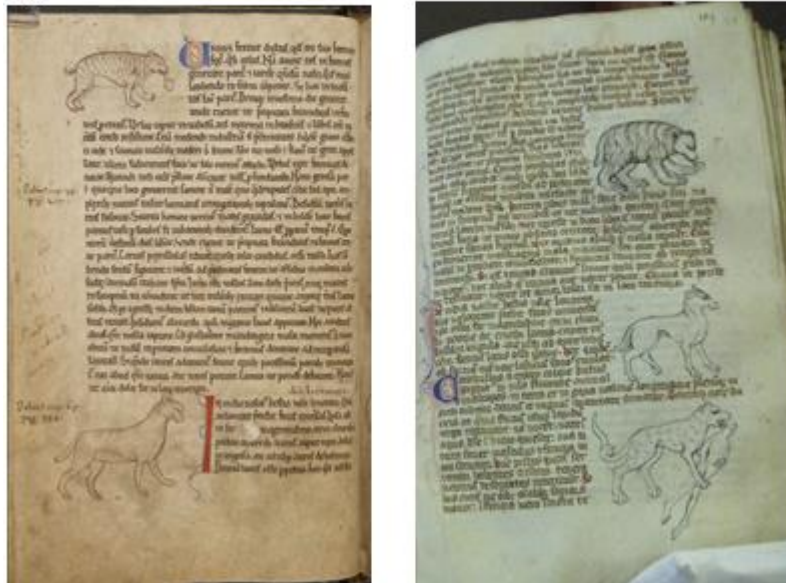


Fig. 3.32:
 Tiger, BL Additional 11283, fol. 2r; Wolf, fol. 9r; Cat, fol. 15r



Fig. 3.33:
Brussels, Bib. Roy. 8830, fol. 183v, Lion

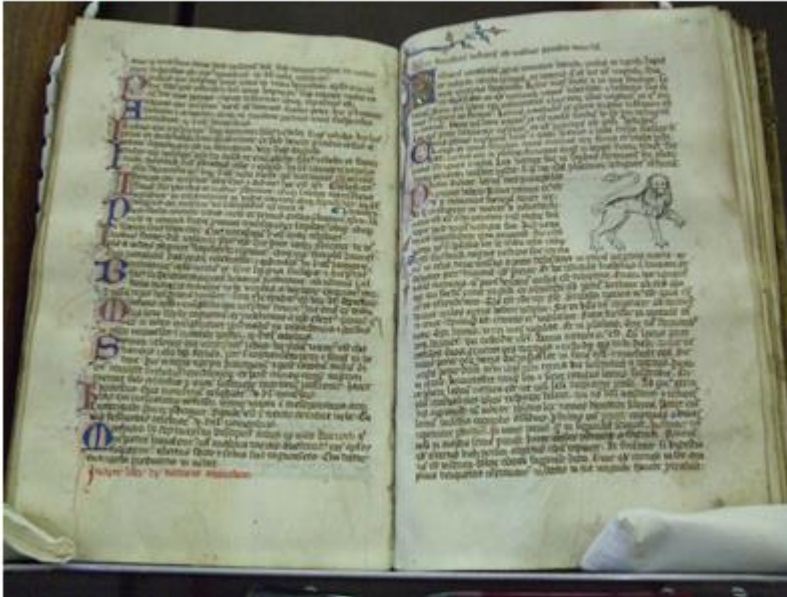


Fig. 3.34:
Brussels, Bib. Roy. 8830, fol. 197v-198r, Cinnamolgus, Swallow,
Hoopoe, Pelican, Owl, Siren, and Partridge

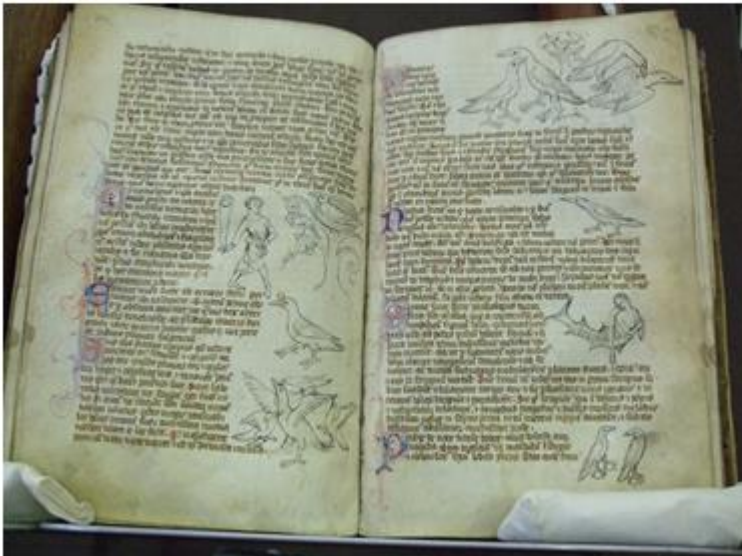


Fig. 3.35:
Oxford, Bodleian, Douce 88A, fol. 4v (part) and fol. 5r



Fig. 3.36: Douce 88A, fol. 2r (p. 3)
Bartholomew Salmon's *ex libris*

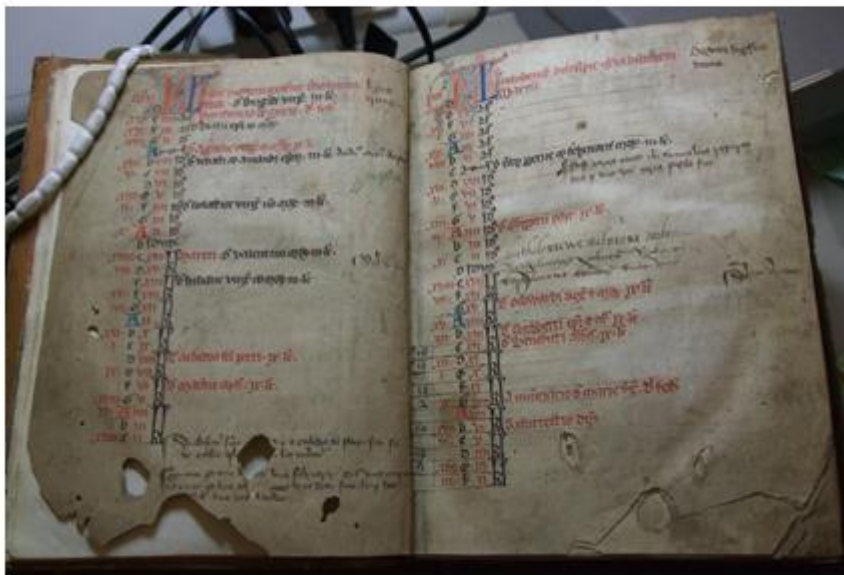


Fig. 3.37, Douce 88A, *On Horses*, fol. 52r (p. 250),
 Marginalia: Bartholomew Salmon's delight in his name.



Fig. 3.38: Douce 88A,
 Odo of Cheriton, *Parables*, fol.35r, gloss

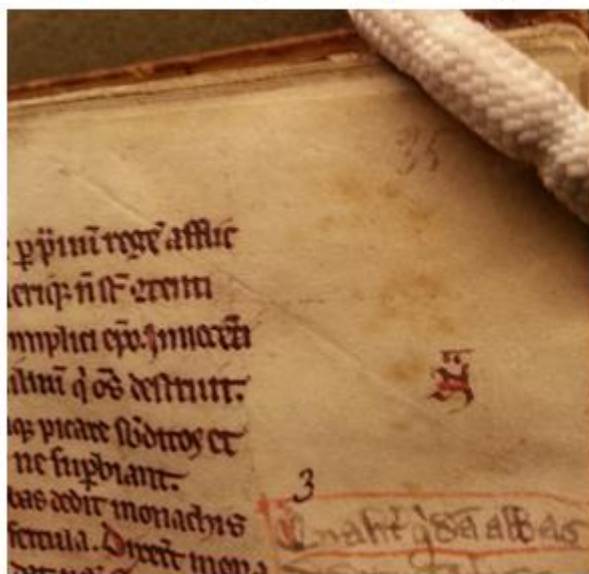


Figure
Chapter 4: The bestiary: shaping and affect in Canterbury
monastic culture

Fig. 4.1: Oxford
Bodl, Rawlinson
C. 77, fol. 60r with
fol. 61 r below,
John Pistor's sermon
plans

Middle of folio:
Simpliciter et sapientes
Foot of folio:
Oves, camelos, asinus
below



Fig. 5.01: Depictions of Personalisations of the *Trivium*

1: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, San Marco 190 fol. 15v: Grammar with a flail

2: Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 2599 f.104v, Rhetoric holds a sword

3: BSB Clm 2599, fol. 104r, Dialectic with serpent in her sleeve

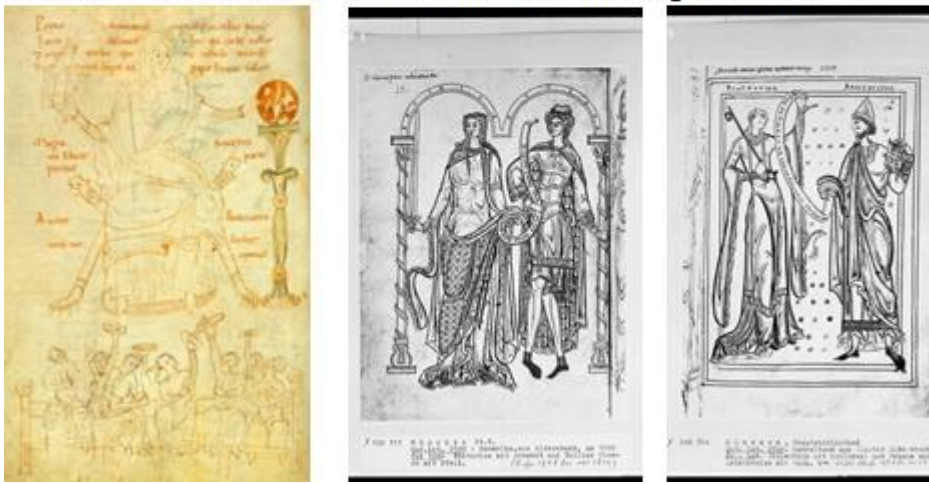


Fig. 5.02: Martiani Capellae, *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, 1041, s.xii. fol. 1v: *Trivium*.

Dialectic with snake, flanked left by Grammatica with flail and right by Rhetorica with sword and shield



Fig. 5.03:
 Jerome, TCC B.2.34, fol. 79v
 Example of a grammatical
 pronunciation point on
 Aethiopia.
 Alluded to by a sailing ship, a
 hare with a harp, beating
 wings, and a man with a flail
 which indicates a grammar
 point and beating the air.
 Artist G, Gameson 1995, p.
 143



Fig. 5.04: Ps.-Isidore, *Decretals*, BL Cotton Claudius E V, fol. 40r
 Use of sword to make a rhetorical point: pointing to the
 contumely of the bishops in the incipit.
 Possibly Artist E, yellow outline, purple ground, cuffed dragons

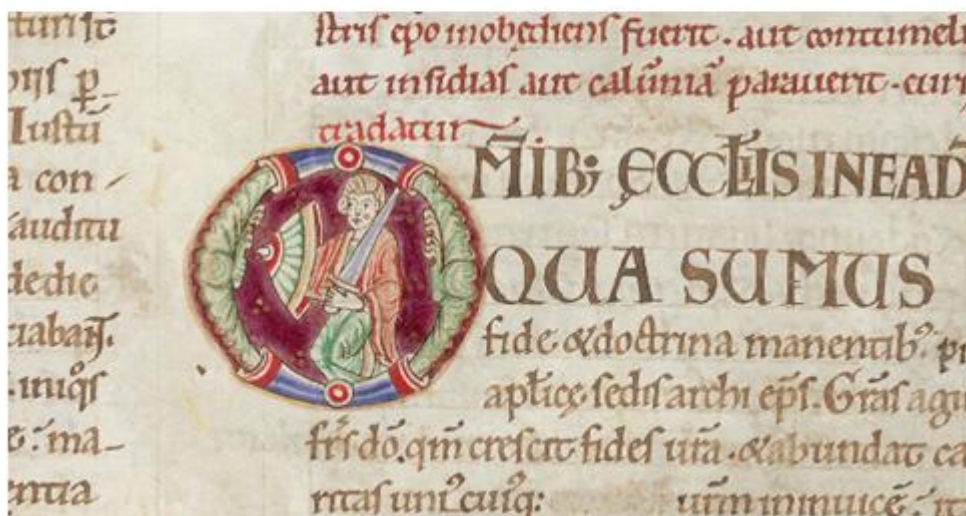


Fig. 5.05: Ambrose, *Hexamaeron*, CUL Kk.1.23, s.xi^{ex}, fol. 1v, Artist A
Zoomorphic initial T of a hybrid in Old Testament clothing with a sword, horn and hare, memorably calling attention to the pronunciation of 'Exameron' as 'Hexaameron', original in green, red and black.

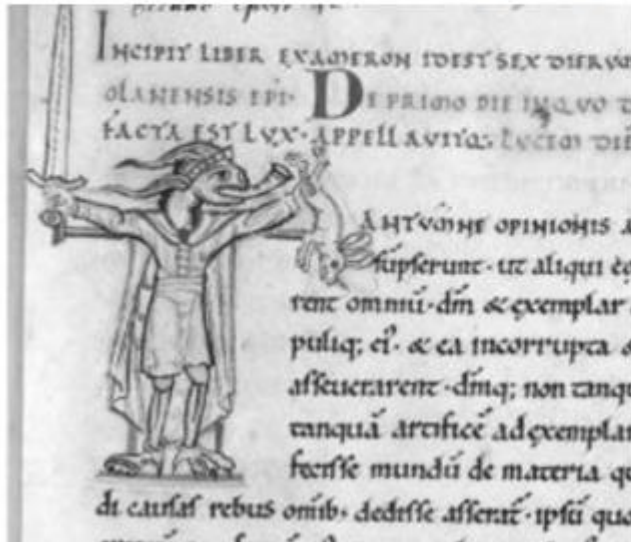


Fig. 5.06: Priscian, *Institutiones Grammaticae*, TCC O.2.51, s.xi/xii, fol. 34r,
Q[uoniam] a thin, winged snake coils around a prone nude man and threatens his eye, a note to pay diligent attention to the grammar rules; 'regulis' (l. 1 and 6) refers to rules and also to a snake.
Gameson, 1995, p. 126,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



Fig. 5.07: Boethius, *De Musica*, TCC R.15.22, fol. 66r
 E[st si omnia quae de/monstranda] A cloaked man looks to the title while sticking his sword down the throat of a dragon, while its twin threatens him from above. Dialectic argument on the use of memory in the accompanying text.
 Artist J, Gameson, 1995, p. 143



Fig. 5.08: Ps-Isidore, *Decretals*, BL Cotton Claudius E V, f.25v,
 Artist N?: A[nacletus episcopus]; Dragon warns against cutting the tongue of the dog, Is. 10:56, i.e. preachers should bark



Fig. 5.09: Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, CCCC 289, p. 5, s. xii



Fig. 5.10: Ambrose, TCC B.3.9, s.xi/xii:

- 1: fol 4r, serpents and lionhead by Artist E (?);
 - 2: fol 15r, Siren attacked by two birds bitten by snakes by Artist H
 - 3: fol 33r, the Caladrius attacks the Hyena, by Artist H
(BL Stowe 1067 has a wing added to the depiction of the Hyena)
- Artists identified by Gameson, 1995. p. 143



Fig. 5.11: Portraits of Christ Church monks

BL Arundel 16, fol. 2r,
Osbernus



St John's College A 8, fol. 120v,
Samuel



Fig. 5.12: *Passionale*, BL Cotton Nero C VII, fol. 29v, F, Artist M? St Guthlac from Ely: Wordplay on 'anguilles', Anglo-Norman for eels and the Angles/English? *Illustris Anglorum* below crossbar. Eels/Serpents, Weasel, Lionheads, and central Pearl.



Fig. 5.13:
Passionale, BL Cotton Nero C
 VII, c.1110, fol. 40r, S, Sancta
 Godeberta, Artist N?
 Serpent and lilies for the wise
 virgin who founded a nunnery
 at Noyon in the late seventh
 century



Fig. 5.14: *Passionale*, BL Harley 624, fol. 93v, O [rtaris/
 Vene/rabilis], Artist N?



Fig. 5.15: St. Anselm, *Opera*, Oxford, Bodl Bodley 271, f.127v,
 Man astride an ostrich, possibly Artist E (yellow outline, purple
 and warm toned palette, collared dragonheads)



Fig. 5.16:
 Ostrich or *Assida*, Oxford, Bodl Laud Misc. 247, fol. 159r



Appendix 1

Paris, BnF NAL 873

This Appendix contains:

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

1.1 BnF NAL 873

Location: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

Shelfmark: Nouvelle Acquisition Latin 873¹

Date: MLGB3, s. xii/xiii; BCBB, s. xii^{ex}; Baxter 1998, c.1160-80, Studer and Evans, s. xiii ⁱⁿ.²

Catalogue Title: Remigii Augissiodorensis, Hildeberti Cenomanensis, Marbodi Redonensis *opuscula*, etc³; BCBB BA1.*758, *Expositio misse*

Vol. Incipit: *Celebratio missae in commemorationem passionis Christi*

2^o. fol.: *Cantore*

Family: B-Isidore First family bestiary of 38 chapters

Incipit, fol. 37v: 'De naturis leonis bestiarium seu animalium regis'

Content

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

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, pp. 16-17.

² BA1.*758, 'Remigius Autissiodorensis, *In celebratione misse*; Hildebertus; Lapidarius, etc', *MLGB3*: <http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/mlgb/book/1631/> <accessed 10 June, 2015>; BCBB p. 810; Baxter 1998, p. 149; Stewart 2012, p. 78, s. xii²; Paul Studer, Joan Evans, *Anglo-norman lapidaries* (Paris: Champion, 1924, Geneva: Slatkine, 1976, repr.), p. 5.

³ BnF *Archives et Manuscrits*: NAL 873 (cote) <http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ead.html?id=FRBNFEAD000071542> <accessed 10 June, 2015>

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

Attribution: Shelfmark from St Augustine's Abbey (BCBB BA1.*758), read by Henri Omont in c. 1905, 'En haut du fol. 1, en ecriture du xiv ieme. siècle, on lit la mention: 'De libris Sancti Augustini Cantuariensis, G VII, D 4' but the flyleaf is now too dark and dirty to confirm this reading.⁴ BCBB notes the shelfmark is the wrong way round, it would have been *Distinctio 7, Gradus 4*.⁵ Catalogue matches contents (but two items swapped around see below).

Provenance: Owned by St. Augustine's Sub-prior, Adam, fl. 1200, one of his fourteen books donated to the abbey library. On fol. 53r there is a typical Clement of Canterbury (fl. 1463-1495) manicle with a long index finger towards the chapter on the Dove (*Columba*), which means the book was in St Augustine's Abbey at the end of the fifteenth century, as its medieval catalogue confirms, and still read.

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

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

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

⁴ Omont, 1907, p. 17.

⁵ BCBB pp. 809-11, p. 811, BA1.*758d.

⁶ BL CIM, Add. 59864 on Archbishop Tenison's dates and bequest <www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_59864> [accessed 10 June, 2015].

⁷ 'Remigius Autissiodorensis, *In celebratione misse*; Hildebertus; Lapidarius, etc', BA1.* 758, *MLGB3*: <<http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/mlgb/book/1631/>> [accessed 10 June, 2015].

⁸ Omont, 1907, pp. 16-17.

- Binding:** The nineteenth century leather covers have fallen off, although they are presented with the manuscript.
- Substrate:** Endpapers: Nineteenth century marbled endpapers.
Parchment: poor condition with holes, repairs, uneven thicknesses, and creasing. Stained and dirty outer folios indicate that it was without a cover for some time.
- Folios:** fols. 1-201 (bestiary fols. 37v-57r)
- Collation:** 25 quires: 1-12⁸, 13¹⁰, 14¹⁰ wants 4-5, 15⁸ wants 7, 8 (fol. 127v blank), 16-18⁸, 19¹⁰ (fols. 162-3 missing), 20⁸, 21⁴, 22-24⁸, 25².⁹
- Hand:** Single neat protogothic hand for bestiary. Several hands throughout manuscript but all are protogothic.
- Rubrication:** Bestiary begins with a three line high large blue and red capital D for the first chapter.
Smaller coloured capitals with slight filigree decoration for later chapters (alternate red, green or blue).
- Glossing:** Few *notae* and little glossing (corrections) in the bestiary but tick marks are visible at the end of many lines; sometimes a chapter is marked ‘-’ or ‘=’ by it, e.g. fol. 46r-v, the Onager and the Ape.
- Layout:** Single column, 26 lines for bestiary, writing above top line throughout the book. Lined and ruled in lead, pricking still visible. Numbered in a medieval hand in Arabic numerals; fols. 43 and 82 have been numbered twice.
- Illustration:** Not illustrated, no space for illustrations.
- Textual**
- Relationship:** Not a direct copy of an extant manuscript. Baxter 1998, considered BL Stowe 1067 closest on chapter order.¹⁰ Stewart 2012, noted it ‘contains the same text found in Oxford, Bodl. MS Laud misc. 247, but with the latter half of the chapters rearranged so that the beasts, birds, and fish are grouped together’ but in Appendix 5 she stated: ‘I

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

¹⁰ Baxter 1998, pp. 88-91.

was unable to show definitively that any one of these [B-Is] manuscripts were copied from any of the others'.¹¹

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

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

Contents: The manuscript has been checked against the BnF Catalogue entry and BCBB, and uses the same letters as Barker-Benfield to aid identification.¹²

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

fol. 16v-17v: **b)** Nennius, *Historia Britannie* ¹³(final part), incipit: 'Incipiunt miracula que sunt in insula Britannie'

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

fol. 31v-32r: **f)** Goscelin, *Vita S Edithae* links the cursed dancers of Colbeck to St Edith.¹⁴ Note f) and g) are two miracle stories catalogued out of order (i.e. they are between Hildebert and the bestiary in the manuscript, but come after text e) in the library catalogue: 'In nocte Natalis Domini lucifera, ... Colebecca'

fol. 33r-37r: **g)** Anonymous miracle story.¹⁵ Prologue incipit: 'Hec theodericus ille et ore referens' main text incipit fol. 33v: 'Miraculum quoddam in regno imperatoris Alemannorum' on the cursed dancers.¹⁶

¹¹ Stewart 2012, p. 11 and App. 5, p. 18.

¹² BnF *Archives et manuscrits*, NAL 873 <<http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ead.html?id=FRBNFEAD000071542>> [accessed 14 June 2015]

¹³ *Historia Brittonum cum additamentis Nennii*, ed. by T. Mommsen, *MGH Auct. Antiq.*, 13 (1898), 143–219. <<http://www.dmgh.de/de/fs1/object/display.html?sortIndex=010:010>> [accessed 30 June 2015].

¹⁴ BCBB, p. 810, identified from A. Wilmart, *Ana. Boll.* 56 (1938) 265-307, p. 287.

¹⁵ *Die Tänzer von Kölbick*, ed. by E. Schröder Separatabdruck aus der *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XVII (Gotha: 1896), p. 126-7.

