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About this Text

This article discusses how the manuscript illustrations of the bestiary genre were used in Medieval church decoration, in the form of wall paintings and wood and stone carvings. Numerous examples from manuscripts and church architecture are provided, with many reproductions of manuscript illustrations and photographs of decorative elements in churches.

This was originally a two part article. Part one was published in 1919 in the British Archaeological Journal Volume 25, and part two was published in 1920 in Volume 26. The two parts have been combined in this digital text, which is available from the *Medieval Bestiary: Animals in the Middle Ages* web site, in the Digital Text library:

https://bestiary.ca/etexts/etext113630.htm

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THE MEDIÆVAL BESTIARIES, AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON ECCLESIASTICAL DECORATIVE ART.

By GEORGE C. DRUCE, F.S.A.

THE object of the present paper is to give a brief account of the Mediæval Bestiaries, and their influence in certain spheres of art. The Bestiarium, or Book of Beasts, may be fitly described as a religious Natural History Book. Little or nothing is known about its origin, but there is a probability that it was compiled by a Greek monk of Alexandria about the end of the fourth or early part of the fifth century. We have news of it in the decree of 496, associated with the name of Pope Gelasius, which condemned it as a heretical book, and from this it may be inferred that it had by that time become popular. The decree does not seem to have had much effect, for its popularity continued until the fourteenth century; the hey-day of the Bestiary may, however, be put in the first half of the thirteenth century, if we judge by the manuscripts which survive. It is likely that the earliest version was written in Greek, for the later Latin and other Bestiaries almost invariably quote as their authority the "Physiologus," that is the "Naturalist," or Natural Philosopher, by which title the early Bestiary was known. The immediate motives which inspired the work seem to have been the example provided by Æsop's fables and the popularity of the symbolic method of Christian teaching, of which we have abundant evidence in the writings of the Christian Fathers, and in early Christian art. The Bible is full of zoological symbolism,

and what more appropriate than that a Greek monk should compile a work upon the nature and habits of animals and birds mentioned in it, and found lessons of a religious or moral character upon them.

The original Bestiary was no doubt of modest proportions. We do not know how many creatures were at first dealt with, perhaps not more than twenty-five or thirty, but as time went on there was constant accretion through the addition of both fresh subjects and fresh matter, until in the thirteenth century we find it so swollen that, in one group of MSS.[1] there are not less than 200 creatures, big and little, described, although a symbolic interpretation is not attached to everyone. The texts of the Bestiaries were largely derived from the works of ecclesiastical commentators, such as the treatises on the "Hexameron" of Ambrose and his successors, Gregory's "Moralia" in Job, Isidores' Etymology, and the "De Universo" and works on Leviticus and Deuteronomy of Rabanus Maurus; all of whom had in their turn borrowed from classical writers on Natural History, such as Aristotle, Pliny, Solinus, and Aelian, and had added their own religious or moral interpretations. Much extraneous matter, however, crept in, some of it of a very secular, not to say unparliamentary character, and there are quotations, often incorrect, from Ovid, Martial, and even Persius. The text frequently commences with an etymological juggle on the creature's name. For instance, the swan is said to derive its name "olor" from the Greek ὅλον, whole or entire, because it is entirely white; for, as the author quaintly observes: "No one ever heard of a black swan."[2] The description of the animal's nature and habits follows, with the lesson and passages from the Bible relating thereto; and lastly miscellaneous items. Thus in the account of the hoopoe we are told that if anyone smears himself with its blood when falling asleep, he will dream that he is being

[1] Represented by MS. Kk–4–25 University Library, Cambridge, and MS. 22 Westminster Chapter Library, &c. The list of creatures in this group corresponds closely with that included in the work "De Bestiis et allis rebus" of Hugo de Sancto Victore (twelfth century).