- fols. 37v-57r: **d) *Liber bestiarum*** Incipit: ‘*De natura leonis bestiarium seu animalium regis.*’ Laud-type First family bestiary with rearranged chapter order from ch. 22. Chapter headings and discussion below.
- fols. 57v-127r: **e)** Anonymous, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*.¹⁷
 Prologue incipit : ‘*Deus pater preuidens tribulationes*’
 Main text incipit: ‘*Apocalysis est reuelatio. Hanc reuelationem*’
 Gloss includes *Nota* signs, manicles, ceases at fol. 86r.
 Fol. 84v: new hand
 Fols. 86r-94r: previous hand returns
 Fol. 94r: another hand
 Fol. 127v blank.
- fols. 128r-163: **h) *Gesti alexandri magni***: a collection of three Alexander texts.
 Fols. 128r-148r: *Epitome Iulii Valerii*, incipit : ‘*historia magni regis Alexandri*’¹⁸
 Fols. 148r-161r: *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem de situ Indie*, incipit: ‘*Epistola Alexandri, quam mittit Aristotili*’¹⁹
 Fols. 161v-163: Poem on Alexander (twenty verses) incipit: ‘*Quicquid in humanis constat uirtutibus altis*’ (fols. 162-3 are missing)²⁰
- fols. 164r-168v: **i)** Two short tracts on the pulse:
 Fol. 164-165r: Anonymous, *Summa quedam pulsuum*, incipit: ‘*De pulsibus uenarum cognitio*’.²¹
 Fols. 165r-168v: Philaretus, *Liber pulsuum*, incipit : ‘*Filareti de*

¹⁶ G. Rosen, ‘Psychopathology in the Social Process: Dance frenzies...’, ed. B. Levack, Garland anthology on witchcraft, magic and demonology, 12v, *Possession and Exorcism* (Abingdon: Taylor & Francis, 1962), 9 pp.219-251, pp. 224-5, locates this legend to events in Kölbick (Colbeck), Saxony c. 1021.

¹⁷ BCBB, p. 810.

¹⁸ Iulii Valerii, *Epitome*, ed. J. Zacker (Halle: Waisenhauses, 1867), pp. 1-63; D. J. A. Ross, ‘A check-list of manuscripts of three Alexander texts: the Julius Valerius *Epitome*, the *Epistola ad Aristotelem* and the *Collatio cum Dindimo*’, *Scriptorium*, 10 (1956), 127-132; J. B. Voorbij, ‘Additions to Ross’s check-list of Alexander texts’, *Scriptorium*, 38 (1984), 116-120.

¹⁹ *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem ad codicum fidem edita et commentario critico edita*, ed. by W. W. De Boer (The Hague: Excelsior, 1953)

²⁰ BCBB, p. 810 identifies this poem as WIC 15990 in H. Walther, *Initia carminum ac versuum mediæ aevi posterioris Latinum* (Gottingen, 1969).

²¹ MLGB3, *De pulsibus uenarum cognitio*, inc. ‘Pulsus diuiditur in partes duas’ unprinted but mentioned in L. Thorndike and P. Kibre, *A catalogue of incipits of medieval scientific writings in Latin*, MAA 19 (London: Medieval Academy of America, 1963), No. 1150 quoted in BCBB, p. 810-811.

*pulsibus*²²

Fols 168v-169r blank.

- fol. 170r-175v: **j)** Marbod of Rennes, *Carmen de lapidibus*. PL 171. 1737–70²³
Fol. 176r: new hand
- fol. 176v-190v: **k)** *Damigeron* in alphabetic order
Two letters allegedly from Evax, Kof Arabia to the Emperor Tiberius, *Epistole due de nominibus et virtutibus lapidum*²⁴
- fol. 190v-197v: **l)** *Lapidary* (an Anglo-Norman prose version of a French metrical translation of Marbod, *Carmen de Lapidibus*), incipit : ‘*Evax, li reis de Arabie, enveiat ad Neron*’²⁵
- fol. 197v-201v: **m)** Various short astronomy, medical, and divination works
1. fol. 197v: Bede, ‘De superiore celo’, [*De Natura Rerum*]²⁶
 2. fol. 198r: *Ordo orbis conditi*;
 3. *Pronostica mortuorum*;
 4. *Signa vivendi*;
 5. *Item de signis mortiferis*.
 6. fol. 198v: *Versus de diebus egyptiacis*:
 7. *Prima dies mensis et septima truncat...*
 8. *Notae de mensibus: Mense ianuario nullatenus sanguinem minuere...*
 9. fol. 199v: *Luna prima in omnibus rebus faciendum utilis est...*
 10. fol. 200r: *Unusquisque mensis duos in se continet dies...*
 11. *Die prima Natalis Domini, sol si videtur, letabitur...*
 12. *Nocte prima Natalis Domini, si ventus validus fuerit...*
 13. fol. 200v: [*Dies*] *in anno pre aliis observandi. Litterae per quas significatio sompni invenitur.*
 14. fol. 201r: *Dies infausti cuiusque mensis.*

²² BCBB p. 811; Thorndike and Kibre No. 764.

²³ J. Evans, *Magical Jewels of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance particularly in England*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923, repr. 2014), pp. 81-2.

²⁴ Evans, *Magical Jewels*, pp. 195-213.

²⁵ Paul Studer, Joan Evans, *Anglo-norman lapidaries* (Paris: Champion, 1924, Geneva: Slatkine, 1976, repr.), p. 5, edition based on BnF NAL 873, pp. 97-110.

²⁶ Bede, *De natura rerum*, PL 90, 201A-201B, ‘Coelum superioris circuli proprio discretum termino.... superiorum aquarum.’

15. fol.201v: Incipit : *Quibus lunationibus uena sit aluenda* in the Library catalogue this short work is attributed to Adam the Sub-prior, *Quibus oris uena aperienda sit ade supprioris.*²⁷

²⁷ BCBB p. 810.

Table: 1.2 Chapter Headings in First Family Bestiaries

Highlights show changes in Order

BAV Pal Lat1074	Laud Misc. 247	BnF NAL 873	BL Stowe 1067
Ch. No & Title	Ch. No & Title	fol. Ch. No. & Title	Ch. No & Title
1. Leo	1. Leo	f.37v 1. Leonis	1. Leo
2. Autolop	2. Autalops	f.38r 2. Attulaps	2. Autalops
3. lapide igniferi	3. Lapidis Igniferi	3. Lapidis igniferi	3. Onocentaurus
4. Serra	4. Serra	f.38v 4. Serra	4. Herinatio
5. Caladrius	5. Caladrius	5. Caladrius	5. Vulpis
6. Pellicanus	6. Pelicanus	f.39r 6. Pellicano	6. Unicornis
7. Necticorax	7. Nicticorax	f.39v 7. Nicticorace	7. Castor
8. Aquila	8. Aquila	f.40r 8. Aquila	8. Ydrus
9. Fenix	9. Fenix	9. Fenix	9. Crocodrillus*
10. Hupupa	10. Huppupa	f.40v 10. Huppupa	10. Hiena
11. Formica	11. Formica	f.41r 11. Formica	11. Onager
12. Sirena	12. Syrene et Onocentaur	f.42r 12. Sirena et Onocentaur	12. Simius
13. Herinacius	13. Herinatus	f.42v 13. Herinatus	13. Caper
14. Ibex	14. Ibis	f.43r 14. Ibex (bird)	14. Pantera
15. Uulpis	15. Vulpis	f.43v 15. Vulpis	15. Draco
16. Monoceras	16. Unicornis	f.43r*28 16. Unicornis	16. Mustela
17. Castor	17. Castor	f.44r 17. Castor	17. Cervus
18. Hyena	18. Hiena	f.44v 18. Hienis	18. Elephans
19. Hydrus	19. Ydrus	19. Hidrus	19. Lupis ²⁹
20. Caprea	20. Caper	f.45v 20. Caprea	20. Canis
21. Honager	21. Onager	f.46r 21. Onager	21. Ibex (goat)
22. Simia	22. Simia	22. Simia	22. Lapidis Igniferi
23. Fulica	23. Fulica	f.46v 23. Pantera	23. Serra
24. Pantera	24. Pantera	f.48r 24. Cervus	24. Caladrius
25. Aspide celone	25. Draco	f.48v 25. Elephantus	25. Pelicanus
26. Perdix	26. Aspis chelone	f.49r 26. Amos propheta	26. Noctua
27. Mustela and Aspis	27. Perdix	f.49v 27. Mustela & Aspis	27. Aquila
28. Camelon	28. Mustela	f.50r 28. Fulica	28. Fenix
29. Turtur	29. Aspis	f.50v 29. Aspidochelone	29. Huppupa
30. Cervus	30. Assida	f.51r 30. Perdix	30. Formica
31. Salamandra	31. Turtur	f.51v 31. Assida	31. Syrena and Onocentuarus
32. Columba	32. Cervus	f.52r 32. Turtur	32. Ibex (bird)
33. Arbore prexioti	33. Salamandra	33. Salamandra	33. Fulica
34. Helephans	34. Columba	f.52v 34. Columbibus	34. Aspis
35. Amos	35. Peridexion	f.53v 35. Peredixion	35. Assida
36. Adamans	36. Elephans	f.54r 36. Adamas	36. Turtur
37. Mercecolion	37 Amos	f.55v 37. Mermecoleon	37. Salamandra
38. Psitacus	38. Adamas	f.56v 38. Aspis	38. Columbas
39. Ercine	39. Mermecolion		39. Peredixion
40. Corunice			40. Aspidochelone
			41. Perdix
			42. Amos Propheta
			43. Adamas
			44. Mermecolion

²⁸ 2 folios are numbered 43.

²⁹ New chapters are in bold.

1.3 : Transcription of BnF NAL 873 : Chapters on the Onager and the Ape³⁰

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

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

Est animal. quod dicitur *onager*. Physiologus dicit de onagro. quia vicesimo .v^{to}. //
die mensis framenoth quod est marcius. duodecies in nocte rugit. similiter //
in die. Et ex hoc cognoscitur quia. equinoctium est diei vel noctis. et numerum //
horarum a rugitibus onagri per singulas cognoscunt horas semel rugien-//
tis. Onager igitur figuram habet diaboli. quia cum scierit noctem et diem coequare; //
hoc est cum viderit diabolus populum qui ambulat intenebris et in um-//
bra mortis. modo converti ad dominum vivum et coequari fidei patriarcharum et pro-//
phetarum. sicut coequatur nox cum die; iccirco rugit nocte ac die per singulas //
horas. querens escam suam quam perdidit. Neque enim rugit onager nisi quando //
sibi escam querit. sicut dixit iob.³¹ Similiter et apostolos paulus^{petrus} de diabolo dicit. //
Adversarius noster circuit querens sicut leo quem devoret. Ethimologia.. //
Onager; interpretatur asinus feras. On quippe greci(changed from grece) asinum vocant. agrian;

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

[2 line height decorated initial Red S with blue filigree]

Similiter et *simia*. figuram habet diaboli. Sicut enim simius caput quidem habet. //
caudam vero non habet; et licet totus turpis sit; tamen posteriora eius satis turpia //
et horribilia sunt. Sic et diabolus caput quidem habet. caudam vero non habet; hoc est //
initium habuit. cum esset angelus in celis. sed quia hypocrita fuit intrinsecus; //
perdidit caput. nec habet caudam. Id est sicut perit ab initio in celis. ita et in fine //
totus peribit. sicut dicit prece veritatis paulus. Quem dominus iesus interficiet spiritu oris //
sui. Ethimologia. Simia. grecum nomen est. eo quod pressis naribus sit. facie //
turpis. feda rugis. licet et capellas manifestum sit; pressum habere nasum. //

Alii dicunt simias latine vocari. eo quod multa in eis similitudo rationis //
ff 46v: humane sentitur; sed falsum est. He elementorum sagaces nova luna exultant. //
media et cava tristantur; fetus quos(changed from quo) amant; ante se gestant. Neglecti; cir-//
ca matrem herent. Horum genera sunt quinque. ex quibus circopetici caudas //

habent. Simia enim cum cauda est. quam quidam clutram vocant. //
Finge; villose sunt. comis. et mammis prominentibus. dociles ad feri-//
oblivisse [in margin] tatem. blank Cenocephali; et ipsi similes sunt canibus. longam caudam //
habentes. et faciem ad modum canis. unde et sic nuncupantur. //
Satiri; admodum facie acuta. et gesticulantis more inquietantur. //

Callitrices toto pene aspectu; a ceteris distant. Sunt enim cum facie produc-//
ta. et longa barba et lata cauda. //

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

³¹ One line omitted from usual First family bestiary text: 'Numquid sine causa clamabit onager agrestis. nisi pabulum desiderans.'

1.4 : Translation of BnF NAL 873 : Chapters on the Onager and the Ape

1. Fol. 46r: [Quas//] greci quod acutissime videant. dorchas appellaverunt. morantur enim in //
2. excelsis montibus. et tamen. de loginquo vident omnes qui veniunt; //
3. Est animal. quod dicitur onager. Physiologus dicit de onagro. quia vicesimo .vto. // *[Curley, pp.38-9]The wild ass is called an onager. Physiologus says of the onager that on 25th day*
4. die mensis framenoth quod est marcius. duodecies in nocte rugit. similiter // *of the month of Famenoth which is March it brays twelve times in the night. Similarly*
5. in die. Et ex hoc cognoscitur quia. equinoctium est diei vel noctis. et numerum // *in the daytime. And from this it is known that it is the equinox of day or night. And they know the number*
6. horarum a rugitibus onagri per singulas cognoscunt horas semel rugien-// *of the hour by the braying of the onager, one bray for each hour.*
7. tis. Onager igitur figuram habet diaboli. quia cum scierit noctem et diem coequare; // *Therefore the Onager represents the devil, since when he knows that night and day are equal,*
8. hoc est cum viderit diabolus populum qui ambulat intenebris et in um-// *that is when the devil sees that those walking in the shade and shadow of*
9. bra mortis. modo converti ad dominum vivum et coequari fidei patriarcharum et pro-// *death have turned in this way to the living Lord and equal the faith of the patriarchs and*
10. phetarum. sicut coequatur nox cum die; iccirco rugit nocte ac die per singulas // *prophets, as night equals day, then he brays night and day, once per*
11. horas. querens escam suam quam perdidit. Neque enim rugit onager nisi quando // *hour, seeking his food which he has lost. For nor does the onager bray unless*
12. sibi escam querit. sicut dixit iob. Similiter et apostolos paulus [corrected to] petrus de diabolo dicit. // *he seeks his food. Similarly, the apostle Peter says of the devil,*
13. Adversarius noster circuit querens sicut leo quem devoret. Ethimologia.. // *'Our adversary prowls around us like a lion seeking someone to devour' [I Peter, 5:8][Barney p. 249] The Etymologiae*
14. Onager; interpretatur asinus ferus. On quippe greci [changed from grece] asinum vocant. agrian; //

interpret 'Onager' as wild ass. The Greeks call the ass 'On', the wild one,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

24. sui. Ethimologia. Simia. grecum nomen est. eo quod pressis naribus sit. facie
//
mouth.' [II Thessalonians 2 :8]. [Barney, pp.253] *The Etymologiae [define] Simia as a Greek name which means flattened nose*

25. turpis. feda rugis. licet et capellas manifestum sit; pressum habere nasum. //
It has an ugly face and repulsive wrinkles, although having a flattened nose is also characteristic of goats.

26. Alii dicunt simias latine vocari. eo quod multa in eis similitudo rationis //
*Others think that apes are named from a Latin word, because they are felt to have a great
similarity to human*
1. ff 46v: humane sentitur; sed falsum est. He elementorum sagaces nova luna
exultant. //
behaviour; but this is false. In their knowledge of the elements, they rejoice at the new moon,
 2. media et cava tristantur; fetus quos(changed from quo) amant; ante se gestant.
Neglecti; cir-//
*and are downcast at the half and crescent moon. They carry the offspring they love before them; the
ones they neglect*
 3. ca matrem herent. Horum genera sunt quinque. ex quibus circopetici caudas
//
cling to their mother. There are five kinds of ape. Of these the Circopetici have
 4. habent. Simia enim cum cauda est. quam quidam clutram vocant. //
tails., for it is the ape with a tail which some call the Clutra.
 5. Finge; villose sunt. comis. et mammis prominentibus. dociles ad feri-//
The Finge (Sphinx) is shaggy with hair and has protruding breasts. They are tame to
 6. oblivisse tatem. [blank] Cenocephali; et ipsi similes sunt canibus. longam
caudam //
the point of forgetting their wildness. Cynocephali are themselves similar to dogs. They have a long
 7. habentes. et faciem ad modum canis. unde et sic nuncupantur. //
tail and a doglike face, hence they are so called.
 8. Satiri; admodum facie acuta. et gesticulantis more inquietantur. //
Satyrs have a somewhat pleasing face, with restless, gesticulating movements.
 9. Callitrices toto pene aspectu; a ceteris distant. Sunt enim cum facie produc-//
Callitriches are almost entirely different from the others in appearance, for they have a
 10. ta. et longa barba et lata cauda. //
long beard on their face and a broad tail.

Appendix 2

Oxford, Bodl. Rawlinson C. 77

This Appendix 2 contains

- 2.1. Manuscript Description
- 2.2. Table of Chapter Headings

2.1 Oxford, Bodleian, Rawlinson C. 77 s.xiii^{2/4}

Location: Oxford, Bodleian Library

Shelfmark: Rawlinson C. 77 (SC11942)³²

Date: MLGB3, s. xiii; BCBB, s.xiii^{2/4} (possibly after 1268); Clark 2006, mid thirteenth century; Macray, saec. xiii. ³³

Catalogue Title: MLGB3: *Misc. Theologica*,
Madan: *Bestiarium, & co.*;
BCBB, BA1.1564 *Collecciones Johannis pistoris cum A*³⁴

Vol. Incipit : Missing

2º. fol. : Was : *amat* (from medieval catalogue entry, now missing)

Family: Fragment of Second Family bestiary, which now begin the volume.
Incipit: '*ideo [adeo] intra alterum sine aetatis*' from the end of the Parrot chapter.

Content

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

³² F. Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, 3, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895), p. 205; *Catalogus Codicum MSS Bibl. Bodl. Partis V, Fasc. II: Catalogus Codicum MSS Ricardi Rawlinson Classis C*, ed. by W. D. Macray, (Oxford: MacMillan: 1878), pp. 24-25.

³³ MLGB3 BA1.1564 <<http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/mlgb/book/6621/>> [accessed 5 July 2015] ; BCBB BA1.1564, pp. 1478-81; Clark 2006, p, 253; Macray 1878, saec. xiii.

³⁴ BCBB notes BA1.715 duplicate entry for BA1.1564 but with the correct title: '*Sermones diuersi cum A*' as Rawlinson C. 77 is principally a collection of sermons.

- Attribution:** St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury based on matched catalogue references and Clement of Canterbury's 'characteristic annotations'; no shelfmark or *secundo folio* as first leaves lost.³⁵
- Provenance:** Owned and partly composed by St Augustine's monk John Pistor, fl. s.xiii³.
Part of Richard Rawlinson bequest to the Bodleian Library of 5,000 manuscripts in 1755, catalogued by Macray in 1878.³⁶
- Size:** c. 202 x 153mm; written area: 153mm x 120mm
- Folios:** fols. 1-97 (fol. 97v blank but for fifteenth century annotations).
Bestiary fragment fols. 1-3v.
- Collation:** 1-5¹², 6⁸⁻¹, 7-8⁴, 8-9⁸ (quire lost between fols. 91 and 92), 10⁶.
- Quire**
- Signatures:** Booklet I: fol. 1r, a; fol. 2r, b; fol. 3r, c; fol. 4r, d; fol. 5r, e; fol. 6r, f: These marks appear only on the first six folios.
On fol. 13r at foot, 'a' in blue, and on some of the next five *recto* folios the tops of letters may be seen (trimmed).
On fol. 25r there is 'i'; 26r 'ii'; and so on to 30r 'iiiiii'.
On 37r there are letter marks 'aa'; fol. 38r 'bb' and so on to 42r 'ff'. There are no further quire signatures.
- Catchmarks:** Booklet I only: fol. 12v, *a rectitudine vie*; fol. 24v, *considantem dispensario*; fol. 36v, *Manna simile pine[m]*; fol. 48v, *Hore moueat dominus*; fol. 60, only a partial page of the top 40mm, so no bottom margin.
- Material:**
- Binding:** Original, red leather-covered bookboards (with s. xiii or s.xiv strap and pin clasp marks on front and worm holes on back) with s.xix spine (rebacked)³⁷
- Substrate:** Flyleaves: s.xix paper flyleaves leaves; front (i) and end (ii).
Parchment fols. 1-97; dry and crispy, singed at edges; quite good quality for Booklets I – III, but torn, some holes and repairs; thicker and yellower for Booklet IV. HHFF

³⁵ BCBB p. 1479.

³⁶ Mary Clapinson, 'Rawlinson, Richard (1690–1755)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23192>> [accessed 14 June 2015].

³⁷ BCBB p. 1479.

- Hands:** Booklet I (fols. 1- 60), includes a bestiary fragment (fols 1-3v) in a small neat Gothic hand, possibly by a professional scribe; alternate red and blue capitals with contrasted penscrolls.
Booklets II and III (fol. 61-7 and fols 68-75), i.e. the sermons and *Epistola* are in a larger but still neat cursive not that of a professional scribe and possibly written by John Pistor. A fine nib is used; the descenders are spiky and thin, without serifs. The writer often links points together uses rather wobbly diagonal lines. There is a high ascender for the ‘a’, bifurcated ‘b’ but only very slight bifurcation of the ‘l’;
- Booklet IV (fols. 76-97) uses ‘a somewhat clumsy formal hand of s. xiii med.’³⁸
- Rubrication:** Booklet I: fols 1-60: red rubrics with blue chapter marks
Booklets II and III: no rubrication
Booklet IV: Rubricated in red; flourished initial, fol 76r.³⁹
- Glossing:** Several scowlfaces (e.g. fol. 55r) and pointfingers (for example on folios 11v, 55v, 62r, 75r, 92v) and notes (e.g. fol. 75) by Clement of Canterbury, fl. s.xv², precentor of St Augustine’s Abbey.
- Layout:** Booklet I: Single column, 39 lines, writing above top line, ruled in lead and pricked. Irregularly numbered in pencil throughout in a modern hand in top right corner: e.g. 1, 4, 5, 10, 11, 25, 36 to fol. 97
- Illustration:** Not illustrated, no spaces for illustration.
- Contents:** Four booklets in a medieval binding which made up the first of three of monk John Pistor’s collection of sermons and other tracts.
- Booklet I: fols. 1-60; the first text in the medieval catalogue was an *Aviarium* followed by the bestiary but at least the first quire (probably of twelve folios) of this booklet is not extant so the whole of the *Aviarium* and nearly all the bestiary are now missing.
- a) lost *Aviarium*. ‘de natura quarundam aiium cum suis moralitatibus’ missing.⁴⁰
- fols. 1-3v: b) *Bestiarium*. ‘de natura bestiarum et aiium cum suis moralitatibus’; only some of the chapters on birds remain, taken from a Second family bestiary, those that would have appeared in the *Aviarium* are omitted,⁴¹

³⁸ BCBB p. 1481.

³⁹ BCBB p. 1482.

⁴⁰ Clark, 1992.