[2] MS. Harl. 4751, and MS. Harl. 3244, both Brit. Mus.

suffocated by demons.[1] In the account of the peacock an epigram of Martial's is introduced in the part which tells of the hardness of its flesh and the difficulty of cooking it: "You wonder as often as it unfolds its jewelled wings; and can you hand over this creature to a cruel cook, you hard-hearted man!"[2] In the French rhyming versions of Philippe de Thaun (early twelfth century) and of Guillaume le Clerc (early thirteenth century), the secular element is not so apparent. In the latter the phraseology is simple and discloses a sincerity of mind and real religious feeling on the part of the author. There are MSS. of these two versions in the British Museum.[3]

As to the structure of the Bestiaries the texts and illustrations are arranged very much as we arrange an illustrated book nowadays. There are full page miniatures, but the majority occur in the text, the illustration frequently coming at the head of the matter relating to it. The earliest Bestiary that we have ourselves inspected is MS. 10074, in the Royal Library at Brussels. It is of the tenth century, and is imperfect. The illustrations are of an interesting and unusual character, as may be seen from the miniature of the syrens (Fig. 1). They are in semi-human, semi-bird form; two are tearing a man to pieces, while the third is playing a musical instrument. The legends above run: "UBI SYRENE MUSICA SONANT AD DECIPIENDOS HOMINES" and "UBI DILANIANT EOS JAM MORTUOS." The majority of existing manuscripts date from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries. The illustrations were as a rule done after the text and by a different hand. We do not know whence the artists got their models, but it is unlikely that the figures were done from nature, except perhaps in the case of domestic or easily accessible animals, and then only to a limited extent. This may be better understood if the subjects are divided into three groups; namely, fabulous creatures, which the artists could not have seen; rare or inaccessible animals, which they were not

[1] MSS. Sloane 3544, Harl. 4751, and 12 F, xiii, all Brit. Mus.; and MS. 3516 Arsenal Lib., Paris.

[2] MS. Harl. 4751; MSS. Kk-4-25 and Ii-4-26, Univ. Lib., Cambridge.

[3] MS. of Thaun, Nero Av; and of Guillaume, Vesp. A, vii.

likely to have seen; and domestic or accessible animals, with which they would be well acquainted. In the first group would fall the syren, centaur, and griffin, for which they may have had classical models. There is a good miniature of the griffin in MS. Harl. 4751, where it is grasping a horse as evidence of its great strength and ferocity. The text says that it is "intensely hostile to horses and tears men to pieces." The latter phase is well illustrated in the Westminster Bestiary (Plate II). In the second group may be put such animals as the elephant, panther, crocodile or ostrich. These are usually

Fig. 1.—Syrens. MS. 10074, Bibl. Roy., Brussels.

badly drawn. It is recorded that an elephant arrived in this country in 1255, a gift from King Louis to King Henry. It only lived four years, but Matthew Paris tells us that many people flocked to see it.[1] There is an excellent illustration of it in MS. Parker 16 at Corpus, Cambridge, which is quite the most natural representation of an elephant of the time, and may have been done from life, but this was exceptional. The crocodile is usually a quaint creature, and a curious specimen is drawn in the late twelfth-century Bestiary belonging

[1] Luard "Chronica Majora," Vol. V, p. 489; and H. Sands: "Extracts from the Documentary History of the Tower of London," *Archæological Journal*, Vol. LXIX, p. 166.

Fig. 1.—Griffin and Man. MS. 22, Westminster Chapter Library.

Fig. 2.—Crocodile, Pierpoint Morgan's Bestiary.

PLATE III.

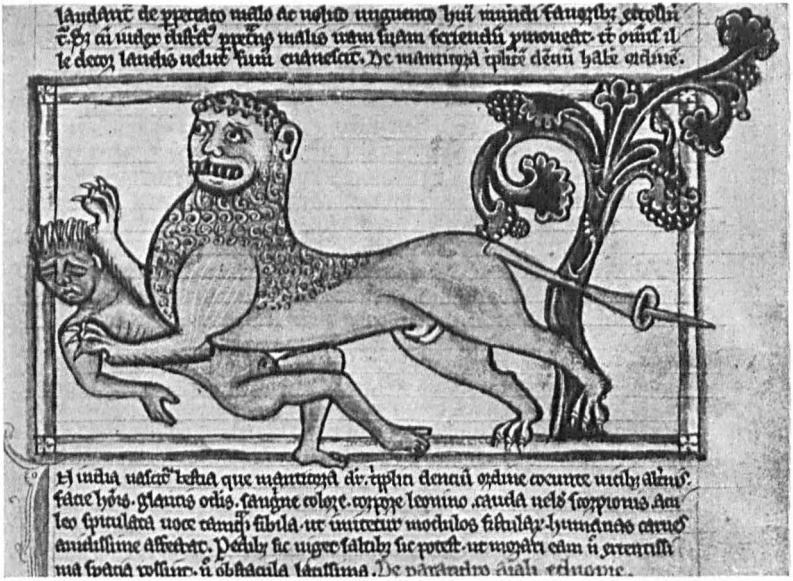


Fig. 1.—Mantichora. MS. Harl. 3244 (B.M.).