- fol. 1r: Parrot, only last line remains; Caladrius; Ibis; Ostrich; Coot;
 fol. 1v: Halcyon; Phoenix; Cinnamologus; Hoopoe;
 fol. 2r: Night Owl; Siren; Magpie; Nightingale; Bat; Crow
- fol. 2v: Dove; Turtledove; Anas;
 fol. 3r: Bee;
 fol. 3v: Sapphire, Diamond from an unidentified *Lapidary*
- fols. 4r-41r: **c)** *Sermones per totam annum*, sermons for the whole year, includes some by William de Montibus.⁴²
- fols. 41r-47v: **d)** Anon, ‘*Hec orac?*’ possibly Odo de Cheriton, *Commentary on the Lord’s Prayer*.⁴³
- fols. 50-51r: **e)** Extracts from Lombard, *Sentences*
- fol. 52r-v: **f)** *De quatuor miraculis*.
- fol. 52v: **g)** *de illusione nocturna*: Gregory the Great, *Libellus responsionum*, **Gregory’s reply to St Augustine of Canterbury**.⁴⁴
- Booklet II:
 fols. 61-67: **j)?** Booklet II’s contents are not in medieval catalogue unless they are j) ‘*quidem sermones*’ and inserted later, out of order. The quire contains notes for sermons and short extracts; possibly in the hand of John Pistor. Macray noted the sermon on St Benedict on fol. 67r, on the verse ‘*Surrexit Jonas et abiit Nineval?*’ (Jonah 1:3) with the incipit ‘*De Beato Bendicto quando contingit feria 2^{da} vel 3^a in Passione Domini, vel de Sancto Cuthberto?*’.⁴⁵
- Booklet III:
 fols. 68-75: **h)** *Epistola cuiusdam monachi ad abbatem*, incipit: *Angustie mihi sunt undique et quid eligam ignoro*.⁴⁶ A letter of complaint from a monk to his abbot which mentions a legatine visit and may refer to Cardinal Ottobueno’s visit to St Augustine’s Abbey in c. 1265. This would provide a post-date for this volume. The same hand as Booklet II.

Booklet IV:

⁴¹ Clark, 2006, catalogue entry: p. 253: missing chapters (between 56 and 86) are on: the Stork, Swan, Waxwing, Pelican, Partridge, Hawk, Raven, Swallow, Quail, Peacock, Hoopoe II, and Cock, pp. 170-189.

⁴² BCBB, .p. 1479.

⁴³ BCBB, p. 1480.

⁴⁴ M. Deanesly and P. Grosjean, ‘The Canterbury Edition of the Answers of Pope Gregory I to St. Augustine’, *JEH* 10 (1959), 1–49.

⁴⁵ Macray, 1878, p. 25.

⁴⁶ BCBB p. 1481; ‘*Epistola cuiusdam monachi ad abbatem*’, ed. J. Leclercq, *Studi medievali* 3rd ser. 1 (1960) 687–700.

fols. 76-97: i) John of Garland, *Tractatus de Aequivoca*, a book of synonyms.⁴⁷

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

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

Textual

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

Clark: BL Add. 11283, p. 253 N^o.*47.

Stewart, personal communication, Douce 88A.

Bibliography: *Catalogus Codicum MSS Bibl. Bodl. Partis V, Fasc. II: Catalogus Codicum MSS Ricardi Rawlinson Classis C*, ed. by W. D. Macray, (Oxford: MacMillan: 1878), pp. 24-25 (SC 11942); F. Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, III, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895), p. 205; Clark 2006, p. 253; BCBB, p. 790, pp. 1478-81; Stewart 2012, pp. 45-48. Not in Baxter.

Figures: 2.03-2.10

⁴⁷ John of Garland (d. after 1258), *Tractatus de aequiuocis*, incipit: '*Quia [or Quoniam] scire distinguere sophistarum ampullas reprimi'* unprinted, MLGB3 quotes WIC 54, <http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/authortitle/medieval_catalogues/BA1/>[accessed 14 June 2015].

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

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

Appendix 3

Oxford, Bodl. Douce 88E

This Appendix contains

- 3.1 Manuscript Description
- 3.2 Table 3.2 List of Miniatures

3. **Oxford, Bodl. Douce 88E** s.xiii^{ex}-xivⁱⁿ

Location: Oxford, Bodleian Library

Shelfmark: Douce 88E (SC 21662)

Date: BCBB: s.xiii^{ex}-xivⁱⁿ.⁴⁸

Incipit: *Cum uoluntas conditoris*

2^o. folio: *enni greco Simone*

Family: Third family

Contents Letters a)-t) match the medieval catalogue entries.

Summary: **a-p)** fols. 68r-139v: Third family Bestiary

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

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

t) missing: *The story of Susanna*.⁵¹

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

⁴⁸ BCBB BA1.*870, pp. 898-902, p. 898. Baxter 1998, p. 148: 1240-60; Dines 2014: 1280-90, p. 72.

⁴⁹ Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries of the Great Schism, 1378-1417* (University Park, PA: Penn State Press, 2006), pp. 165-200, p. 167-9 dates these prophecies to 1280-1305, p. 169.

⁵⁰ BCBB p. 901.

⁵¹ BCBB p. 901.

name.⁵²

Dines, 2014, argues this work is from Lincoln, and came to St Augustine's Abbey later.

- Provenance:** Part of the Francis Douce (1757- 1834) bequest to the Bodleian Library; rebound in the nineteenth century with several contemporary texts, and an earlier calendar with an *ex libris* dated 1336 to Thomas de Whatton, rector of Spedhist in Kent.
- Size:** c. 202 mm x 155 mm; text area 150mm x 115mm
- Collation:** No catchmarks in Part E; nine quires from fol. 68 (Baxter counts them as quires X-XVIII)⁵³
fol. 68: 1-3¹², 4⁴wants 8?, 5-6⁶, 7⁸, 8¹², 9³wants 9?
- Folios:** Douce 88E fols. 68-154. *Bestiary*: fols. 68r-139v.
Now bound with other texts, includa bestiary (Douce 88A) on fols. 5r-29r.
- Bestiary Hand:** Single bookhand written with a thick nib in sepia ink, same hand for fols 140-154.
Rubrication: alternate red and blue two line high initials with penscroll in same hand (?) as text.
Litterae Notabiliorae: Occasional red and blue puzzle initials 3-4 lines high in same unprofessional hand (e.g. fol. 132r)
Marginalia: corrections in same hand as scribe; Minor scribbles and pen trials but no names. Poem on Virgin Mary added in late medieval hand at foot of chapter on Unicorn, fols. 85v-86r.
- Layout:** Single column, ruled in lead, 29-32 lines per page, writing below top line.
- Decoration:** 143 unframed, brightly-coloured illustrations (colour palette includes orange and green which predominate, plus blue, warm red, yellow, black and sepia); separate Appendix has list. The simply-executed illustrations, with strongly marked outlines are inset into the text or occasionally across full page width (e.g. Sirens fol. 138v), called 'unprofessional' by Barker-Benfield.⁵⁴ Some of the illustrations appear to be copied or

⁵² BCBB p. 900.

⁵³ Baxter 1998, p. 142.

⁵⁴ BCBB p. 899.

adapted from a First family bestiary, Oxford, Bodl., Bodley 602, (Dines 2014).

Material: Binding: nineteenth-century leather bound covers

Substrate: Parchment: grubby, stained (e.g. fol. 100r) often yellowy (e.g. fol. 89r), torn (e.g. fol. 125) worm holes fol. 68.

Bestiary

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

- fols. 68r- 70r: a) Isidore, *Etymologiae* XI.3: incipit ‘*Cum uoluntas conditoris cuiusque*’
Puzzle initial C fol. 68r
Painted illustrations of monstrous races, fols. 69v-70r.
- fols. 70v-71r Isidore, *Etymologiae* XII.1-i-viii, Adam names the animals, ‘*Omnibus animantibus adam*’. This is at begins the Second family bestiary.⁵⁵
- fols. 71r-73r ‘*Esse dicitur Animantium vel naturas descripserunt; Pliny, Physiologus et Isidore. Porro Bernardus Francus[met...e] sed breuit sic descripsit.*’
Bernardus Silvestris, *Cosmographia (Megacosmos)* extracts incipit ‘*Postquam sub caelo stetit.*’⁵⁶
- fols. 73r-81v Bestiary section on domestic animals, incipit *Bovem greci* Ox, ends with *Aper*. Illustrated
- fol. 81r On hybrids, incipit ‘*In animantibus Vig[. . .]a dicuntur.* Ends per diuinionem dicti. Unillustrated,
- fols. 81v- 82r Introduction incipit ‘*Bestiarum uocabulum proprie leonibus, pardis, et tigris, lupis et uulpibus & canibus et simiis*’ which is the start of the Second family bestiary. After two more sentences the text changes to what Dines suggested is a William de Montibus unpublished distinction on *bestiae*, before endwith an excerpt from *Policraticus* VIII.17, on ‘*Malitia....deterius est.*’ on fol. 182r.⁵⁷
- fols. 82r-97r Bestiary section on wild animals, incipit *Leo uocabulum* Lion finishes with the Crocodile and Frog. Illustrated.

⁵⁵ Clark 2006, Chapter 32, pp. 150-151

⁵⁶ Bernardus Silvestris, *Cosmographia*, ed. by P. Dronke (Leiden: Brill, 1978), p. 108-115.

⁵⁷ Dines, 2013, p. 108.,

- fol. 97r-105r Bestiary section on birds (not the *Aviarium*) incipit *Aves dicte sunt* then begins with a chapter on the Eagle, '*Aquila ab acumine oculorum*'. Ends imperfect with the Cock or *Gallus* Illustrated.
[The section on fish includes serpents is lost from the start '*Pisces dicit unde*' to the second sentence of Asp; traced via comparison to Bodl. E. Mus. 136.]
- fol. 106r-113v Bestiary section on serpents and small animals, start imperfect, at the third sentence on *Aspis* '*uenenum dicunt*' and ends imperfect after Gadfly *Asilus*. Illustrated.
- fol. 114v-116v Bestiary section on fabulous animals, start imperfect (centre bi-folio(s) lost between fol. 113v-114r) now starts '*das quo pene nichil est aliud nisi guttur. Melumisse*' i.e. just before Melusine, to Firestones. Illustrated.
- fol. 116v-121r **b)** Long interpolation: John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, Bk II chapter 1, *Omnia uana esse*, non-continuous 'reworked' extracts on prognostications accord to Barker-Benfield (p. 900), incipit '*In creatoris prorumpi*' Unillustrated.
- fol. 121v-122r Continuation of fabulous animals, include the Phoenix illustrated not with a bird but with a black angel of death, Salamander, followed by 'horribilis' large unnamed animals, drawn as a green goat and a tan boar (fol. 122r)
- fol. 122r-123v **c)** Continuation of bestiary; on trees in the Orient⁵⁸ and marvels, finishes with chimaera, incipit '*In partibus Indie*'. Marginalia: at foot of folio 122r mentions 'medler', a medlar fruit tree. Unillustrated.
- fol. 124r-125v **d)** Continuation of bestiary; Comestor, *Historica Scholastica*, Esther chapter IV and V on Alexander.⁵⁹ Unillustrated.
e) Medieval cataloguer thought there was a second text on Alexander but there is not one in the manuscript.]
- fol. 126r **f)** Continuation of bestiary; Sybilline prophecies.⁶⁰ Unillustrated

⁵⁸ N. Palmer, 'Plant names in the *Cosmographia* of Bernardus Silvestris', *Scientiarum Historia* 20 (1994), 39-56, p.48 on properties of trees and fruit trees.

⁵⁹ BCBB p. 900, text also in BA1.980.

- fol. 126v-129v **g)** Extract from Suidas, *Probacione uirginitas beatae Maria*, incipit ‘Narracione ex libro qui grece uocatur suda quem composuerunt’. Unillustrated.
- fol. 129v-130r **h)** Continuation of bestiary; Latin verses, anonymous, on abuses of the secular and regular, ‘*De duodecim abusioibus seculi*’ incipit ‘*Rex ratione*’.⁶¹ Unillustrated.
- fol. 130r-131r **i)** ‘*Sermo Beati augustini*’, incipit ‘*Penitentes*’⁶² Unillustrated.
- fol. 131r-131v ‘De Similitudine candele’ on the Blessed Virgin Mary, not in medieval catalogue. Unillustrated.
- fol. 132r-135v **j)** Honorius Augustodunensis, *Imago Mundi*, Book 1 prologue, incipit ‘*ad instructionem multorum*’. Unillustrated.
- fol. 136r-137v **k)** *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem de situ Indie*, start and end imperfect.⁶³ Unillustrated.
- [l]-o)missing:Alexander text (Collatio); ‘*Versus de Roma*’; *Versus de proprietatibus arborum*; *Versus de proprietatibus herbarum*.⁶⁴
- fol. 138r-139v **p)** *De Mirabilibus Angliae*, variant, not from *Historia Britonum*, excerpt but only ten lines left, mentions the neolithic standing stones at Rollingright, Oxfordshire, fol. 138r.⁶⁵
- Third family bestiary ends with Siren, Peredixion Tree, Goose, Sawfish or *Serra*. Illustrated.

Textual

Affiliation:

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

Bibliography:

F. Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, IV, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897), pp. 516-517; James, 1928, pp.13-22; McCulloch, 1962, p. 75.

⁶⁰ BCBB p. 900.

⁶¹ BCBB p. 900.

⁶² BCBB p. 900, ps.-Augustine, *On Penitence*.

⁶³ BCBB p. 901, De Boer,ed., *Epistola Alexandri*, 1953

⁶⁴ BCBB p. 901.

⁶⁵ BCBB p. 901.

Ker, *MLGB*, p. 46;
Morgan II, p. 174;
Baxter 1998, pp. 148, 156, 160, 172;
BCBB, pp. 898-902;
Stewart 2012, p. 11, p. 60;
C, van Duzer, I. Dines, 'The Only Mappamundi in a Bestiary
Context: Cambridge, MS Fitzwilliam 254', *Imago Mundi*, 58
(2006), 7-22;
I. Dines, 'The Earliest Use of John of Salisbury's Policraticus:
Third Family Bestiaries', *Viator*, 44.1, 2013, 107-115;
I. Dines, 'The Copying and Imitation of Images in Medieval
Bestiaries', *JBA*, 167 (2014), 70-82.

Figures: 2.11 and 2.12

Table 3.1: List of Miniatures

No.	Subject	folio	Latin Name	Notes: scene, colour
1.	Monstrous Races	69v	<i>Cynocephalus</i> Two <i>Blemmae</i>	Three separate uncaptioned figures
2.	Monstrous Races	70r	<i>Sciapod</i> top and 9 others	Ten separate uncaptioned figures
Domesticated Animals				
3.	Ox	73r	Boves	Orange ox
4.	Bull	73v	Bubalis	Dark blue
5.	Sheep	73v	Vervex, oves	Five sheep
6.	Goat	74v	Hircus	White upright, tree
7.	Pig	74v	Porcus	Brown
8.	Ass	75r	Asinus	With tree
9.	Mule/Hinny	75r	Burdo	brown
10.	Donkey	75r	Asellus	Added sketch in foot
11.	Wild Ass	75v	Onager	Sits two trees
12.	Horse	75v	Equus	Dappled blue
13.	Mule	77v	Mulus	brown
14.	Camel	78r	Camelus	Two humps, green
15.	Dromedary	78v	Dromedarius	No hump, green
16.	Stag	79r	Cervus	brown
17.	Stag and snake	79v	Cervus	Stag breathes on coiled snake
18.	Red deer	80r	Dama	Antlered brown deer
19.	Goat	80r	Caprea	brown
20.	Boar	80v	Aper	tan
Wild Animals				
21.	Lion with hunter	82v	Leo	Warm brown lion picked out in white
22.	Lion eyes open	82v	Leo II	Yellow possibly added later in foot margin
23.	Lions with cub	83r	Leo III	Family with tree
24.	Androcles	83v	Leo IV	Scene: 4 figures & lion
25.	Pard	84v	Pardus	Red head fawn body
26.	Lynx	84v	Linx	Orange with pink spots
27.	Panther and dragon	84r	Pantera	White green spots blue dragon [Leopard text added in foot margin]
28.	Bear	85r	Urus	Brown licks red lump
29.	Unicorn	86r	Rinoceros	Scene with maiden, hunter and trees
30.	Rhinoceros	86v	Monoeros	White horned horse

31.	Tiger	86v	Tigris	Scene with mounted hunter, cub, ball
32.	Griffin	87r	Grifes	Beaked quadruped bites prone man
33.	Antelope	87r	Autalops	Horns caught in tree hunter spears it
34.	Elephnt	87v	Elephas	Castle carrying fawn, soldier with palm
35.	Manticore	88v	Manticora	Orange man-headed pard three rows teeth
36.	Parandrus	89r	Parandrus	Deer-like, brown
37.	Yale	89r	Elle	Dark blue long opposing horns
38.	Ape	89v	Simia	Scene hunter, dog, monkeys with babies
39.	Beaver	90r	Castor	Scene hunter wth bow, green beaver
40.	Wolf	90v	Lupus	Scene sitting shepherd dog, wolf, 3 sheep
41.	Fox	91v	Vulpus	Scene plays dead, three birds, orange fox
42.	Hyena	92r	Yena	Orange pard attacks man
43.	Bonnacon	92v	Bonnacon	Soldier with long shield spears ox
44.	Goat	93r	Ybericis	Green outline on hill
45.	Dog	93r	Canus	White dog collared chases hare [Garamantes not illustrated]
Small Animals				
46.	Hare	94v	Lepus	Brown long-eared hare
47.	Rabbit	94v	Cuniculus	Brown rabbit chased by white hound
48.	? Polecat	94v	Feles?	White weasel peers into burrow
49.	? Melo	94v	Melo	Small black pig
50.	? Porcupine	95r	Ericius simile	Dog chases dark blue piglet
51.	Cat	95r	Musio	White cat catches mouse
52.	Mouse	95r	Mus	Four dark brown mice
53.	Weasel	95r	Mustela	Small white hound-like quadruped
54.	Mole	95v	Talpa	Dark blue frog
55.	Dormouse	95v	Gliris	White rabbit long tail
56.	Red Squirrel	95v	Cyrgrillus	Red-orange squirrel
57.	Hedgehog	96r	Ericius	Two hedgehogs by a tree
58.	Ants	96r	Formica	Ants on ground and on wheatstalks
59.	Crocodile	96v	Cocodrillus	Fanged stripy green quadruped

				eats man
60.	? Otter	97r	Luter?	Fawn quadruped
Birds				
61.	Eagle	98r	Aquila	Two brown raptors on ground
62.	Vulture	98v	Vultur	Single brown raptor
63.	Crane	98v	Grues	Dark blue emu picked in white, marginal grey crane holds stone in one claw
64.	Stork	99r	Cyconia	Grey and blue gull with long orange beak and legs
65.	Olor	99r	Swan	White with black beak and webbed feet
66.	Bucio	99v	Bittern	Long-legged fawn duck
67.	Heron	99v	Ardea	Accurate white bird dips beak in water
68.	Ibis	99v	Ibis	Orange swan-like bites tail feathers
69.	Phoenix	100r	Fenix	Red and yellow gull in flaming nest
70.	Caladrius	100r	Caladrius	White bird looks away from man in bed
71.	Ostrich	100r	Assida	Green and orange cloven-hooved on eggs
72.	Hericine	100v	Hericine	Green and orange crested partridge
73.	Coot	100v	Fulica	'Sulica' green and orange small bird
74.	Halcyon	100r	Alcion	White gull
75.	Seagull	101r	Mergus	Dark blue small duck
76.	Quail	101r	Coturnix	Small brown bird
77.	? Coot	101r	Fulica similes	Orange small bird
78.	Duck & Goose	101r	Anas & Anser	Dark blue nesting bird
79.	Parrot	101v	Psittacus	Green parrot
80.	Pelican	101v	Pellicanus	Green & brown stripes pecks breast for chicks
81.	Hoopoe	102r	Upopa	Crestes black and white bird
82.	Hawk	102r	Accipiter	Mid-blue raptor
83.	Falcon	102r	Falcone	Small blue raptor
84.	Merlin	102r	Merilon?	Hawk, added to margin
85.	Partridge	102v	Perdix	Two tiny brown birds
86.	Cinnamoligus	103r	Cinnamoligus	Two boys with sticks, nest in tree
87.	Pica	103r	Magpie	Accurate depiction of a magpie
88.	Cuckoo	103v	Cucus	Small brown bird
89.	Jackdaw or Chough	103v	Graculus	Green bird in tree shot with arrow by hunter
90.	Crow	103v	Corvus	A big black bird

91.	Jackdaw	104r	Monedula	Black bird eating berries
92.	Bat	104r	Vespertilio	Two black leaves
93.	Little Owl	104r	Noctua	Small black bird not owl-like
94.	Tawny Owl	104r	Ulula	Fawn owl
95.	Eagle Owl	104v	Bubo	Slightly larger owl, brown
96.	Nightingale	104v	Lucinia	Small brown bird
97.	Turtledove	104v	Turtur	Ditto
98.	Dove	104v	Columba	White with blue wings
99.	Swallow	105r	Hyrindo	Black swallow
100.	Lark	105r	Alauda	Tiny brown bird
101.	Blackbird	105r	Merula	Small brown bird; text added and two more drawn in a tree in margin
102.	Pavo	105v	Peacock	Crested, blue and green orange wings
Snakes: start imperfect				
103.	Asp	106r	Aspis	Man & scroll asp tail in ear
104.	King snake	106r	Dipsis	Large black snake
105.	Prester asp	106v	Aspis	Green with orange wings
106.	Gem Asp	106v	Gemmis aspidis	White with blue spots
107.	Rat snake	106v	Emoris	Blank space
108.	Small snake	106v	Seps	Not illustrated
109.	Crested snake	106v	Seratis serpens	Crested spotty snake
110.	Scytalis	107r	Scytalis	Green with fawn wings
111.	Amphisbeana	107r	Amphisbeana	Two-headed snake, long ears
112.	Coluber	107r	Coluber	Winged, bearded beaked eared grey
113.	Boa	107v	Boas	Green snake milks orange cow
114.	Iaculus	107v	Iaculus	Orange and white coiled snake
115.	Serpent	107v	Serpens	Green eared bipedal snake
116.	White snake	107v	Serpentes albi	White winged snake, green orange-spotted legged winged eared snake below
117.	Setula	108r	Setula	Bipedal fawn worm
118.	Lizard	108r	Lacertus	White lizard drawn from above
119.	Toad	108r	Botrax	Drawn as green lizard from above
120.	Salamander	108r	Salamandra	White lizard black spotted spine
121.	Lizard	108v	Lacertus	Another lizard green: Later scribble
122.	Gecko or lizard	108v	Stellio	Orange, winged, white and blue tail bipedal
123.	Serpent	108v	Serpens	Orange snake with white wrinkled old skin around middle

124.	Worms	110r	Uermis	Green worm in white coil
125.	Spider	110r	Aranea	Eight legs and two pincers black
126.	Leech	110r	Sanguisuga	Black worm
127.	Scorpion	110v	Scorpio	Round fawn body, four pincer legs and a tail, human face green stripes
128.	Milipede	111r	Multipes	Eight-legged shell
129.	Silkworm	111r	Bombices	Fawn worm with antennae
130.	Frog	111v	Rana	Small brown frog
131.	Bees	111v	Apes	Two men one veiled one with scythe swarm of bees entering woven domed beehive. Bee chapter starts on fol. 112r.
Fabulous Animals: starts imperfect				
132.	Cerberus	114v	Cerberus	Three headed brown dog with red collar
133.	Chimaera	115r	Chimaera	Hybrid with human face about to be shot with an arrow by a blue dappled centaur
134.	Firestones	116v	Lapides igniferi	Clothed human figures each surrounded by orange flames.
135.	Death	121v	Mors	Black winged angel at foot of bed with a l dying man: 'mors depingitur alata quis velox est os patulum habet quis insatiabilis est.'
136.	Salamander	121v	Salamandra	White lizard with yellow spine, text on Camaleon and Hippopotamus
137.	Great goat	122r	Hiricina	Large horned green goat
138.	Great boar	122r	Similes Ypotamus	Tusked fawn quadruped with long tail
139.	Sirens	138r	Sirene	Three mermaids with wings float on water like ducks enticing four sailors in a boat.
140.	Sirens	138v	Sirens	Two play instruments and one sings, similar to Douce 602, fol. 10r.
141.	Dragon and Perindens Tree	138v	Pernindens Tree et Draco	Orange winged dragon lurks by tree with nesting doves
142.	Geese	139r	Anser	Three grey geese; orange bills and feet.
143.	Sailfish/Sawfish	139r	Serra	3 sailors in cog, winged fish-eagle
144.	[Pig	139v	Porcus	January task? pig-killing, unrelated to text.]