Fig. 2.—Lion Breathing on Cub. MS. 22, Westminster.

to Mr. Pierpoint Morgan[1] (Plate II). It has seized a man. The French versions say that if the crocodile catches a man and eats him, nothing is left; and that it weeps for him for ever after.

Then there are certain nondescript animals mentioned by Pliny, such as the mantichora, parandrum, leucrocotta, and eale, which the artists could only have composed from the information given in the text. The mantichora is especially interesting, and a comparison between illustration and text will show how closely the artists followed the latter. The miniature (Plate III) is taken from MS. Harl. 3244. "There is a beast which is a native of India, and which is called 'mantichora.' It has a triple row of teeth fitting alternately, a face like a man's, blue-grey eyes, and a body like a lion's, of the colour of blood. Its tail is pointed with a sting like the scorpion's, and it gives out a whistling sound resembling the tones of reed-pipes. It is extraordinarily partial to human flesh. It is very active on its feet, proceeding with powerful leaps, so that neither the widest spaces nor the biggest obstacles avail to stop it."[2] The triple row of teeth is not so well drawn in this MS as in the Westminster Bestiary. Pliny's information came from the "Indica" of Ctesias, and there is some reason to think that the mantichora is the man-eating tiger of India.

Domestic or accessible animals are more faithfully represented as we should expect, and their treatment depended rather on the skill of the artist. In the miniature of the wild-goats in MS. Harl. 4751, they are beautifully, if somewhat formally drawn. Many of the figures however are too much alike to be accidental. Copying was general, and we may understand how much more convenient it would be to copy from a book or picture than to introduce a wild or even well-mannered domestic animal into the workroom.

The normal arrangement of a Latin Bestiary of the twelfth or thirteenth century is: 1st, Wild Beasts and other Animals; 2nd, Birds; 3rd, Reptiles; 4th, Miscellaneous

[1] I am indebted to Mr. Bernard Quaritch for the loan of the plate in the Catalogue of the Morgan manuscripts.

[2] MS. Harl. 3244. This text is common to many MSS.

subjects such as Insects and Fish; to which are sometimes added treatises on Trees and Stones. In certain versions monstrosities are also included, but this is exceptional. In the Latin Bestiary of Hugo de Folieto the birds come first, and it is therefore more correctly termed an Aviary. In the French rhyming versions there are fewer subjects, that of Guillaume including only about forty, and the order is different. There are also a few MSS. with special features, such as the Picardy Bestiary of the beginning of the fourteenth century (MS. 3516 Arsenal Library, Paris), and a late MS. of the fifteenth century (MS. Gg-6-5) at the University Library, Cambridge, based on Bartholomaeus Anglicus. The Italian, Icelandic, and Eastern MSS., viz.: Greek, Syrian, Armenian and Ethiopian, have of course their individual points.

That the Bestiaries were used in the interest of decorative art as applied to ecclesiastical buildings there is no doubt. Their religious character was ample justification. There is an instance of what is practically a complete Bestiary painted in a church in France, at St. Savin-le-Mont, upon two piers towards the west end of the nave. The subjects, forty in number, are arranged in two vertical rows on each pier, and are coloured and bordered exactly as in the MSS. From their number they would appear to correspond with Guillaume's version of the thirteenth century. In this country the only paintings of the kind that we know of are in the early church of Corhampton (Hants), where upon the north and south chancel walls (below what appear to be Biblical scenes) are two subjects, a lion or kindred beast and pair of white birds, in richly bordered and coloured panels, corresponding in appearance as closely as can be with miniatures in Bestiaries of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

In ecclesiastical sculpture we have proof that the carvers made use of the Bestiaries in the series of animal and bird subjects in medallions round the head of the south doorway at Alne (Yorkshire), with titles which correspond with the titles of the same creatures in the MSS. (Plate I). Without the titles, the majority of the subjects could not be identified. There are many others scattered about on doorways, capitals, and fonts of the twelfth and

PLATE IV.