Appendix 4

BA1.755 and Worcester Q. 56

This Appendix contains

- 4.1 Manuscript Description
- 4.2 Table of Contents and Comparison with *Aviarium* and DC Bestiary
- 4.3 Table of Contents for Worcester Q.56
- 4.4 Table of Contents for Oxford Bodl. Auct. F infra 1.3

4.1 Worcester, Cathedral Library Q. 56

Location: Worcester, Cathedral Library

Shelfmark: Q. 56

Vol. Incipit: *Hon nomen Maria habet quinque literas*

2° folio: *maledictionis*

Family: Excerpts from an *Aviarium* and a *Dicti Chrysostomi* bestiary

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

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

⁶⁶ BCBB, p. 807.

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

The original book, no longer extant, belonged either to Abbot John Hawkhurst (1427-30) or possibly a deacon of the same name ordained in 1455.⁶⁷ When and where the Carmelite friars, such as John Staunche, copied the texts from BA1.755 is not known. This probably happened in the late fifteenth century, based on the script. The work was probably copied because it contains sermon on the Virgin Mary to whom the Carmelite Order was and is particularly drawn.

This volume was passed to the Benedictines at Worcester at some point, possibly via Ramsay Abbey.

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

- Date:** s. xvⁱⁿ,⁶⁸
- Size:** 260 mm x 175 mm
- Layout:** single column, 44 lines, written in anglicana by a single scribe (changes at fol. 163), decorated initial with blue filigree, alternate blue and red chapter marks.
- Collation:** 1-17¹², with intermittent folios lost (14 wants 7-12; 17 wants 11-12).⁶⁹
- Folios:** fols. 1-96; aviary and bestiary excerpts on fols. 49r-68v :
- Illustration:** Not illustrated
- Textual**
- Affiliation:** Following Barker-Benfield's discovery of the matched incipits, this thesis links these *Aviarium* and bestiary excerpts and other exempla and

⁶⁷ BCBB pp. 806-7, BA1.755.

⁶⁸ R. M. Thomson with M. Gullick, *A descriptive catalogue of the medieval manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 155.

⁶⁹ Thomson and Gullick, 2001, p. 155.

sermons to a volume which originally belonged to St Augustine's Abbey (no longer extant) but mentioned in the medieval catalogue, BA1.755.

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

Figure: 2.13

⁷⁰ Thomson and Gullick, 2001, p. 155; BCBB, BA1.755, pp. 806-7.

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

BL Sloane 278 & Aviary excerpts DC Bestiary chapter headings & Excerpts

<i>Aviarium</i> Chapter No. & Title (Clark 1992)	Birds Excerpts Worcester Q56 fols. 49r-53v	DC Bestiary BL Sloane 278 (Sbordone, 1949)	Bestiary Excerpts Worcester Q.56, fols. 53v-56v
17: Hawk	49r de ancipitris	1. Lion: de leone	Leo
23: Turtledove	De Turtur	2. Panther: de pantera	Pantera
1: Three Colours of the Dove	de Tribus Columba	3. Unicorn: de monocerote	Monoceros
32: Sparrow	49 v: Passer	4.Siren & Onocentaur de Sirenis et Onocentauris	Sirena*
38: Pelican	50v: Pellicano	5. Hydrus: de Ydris	Idris
39: Little Owl	Nicticorax	6. Hyena: de hyena	Hyena
40: Raven	Corvus	7. Elephant: de elephante	Simia
41: Cock	51r: Gallus	8. Wild Ass & Ape de onagro, de simia	Elephans
42: Ostrich	Penne Strutionis	9. Antelope: de autula	Autula
43: Vulture	de Vultur	10. Lizard: de lacerta	-
44: crane	Grues	11. Sawfish: de serra	Serra
45: Kite [No Swallow or Stork]	51v: Milvus	12. Viper: de vipera	Vipera
48 Blackbird	Merula	13. Stag: de cervo	Cervus
49: Owl	Bubo	14. Goat: de capra	-
50: Jay	52r: Graculus	15. Fox: de vulpe	Vulpes
51: Goose	Anser	16. Ostrich: de asida	Assida
53: Caladrius	Caladrius	17. Beaver: de castore	Castor
52: Heron [No phoenix]	Ardea	18. Ant: de formica	Formica
55: Partridge [No Quail]	52v: Perdix	19. Hedgehog de herinaceo	-
57: Hoopoe	Upupa	20. Salamander: de salamandra	Salamander
58: Swan	Olor	21. Weasel & Asp:	Mustela

		de mustela et aspide	& aspide
59: Peacock	53r: Pavo	22. Basilisk: de basilisco	- [Pica]
-	S[F]ulica (Coot) from bestiary	23. Dragon: de dracone	-
-	Ibis [from bestiary]		
60: Eagle	52v: Aquilo [not noted in margin]		

* The Siren chapter has a (mangled) sentence on the Onocentaur but does not include it in the chapter heading.

Table 4.2: Worcester Cathedral Q.56 and St Augustine references

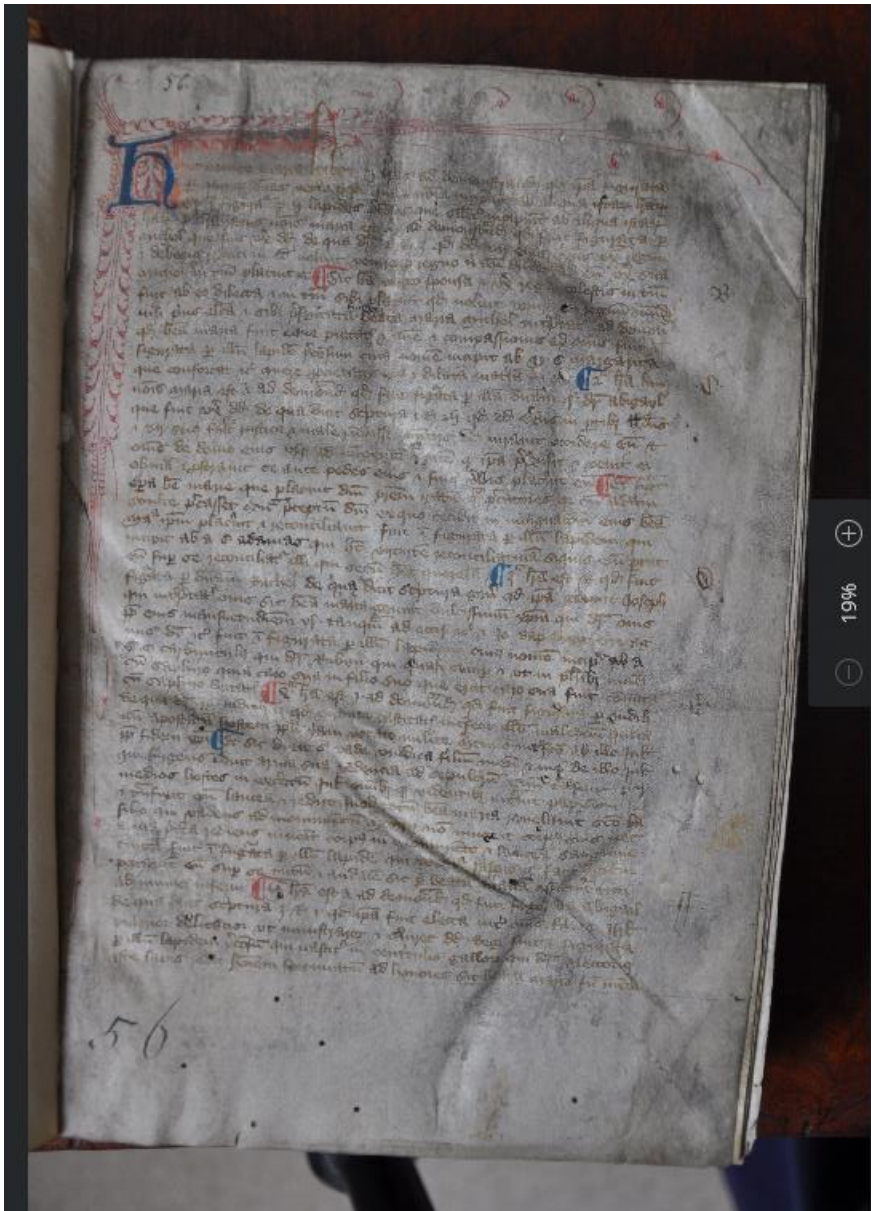
Folios	Contents Worcester Cathedral Q.56	St Augustine Owner
1r-8v	<i>Tractatus qui incipit hoc nomen maria cum tabula F. Galuani de Ianua, Collationes super Lucani (?)</i>	John Hawkhurst
8v-44v	<i>narraciones diuerse</i> Incipit: <i>Auis rapax sumit audaciam ad rapiendam sine ventribus si de sanguine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

**Table 4.3: Oxford, Bodl. Auct F inf 1.3 Part 1:
Contents and identified St Augustine references⁷¹**

Folios	Contents: Oxford, Bodl. Auct F inf 1.3 Part 1	St Augustine Book Owner BA1.755
1r-6v	Incipit: <i>Hoc nomen Maria quinque habet litteras</i> , poss. <i>Lectioes in Lucam</i> F. Galuani de Ianua (fl.1348)	John Hawkhurst
6v-32r	Incipit: <i>Auis rapax, sumit audaciam ad. . .</i> <i>Narraciones diuerse</i> (ref. to Isidore '12.eth' on f.7v)	John Hawkhurst
32v-35r	<i>Adueniens – Christus</i> index to the first two works	John Hawkhurst ⁷²
35v-40r	Incipit: <i>Due sunt species ancipitris, domesticus et silvestris</i> <i>De naturis auium et animalium moralizat</i>	John Hawkhurst
40r-44r	<i>Exempla extracta de Jobanne Crisostomo super matheum</i>	John Hawkhurst
44v-81v	<i>Marian Sermons 1-31</i>	-
81v-93r	<i>Sermons on the Name of Jesus 32-42</i>	-
93r-96r	<i>Index to Sermons</i>	-

⁷¹ Collated from Oxford, Bodl. Auct. F. inf. 1.3, V. Edden, 1995, pp. 102-4, and BCBB, p. 809.

⁷² Attributed to Carmelite John Staunch in Auct F. infra 1.3, but also in Worcester Q56 and in BA1.755 catalogue entry.



73

73 Worcester Q.56 fol. 1r 'Hoc nomen Mariae habet quinque litteras'

Appendix 5

Oxford, Bodl. Laud Misc. 247 D

Appendix 5 contains the following sections:

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

5.1 Summary Description:

Oxford, Bodley, Laud Misc. 247⁷⁵: Histories and a bestiary

Date s.xi^{ex}

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

5.2 Manuscript Description

Manuscript Items

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

⁷⁵ H.O. Coxe, *Catalogi Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, 3 vols., 2 (Oxford: 1853-8), amended repr. by R. W. Hunt (Oxford: Bodley Library, 1973), p. xxxv, p. xxxxi, pp. 206-7, pp. 553-554.
<<https://databank.ora.ox.ac.uk/miscoll/datasets/QuartoLaudian/Laudian.pdf>> [accessed 14 June 2015]

8. fols. 186r-196v	<i>Epistola Alexandri Magni ad Aristotelem</i>
[9. fols. 196v-203v	<i>Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi</i>]
10. fols. 203v-223r	<i>Historia de Apollonia Tyri rege</i>
11. fol. 223v	<i>pen trials; 1 line of music</i>
Provenance:	<i>Ex libris</i> Archbishop Laud, 1633 fol 2r . In the first tranche of manuscripts given by Archbishop Laud to Oxford University in 1633. No indication of earlier provenance.
Folios:	fols. 1v-223v in 21 quires (see collation below)
Size:	265 mm x 164 mm (trimmed)
Materials: Binding:	Brown leather tooled binding with archbishop's crest in gold centred on front cover.
Substrate:	Parchment, blotchy, occasionally holed.
Text:	<i>Body Text:</i> late Caroline miniscule with some protogothic features in a single column of 30 lines in black ink sometimes faded to brown.
Incipits:	frequently in rustic capitals
Decorated	
Initials:	most often in single colours, alternate purple, red, green, occasionally red and purple (except for fol.1v, Q and fol. 45r, S which have all three colours)
Tituli:	in red
Collation:	<i>Quires:</i> 1-3 ¹⁰ , 4 ¹² , 5-7 ¹⁰ , 8 ¹² , 9 ⁸ , 10 ¹² , 11 ¹⁰ , 12 ¹² , 13 ¹⁰⁺¹ , 14-15 ¹² , 16 ⁸ , 17 ¹² , 18 ¹⁰⁺¹ , 19-21 ¹⁰ <i>Signatures:</i> marked in Roman numerals centred at the foot on last verso of quire (and Arabic on the first)
Marginalia:	Corrections and instructions to rubricator.
Illuminations:	Unillustrated except for 37 line drawings in <i>Liber Bestiarum</i> .
Description:	

This appendix considers the evidence: from the book itself; from an examination of extant contemporary manuscripts with confirmed Canterbury provenances; and from a reassessment of the research on Canterbury books of the period of 1070-1130; to ascertain whether a more detailed date and provenance may be established. This is a

viable three-pronged attack as there is not only a sufficiently large tranche of extant manuscripts with firm Canterbury provenances dating from the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries but also a body of scholarship that has already undertaken such comparative codicological, iconographic and palaeographic analysis techniques. Therefore, the bestiary text in Laud Misc. 247 will be assessed with reference to Christ Church books, including the remains of a seven volume Martyrology, a pontifical, and non-liturgical books, drawing on analyses by James, Bishop, Gameson, Webber and Gullick.

Beyond these comparative techniques, there is also a qualitative approach to dating and broad location pursued by Erik Kwakkel which uses the corpus of dated medieval manuscripts and specific letter features (such as the biting of letters into each other and changes to the serifs on minims), to establish changes and differences over the long twelfth century transition from minuscule to gothic letter forms.⁷⁶ Both these palaeographic analyses are used to examine Laud Misc. 247, beginning with the qualitative approach following the codicological examination of the book and in particular the bestiary, beginning with textual contents.

Textual Contents:

- | | |
|----------------|---|
| <i>fol. 1v</i> | <p>Contents – twice</p> <p>Top untidy but clear early medieval hand;</p> <p>below in large display hand in turquoise with red infill in first letter ‘hystoria wandalorum’. The rest of the list has large royal blue initials and black text.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Historia Wandalorum</i>
[Victor of Vita, <i>Historia persecutionis Africae prouinciae</i>, CPL 798] 2. <i>Historia Longobardorum</i> (autore Eginhardo)
[Einhard, <i>Vita</i> of Charlemagne] 3. <i>Lib[er] Bestiarum</i>
[3a. Sententia beati Aug[ustine] <i>de imagine dei in homine</i> (quire filler omitted)] 4. <i>Ortus Uita, Obitus Alexandri Magni</i> |
|----------------|---|

⁷⁶ E. Kwakkel, ‘Biting, Kissing and the Treatment of Feet: the Transitional Script of the Long Twelfth Century’ in *Turning over a New Leaf: Change and Development in the Medieval Book*, ed. by E. Kwakkel, R. McKitterick and R. Thomson (Leiden, University of Leiden Press, 2012), pp. 79-126.

5. *Epistola eiusdem ad Magistrum suum*
[5a. Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi, omitted]
6. *Liber Appollonii*
- fol. 2r* Victor, Bishop of Vita, *Historia Persecutionis Vandalice*⁷⁷
Incipit: QUONDAM/VETERES OB/STUDIUM SAPIENTIE
Decorated Initial: Beautifully decorated initial [Q] with green dots, purple swirls inside the red letter, very similar CCA Lit E. 42
Passionale (The ‘A’s in the rustic capitals look like triangles because the crossbars so low, a Caroline miniscule feature)
Ex libris of Archbishop Laud in foot margin dated 1633
- fol. 43v-44r* blank
- fol. 44v* Paul the Deacon, *Historia Longobardorum*⁷⁸
Incipit: cap[itu]la libri primi hystorie gentis langobar [inserted above as scribe ran out of space]dorum
- fol. 45r* Eleven line high S[eptemtrionalis] decorated initial again red with purple and green
- fol. 123* Einhard, *Vita Caroli Magni Imperatoris*⁷⁹
Incipit: ‘*Incipit vita Karoli Magni Imperatoris*’
- fol. 138r* *Explicit:* explicit vita karoli magni imp[er]atoris
- fol. 138v-139r* blank
- fol. 139v* *liber bestiarum*⁸⁰ Contents list
Incipit in red: Incipiunt Capitula Libri Bestiarv[m]:-

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

⁷⁸ Paul the Deacon (fl. 787-796), *Historia Langobardorum*, (CPL 1179) online at Intratext, Eulogos, 2007 <<http://www.intratext.com/IXT/LAT0338/INDEX.HTM#fonte>> [accessed 14 June 2015] and Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by L. K. Bethmann, Monumentis Germaniae Historicae (Hanover: 1878)

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

⁸⁰ There is no recent published First family bestiary scholarly edition or translation but see Stewart 2012, Appendices. See M. F. Mann, *Der Bestiaire divin des Guillaume le clerc*, (Heilbronn: Verlag von Gebr. Henninger, 1888), pp. 37-73, which has a transcription of London, British Library, Royal 2 C XII, fols. 133r-146v; an unillustrated First family bestiary with detailed glossing (340 x 240 mm, 2 column format with alternate red and blue rubrication dating from s.xiii¹) possibly from St Peter’s Abbey, Gloucester, since it has a partial *ex libris* mentioning Thomas de Bredone, Abbot there 1224-1228. On BL Royal C XII see Ilya Dines, ‘The Bestiary in British Library, Royal MS. 2 C. XII and its Role in Medieval Education’ in *Electronic British Library Journal*, Article 9 (2014), 1-22.

Initial D in purple (six lines high with swirl) then across the page, three or four chapter headings per line each with two line high coloured initial D which is either a capital, indicated by * or a rustic initial:

De [purple initial] tribus naturis leonis De [green initial]

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

De [green] Caladrio De [red] Pelicano D*e [green] Nicticorace
De [purple] Aquila/

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

De [green] Sirena + Onocentauro De [red but purple
underneath ? corrected] herinace De [purple] lbice **de** [red]/
Vulpe De [purple] Monocero De [red] Casto **de** [green] hyena
De [purple]/

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

De [green] Perdice De [red] Mustela De [purple] assida &
strutione D*e [red] Turture./

D*e [red] Cervo De [red] Salamandra. De [green] Columbaru-
naturis./

De [purple] Arbore perexion. De [red] Elephanto De [green]
Amos propheta/

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

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

Top scene: the upright but bowing mother (?) lion holds the chest
of her cub in her mouth, supporting it with her forepaws for the
also upright father (?) lion to lick (and presumably breathe over)

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

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

fol. 140r

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

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

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

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

Initial: C 2 lines

Incipit: CVM LEENA parit catulus

fol. 140v

Explicit: Stretched out to make end of page:

Prostrati/enim parcurt - . captiuos – obvios -/repedare –
permittunt -// - hominem/non nisi magna// -Fame-// -
/interimunt-// - :

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

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

fol. 141r

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

Incipit: EST Animal acerrimus

Explicit: apostatare faciunt homines a deo

fol. 141v

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

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

17 lines of text (last line 1 word)

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

Explicit : in filios inobedientiez/ debachatur

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

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

fol. 142r

Incipit: EST BELUA in mare que dicit serra.

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

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

Line Drawing: ca. 8 – 9 lines high drawn close to text - tituli
impinges, so drawn afterwards. Bird wings outspread like an eagle

talons out about to land looks right towards a man in bed with highly stylized drapery, he is clean shaven with one arm out of covers palm down.

Incipit: EST volatile quod dicitur caladrius

End page: est in egritudine

fol. 142v

constitus. [30 lines]

Explicit: laudabilia. Alia vituperabilia. & differentia. Sive moru/ sive nature distancia.

fol. 143r

Tituli: Pelicanus et pulli eius

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

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

Incipit: DICIT DAVID in psalmo centesimo primo. Similis

End page : P[red 3 lines]elicanos avis egiptia [Ethemologia – red ranged right]/

fol. 143v

[the rest of pelican chapter]

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

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

Titulus: Nicticorax que 7 noctua dicit[ur]

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

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

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

fol. 144r:

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

Explicit : ut aquile inuentus tua.

Tituli : Ethimologia 16 lines down, ranged right in red

Initial: A [purple intial 2 lines]

Incipit: Aquila ab acumine oculorum

Explicit : Et quos uiderit/ flectere oculos: quasi degeneris abicit.

Tituli : Then ranged right again on last line of text: Fenix

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

Note: marginalia indicate rubrics and tituli e.g. 'de libre' cut off near 'Ethemologia' on fol. 144r

fol. 144v

Incipit : EST ALIUD uolatile quod dicit[ur] fenix

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

fol. 145r

Phoenix continues

Sic erit omnis

Titulus: Ranged right in red Ethimologia

Initial: F [3lines green]

Incipit: Fenix arabie avis dicta quod colore feniceu habeat.

Explicit: 7 lines: incendium nutrit.

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

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

Initial: D[red]

Incipit: DICTUS Est in lege. Honora patre tuum & matre tua/ se iterum. Q[ui] maledixerat patri vel matri : morte/ moriatur.

End page: 15 lines: Homines cum sint rationabiles

fol. 145v

parentu[m] and on same line: 'Ethemologia' in red on right

Hupupa ideo greci

Excipit: 4 lines demones suffocare uidebat.

Incipit: DE tribus natura formice

Note: line drawing of 'de natura formica' missing, only *titulus*

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

fol. 146r

The first chapter on the ant continues for five lines.

Excipit: extinctis

Titulis: De secundum natura

Initial: Q [red, 2 lines]

Incipit: Quando recondite grana

Excipit: non intelligibilia.

Titulis: De tercia natura

Initial: T [purple, 2 lines]

Incipit: Tempore messis

fol. 146r

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

Excipit: atque inimical sunt/ ueritati.

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

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

Incipit: [ditto] FORMICA DICTA; quod/ ferat micas farris. Cuius sollercia multa est.

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

fol. 147r

Syrene et Onocentauri

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

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

Initial: I (3 lines high)

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

fol. 147v

Propheta david dicit. Homo cum in honore esset non

Co[m]parus est iumentis insipientibus & similis factus est illis.

Titulus: on right: Ethimologia

Initial: S (rubric 2 lines)

Incipit: SIRENAS tres fingunt fuisse./

Titulus: herinacuis

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

Incipit: Physiologus Dicit quod herinacius figura habet porcella lactentis.

fol. 148r

Excipit: & super eam & fixos in [corrected from 'ita'] spinus
race/mos portat natis suos.

Titulus: Ybex. et unde uiuat

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

Initial: E[red 3 lines high]

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

fol. 149r

[Ibis continues]

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

Titulus: De uulpe 7 qua- dolose capit aues

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

Initial: U[red 2 lines]

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

fol. 149v

Vulpes continues

Explicit: as cadauer eius aues: rapit & deuorat

Titulus: Rinoceros 7 quomodo/ capiatur

Line Drawing: Well-composed scene taking up all the available 8 line space and extending into the gutter to fit in the eleven line high figure of the hunter, wearing a short tunic, a cap and with a horn on a thin thong slung across his body like a schoolboy's satchel. He is spearing with a fine long spear the fleshy hindleg of the goat-like unicorn. This creature floats in mid-air and rests its long horned head on the lap of a cloaked woman who sits on snail-shell rocks by a stylized foliate tree with her feet stiffly stuck

out in front of her, pointing up to the creature's hind hooves and the point of the spear piercing its body. Her arm extends along the back of the unicorn as if to comfort it and emphasise its wound, while her right hand grips its horn.

Initial: E [red 2 lines high]

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

fol. 150r

Unicorn continues: unu- cornu habens in medio capite

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

Initial: R [purple three lines high]

Incipit: RINOCERON a grecis uocatur [last line]

fol. 150v

Unicorn continues for 13 lines

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

Titulus: castus

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

Initial: E [red 2 lines high]

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

fol. 151r

Beaver continues for whole leaf

Titulus: ETHIMOLOGIA

Initial: C [red two lines high]

Incipit: CASTORES a castrando dicti sunt

Excipit: canes uocantur

Titulus: DE HIENA

Initial: E [green 2 lines]

Incipit: EST ANIMAL quod grece

fol. 151v

Hyena continues

Titulus: ETHIMOLOGIA

Initial: H[green-grey 2 lines high]

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

Titulis: HIENA

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

Initial: A [purple three lines high]

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

fol. 152r

Hydrus continues for whole page

fol. 152v

Hydrus continues for five lines.

Excipit: Hunc hydrus degluti/ tus dentibus & unguibus interimit.
& uiuus inde exit

Titulus: hidrus et quomodo deglutat/ eum corcodillus

Marginalia: repeats *excipit* for artist to draw this scene.

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

Initial: E [red two lines high]

Incipit: EST ANIMAL quod grece dicit dorcon. Latine uero/caprea.

fol. 153r

Caprea continues for fifteen lines

Excipit: Bene go de dor/chon exposuit phisiologus.

Titulis: ETHIMOLOGIA

Initial: C [2 lines green-grey]

Incipit: CAPROS & capreas a carpendis uirgultis

Excipit: omnis qui ueniunt

Titulus: Caprea et ubi pascitur

Marginalia: by respective tituli 'eth' and 'caprea 7 ubi pascit

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

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

Incipit: EST ALIUD ANIMAL quod dicitur onager. Physiologus/
Dicit de onogro. Quis uicesimo quinto die mensis F²AME
NOTH

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

fol. 153v

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

Titulus: Ethimologia rubric

Initial: O[green, 2 lines high]

Incipit: ONAGER/ interpretatur asinus ferus. On quippe greci asinu' uo/cant. Agria ferus. Hos affrica habet magnos & indomi/tos. & indeferto uagantes. Singular autem. Feminarum gre/gibus presente Nascentibus masculis zelant. & testiculos /morsibus detruncant.

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

Titulus: Simia

Line Drawing: Not by the same artist, perhaps by the same hand as the onager (and may be the scribe)a conflation of scenes,

mother monkey picks up her baby, while presumably the less favoured falls from her back, on the right a human woman [?] her robe showing her lower leg [might be a young man] lying down, propped up on one elbow has two monkeys, one sitting on her back gesturing to the other one which is upright with one leg extending down the gutter margin, the other round the human's neck, touching the hair.

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

Incipit: ZIMILITER & simia figuram habet diaboli. Sicut enim

fol. 154r

Monkey continues

Excipit: & longa barba & lata cauda.

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

fol. 154v

Incipit: EST volatile quod dicit- fulica

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

Titulis: Pantera et quomodo fugiter sabea.

fol. 155r-156v

Panther continues for thirteen lines

Excipit: catulis.

Titulis: De dracone

Initial: D (2 lines, green)

Incipit: Draco maior est omnium serpentes

No line drawing.

fol. 157r

Dragon ends on top two lines

Excipit: iugis estus

Titulis: Ceteris et quomodo decipiant ab eo

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

Initial: E [2 lines, red]

Incipit: EST Belua in mare

fol. 157v

Titulus: Ethimologia

Initial: C [red 2 lines]

Incipit: CETUS dicit- ob immanitate-

Excipit: exaudinet me de uentre inferni

Initial: E [purple, 2 lines]

Incipit: EST VOLATILE QUOd dicitur/perdix

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

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

fol. 158r

Partridge continues

Initial: P [purple, 3 lines]

Titulus: Ethimologia

Incipit: PERDIX de voce

Excipit: que genuit reuertuntur.

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

Initial: D [red 2 lines]

Incipit: DE MUSTELA precipit lex

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

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

fol. 158v

Weasel continues until four lines before end of text area.

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

Initial: A [red 3 lines]

Incipit: Aspīs uocata. Quod/ morsu uenena

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

fol. 159r

Asp continues

Excipit: liquefiat tot- in ore serpentis.

Titulus: Assida

- Line drawing:* A cloven-hoofed long-necked bird both wings folded head pointing down but eyes up, no star
- Initial:* I [red, 6 lines high in margin]
- Incipit:* ITEM EST animal quod dicitur assida.
- fol. 159v* Ostrich continues
- fol. 160v* De Turtur
- Excipit:* semper blanda habitatrix
- Titulus:* [ranged right, fitted around antlers]: Cervus et quomodo extrahat ser/pente de foramine
- Line Drawing:* full width, 8 lines space, leaving a single line of text for the stag to rest its hooves on. Good use of space the black antlers head into the paragraph above as the stag bends down to breathe on the snake, coiled like a piece of fusilli pasta, lurking up from the foot margin. Not a confident hand, perhaps the same artist who drew the onager.
- Initial:* I [red, two lines]
- Incipit:* ITE[M] in psalmo quadragesimo
- Marginalia:* instructions for rubrication and drawing
- Note:* Two line oval whole in parchment in margin.
- fol. 160v* Stag continues
- fol. 161r* Stag continues
- Excipit:* labore-/ ponderis sentient.
- Titulus:* Salamandra
- Line drawing:* full width, 5 lines high, lizard as crouching long-necked, clawed, tailed and winged mammal with an ovine head, left wing extending into outer margin and tail into gutter.
- Initial:* E [green, 3 lines]
- Incipit:* EST REPTILE quoddam grece dicitur SALAMANDRA. Latine u[er]o stilio.
- fol. 161v* Salamander continues
- Excipit:* etiam extinguit incendium
- Titulus:* Columbus et de diuersis coloribus ear[um]
- Marginalia:* rubric title

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

Initial: P [green-grey, 4 lines]

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

fol. 162r

The colours of the dove continue

fol. 162v

Dove continues

Excipit: 5th line: seculorum amen.

Titulis: EX LIBRO ETHIMOLOGIA ranged right

Initial: C [red 3 lines]

Incipit: COLUMBE DICTE

Excipit: requirat

Titulis: SERPENS . & QVA ARTE CONATVR

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

Initial: I [red 6 lines high]

Incipit: ITEM ALIUD DICTUS est de ipsis columbis.

fol. 163r

Perindens Tree continues

fol. 163v

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

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

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

Initial: E [red, two lines]

Incipit: EST animal quod dicitur elephantus

Titulis: Vbi pariat et quomodo insidiate eius serpens

Line drawing: Second scene, eight lines, two elephants in the water as the calf is born – on the right a dragon snarls from the margin.

Initial: C [green-grey, 2 lines]

Incipit: CVM AUTEM uenerit tempus illus ut pariat

fol. 164r

Elephant continues

fol. 164v

Elephant continues

fol. 165r

Excipit: bete si/milibus

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

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

Initial: I [red, 4 lines]

fol. 165v

Excipit: uitam eternal

Titulus: Adamans

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

Initial: P [red, 4 lines high]

Incipit: PHISIOLOGUS DICIT/ sit lapis qi dicitur/ adamans

fol. 166r

Diamond continues

fol. 166v

Excipit: Genera ei' sex

Initial: I [purple, five lines high]

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

Incipit: ITEM LAPIDUS EST in mare quod dicitur latine
MERME/COLION

fol. 167r^{2v}

Pearl continues

fol. 168r

Pearl continues

fol. 168v:

Excipit: talem retributionem recipiunt pro corruptis

	St Augustine of Hippo, <i>De imagine Dei in homine</i> ⁸¹
	<i>Incipit</i> : Tanta dignitas humanae condicionis esse cognoscitur
<i>fol. 170v</i>	<i>Excipit</i> : <i>De imagine Dei in homine</i>
<i>fol. 171r</i>	<i>Ortus, Vita et Obitus Alexandri Macedonis</i> ⁸²
<i>fol. 186r</i>	<i>Epistola Alexandri Magni ad Aristotelem</i>
<i>fol. 196v</i>	<i>Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi</i>
<i>fol. 203v</i>	<i>Explicit Collatio</i>
	The hand for <i>Alexander</i> , perhaps later than that for the bestiary at the start is protogothic but changes at fol. 203 rounder, larger, less crushed but still thicker pen strokes than bestiary.
<i>fol. 203v</i> :	<i>Apollonius</i> ⁸³ [pencil numbering same as Bodl. Rawl. C.117 (curly '2')]
	<i>Small green marginal drawings, e.g.</i>
<i>f210r</i> :	wolf
<i>fol. 220</i> :	king's [i.e. crowned] head and female heads as well
<i>fol. 223v</i> :	musical notes heading GRA [tias?] in blue matches fol 1r initials; sundry red scribbles and swirls

Physical Condition

Condition:

Parchment is a warm white rather than yellowy but not the best quality e.g. some holes, on fols. 149, 150 and 160, but generally the manuscript is in good condition, grubby initial *recto* and last *verso* but no distinct signs of exposure. Conversely, the ink is poorer quality, black sometimes fading to brown. The poorer parchment and ink quality have been recognised in Canterbury books, as Gameson notes.⁸⁴

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

⁸² *ALCD* p.33 notes '158 [BC4.158d] *Gesta Alexandri Magni*/ In hoc vol cont.: *Epistola eiusdem de Aristotile*;/ 159 *Historia Christianorum quomodo Antiochiam et Ierusalem ceperunt*; 160 *Historia Longobardorum, libri vi*'. R. W. Sharpe, *Latin Writers*, p. 329 indicates *Historia Alexandri magni*, tr. Julius Valerius: ed. J. Zacher (Halle: 1867) usually together with the *Gesta Alexandri magni* including *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem de situ Indiae*, a very popular medieval group of texts. T. Pritchard, 'The *Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi*: a Revised Text', *Classica et Mediaevalia: Revue Danoise de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 46 (1995), 255-284, dates *Laud Misc. 247*, fols. 196v-203v, to s. xii.

⁸³ *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*: ed. G. Schmeling, (Leipzig: Teubner, 1988), more of a romance than a history.

⁸⁴ R. 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*,

Measurements:

265 mm x 164 mm

fols. 1-223, [bestiary at 139v-168v]

Line Spacing: (in bestiary)

7mm, x height just under 3mm so not quite 1/10" on 3/10"

Hand:

Several English minuscule hands in the book.

Single scribe for the bestiary, a very clear, rounded minuscule.

Layout:

Crucially, but hardly unexpectedly, the *Liber Bestiarium* layout is the same as the *Historia Wandalorum* and *Historia Longobardorum* in the same volume.⁸⁵

Single column, 30 lines per page, pricked and ruled in hard point, with vertical tramlines either side, writing above top line. Gameson suggests

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

Pricking:

Most pricking has been cut away when the work trimmed.

Collation/ Quire Signatures:

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

(London: Hambledon Press, 1995), pp. 95-144, p.121, 'the parchment is generally poorer (holes are quite common. . .?.

⁸⁵ Baxter 1998, p. 92, n.24, the Bestiary occupies 'folios 139r-168v, starting at the beginning of quire XIV and extending into quire XVI, which is completed by the *Sententia beati Augustini de imagine Dei in homine*, written by another scribe'.

⁸⁶ R. Gameson 1995, p.115, he emphasises this is a 'relative chronology' as the scriptorium was 'in a state of flux', p.116, the results are in his Appendix 7, pp. 142-4.

⁸⁷ Gameson 1995, p. 108.

daughter house used letters as quire markers), for example, Trinity College B.1.17 and B.2.34.⁸⁸

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

Binding and Binding String

Chestnut brown leather binding, with gold embossed crest.

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

Illustrations

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

⁸⁸ Dodwell, Appendix 3, p. 119.

⁸⁹ Personal communication received 17th December, 2010.

⁹⁰ On 'gothic' bookbinding (one of the three styles including Carolingian and Romanesque established by Szirmai) and the use of cord, J. A. Szirmai, *The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999).

⁹¹ Baxter 1998, pp. 173-5 and pp. 193-6.

Provenance

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

Script Description

Litterae Notabiliores

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

Coloured Capitals

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

⁹² H.O. Coxe, *Catalogi Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, 3 vols., 2(Oxford: 1853-8), amended repr. by R. W. Hunt (Oxford: Bodley Library, 1973), p. xxxv, p. xxxxi, pp. 206-7, pp. 553-554. <<https://databank.ora.ox.ac.uk/misccoll/datasets/QuartoLaudian/Laudian.pdf>> [accessed 14 June 2015]

⁹³ R. Gameson 1995, pp. 116-120 and Appendix 1, Table 7, pp. 142-3, eleven (ten main and one minor) anonymous artists are identified as A-K in twenty manuscripts. Ker *MMLB* pp. 289-94 for which current books contain which original volume: Lit E. 42/42A has parts of volume I: fols. f.1-30 and 69-72; vol. II: ff. 31-42; vol. V: ff.43-57, 62-3, and 75-8, vol. VI: ff.58-61, 64-8, and 80-81.

period, such as TCC B.5.28 Augustine *Super Psalmos*, written by Eadmer, (fol. 4v, initial H, seven lines high). Initials are sometimes squeezed in, or placed in the margin.

Display Script

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

Rubrication

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

Text

The text in the bestiary is in a single late Caroline English hand with some protogothic features. It is written in a single column in black ink often fading to brown, an indication that the ink is not the best quality. This is in keeping with other non-liturgical post-Conquest books from Christ Church, as Gameson notes the ink 'varies widely in tone, often being much browner than pre-Conquest books.'⁹⁴

Quantitative text analysis

Kwakkel discusses the changeover from Carolingian minuscule to Gothic *textura* over the long twelfth century and makes key points, based on Derolez's observations: that the script becomes narrower, the letters bite into each other's space, the descenders and ascenders become stubbier, the pen width becomes wider and the serifs on minims turn to the right. He notes some fourteen other features, such as the shaft of the 'a' becoming more upright; the 'g' becoming closed in its descender loop, and the 'x' loses its long left hand tail.⁹⁵ Laud Misc. 247 is only at the very first stage of these changes: it has the short, clubbed and occasionally bifurcated ascenders, but the 'g' remains wide open; the minims curve to the right but without much angularity, but the top of the 'f' is angular. Using his

⁹⁴ Gameson 1995, p. 121.

⁹⁵ E. Kwakkel, 'Biting', 2012, pp. 79-126, and graphs, pp. 86-87 and pp. 206-208, showing results of quantitative analysis of specific script changes in dated s.xii manuscripts.

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

Text Comparison

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

Gameson discusses the late English Caroline hand that appears on fols. 48r, 50r, 52r, 57v of CCA Lit. E. 42, which is Volume 5 of the Christ Church Martyrology.⁹⁷ Although I notice here that the **g** has a nearly closed lower loop, the descender starts centred on the base of the ‘o’ and Laud 247 starts a little to the right, nevertheless this type of late miniscule which bears comparison to Laud Misc. 247.⁹⁸ This gives a fairly long time frame for the use of this type of hand from c.1093-1137, since the production of Lit. Ms E. 42 has been extended by Gameson to 1137. However, he points out that this type of hand is ‘not an isolated phenomenon’ and also appears in TCC B.3.4 (Jerome *Super Psalmos*), B.4.26 (Augustine, *Epistolae*), and, as already noted, Dublin Trinity College MS 98 (*The Canterbury Pontifical*).⁹⁹

⁹⁶ E. Kwakkel, ‘Biting’, 2012, graphs pp. 206-208.

⁹⁷ Gameson 1995, plate 4a.

⁹⁸ Gameson 1995, p. 119 n. 83 and n. 84. R. Gameson, *The Earliest Books of Canterbury Cathedral*, (London; Canterbury: Bibliography Society and Dean and’ Chapter of Canterbury Cathedral, 2008), pp. 226-247. He considers CCA Lit Ms. E. 42 was written in two stages, the first finishing in 1123 and the second between 1128 and 1137.

⁹⁹ Gameson 1995, p. 119, n. 83.

Webber also draws attention to a prolific Christ Church scribe ‘in the first quarter of the twelfth century’ whose hand has ‘a general rotundity in its appearance’ and ‘no suspicion of angularity in such letters as e and c’ and she too mentions the rubrics of Dublin Trinity 98 being in an ‘English hand’.¹⁰⁰ Webber also notes the mix of handwriting in Bodley 271 on the works of Anselm which has similar rustic capitals to Laud Misc. 247. This collection of the works of Anselm has been dated by Gameson (following Heslop) to around 1120 as he categorically refutes Fröhlich’s suggestion of an earlier dating of Bodley 271 to 1104-8.¹⁰¹ More recently, Ian Logan has investigated the scribes of Bodley 271 (but not the rustic capitals’ scribe) and he links one hand to that of the scribe Samuel, depicted in the decorated initial in St John’s College A.8, fol. 103v. Accordingly, he moves Bodley 271 back to the end of Anselm’s lifetime and shortly thereafter, i.e. 1107-1114.¹⁰²

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

Using the amount of datable manuscripts which survive with Eadmer handwriting allows rather more precise dating than Dodwell’s 1070-1100.¹⁰⁵ Similarly, TCC B.5.28, Augustine’s *Commentary on the Psalms* volume 3 (written and rubricated by Eadmer) has

¹⁰⁰ Webber, ‘Script’, 1995, p. 155, and n. 44, l. 2-12 on fol. 23 are mentioned.

¹⁰¹ Webber 1995, p. 154 and n. 41, and plate 16b. Gameson 1995, p. 119 and n. 83; he too mentions ‘the coeval English rubricator’ in Dublin Trinity College MS 98.

¹⁰² Ian Logan, ‘Ms Bodley 271: Establishing the Anselmian Canon?’, in *The Saint Anselm Journal*, 2.1 (Fall, 2004), 67-80, p. 78, ‘Heslop’s argument shows the illuminator of B was flourishing as early as 1114.’

¹⁰³ Webber 1995, pp. 148-151 on Eadmer’s development of his script, its antecedents and its legacy.

¹⁰⁴ Michael Gullick, ‘The Scribal Work of Eadmer of Canterbury to 1109’, *Arch. Cant.*, 118 (1998), 173-190, p. 180.

¹⁰⁵ Dodwell, 1954, p. 120.

been re-dated to the late 1080s to early 1090s, instead of 1070-1100. This draws the first volume of this commentary, now TCC B.5.26, Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, into the same timeframe and Gullick considers ‘this rubricator appears to have rubricated virtually all Christ Church manuscripts datable to the ‘late 1080s or early 1090s.’¹⁰⁶ As Gullick dates TCC B.4.9 Gregorius, *Moralia in Job* to probably the late 1080s or early 1090s and adds this rubricator also worked on Durham Cath B.ii.10 *Pontifical* around 1090- 1096, and the Dublin Trinity College 98 *Pontifical* in 1090s too. TCC B.3.25, Augustine, *Confessions*, which was written by an English scribe, is also now re-dated from Webber’s s.xi³⁴ by Gullick to being ‘written at Canterbury in the 1080s’.¹⁰⁷ These Canterbury works with decorated initials, some of which utilise bestiary motifs, are being drawn back within the lifetime and aegis of Saint Anselm.

Turning from the comparison of liturgical books, it is clear that some secular works should also be studied, as Laud Misc. 247 is a collection of histories with a bestiary at the centre. There are three volumes of histories with Christ Church provenances now at Trinity College, Cambridge. These are: TCC O.4.34, Orosius, *Historiae aduersum paganos* and the beginning of Iulius Honorius, *Cosmographia*; TCC O.10.28, Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana* including Eutropius, *Breviarium historiae Romanae*, and TCC O.10.31, *Inuentio S. Crucis*, and Victor of Vita, *Historia persecutionis Africanae prouinciae*. A table of these books’ vital statistics and their comparison to Laud Misc. 247 is below. T. A. M. Bishop writing in 1953 had noticed a script in these Christ Church books which has ‘no characteristics of the Canterbury style’ being a ‘round clear minuscule of purely English type’ (the same adjectives I used to describe Laud Misc. 247 before I saw his notes).¹⁰⁸ He linked the Orosius, Eutropius and Victor of Vita noting this minuscule, along with other ‘informal’ hands, appeared on at least some leaves of all three books as well as on a charter of Henry II which gives a date range of circa 1100-1107.¹⁰⁹ Gameson has summed up as

¹⁰⁶ Gullick, ‘Eadmer’, 1998, p. 181, dated to 1080s and n. 22 Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts* 2014, p. 148. TCC B.5.26 is no. 170, dated to s. xi ex., and its origin is given as Christ Church.

¹⁰⁷ Gullick, ‘Eadmer’ 1998, p.188 for TCC B.3.25, and Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts* 2014, p. 145, no. 163.

¹⁰⁸ T. A. M. Bishop, ‘Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts, Part I’, *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 1 (1949-1953), 432-441, p.432.

¹⁰⁹ Bishop, Notes, p. 432; Pierre Chaplais, ‘The Seals and Original Charters of Henry I’, *EHR*, 75 (April, 1960); Webber 1995, p. 154 and n. 40. 260-275, pp. 263-4 concerning BL Cotton Ch. VII. I, the charter whereby Henry II confirmed land grants made by Edward the Confessor and William the Conqueror.

these histories up in terms of production as ‘decidedly awful’.¹¹⁰ Certainly, the parchment is frequently holed, patched and blotchy and the ink has faded. Yet though they are not magnificent they are thoughtful copies, carefully corrected, and neatly ruled with careful colour initials added by the rubricator. The inhabited initials in two of the books are by the artist called ‘Hand B’ by Gameson and Gameson is less than complimentary about his talents too, describing them as ‘minimal’.¹¹¹ They are scruffy and faded quick sketches, rather than talentless.

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

¹¹⁰ Gameson 1995, p. 120.

¹¹¹ Gameson 1995, p. 117.

¹¹² TCC website, <<http://sites.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/viewpage.php?index=788>> [accessed 14 June 2015].

¹¹³ *ALCD*, p. 508, the entry is on p. 41; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014, p. 166.