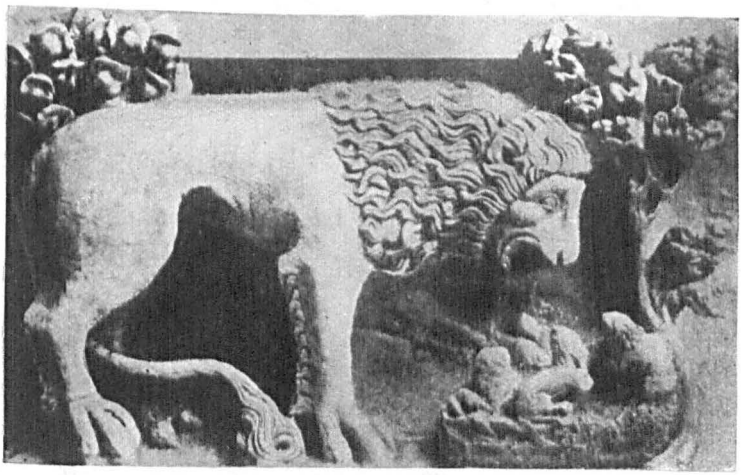


Fig. 1.—Lion Breathing on Cub, Strasbourg Cathedral.

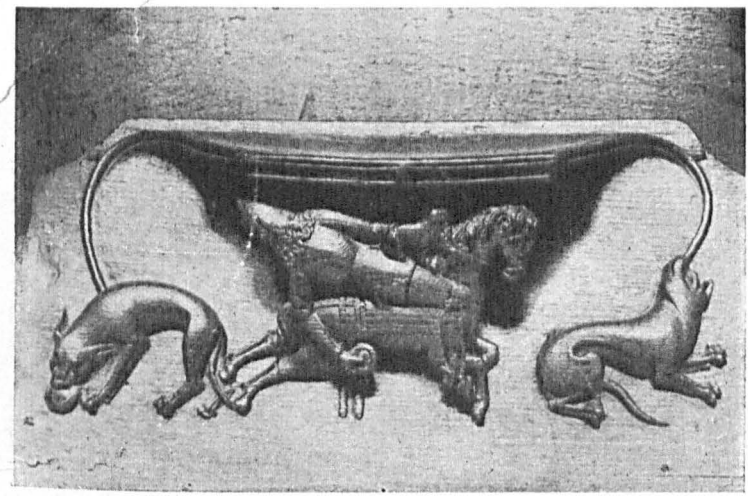


Fig. 2.—Tiger and Mirror, Chester Cathedral.

thirteenth centuries; and in woodwork, where they occur abundantly on misericords and poppy-heads. In heraldry. too, many Bestiary subjects were used as crests or badges,

Following this general introduction a few typical subjects will be taken and considered somewhat more in detail; for convenience those which have their counterpart in architecture or heraldry. Of the beasts the lion as a rule comes first, as king of animals, symbolising Christ as King of all peoples. Its three natures or habits are explained, forming a sequence in their meaning. First, the lion erasing its footmarks with its tail when hunted signified the Incarnation, or Christ hiding His Deity in human flesh. There is an excellent miniature in the Westminster Bestiary, but no recorded carving so far as we are aware. Secondly, when it sleeps with its eyes open. This symbolised the dual nature of Christ when on the Cross: "Thus also Our Lord falling asleep humanly was buried, and His Deity was awake. As it is said in the Song of Songs: I sleep and my heart is awake; and in the Psalm: Behold he shall not slumber nor sleep who guards Israel."[1] This is well illustrated in MS. 12 F, xiii, and appears to be repeated on a misericord at Ripon Cathedral, where the lion is lying down, with its head turned up and eyes wide open in a marked way. Its third nature is that when the lioness has cubs they are born dead. She guards them for three days, and then the father comes and breathes upon them and brings them to life again. This symbolised the Resurrection. It is well illustrated in the Westminster manuscript, with title above: LEO CUM FETU ET LEENA. The figures are composed symmetrically, on either side of a tree (Plate III).