Of the Eutropius (O.10.28) James said 'I have no doubt that it comes from Christ Church, Canterbury. It exactly resembles the Orosius O.4.34.'¹¹⁴ It has 45 folios, again in quires of ten but with omissions (James has 1¹⁰ – 3¹⁰ (6 omitted) 4¹⁰, 5¹⁰ (7-10 wanting)). It measures somewhat taller and wider than A4 and is ruled in hardpoint in single column with 37 lines to a page. The decorated initial **P** on fol. 1r depicts a seated figure at a writing table, while a second figure points to him and the incipit, in faded tones of lavender and rose. If the secondary figure is a scribal portrait he is not drawn as a monk, as he is wearing a short tunic, and he not only has spaghetti arms elongated to point to the incipit but a caricature of a face as well, bug-eyed and big-nosed. The English miniscule hand appears most clearly on these first six lines of fol. 1r [see fig].

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

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

¹¹⁴ James, *The Western manuscripts in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, 4v (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900-1904), 2, p. 518.

single colour initial decoration as in O.10.31 (see fol. 5r), and O.10.28 (see fol. 1r) and has similar hands to all the three TCC volumes, all of which are dated to the turn of the eleventh century.

Conclusion

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

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

initials, e.g. the collared pard in the initial in O.10.31, fol. 1r which resembles the hyena on Laud Misc. 247, fol. 151v.

Table 5.3: Laud Misc. 247 Quire Signatures

Modern folio	Roman quire sign.	Arabic quire sign.	Incipit/Excipit & Notes 1-3 ¹⁰ , 4 ¹² , 5-7 ¹⁰ , 8 ¹² , 9 ⁸ , 10 ¹² , 11 ¹⁰ , 12 ¹² , 13 ¹⁰⁺¹ , 14-15 ¹² , 16 ⁸ , 17 ¹² , 18 ¹⁰⁺¹ , 19-21 ¹⁰
2r		1	Quondam ueteres ¹¹⁵
11v	.I.	1 ¹⁰	excipit: Nam heldicam quendam, quem/
12r		2	incipit: pater euis praepositum fecerat regni [Bk. II, cap. v, v. 15, see Halm, p.16]
21v	.II.	2 ¹⁰	incipit: navitatis vocabulum ad divinae [Bk. III, cap. VII, v.72, Halm, p. 30] excipit: nec illum omnino [Bk III. cap. VIII, v.78, Halm, p. 31]
22r		3	incipit: detrimentum ministrati ex se luminis perpeti potuit; [Bk III. cap. VIII, v.78, Halm, p. 31]
31v	.III.	3 ¹⁰	incipit: non solum audacem, sed etiam matronis ceteris pulc[h]riorem [Bk. V. cap. I, v. 22, p. 45] excipit : reddens [Bk. V. cap.I, v. 24, p. 45]
32r		4	incipit: cursum palmiferum consummavit : amplexansque illa hostiam suam [Bk. V. cap. I, v. 24, pp. 45-6]
43v	III (tops)	4 ¹²	blank
44r		5	blank
[45r			incipit: Paul the Deacon, <i>Historia Longobardorum</i>]
53v	Missing [V]	5 ¹⁰	excipit: E[rubric] Exuperansque senes, o puerile decus [Pauli, <i>Historia Langobardorum</i> , Book I, cap. 26, p. 74] ¹¹⁶
54r		6	incipit: F [green rubric] Flos paradyse tuus despexit florida mundi
63v	VI (no dots)	6 ¹⁰	excipit: Si quis autem hanc per se prouinciam esse [Book II, cap. xx, p. 100]
64r		7	incipit : uera ratione conprobauerit : huius rationabilis sententia modis erit
73v	VII.	7 ¹⁰	excipit: contra Langobardorum ilico arma surrexit. [Book III, cap. xviii, p. 124]
74r		8	incipit : Adversus quem Langobardi gravia bella gesserunt

¹¹⁵ Victoris Vitensis, *Historia Percussionis Africanae Provinciae sub Geiserico et Hunirico Regibus Wandalorum*, ed. by C. Halm, (Berlin: Weidmann, 1878), Prologus, p. 1.

¹¹⁶ Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by L. K. Bethmann (Hanover: MGH, 1878)

85v	VIII.	8 ¹²	excipit : praenominatus puer Adaloaldus, filius [Book IV, cap. 27, p. 156]
86r		9	incipit : Agilulfi regis in sancto Iohanne in Modicia
93v	IX	9 ⁸	excipit : fidenter promisit, in sua eum fide [Book V, cap. 2, p. 181]
94r		10	incipit : uenientem ni[c]hil mali passurum fore
105v	X	10 ¹²	excipit : Nos autem cum reliquis fidelibus tuis defendemus tibi [Book V, cap. 39, p. 203] Note: rubric 'xxxiii' on 11 th line should read xxxviii (38)
106r		11	incipit : hanc civitatem. Sed & ita
115v	XI.	11 ¹⁰	excipit : italiae direxit, quibus se fautorem [Book VI, cap. 34, p. 227]
116r		12	catholicae fidei & sancti sexti concilii
[fol. 123r			'prologus vita karoli magni imperatoris' ¹¹⁷
[fol. 123v			'Incipit vita karoli magni imperatoris']
127v	XII.	12 ¹²	excipit : oriente contermini. Non solum imperata [cap. 11, p. 12]
128v		13	incipit : non facere, sed bello regem prouocare temptabat.
[138r			Explicit uita karoli magni imp[er]atoris]
138v	XIII. (trimm ed)	13 ¹⁰⁺¹	blank
139r		14	blank
[139v			Incipiunt Capitula <i>Libri Bestiarum</i> (rubric)]
150v	XIII (trimm ed)	14 ¹²	excipit: Venator autem [Mann: <i>vero</i>] cum uiderit eum non habere testiculos [cap. xvii: <i>De Castor</i> or Beaver] ¹¹⁸
151r		15	incipit: discedit ab eo. Sic & omnis qui [evidence of repair thin white strip down gutter]
162v	XV.	15 ¹²	excipit: columbis ille draco ut rapiat [cap. xxxiii, <i>De columbis et de draco</i> p. 66 (Perindens Tree)]
163r		16	incipit: aliquam earum. De longe considerat illam arborem.
[168v			excipit: <i>liber bestiarum</i> . incipit: Sententia Beati Augustine, <i>De Imagine Dei in Homine</i> , possibly a different hand (loops on x's and g's, but may be the same scribe much older or hastier), ends fol. 170r.

¹¹⁷ Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, ed. by G. H. Pertz, Monumentis Germaniae Historicae (Hanover: 1845, repr. 1905)

¹¹⁸ M. F. Mann, *Der Bestiaire divin*, p. 50.

170v	XVI.	16 ⁸	blank
171r		17	<i>Ortus vita et Obitus Macedonis Alexandri</i> Incipit : E[red, purple & green initial] Egypti sapientes sati genere divino primi fer/untur
182v	XVII	17 ¹²	Alexander litteras ei amicitiae
183r		18	Vita continens
[186r			<i>Epistola ad Aristotelem</i>]
193v	XVIII	18 ¹⁰⁺¹	excipit: soli & lune [dicebat inserted]. Ad firmabat idem
194r		19	Quod in eclipsi solis & lune
[196v			<i>Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi</i>]
203v	XVIII	19 ¹⁰	excipit : aut in inuidiae quod a meliore prae/stantur ¹¹⁹ AMEN. INCIPIT LIBER APOLLONII
204r		20	incipit: In civitate antiochia Rex fuit nomine antiochus
213v	XX.	20 ¹⁰	excipit: libertatis amplecteretur [not traced]
214r		21	incipit : suspirans & flens ibat ad monumentum [<i>Historia Apollonia Regis Tyri</i> , cap. 31, p. 17] ¹²⁰
[215v- 216r			20mm of loose, dull mid-blue old binding string. This might be an indicator of possible Canterbury origin according to Canterbury Cathedral archives conservator, but see discussion below.
[223v	XXI	21 ¹⁰	GRA[tias] in blue, a line of music, pentrials]

¹¹⁹ T. Pritchard, 'The Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi: a Revised Text' in *Classica et Mediaevalia: Revue Danoise de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 46 (1995), 255-284, p. 273.

¹²⁰ *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*/Die Geschichte vom König Apollonius ed. and trans. by F. P. Waiblinger (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1994); *The Latin Library*
<<http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/histapoll.html>> [accessed 14 June 2015]

Table 5.4: History Books from Christ Church ¹²¹

Loc. & Shelfmark	Main Author (s) & Title(s)	No. fols. & size in mm	Quires	Ruling & lines per page	Identified Miniscule/artist
TCC O.4.34 s.xi/xii CC†	Orosius, <i>Historiae aduersum paganos</i>	ff. 1-100, 317x215	1-10 ¹⁰	hardpoint 39 lines	Scribe f. 3r, l. 1-21* Artist B f.1r
TCC O.10.28 s.xi/xii CC†	Paulus Diaconus, <i>Historia Romana</i> inc. Eutropius, <i>Bren. Historiae Romanae</i>	ff. 1-45, 314x215	1-2 ¹⁰ , 3 ¹⁰⁻⁶ , 4-5 ¹⁰ , 7-10 wanting	hardpoint 37 lines	Scribe f. 1r, l. 6-10* Artist B f.1r bunting f.42r
TCC O.10.31 s.xi/xii CC†	Victor of Vita, <i>Historia persecutionis Africanae prouinciae</i>	ff. 1-28, 308x210	1 ⁴ , 2 ¹²	hardpoint & plummet 39/37 lines	fols. 5r-7r l. 1-23* 'bunting' f.5r
CCCC 187 c.1100 CC ¹²²	Eusebius of Caesarea <i>Historias Ecclesiastica</i>	ff. 133, 293 x 192	1 ⁸ -16 ⁸ , 17 ⁶ (wants 6)	plummet, 30-35 lines	'fine' minuscule 'bunting' style initials, fol 1 & 2
CCCC 184 s.xii ¹ CC? ¹²³	Eusebius of Caesarea <i>Historias Ecclesiastica</i>	ff. 176, 288 x 202	1 ⁸ -22 ⁸	plummet 28 lines	Historiated initial fol 2r CC quire sigs, fol. 8v
Laud Misc.247 s.xi/xii CC?	Victor of Vita, <i>Historia persecutionis Africanae prouinciae</i> Paulus Diaconus, <i>Historia Langobardorum</i>	ff.1-223, 265x164	(9 & 16) ⁸ , (1-3,5-7,11, 19- 21) ¹⁰ , (13 & 18 ¹⁰⁺¹)(4,8,10, 12,14-15, 17) ¹²	hardpoint 30 lines	fol. 2r 'bunting' initial on fol.2r

¹²¹ *Bishop¹²¹, † G&L¹²¹

¹²² Gameson 1995, pp. 120 and 142; *ALCD* p. 158, No 155 on Ingram's list; CCCC 187 details from *Parker Library on the Web Manuscript Description*.

¹²³ CCCC 184 s.xii¹ is a copy made from CCCC 187 at Rochester or Christ Church, as both books contain the same error, corrected at Christ Church later (on fols 131v-133r) but not at Rochester. The decorated initials in CCCC 187 resemble those in Rochester's Augustine, *Enarrationes*, BL Royal 5 D II, e.g. fol. 213r in a harsh yellow, red and green with black, but CCCC 184 has Christ Church style quire signatures, e.g. fol. 8v, and M. R. James considered it a Christ Church script, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge*, 2 (Cambridge, 1912), 1 pp. 444-5.

Table 5.5: Chapter Order in Oxford, Bodl. Laud Misc. 47

<i>No.</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Title in Bodl. Laud Misc. 247</i>	<i>fols. 139v-169v</i>
1.	Lion	Leo	140r
2.	Antelope	Autalops	140v
3.	Firestones	Lapides Ignifer	141v
4.	Sawfish	Serra	142r
5.	Caladrius	Caladrius	142r
6.	Pelican	Pelicanus	143r
7.	Little Owl	Nicticorax	143v
8.	Eagle	Aquila	144r
9.	Phoenix	Fenix	144v
10.	Hoopoe	Huppupa	145r
11.	Ant	Formica	145v
12.	Siren and Onocentaur	Syrene et Onocentauri	147r
13.	Hedgehog	Herinatus	147v
14.	Ibex	Ibis	148r
15.	Fox	Vulpis	149r
16.	Unicorn	Unicornis	149v
17.	Beaver	Castor	150v
18.	Hyena	Hiena	151r
19.	Hydrus	Ydrus	151v
20.	Goat	Caper	152v
21.	Wild Ass	Onager	153r
22.	Monkey	Simia	153v
23.	Coot	Fulica	154v (pic 154r)
24.	Panther	Pantera	154v
25.	Dragon	Draco	156v
26.	Turtle	Aspis chelone/ Cetus	157r
27.	Partridge	Perdix	157v
28.	Weasel	Mustela	158r
29.	Asp	Aspis	158v
30.	Ostrich	Assida	159r
31.	Turtledove	Turtur	160v
32.	Stag	Cervus	160v
33.	Salamander	Salamandra	161r
34.	Dove	Columba	161v
35.	Perindens Tree	Peridexion	162v
36.	Elephant	Elephantus	163v
37.	Amos	Amos	165r
38.	Diamond	Adamas	165v
39.	Pearl	Mermecolion	166v

Appendix 6

London, British Library Stowe 1067

This Appendix contains

- 6.1 Manuscript Description
- 6.2 Table: Chapter Order and Subject

6.1 British Library Stowe 1067

- Location:** London, British Library
- Shelfmark:** Stowe 1067
- Vol. Incipit:** *Leo ex grico vocabulo inflexum* fol. 1r
- 2^o. folio:** *berinatio natura est*
- Family:** B-Isidore First Family bestiary
- Contents:** Bestiary
- Attribution:** M. R. James, 1928, p. 10: Canterbury Christ Church;
Baxter: St Augustine's Abbey, p. 187.
- Provenance:** Belonged to the first Duke of Buckingham and Chandos (1776-1839),
purchased by Lord Ashburnham in 1849, purchased by British Museum
in 1883.¹²⁴

Not traceable in either Canterbury monastic medieval library catalogue.
- Date:** s. xii¹ ; Baxter:c.1120-40
- Size:** 250 mm x166 mm; 105 mm x 200 mm
- Folios:** fols. 1- 16.
- Collation:** 2⁸
- Material:** Leather binding

Parchment, thick, yellowy, large holes, e.g. fol. 16
- Layout:** Single column, 42 lines, writing above top line, ruled in hard point in
quire 1 and plummet in quire 2.

¹²⁴ British Library, CIM Detailed Record for Stowe 1067,
<<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=7715&CollID=21&NStart=1067>> [26 June, 2015].

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

Description: Hand in the first quire:

a: hardly any ascender, practically triangular

b: stubby ascender slight clubbing to left, upright, round bowl

c: rounded in two parts

d: two types upright rounded with clubbed stubby ascender and also arched back over the bowl (e.g. 'odor' bottom line fol. 4r)

e: rounded, sometimes more upright with small lower curve, sometimes with slight crossbar tongue

f: like long s, i.e. umbrella handle but crossbar runs across top of ruling

g: I think this is distinctive: looks like to eye of a hook and eye or a pair of sideways round spectacles, joins at top (e.g. leo rugiens 15 lines from foot on fol. 3r)

h: stubby slightly clubbed ascender, minim goes to right, rounded bowl that does not dip below line.

i: upright, not always ticked, serif to right

j: -

k: -

l: stubby, slight clubbing to left

m: slight feet turned to right on middle minim e.g. magnum penultimate line fol. 4r

n: sometimes has foot going to right on first minim, sometimes more pointed in spelunca fol. 4 3 lines from foot

o: two parts slightly oval

p: stubby descender, rounded bowl

r: can't find any that are long, rounded top, no minim on ascender

s: long s can't see any short ones except for caps

t: rounded and the stem does not break above the crossbar

u: rounded

v –

w: -

x: stays within the x-height

y: straight descender

z: -

Hands in Second Quire fols. 9r – 16v

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

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

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

Excipit: *retributione recuperunt pro corruptibilis.*

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

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

Not rubricated past fol. 13v but spaces left.

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

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

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

fol. 1r: Line drawing on top half of column width six lines high on right: The Lion in profile facing right breathes on his cub (actually licking its nose) the cub is positioned as though sitting upright but upside-down, indicating it is dead. The Lion has glass bead decorated spine, slightly foliate tail, pointy mane. The ears and mane are tipped in blue, the bodies of lion and the cub have a faint green wash.

The line, composition, minimal tinting and less than assured execution are comparable to Hand B – the artist Gameson considers of ‘minimal’ talent.

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

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

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

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

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

fol 7r: Ibex has been inked over in lower jaw in black

Firestones ‘female’ (only indication is that figure is beardless) male has beard. Both figures quite bug-eyed they hold round shields depicting firestones.

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

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

fol 8r: The Pelican pecks breast as two chicks look on, other chicks peck eyes of a bigger bird with tail feathers sticking up like spikes.

The Owl or *Noctua* has an inked-over face, added later.

Contents:

First family Bestiary of forty-four chapters including three additional chapters (Wolf, Dog, and Ibex). The chapter order has been re-arranged in quire 1. Stewart thinks the changes in the chapter order in the second

quire are the result of scribal error.¹²⁵ The second quire also does not finish the end of the Hoopoe chapter left unfinished at the end of the first quire. Moreover, it adds the text on the Onocentaurus in the Syrene chapter (fol. 10r) although this has been separated out in the first quire to form a new chapter 3 (fol. 1v).

Textual

Affiliation: Baxter: Bodl., Laud Misc. 247

Bibliography: Baxter p.83, 90-110, 147, 207-8 and plates 20-23.

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

Table 6.1 Chapter Headings in Stowe 1067

Chapter number and Subject

Quire 1 fols. 1-8				Quire 2 fols 9-16	
f. 1r	1. Leo	f. 5r	15. Draco	f. 9r	30. Formica
f. 1v	2. Autalops	f. 5r	16. Mustela	f. 9v	31. Syrena & Onocentaurus
f. 1v	3. Onocentaurus	f. 5r	17. Cervus	f. 10r	32. Ibx (bird)
f. 1v	4. Herinatio	f. 5v	18. Elephans	f. 10v	33. Fulica (start)
f. 2r	5. Vulpis	f. 6r	19. Lupis ¹²⁶	f. 11r	34. Aspis (end) ¹²⁷
f. 2r	6. Unicornis	f. 6v	20. Canis	f. 11r	35. Assida
f. 1r	7. Castor	f. 7r	21. Ibx (goat)	f. 11v	36. Turtur
f. 1r	8. Ydrus	f. 7r	22. Lapides Igniferi	f. 11v	37. Salamandra
f. 1r	9. Crocodrillus	f. 7v	23. Serra	f. 12v	38. Columbas
f. 3r	10. Hiena	f. 7v	24. Caladrius	f. 12v	39. Peredixion (start)
f. 3v	11. Onager	f. 8r	25. Pelicanus	f. 13r	33. Fulica (end)
f. 3v	12. Simius	f. 8r	26. Noctua	f. 13r	40. Aspidochelone
f. 4r	13. Caper	f. 8v	27. Aquila	f. 13v	41. Perdix
f. 4r	14. Pantera	f. 8v	28. Fenix	f. 13v	34. Aspis (start)
		f. 8v	29. Huppupa(unfinished)	f. 14r	39. Peredixion (end)
				f. 15r	42. Amos Propheta
				f. 15r	43. Adamas
				f. 16r	44. Mermecolion

¹²⁵ Stewart 2012, Appendix 9, pp. 58-60, p. 59.

¹²⁶ New chapters are in bold.

¹²⁷ Deeper shading of chapter headings 34-39 indicate the text was copied out of order (Aspis to start of Peredixion). This txt should have been between the end of the Fulica or Coot and Aspidochelone.

Appendix 7

Oxford, Bodl. Bodley Lat. Th. e. 9

Summary Description

Oxford Bodl. Bodley Lat. Th. e. 9

Elucidarium and various theological and didactic texts and extracts

Date s.xii²

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

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

Vol. Incipit: *Sepius rogatus*

2^o. folio: [inef] *fabilis suauitatis*

Family: Three chapters from unknown *Physiologus*/bestiary

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

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

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

- fol. 23r: b) *Exaggeratio*.
Heriger of Lobbes (Gerbert) incipit '*Magnitudo celestium beneficiorum angustiae humanae mentis excedit*?' excipit: '*qui vitam dat huic mundo*.' fol. 39r.¹²⁸
- fol. 39v: c) *Dicta Herigeri*,
Heriger of Lobbes incipit '*Sicut Ante nos dixit quidem sapiens*' excipit: '*non obnoxium secessui esse*', fol. 47v.
- fol. 47v: d) *Account of the Roman Council of 1079*
incipit: '*Anno ab incarnatione*' excipit, *ab ea recesserant*', fol. 48r.
- fol. 48r: e) Four pieces on Lord's Prayer '*Pater noster. Hanc orationem instituit*', '*Volumus fratres karissimi parvam*.' '*Dic michi frater si nosti*' and on the Creed, excipit '*Frater mi quoniam sicut nosti*', fol. 52v.
- fol. 53v: f) '*De ordine clerici et quid sit clericus*'
excipit fol. 54v
- fol. 54v: g) Adso, *De antichristo*,
incipit *Scire uolentibus*, excipit '*iudicandum esse prefixit*', fol. 56v last line rubric, '*De tribus naturis leonis*'
- fol. 56v: h) '*Leo tres naturas habet*'
Extracts from an unidentified source linked to a bestiary incipit '*Leo tres naturas habet*' excipit '*inimicus factus est*', fol. 57v, fol. 57v pseudo-Vergil, '*Nocte pluit tota. redeunt spectacula mane... Sic vos non vobis vellera fertis oves*'¹²⁹; and '*Quot sunt lingue in mundo?*'

¹²⁸ C. R. Schrader, 'The Surviving Manuscripts of Heriger of Lobbes Eucharistic Treatises', ed. by U.-R. Blumenthal, *Canon Law, Religion, and Politics: 'Liber Amicorum' Robert Somerville* (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press: 2012), pp. 140-162, pp. 149-50.

¹²⁹ Traced as SK 10279 by Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, No. 114, p.120, originally from Vergil, 'It rains all night, but the public games take place in the morning; You, Caesar, hold divided empire with Jove. [I wrote this little couplet, another took the credit.] Thus not for yourself do you birds feather your nests; Thus not for yourself do you sheep bear wool; Thus not for yourself do you bees make honey; [Thus not for yourself do you oxen pull the plough.] from Suetonius *Lives*, <<http://perseus.uchicago.edu/perseus-cgi/citequery3.pl?dbname=PerseusLatinTexts&getid=1&query=Suet.%20Virgil>> [accessed 14 June 2015]

- fol. 58r: i) blank except for s.xiv English verses, ‘Almygty gode ye evere father’
- fol. 58v: j) On the liturgical hours,
incipit: ‘*Signum quod in ecclesia reboat*’
- fol. 68v: k) Short extracts from patristic writings,
starts with Augustine incipit, ‘*Ex quo incipit homo vivere*’, ends incomplete ‘*Odio; dum cuiuslibet mini-*’, fol. 72v. missing quire
- fol. 73r: l) ‘*caput et pederet intestina agni*’
[new hand] Unidentified sermon on the Mass, excipit ‘*qua vivit et regnat per cuncta*’, fol. 76v. Likens Christ to the head of the sheep and mankind to the feet and intestines not an altogether successful analogy.
- fol. 76v: m) ‘*Ut capitis rasur docet rex atque sacerdos*’
Latin verses, (Aalther, *Initia*, nos 19775, 19011 5831, 18193), excipit ‘*Martyrii calicem gustnat in carne fideles*’, fol. 77v.
- fol. 77: n) ‘*Queritus cum deus crearet duo animalia*’,
Short theological questions, incipit excipit ‘*seperationem id est pugnam*’, fol. 78r.
- fol. 78v: o) Ivo of Chartres, *Ep. CLVI*,
PL 162, col. 160-1 to Olic (on a penitent priest), ends incomplete, fol. 79.¹³⁰
- fol. 80v: Pentrials, including ‘*Liber hic ad Christoferum Huband pertinet qui olim suo dilecto in Christo avunculo Nicholao extabat*’ (about AD 1500); ‘Francis Carington’ (late 17th century)
- Attribution:** This thesis suggests Christ Church, Canterbury (BC4.219)
- Provenance:** fol. ii r, copy of a letter from Augustinian Priory of Flansford;
s.xiv^{ex}

¹³⁰ C. Rolker, *Canon Law and the Letters of Ivo of Chartres* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 191 n. 119.

fol. 80r, left by Nicholas to Christopher Huband c. 1500;
fol. i r, *Liber sermonum Dominicalium. Composibus a quodam Priore (J Gosselyn) Sancti Bartholomei London* (c. s. xix attribution);
fol. 80r *ex libris* as above; pen trial Frances Carington (c. s.xvii); fol. i r, William Hamper received the book from Thomas Sharp of Coventry 1818;
Pastedown: '795'; SC notes: Thomas Thorpe's sale catalogue (1836), no. 795; s.xix *ex libris* Phillips, SC cat. No.

fol. i v: Phillips 9562, SC notes 'bought by the Bodleian at Phillips' sale, June, 1899, lot 637.'