There are two good examples of this scene in carving, at Strasbourg and Canterbury. The first is on a frieze on the north side of the cathedral and dates from the early part of the fourteenth century (Plate IV). The subject is treated simply, and the artist has shown the lion's open mouth and the cubs reviving quite clearly. The other, at Canterbury, occurs on a circular boss in the cloisters, and had to be composed accordingly. The lion's mouth is wide open as before, and the heads of the

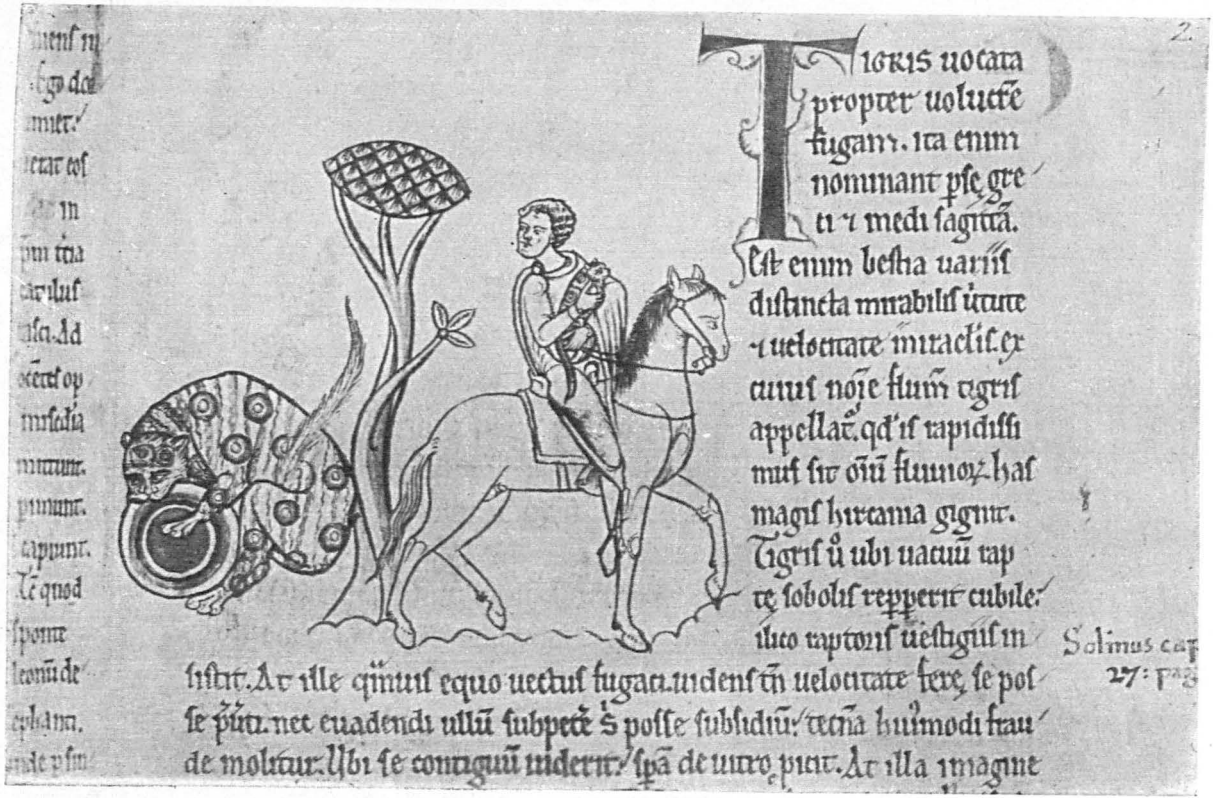
[1] MS. 12 F, xiii, and many others.

cubs are directed to it. And here it may be pointed out that the carvers had to manipulate their subjects to suit position and space, and therefore much detail which could be included in a pen-and-ink drawing had perforce to be omitted.