Physical Description

- Layout:** Clean, plain and neat. Single column throughout, 29 lines; pricked and ruled in hardpoint, very faint. Writing above top line
- Margins:** Top 10 mm trimmed, inner margin c. 20 mm, foot margin 39 mm, outer margin, trimmed but some pricking still visible, 21 mm.
- Date:** c. s.xii² (s. xiv additions and s. xix note on fol. i r)
- Size:** c.320 x 215 mm.
- Material:** Binding: in white leather, early s. xix (note, fol. i r), title in black ink on spine: LIBER/ SERMONU[M] /T. GOSSELYN PRIOR./ SCI BART./ LONDON
Substrate: Parchment yellowy but in good condition except fol. ii r stained and grubby; evidence of exposure. HFFF
Small hole on fol. 1, some staining and creasing, e.g. fol. ii v
- Folios:** fols. i + ii - 80.
- Foliation:** Modern, black ink top right hand corner

Collation: 1⁸, 2⁸, 3⁸ wants 8, 4¹², 5¹⁴, 6⁸, 7⁸, 8⁸, [quire 9 is missing], 10⁷
wants last leaf

Signatures: all centred in foot margin:
fol. 7v has .i. (end of folio)

fol. 8r has .ii. [fol. 15r trimmed]

fol. 23r has .iiii.

fol. 35 has .v.
fol. 49r has .vi.

fol. 57r has .vii.

fol. 65r has .viii. [quire 9 is missing]
fol. 73r has .x.

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

Hands: Main texts: four s.xii hands:

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

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

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

73r-79r; Similar to Hand 2 but uses tironnian ‘7’ for *et*.

¹³¹ O. Da Rold, ‘London, British Library, Royal 1 A. xiv, Gospels’, *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220*, ed. by O. Da Rold, T. Kato, M. Swan, and E. Treharne (University of Leicester, 2010; last update 2013)

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

- Glossing:** *Nota* marks but few corrections, some interlinear. Some glossing outlined in wavy red, e.g. fols. 7v and 23r. Tick marks also present.
- Additions: (fol. i r: s. xix; fol. ii r, fols. 22r, 58r, 80r: s. xiv.)
- Bestiary Hand:** Hand 3: Densely written protogothic, with a high 'x' height; high-bodied a, e often has extended tongue, stubby forked ascenders, d sometimes bent back, sometimes upright long s; open g, rounded minims turn right; two forms of r, c and e bite (*voce* fol. 57r, l.9), reminiscent of hands in Bodley 271, e.g. fol. 50r. Other hands in volume are also protogothic.
- Ligature: s ct and st; Punctuation: punctus elevatus, punctus.
- Standard abbreviations, e.g. for 'orum'. Minor erasure just before 'omnium' corrected sp. (fol. 57v l. 4).
- Decoration:** Inset two-line high red initials, except P[ropheta] fol. 57r which descends along inner margin and curls at end, rubrics in red. Fol. 23r has a purple initial M with inner red petal shapes.
- Illustration:** Not illustrated.
- Textual**
- Affiliation:** CCC 448 (fols. 97-103, s.xi/xii Worcester?)
- Bibliography:** F. Madan, H. H. E. Craster, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), 6: 189–90, SC no. 32710; V. Flint, 'The Place and Purpose of the Works of Honorius Augustodunensis', *Revue bénédictine*, 87 (1977), 97–127, p. 112; N. Campbell, 'Lest He Should Come Unforeseen?: The Antichrist Cycle in the *Hortus Deliciarum*', *Gesta*, 54, (2015), 85-118, p. 97 n.37, Adso, *De antichristo*, fols. 54v-56v.
- Figures:** 2.19.1 and 2.19.2; CCC 448 fig. 2.19.3.

Content Comparison of *De tribus naturis leonis* fols. 56v-57v

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

1. *Physiologus Latinus Versio Y*

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

Bodl. Lat Th. e. 9

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

ff 57r **Leo tres naturas habet**. Quarum prima est. // Nam cum ambule et venatoris odor venerit ei; // **cauda sua cooperit vestigia sua quocumque ierit**. ne // vestigia eius aut caubile venator inueniat. et capiat // eum. Sic xps? ihc? ortus **de tribu iuda** leo potens; // vestigia deitatis sue carne cooperuit. ne eum verum // filium dei diabolus agnosceret. **Secunda natura** // **ra. cum dormierit vigilant** eius **oculi aperti**; sicut **in // canticis canticorum** sponsi voce dicitur. **Ego dormio**; et // **cor meum vigilat**. **Tertia eius** est natura. Cum enim // **generit catulum** mortuum eum generat leena. et // **tribus diebus** custodit eum; **donec veniens pater eius // die** tercio. inflans **in faciem eius** suscitavit eum. // Sic deus pater teste psalmista ad filium dicens; exurge // gl'a mea fili. et filius ad eum. exurgam diluculo; // pater **omnis creature** primogenitum suscitavit **a // . mortuis**; // UNICORNIS De Unicornus // animal est pulchrum. nimisque acerrimum. //

2. Physiologus Latinus Versio B

Etenim Iacob, benedicens filium suum Iudam, ait: Catulus leonis Iudas, filius de germine meo, quis suscitabit eum? Physiologus dicit tres res naturales habere leonem. Prima: ambulat in montibus, et si contigerit ut quaeratur a uenatoribus, uenit ei odor uenatoris; et **cauda sua cooperit** post tergum **uestigia sua quocumque ierit**, ut non secutus uenator per uestigia eius inueniat cubile eius et capiat eum. Sic et saluator noster -- spiritalis leo **de tribu Iuda**, radix Iesse, filius Dauid -- missus a superno patre, cooperuit intelligentibus uestigia deitatis suae, et est factus cum angelis angelus, cum archangelis archangelus, cum thronis thronus, cum potestaibus potestas, donec descenderet in uterum uirginis, et saluaret hoc quod errauerat humanum genus. Et hoc ignorantes, eum ascendentem ad patrem, hi qui sursum erant angeli dicebant ad eos qui cum domino ascendebant: Quis est iste rex gloriae? responderunt illi: Dominus uirtutum ipse est rex gloriae. **Secunda natura** leonis: **Cum dormierit**, oculi eius uigilant, aperti enim sunt; **sicut in Canticis Canticorum** testatur sponsus, dicens: **Ego dormio, et cor meum uigilat**. Etenim corporaliter dominus meus obdormiens in cruce et sepultus, deitas eius uigilabat: Ecce non dormitabit neque dormiet qui custodit Israel.

Tertia natura: cum leaena peperit catulum, generat eum mortuum, et custodit eum tribus diebus; **donec ueniens pater eius die** tertia, insufflat **in faciem eius** et uiuificat eum. Sic omnipotens pater dominum nostrum Iesum Christum filium suum tertia die **suscitauit a mortuis**, dicente Iacob: Dormitabit tamquam leo, et sicut catulus leonis, quis suscitabit eum?

Bodl. Lat Th. e. 9

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

ff 57r Leo tres naturas habet. Quarum prima est. //Nam cum ambule et venatoris odor uenerit ei; // **cauda sua cooperit uestigia sua quocumque ierit**. ne //uestigia eius aut caubile uenator inueniat. et capiat //eum. Sic xps' ihc' ortus **de tribu iuda** leo potens; //uestigia deitatis sue carne cooperuit. ne eum uerum //filium dei diabolus agnosceret. **Secunda natura. cum dormierit** uigilant eius oculi aperti; **sicut in //canticis canticorum** sponsi uoce dicitur. **Ego dormio; et //cor meum uigilat**. Tercia eius est natura. Cum enim //genuerit catulum mortuum eum generat leaena. et //

tribus diebus custodit eum; **donec ueniens pater eius //die** tercio. inflans **in faciem eius** suscitet eum. //Sic deus pater teste psalmista ad filium dicens; exurge //gl'a mea fili. et filius ad eum. exurgam diluculo; //pater omnis creature primogenitum **suscitavit a //mortuis**; //

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

Etenim Iacob benedicens filium suum Iudam ait (Gen. 49, 9): 'Catulus leonis Iudas filius meus, quis suscitabit eum?' Physiologus dicit **tres** naturales habere leonem.

Prima : ambulat in montibus, et si contigerit, ut queratur a venatoribus, venit **odor venatoris** et de cauda sua post **tergum cooperit vestigia sua quocumque ierit**, ut secutus venator per **vestigia** eius non inveniatur cubile eius, et capiat eum. Sic et Salvator Noster ‘spiritualis leo **de tribu**. In da, radix Iesse, filius David’ (Apoc. 5, 5), missus a superno patre, **co- operuit intelligentibus vestigia deitatis sue**. Et hoc est: factus est cum angelis angelus, cum archangelis archangelus, cum thronis thronus, cum potestatibus potestas, donec descendit in uterum virginis, ut salvaret hoc quod erraverat humanum genus. Ex hoc ignorantes eum ascendentem ad patrem hi qui sursum erant angeli, dicebant ad eos qui cum Domino ascendebant (Ps. 24, 8 f.): ‘Quis est iste rex glorie?’ Responderunt illi: ‘Dominus virtutum ipse est rex glorie.’

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

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

(Tercia natura). Cum leena parit catulum, generat eum mortuum et custodit eum mortuum tribus diebus, donec veniens pater eius die tercio insufflet in faciem eius et vivificet eum. Sic omnipotens pater Dominum Nostrum Iesum Christum filium suum **tercia die** suscitavit a mortuis, dicente Iacob (4. Mos. 24, 9) : ‘Dormitabit tanquam leo, et sicut catulus leonis. Quis suscitabit eum ?

Bodl. Lat Th. e. 9

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

1. ff 57r Leo **tres** naturas habet. Quarum prima est. //
2. Nam cum ambule et **venatoris odor** venerit ei; //
3. cauda sua **cooperit vestigia sua quocumque ierit**. ne //
4. **vestigia** eius aut caubile venator inveniatur. **et capiat** //
5. **eum**. Sic xps’ ihc’ ortus **de tribu iuda** leo potens; //
6. **vestigia deitatis sue** carne cooperuit. ne eum verum //
7. **filium dei** diabolus agnosceret. **Secunda natu-**//
8. **ra. cum dormierit vigilant eius oculi aperti; sicut in** //
9. **canticis canticorum** sponsi voce dicitur. **Ego dormio; et** //
10. **cor meum vigilat**. Tercia eius est natura. Cum enim //
11. genuerit catulum **mortuum eum** generat leena. et //
12. **tribus diebus** custodit eum; **donec veniens pater eius** //

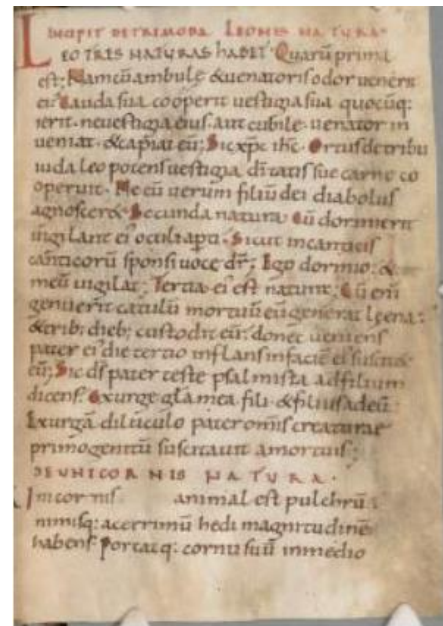
13. **die tercio.** inflans **in faciem eius** suscitet eum. //
14. Sic deus pater teste psalmista ad filium dicens; exurge //
15. gl'a mea fili. et filius ad eum. exurgam diluculo; //
16. pater omnis creature primogenitum suscitavit a //
17. mortuis; //

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

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

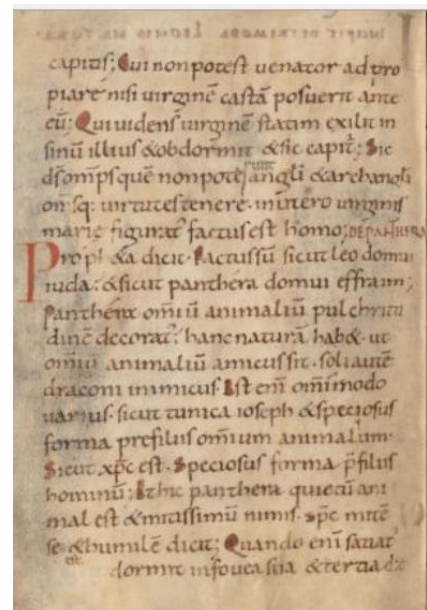
fol. 57r

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



18. DE UNICORNUS NATURA

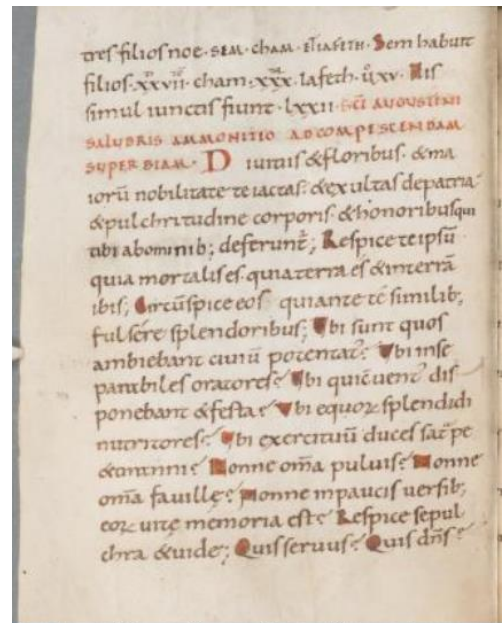
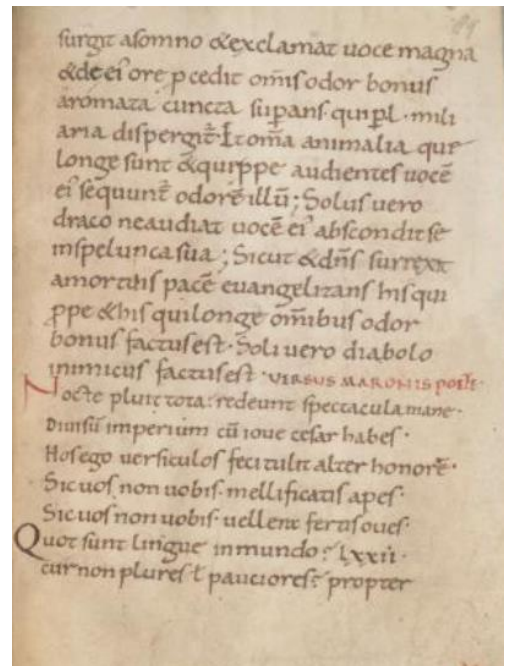
19. Unicornis animal est pulchrum.//
20. nimisque acerrimum. hedi magnitudinem//
21. habens. Portat que cornu suum in medio//
1. **fol. 57v** capitis. Cui non potest venator ad pro-//
2. piare nisi virginem castam posuerit ante//
3. eum. Qui videns virginem; statim exilit in//
4. sinum illius et obdormit. et sic capitur. Sic//
5. deus omnipotens quem non poterunt angeli et archangeli//
6. **oms** que virtutes tenere; in utero virginis//
7. marie figuratus factus est homo; DE PANTHERA
8. Propheta dicit. factus sum sicut leo domui//
9. iuda; et sicut panthera domui effraim.//
10. Panthera omnium animalium pulchritu//
11. dinem decoratus; hanc naturam habet ut//



12. omnium animalium amicus sit; soli autem//
13. draconi inimicus. Est enim omnimodo//
14. varius; sicut tunica ioseph et speciosus//
15. forma prefiliis omnium animalium;//
16. sicut xpc est. speciosus forma pre filiis//
17. hominum. Et hic panthera quietum ani-//
18. mal est. et mitissimum nimis. Spirite mitem//
19. se et humilem dicit. Quando enim satiates//
20. [erasure]est. dormit in fovea sua. et tertia die//
21. surgit a somno. et exclamat voce magna.//
22. et de eius ore procedit omnis odor bonus//
23. aromata cuncta superans. qui per id est mili-//
24. aria dispergitur. Et omnia animalia qui//
25. longe sunt et qui prope audientes vocem//
26. eius; sequuntur odorem illum. Solus vero//
27. dracone audiat vocem eius; abscondit se//
28. in spelunca sua. Sic et dominus surrexit//
29. a mortuis pacem evangelizans his qui//
30. prope et his qui longe; omnibus odor//
31. bonus factus est. Soli vero diabolo//
32. inimicus factus est **VERSUS MARONIS POETE**
33. Nocte pluit tota. redeunt spectacula mane.//
34. Divisum imperium cum iove cesar habes.//
35. Hos ego versiculos feci. tulit alter honorem.//
36. Sic vos non vobis mellificatis apes. //
37. Sic vos non vobis vellera fertis oves; //

38. Quot sunt lingue in mundo; .lxxvii. //
 39. Cur non plures vel pauciores; Propter//
fol. 58r

1. tres filios Noe. Sem. Cham. Et Iapheth. Sem habuit//
2. filios xxvii. Cham xxx. Iapheth vero xv. His//
3. simul vinctis; fiunt lxxvii.



Content Analysis

The fluidity of the bestiary text has always been problematic for tracing concordances, since the work is itself a compilation and all the early bestiaries make changes, edit, or expand their source texts. As an example, BL Royal C 2 XII is textually very close to Laud Misc. 247 but it still omits small amounts of information in the chapters on the Hedgehog, Onager, Stag, Mermecolion, and Diamond.¹³² Moreover, Royal C 2 XII was made a century later than Laud, has a completely different layout, and is unillustrated. So the differences in production are just as significant as the concordance. Therefore the three chapters included in this twelfth century text are significant whether or not textual transmission may be perceived.

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

¹³² Stewart, 2012, Appendix 5, pp. 18-19.

Appendix 8

London, British Library Additional 11283

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

8.1 **London, British Library Additional 11283**

Location: London, British Library

Shelfmark: Additional 11283

Vol. Incipit: *Leo fortissimus ad nullius pauebit* fol. 1r

2o. folio: *tigris*

Family: Second family bestiary

Contents: Bestiary, fols. 1-41.

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

Provenance: Bought by British Museum from William Pickering 1837

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

Size: 245 mm x 150 mm

Folios: fols. 1- 41.

Material: Parchment in leather binding

Bestiary Hand: one protogothic hand

Layout: single column, 33 lines.

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

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

Textual

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

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

8.2 Detailed Examination

Material:

i. Binding

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

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

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

iii. Flyleaves (i-vi)

i marbled (and IFC and IBC too)

ii plain top left: B.2.b
foot ranged left? S.643f.

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

iv blank

v P h Mainwaring

pre I c l 10s (is this a price?)

L?. 8 – in pencil top left

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

19th C watermarked paper with fine tramlines and chain marks

vi blank

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

iv. Marks of Ownership

On flyleaf v: P h Mainwaring

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

Pentrial names noted under ‘marginalia’

v. Table of Contents or Index

No contents or index

vi. Substrate Flyleaves, modern, paper

Manuscript is on vellum

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

viii. Collation 1-48, 57 +2. But rebound

ix. Quire Numbers

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

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

f.1 foot of gutter – looks like a ‘d’

f.9 right in foot gutter v faint 'e'?

x. Catchwords One medieval catchword on fol. 8v colore maxillis

xi. Leaves Trimmed (severely at top)

fol. 1 stained and dirty

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

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

xii. Pricking & Ruling

No evidence of pricking (probably trimmed away)

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

Ruled in lead 33 lines

xiii. Page Layout

& Measurements Outer margin 35mm

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

Foot margin 57 mm

Top margin 16 mm but trimmed

Cover measures 290mm x 180mm

Size of page 280mm x 170/175mm

Text area: 202 mm x 132mm

Writing above topline

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

xiv. Rubrics None

xv. Script (s) Single hand **in a neat** proto textura

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

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

21. dotting of y in yena (hyena)

P Robinson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable in Cambridge Libraries*
similar to plate 67 of Comestor, *Historia Scholastica*, TCC B.15.10
fol.4 owned by Nigel Wireker, of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury
c.1155; Also similar CCL W.50 dated 1155, and Lambeth Palace
Cart Misc xi

xvi. Alterations

and Corrections

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

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

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

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

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

fol. 31r: '*Stagno d[e]?* missing, trimmed] *Blakemore?*

xvii. Decoration

Litterae Notabiliores

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

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

This alternate colouring often found in Canterbury mss.