One of the best of the stories is that of the tiger and mirror. The tigress is so fierce a creature, that the hunter who wishes to steal the cubs has to have recourse to a trick. He waits until the tigress leaves her den, then he goes in and takes the cubs and rides off with them as fast as he can. The tigress discovers her loss and pursues the thief, who, finding that he is being overtaken, drops a mirror of glass, which causes her to stop and gaze in it. Thinking that she has found her cub, she proceeds to fondle it, but realising that she has been deceived, she starts off again in pursuit, when the same manœuvre is repeated, and so the hunter gets off to a safe place. The miniature in MS. add. 11283 (Brit. Mus.), shows him on horseback holding the cub and looking back at the tigress which is spotted and striped and is fondling the mirror (Plate V).

In the Latin Bestiaries the symbolism of the tiger is usually omitted, but Gregory has a long dissertation in his "Moralia," in which he likens the tiger with its spots to the hypocrite spotted with his vices. In the Picardy Bestiary,[1] however, the symbolism is fully expressed and commences with a warning: "Take care you are not like the tiger. And Amos the prophet proclaims that the world is an image of the forest in which the tigers congregate, and adjures us to keep watch attentively over our cub, that is, over our soul. For the hunters (that is, the devil), lie in wait for us and spy us out. They always have mirrors ready, if they see a chance to be able to seize our cub. The mirrors are the abundant feasts, the great pleasures of the world that we desire: fine clothes, horses, beautiful women, and all the other objects of sin. It is thus that the hunters produce an image in the mirror that they throw before man. It is why every man should consecrate himself to the service of his Creator, for then no enemy would have any power

[1] MS. 3516, Arsenal Lib., Paris.



Tiger and Mirror. MS. add. 11283 (B.M.).

Fig. 1.—Tiger and Mirror. MS. 3516, Arsenal Library, Paris.

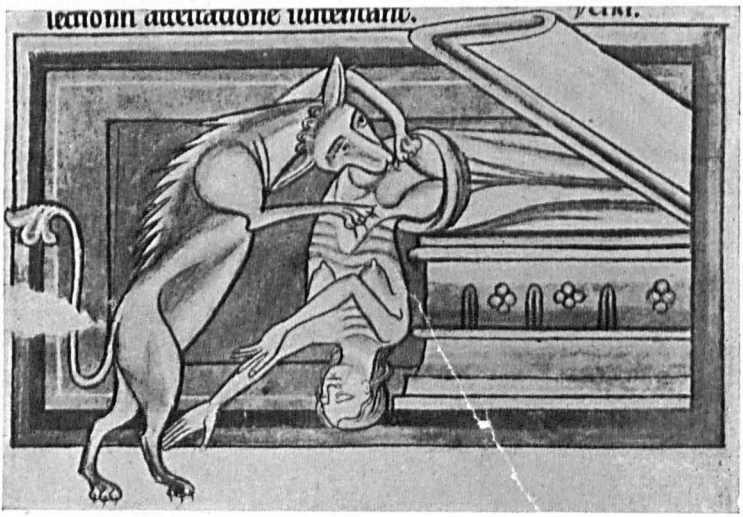


Fig. 2.—Hyena biting Corpse. MS. Harl. 4751 (B.M.).

over the soul of man, that is to say, over the cu
he covets." In the miniature in this MS. the
are varied. The mirrors are attached to a tree an
tiger is gazing into the upper one. The hunter is on
and carries the cub, and does not seem in a hurry to esc
(Plate VI). The tiger here has wings, in allusion to its swiftness, its name being the same as that used for arrow by the Medes and Persians, as explained in the Latin Bestiaries. The basis of this story is to be found in Pliny.[1]

There is an excellent carving illustrating the legend on a misericord at Chester Cathedral (Plate IV). The hunter as a mailed knight is on horseback, and holds the tiger-cub in his left hand, while he drops a mirror with his right. The proportions of rider and horse are somewhat strained, but the carver has cleverly avoided the difficulty of composing the rider bolt upright under the ledge by making him bend down in the act of dropping the mirror. The tiger is duplicated for the sake of symmetry, one having a mirror in its mouth. A tiger with large spots is carved on a transition Norman capital in the church at Bere Regis (Dorset), and another on a bench-end at Wendens Ambo (Essex). The latter is gazing into a mirror. This is the usual form found in heraldry, as may be seen upon the Kniveton brass at Mugginton (Derby) (Fig. 2). The tiger and mirror was also a device of the Sybill family, and is carved in the spandrils of a fire-place at Little Mote, Eynesford (Kent), one of their homes.