Illustrations

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

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

fol. 1r

Lion is green with red-tipped mane)

fol. 2r

Tiger has red blue and green stripes and spots

fol. 3v

Some pricking and pouncing evident, e.g. Griffin

fol. 4r

Elephants scalloped ears, castle on top, with tusks and trunk but
rounded feet

fol. 5v

Simia: the monkeys not pounced but very detailed

fol. 7r

Caprea

fol. 7v	Ursus
fol. 8r	Crocodrillus – Large cat with scales like C C C depicted clasping diagonal stiff clothed man Manticore in foot margin similar stance to leucrota but lion's mane and human face
fol. 8v	Parandrus – pricked running deer more like D10 and it has been brushed across with a dirty grey 2" brush Eale (Yale)
fol. 9v	Wolves, stronger black line used but animals drawn the same way as e.g. eale, same stretch marks at belly and round haunches, same delineation of hocks and forelimbs, but wolf and three sheep have wrinkles before start of tail on their backs.
fol. 14r	[Full page text on equus l.6 nota de Bucephal/equo Alixi magni in same pale sepia script as nota bene on f.7r
fol. 12-14	Mostly domestic animals – thick, confident line drawings, camels look like fawns. Dromedary has no hump at all.
fol. 15r	Small animals – very much finer line with a warm sepia wash.
fol. 19v	Assida – image has cloven hooves.
fol. 24v	Perindens tree symmetrical tree – dragon has teeth (with small bird in them) – three-curl knot in tail parallel lines with small evenly spaced circles
fol. 25-40	Gaps left for illustrations not drawn
fol. 41r	Half-page Firestones with bright red flames and man and woman gesturing to each other.
Text:	Single work fols 1-41r
Modern Title:	Bestiary
Incipit:	[L 4 lines high red with blue penscroll, trimmed] Leo fortissimus bestiarum ad nullius pauebit occursum
Sec fol:	TIGRIS Uocata fol 2r
fol. 4	Est ani/mal qd d'r elephans

Colophon:	In filios in obedientie debachatur (Firestones)
Edition:	W. Clark, <i>A Medieval Book of Beasts</i> (Boydell 2006)
Contents:	Illustrated Second family bestiary
Date:	c. 1170-1200
Marginalia:	<p>Many including pen trials and copies of drawings (e.g. Lion's head, fol. 1r). There are marginalia in several hands, inc. later English and several cloverleaf markings with a point just beyond each leaf:</p> <p>fol. 7r 13-14thC nota mark</p> <p>fol. 30 three dots in triangle</p> <p>Names:</p> <p>fol. 3r top margin: Cuthbert s Sigswick</p> <p>f.6v Tudor hand Jake? Jack? Henry partially erased</p> <p>f.16r Ambroas / Booke [possibly a date beneath – 1617] written upside down</p> <p>f.16r Thomas/Buttler/Ow[n]e this/booke [written upside down]</p> <p>f.28v pen trials George Sparkes, Richard Leinon[?] [upside down]</p> <p>f.30r George Sparkes the right way up twice in foot margin.</p> <p>f.32 a lead X with rule above and below – Ffrenshe in pencil same hand as fol. 38r sketch</p> <p>f.38r pencil marginalia of man in doublet & hose.</p>

Appendix 9

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 8340

- 9.** **Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 8340**¹³³ s.xiv²⁻³
- Location:** Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale
- Shelfmark:** 8340 (in 8327-8342) old shelf mark 1031
- Vol. Incipit:** *Optatus mihi (De contemptu mundi)*
- Contents:** Numbers match those in J. Gheyn, *Catalogue de manuscrits de la bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, II (Bruxelles: Lamertin, 1902), pp. 92-93.¹³⁴
- fol. 1-68v 1. *De contemptu mundi* incipit *Optatus mihi*
- fol. 69r-103v 2. Walter Burley *De Vita et Moribus Philosophorum*
- fol. 104v-120v 3. In Gratianem Dominicam: incipit *Quia frequenter in evangelio monemur*
- fol. 120v-129 4. St Bernard *De salutatione angelica* incipit ‘*Salutate Mariam que multum laboravit in vobis*’
- fols. 129-132 5. Origen, *Omelia super Maria stabat ad monumentum foris plorans*
- fol. 132 blank
- fol. 133r-145v 6. Jerome, *De Illustribus viris*, PL 23 col 601.
- fol. 145v-154r 7. Gennadii Massiliensis *De viris illustribus*, PL 58 col. 1053
- fol. 154r-157v 8. Isidore of Seville, *De viris illustribus*, PL 83 col. 1081
- [fols. 158r-163r 9. Additions to Isidore *De viris illustribus* extracts from Julian of Toledo etc]
- fol. 164r-179v 10. Cassiodorus, *De institutionibus divinarum scripturam*, PL 70 col 1105
- fol. 179v-181r 11. Decretals; *Epistola a Gelasii papa.*, PL 59 col 159-169
- fol. 181r-181v 12. Jerome, *Epistola de gradibus romanorum*

¹³³ The bestiary is now referenced as BBR 8327-8342.

¹³⁴ J. Gheyn, *Catalogue de manuscrits de la bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, II (Bruxelles: Lamertin, 1902), pp. 92-93 < http://opteron1.kbr.be/manus/BELGICA/B001/vdg_02.pdf > [accessed 18 June 2015]. Note Clark 2006, pp. 226, n. 16 is not reliable on the contents order.

- fol. 181v-182r 13. *Historia Judae et Thamar*
- fol. 182r-182v 14. *Nomina et interpretationes apostolorum* BHL no. 652
- fol.183-215 15. Bestiary
- Family:** Second family bestiary
- Incipit: *Leo fortissimus bestiarum ab nullius pauebit occurus.*
- Date:** Clark.1300; Baxter: fourteenth century (p. 148); Silvestre: s. xiv³⁻⁴
- Size:** 277 mm x177mm
- Folios:** fols. 1-215
- fols. 104-132 are separate contemporary insertions, in two columns
- fols 158-163 are eighteenth-century paper insertions.
- Provenance:** Jesuit House in Antwerp, eighteenth century shelfmark B.1.
- Ex libris 'Liber *fratris Brunonis ordinis Praedicatorum*'
- Collation:** Catchmarks on bestiary at 186v, 194v, 202v, 201v, indicates quires of eight leaves.
- Material:**
- Binding:** Eighteenth century leather covers.
- Substrate:** Parchment
- fols 158-163 (an insert on paper)
- Layout:** Single column with illustrations ranged right taking up half the column width
- Bestiary Hand:** Single bookhand, same hand as for the other fourteenth-century contents. Professional decorative gutter and top margin borders for the start of each text with five line high foliate decorated initials in red, pink, blue picked out in white and gilded. Lesser initials, three lines high, alternate between red and blue with contrasted filigree. Sentence capital letters tipped in red.
- Illustration:** 100 unframed black line drawings, half-width and usually nine lines high, professionally copied from BL Additional 11283, Clark 'closer than any other manuscript' to BL Additional 11283 indicates 'direct contact' Clark 2006, p. 226.

Textual

Affiliation: BL Additional 11283 (Clark, p. 226)

Bibliography: Baxter 1998 (p. 148); Clark 2006, p. 226; H. Silvestre, 'Enfin un manuscrit anglais du *De Vita et Moribus Philosophorum* de Walter Burley?', *Scriptorium* 13.2 (1959), 255-259.

Appendix 10
Oxford, Bodleian, Douce 88A

- 10.** **Oxford, Bodleian Douce 88A** s.xiii³
- Location:** Oxford, Bodleian Library
- Shelfmark:** Douce 88A
- Vol. Incipit:** *KL prima dies*
- 2^o. folio:** *prima*
- Family:** Second family bestiary fols. 5-29
- Bestiary Incipit:** *Bestiarium vocabulum propriete convenit leonibus.*
- Bestiary 2o. fol:** *[devora]tas gravantur*
- Date:** Clark: c. 1270s; Baxter: c. 1240-60
- Size:** 202 mm x 155 mm; text area 165 mm x 110 mm
- Folios:** fols. 1-68.
Late medieval numbering: pp. 1-10, pp. 131-286.
Numbering in late medieval hand starts paginating 2 at fol 1v, kalends to p.10 (half page) then bestiary at p.132 in same hand.
Bestiary ends at p.209 but numbering continues – and fig of Adam and Eve is in the same hand as bestiary and same colours
- Contents:**
- A: quire 1:**
Calendar fols. 1-4, pp. 1-10 missing pp. 4-5, 7-8, only bottom half left of pp. 11-12
- B: quires 2-5:**
Bestiary, fols. 5r-29r, pp. 131-204 (lost leaves between fols. 12-13, 22-23, 28-29)
History of the Cross (incipit *Qualiter Adam et Eva*), fols. 29v-33v (duplicate p. 204, pp. 204 -211)
- C: quires 6-7:**
Odo of Cheriton, *Opus Parabolem*, 2 cols. fols. 34-48 (pp. 212-240)

On Seven Deadly Sins Incipit: *Dicatur omnibus*, 2 cols., fols. 48v-9 (pp. 241-243)

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

D: quires 8-9:

On Horses, Incipit *Solet repleti lingua*, fols. 51-67r (fol. 67v blank) pp. 248-286.

- Material:** Vellum, holed (e.g. fol. 12), stained and grubby.
- Origin:** Baxter 1998, p. 143: St Augustine's Abbey but this is disputed by Barker-Benfield, p. 889.
- Provenance:** Inscription on Calendar fol 1r, 1336 Speldhist (Kent) and Thomas de Whatton, (Clark, 2006, p.242) with marginalia and pen trials of Bartholomew Salmon, fol. 2r, whose name also appears in margins of fol. 52r, in quire 8. Purchased by Douce in 1818.
Baxter: St Augustine's Abbey, disputed by Barker-Benfield
- Bestiary Hand:** Single hand: textura. The texts in quires B-D are by the same hand, except fol. 50r-v. Some minor glossing, corrections e.g. 'frustrum' fol.12.
- Layout:** single column, 34 lines, ruled in lead, writing below top line
- Decoration:** Initial letters red with blue filigree then blue with red
fol.34 (p.212) B[eatus Basili coaageras iuuenes] red and blue puzzle initial
Rubrics thrown right
- Illustration:** 70 framed line drawings with tinted backgrounds, frames alternate red and green, backgrounds, green or red in contrast. Line drawings are generally 9 lines high. Simple figures, thin-legged animals.
- Textual Relationship:** Clark 2006: BL Add. 11283, Royal 12 F XIII (p. 242). Baxter, p.140 also suggests closest Second family bestiary to Third family recension
- Bibliography:** Clark 2006: N^o.22, pp. 242-3; Baxter 1998, pp. 140-143, 148; BCBB p.898

Appendix 11

Inhabited and Zoomorphic Initials with Bestiary Allusions in Christ Church Books

This appendix consists of a list of Christ Church artists and two tables of the inhabited and/or zoomorphic initials which allude to animals from the First family bestiary and are found in Christ Church books between 1085 and 1137. The first table, part 1, lists the manuscripts in date order from 1085-1137. It is also in alphabetical order of the artists who were identified by initials by Gameson, an indication of his working method.¹³⁵ This table also provides the reference numbers for manuscripts noted in part 2 of Table 5.1a.

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

Of course, other creatures not in the bestiary were also used, not only sourced from fables but as Dodwell demonstrated, from other works, such as astronomy texts, e.g. the Pisces by artist B in Orosius, TCC O.4.34, fol. 1v. There are also fish sometimes held in dogs' mouths, perhaps a pun on 'canis/cane' for sing or chant, artist L in TCCB.2.34, fol. 137v.¹³⁶ The hare was

¹³⁵ Gameson 1995, pp. 117-120, pp. 142-144, A-K; Gameson, 2008, p. 245 for three more artists also identified as A-C, this table is only concerned with B and C who have been re-titled M and N.

¹³⁶ Dodwell 1954, p. 64, plate 38i.

another creature used for its English name by artist A (CUL Kk.1.23, fol. 1r); and artist G (TCC B.2.34, fol. 79v), both illustrated in the table. Besides the illustrations, Part 2 of the table gives a brief bibliography for each manuscript and notes mentions of individual initials in the scholarship, chiefly by Dodwell and Kauffman. Furthermore, the table provides references for the dates of these manuscripts, some of which have been revised since Gameson's 1995 article. The various styles of the artists of these initials were described by Gameson, and some of their work had previously been discussed by Dodwell, and commented upon by Kauffmann. A brief summary of the artists appears in volume 1, pp. 239-242.

Table 5.1a, part 1: Examined Christ Church Manuscripts with Bestiary Allusions

Arranged in date order, bold indicates initial depicted in part 2

No.	Table 5.1a ref & Shelfmark	Date ¹³⁷	Short Title	Artist Identified by Letter, and Notes
1.	19 TCC B.3.5	c.1083-1087	Jerome	A (Anglo-Norman?)
2.	19 CUL Kk.1.23	c.1085-1093	Ambrose	A? Gullick: 'definitely A', 2006, 179
3.	1 TCC O.4.34	1100-1107	Orosius	B
4.	TCC O.10.28	1100-1107	Eutropius	B (scribe using English minuscule)
5.	20, 25 TCC B.5.28**	c.1187-1093	Augustine, <i>Psalmos II</i>	C: fols.45r & 60r, D: fols.87v, 60v, scribe Eadmer
6.	TCC B.5.26 **	c.1187-1093	Augustine, <i>Psalmos I</i>	E (most active artist) scribe: Eadmer
7.	TCC B.4.2	s.xi ^{ex}	Augustine, <i>Job</i>	G (fol. 1r, I, animal head)
8.	1, 29 TCC O.2.51	s.xi/xii	Priscian, <i>Inst. Gram</i>	[O] Gameson: St Aug. GL & M. R. James: CC
9.	5, 18, 29 TCC B.3.9	s.xi/xii	Ambrose, <i>Super Lucam</i>	E: fols.4r & 5v, H: fols 15r & 33r Norman?
10.	24, 28 TCC B.3.14	s.xi/xii	Pratellenis II	- Not identified by RG [P]
11.	8 OBL Bod. 271	1104-1114	Anselm, <i>Opera</i>	E?
12.	TCC B.4.26	1090-1120	Augustine, <i>Ep</i>	E fol.2r D[omino])
13.	21 BL Arundel 16	1090-1120	Osbern, <i>Dunstani</i>	E fol.2r, 'Osbernus' initial?
14.	25, 30, 33 OBL, Bodl.161	1100-30	Bede, <i>Song of songs</i>	C: fol 9r F: fol.1r
15.	22, 25 TCC B.2.34	s.xii ¹	Jerome <i>In Genesim</i>	G fol. 79v, L 34r, 47r
16.	17, 25 TCC R.15.22	s.xii ¹	Boethius, <i>Musica</i>	E/J = Samuel?
17.	12, 19, 22, 25, 34 BL Cott Claud E v	c.1125	Ps-Isidore, <i>Decretals</i>	E? + others [M & N?] BL dates this to 1125
18.	BL Harley 315	1110-1140	<i>Passionale</i> v 3	M & N: Renamed: Gameson duplicated B & C
19.	12, 22, 33, 39 BL Harley 624	1123, 1128-37	<i>Passionale</i> v 3	M & N?
20.	29, 35 BL Cot Nero C vii	ca.1110	<i>Passionale</i> v 3	M & N
21.	25 Cam St John's A8	1110-1140	Josephus, <i>Bello</i>	E/J? & M & N?
22.	CUL li.3.12	1120-50	Boethius, <i>Arith</i>	G, J, K
23.	BL Cotton Cleo. E i	1120-21	<i>Register</i>	G, M & N
24.	CCA Lit Ms E.42	1123, 1128-37	<i>Passionale</i> v 1, 5	E/J = Samuel?

¹³⁷ Table 5.1a provides references for the dates of these manuscripts.

Appendix 11







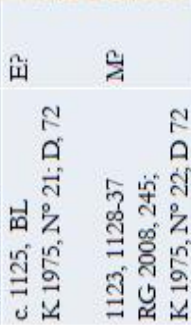

Table 5.1a: Examined Christ Church Manuscripts with Bestiary Allusions

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

Bibliographical Key to Table 5.1a






- CC** Christ Church Priory, Canterbury
- D** C. Dodwell, *The Canterbury School of Illumination 1066-1120*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1954)
- G 1998** Gullick, M., 'The Scribal Work of Eadmer of Canterbury to 1109', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 118 (1998), 173-190
- GL 2014** H. Gneuss, and M. Lapidge, eds., *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England Up to 1100*, (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2014)
- H 1984** T.A. Heslop, 'Dunstanus Archiepiscopus and painting in Kent around 1120', *Burlington Magazine*, 126 (1984), 195-204, p. 200
- K 1975** M Kauffmann, *Illuminated Romanesque Manuscripts 1066-1190*
- L 2004** I. Logan, 'Ms. Bodley 271: Establishing the Anselmian Canon', *The Saint Anselm Journal*, 2 (Fall, 2004), 67-80, 73-74
- RG 1999** R. Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England (c. 1066-1130)* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999)
- RG 2008** R. Gameson, *The Early Book of Canterbury Cathedral*, (London: British Library, 2008)
- RG 1995** R. 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
- TCC** M.R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge: a Descriptive Catalogue*, 4 (1901-4), rev. and published on-line at <http://sites.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/browse.php>
- TW 1995** Teresa 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. 145-58.




Table 5.1a: Illustrated Christ Church Inhabited or Zoomorphic Initials containing Bestiary animals

Ch. No.	Bestiary Animal	Author/Title, Shelfmark	Initial & Folio	Date & References	Artist	Images
L1	Lion	Orosius, <i>Historia</i> , TCC O.4.34 includes Dragon and ?Hydrus	O, fol. 1r	s.xi/xii, GL 2014, N° 196.5, RG 1995, 117n, 142	B	
L2		right: Further example of Lion Piscian, <i>Inst. Gramm.</i> , TCC O.2.51	S, fol. 9r	s.xi/xii, GL 2014, N° 192 CC, RG 1995, 114, 123 St A; K 1975, N° 8; D, 17	6	
5.1	Caladrius	Ambrose, <i>Super Lucam</i> , TCC B.3.9	E, fol. 15r	s.xi/xii, GL 2014, N° 162;	H,	
5.2		5.1 includes Siren and 5.2 includes winged Hyena	right E, fol. 33r	RG 1995, 106n, 117n; D, 72	H	
8.	Eagle	Anselm, <i>Opera</i> , Oxford, Bodl, Bodley 271	D, fol. 62r, Close-up	1104-14 L 2004, 73-4; RG 1995, 119n post 1125; H 1984, 200, 1120; K 1975, N° 42, c.1130; D, 39	EP	
12.1	Siren	Ps-Isidore, <i>Derivata</i> , BL Cotton Claudius E V	D, fol. 54r	c. 1125, BL K 1975, N° 21; D, 72	E?	
12.2		right: Further example: <i>Passionale</i> , BL Harley 624	F, fol. 128r, Hybrid siren	1123, 1128-37 RG 2008, 245; K 1975, N° 22; D 72	MF	
17.	Beaver	Boethius, <i>De Musica</i> , TCC R.15.22 <i>Close-up</i> : hunter reaching for beaver's scent glands	S, fol. 49r	s.xii ¹ , MRJ; D, 29; RG 1995, 119n, 143; K 1975, p. 62 links to Flo, BML Phit xii.17	J	

	Bestiary/Animal	Author/Title, Shelfmark	Initial & Fol.	Date	Artist	
6.	Hyena	Ambrose, <i>Super Lucam</i> , TCCB.3.9	E, fol. 33r	s.xi/sii, GL	H	
7.17	Hydrus and Crocodile	Ps-Isidore, <i>Deverbalis</i> , BL Cotton Claudius E V	O, fol. 36r	c.1125, BL	EP	
7.2		Jerome, <i>Super Prophetas II</i> , TCC B.3.5	I, fol. 3r	s.xi ^{sc} , GL	A	
7.3		Right: Further example of A's work CUL Kk.1.23, Ambrose, <i>Hexameron</i> Hybrid with Sword, horn, and Hare	T fol. 3r	s.xi ^{sc} , BZ, 10	A	
8.9.	Goat	Augustine, <i>Super Psalmos CI-CL</i> TCC B.5.28 Goat treads on Wolf	Q, 45r	1087-1093, G	C	
9.	Onager	Osbern, <i>Vita S. Dunstani</i> , BL Arundel 16; asinam ad hyram And close-up	R, fol. 2r	c. 1093, BL	EP	

Ch. No.	Bestiary Animal	Author/Title, Shelfmark	Initial & Folio	Date & References	Artist	Images
22.1	Cynocephalus/ Satyr [Monkey]	Ps-Isidore, <i>Decretals</i> , BL Cotton Claudius E V, Cynocephalus? <i>right</i> : Further example of satyrs <i>Passional</i> , BL Harley 624	B, fol. 4r O, fol. 95v	c. 1125, BL; K 1975, N° 21; D, 74 1123, 1128-37, RG 2008, 245; D, 75	E? MP	
22.2						
22.3	Satyr	Jerome, <i>In Genesis</i> , TCC B.2.34	S, fol. 34r Scriptura	s.xii ⁱ , RG 1999, N°136, RG 1995, 132n, 143; D 23	L,	
22.4			A, Fol. 47r Ararat	As above and D, 29, 74	L	
24.	Panther	Pratellensis, <i>Super Genesis II</i> , TCC B.3.14	P, fol. 49r	s.xi/xii, GL 2014, N° 162.6, RG 1995, 108n, c. 1100; TW 1995, 158	-	
25.1	Dragon	Boethius, <i>De Musica</i> , TCC R.15.22	E, fol. 66r	s.xii ⁱ , MRJ and as 17 J above; D, 33 'Rom- anesque illumination of remarkably fine quality' s.xii ⁱ , RG 1999, 136	J	
25.2		<i>right</i> : Further example from Jerome, <i>In Genesis</i> , TCC B.2.34, pronunciation	A, fol. 79v Aethiopia		G	
25.3		Augustine, <i>Super Psalms CI-CL</i> , TCC B.5.28, Uses dragon parts to make up letter <i>right</i> : Further example: of dragon, Ps- Isidore, <i>Decretals</i> ; BL Cotton Claudius E V, possible visual comment on text	B, fol. 87v; Brevis	1087-1093, G 1998, 181; K 1975, p. 55; D, 18-19 'hard' 'gaudy colours' N? c. 1125, BL;	D	
25.4			A, fol. 28r Anacletus			

Ch. No.	Bestiary Animal	Author/Title, Shelfmark	Initial & Folio	Date & References	Artist	Images
25.5		<i>Song of Songs</i> , Oxford, Bodl. Bodley 161	P, fol. 1r	1100-1130, D; 121 RG 1995, 117n, 142	F	
25.6		<i>right</i> : Further example, Josephus, <i>Bellā</i> Cambridge, St John's A8, Dialectic	M, fol. 61r	1110-40, D RG 1995, 130n; L 2004	N?	
28.	Weasel	Pratellensis, <i>Super Genesis II</i> , TCC B.3.14	Q, fol. 1r	s.xi/xii, As 24	-	
29.1	Asp/ Serpent	Ambrose, <i>Super Lucam</i> , TCC B.3.9	S, fol. 4r	s.xi/xii, As 5.1, 5.2, and RG 1995, 117-8	E	
29.2		Far right: further example in <i>Pasionale</i> , BL Cotton Nero C VII	S, fol. 40r, Sancta	c.1110, BL K 1975, ref in No 22	N?	
29.3		Priscian, <i>Institutiones Grammaticae</i> , TCC O.2.51 Grammatical point, re: 'regulis'	Q, fol. 34r, <i>Quoniam</i>	s.xi/xii, GL 2014, 192: CC RG 1995, 144: St A K 1975, 8: St A, 'English' MRJ TCC: CC; D, 79	-	
30.	Ostrich	Anselm, <i>Opera</i> , Oxford, Bodl. Bodley 271	D, fol. 72r	c.1114-1125, L, 2004; D, 73 'uninterested in the sources of his motifs'	E?	

Ch. No.	Bestiary Animal	Author/Title, Shelfmark	Initial & Fol.	Date & References	Artist	Images
33.	Salamander	<i>Passionale</i> , BL Harley 624, E[vices]. Victorinus, and Maro martyrs, mentions 'flammis'	E, fol 112v	RG, 2008, 245; D, 74 discusses lizard fol. 132 crocodile hybrid, also CUL II.3 12 fol. 106v, pl. 44c	NP	
34.	Dove	Ps-Isidore, <i>Decretals</i> , BL Cotton Claudius E V	C, fol 20r	c.1125, BL; as 12.1 and 35	NP	
35.	Peredixion Tree	<i>Passionale</i> , BL Cotton Nero C VII, Includes Dragons, Pearls, and Doves	O, fol 46r	c. 1110, BL; D, 78	MP	
39.1 39.2	Pearl	<i>Song of Songs</i> , Oxford, Bodl. Bodley 161 <i>far right</i> . Further example, <i>Passionale</i> , BL Harley 624, St Michael clutches a pearl	C, fol 9r T, fol 134r	1100-1130, D 1123, 1128-37, RG MF 2008, 245	G	