The hyena is another beast which regularly occurs in the Bestiary, and is repeated in carving. It is said to rob the graves of human bodies, and this is the phase which is illustrated. The miniature in MS. Harl. 4751 shows it as hog-maned and with long ears, biting the corpse of a woman which it has dragged out of a tomb (Plate VI). Many details of its nature and habits are given, mostly taken from the "Polyhistor" of Solinus. It has a continuous neck and back bone, so that it cannot turn its head round without its whole body. It haunts sheepfolds and by listening learns to imitate the human voice, so that the shepherds come out and are caught

[1] Book VIII, ch. 25.

voured. It also feigns coughing and vomiting, o attracts the dogs, which meet the same fate. The ale that it is male and female in alternate years is eated, and so it was reckoned to be a filthy beast. This ase is made use of in Thaun's Bestiary to indicate "a double minded man, who is covetous and luxurious, and who imitates the ways of a fickle woman when he should be firm."[1] But in the Latin versions the hyena is a type of the Jews "who in the beginning served the living God, but afterwards, gave themselves up to

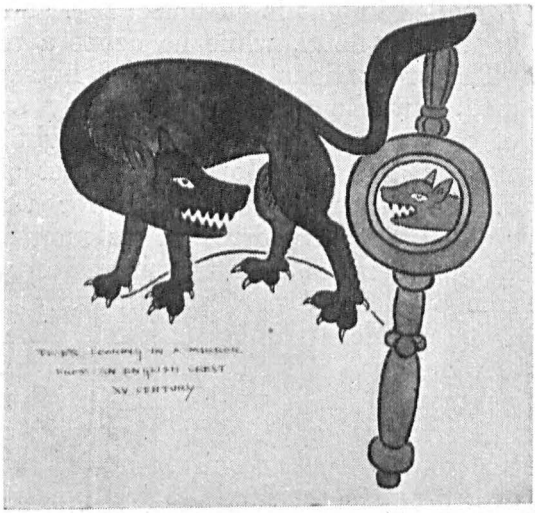


Fig. 2.—Tiger and Mirror on Brass at Mugginton.

riches and luxury, and practised idolatry." Therefore the prophet (Jeremiah) compared the Synagogue to an unclean animal saying: "My heritage is made for me as the den of the hyena."[2]

The hyena is carved on the doorway at Alne (Plate VII) where it is biting an object which may be the limb of a corpse or a large bone, the end of which is sometimes drawn in the form of a conventional flower. It

[1] MS. Nero Av.; transcribed and translated in Wright's "Popular Treatises on Science in the Middle Ages, 1841."

[2] MS. Harl. 4751; and MS. 12 C, xix (Brit. Mus.).

PLATE VII.

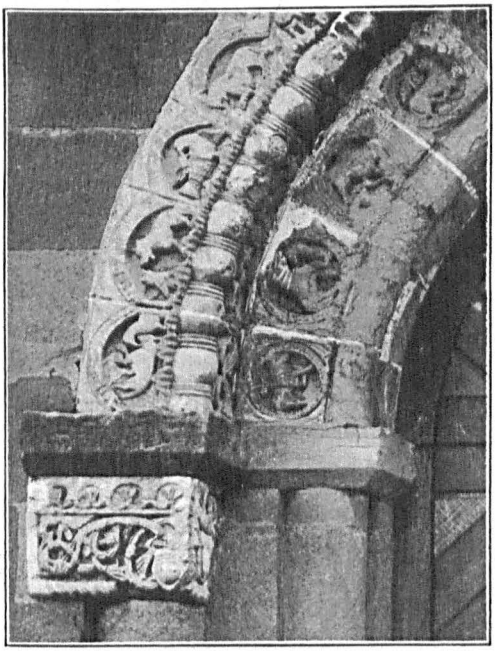


Fig. 1.—Hyena, Eagle and other Subjects, Alne Church.

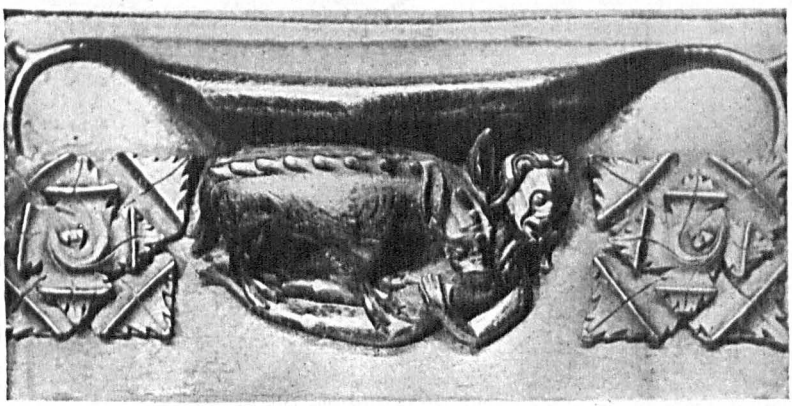


Fig. 2—Hyena and Corpse, Carlisle Cathedral.

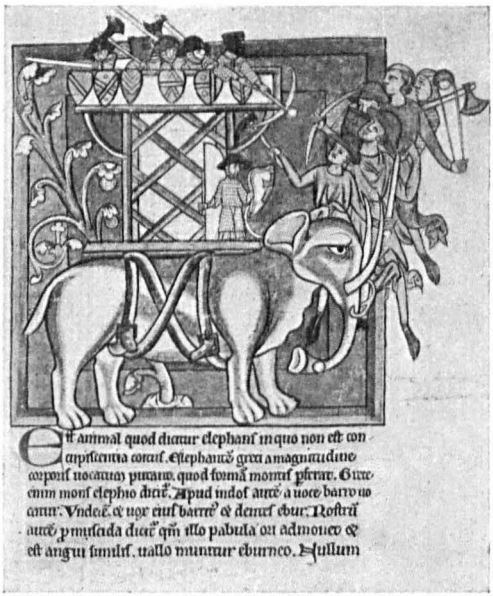


Fig. 1.—Elephant and Castle. MS. Harl. 4751 (B.M.).

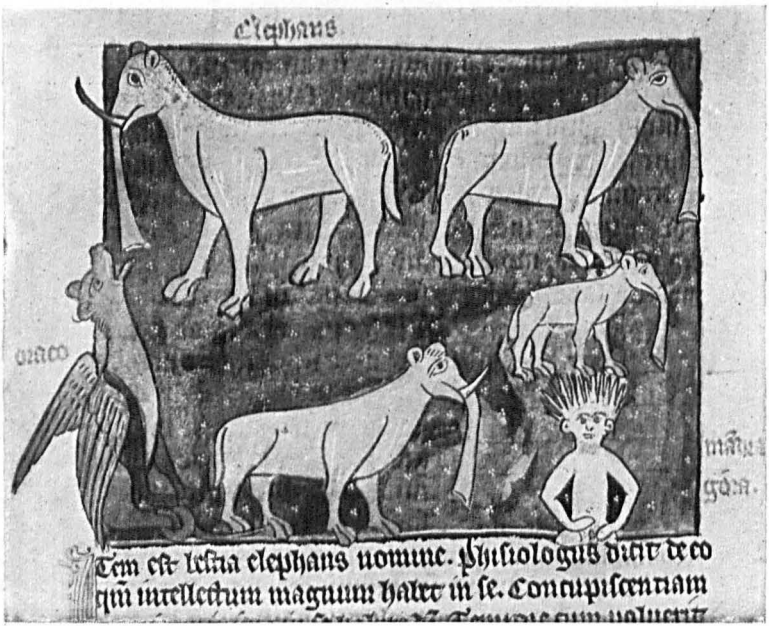


Fig. 2.—Legend of the Elephant. MS. Sloane 278 (B.M.).

would be impossible to identify the hyena here without the title. A later and much finer example occurs on a misericord at Carlisle Cathedral (Plate VII). In this case the hyena corresponds closely with the MS. illustration. It has the same long ears and hog mane, but the carver has not included all the details, for while retaining the corpse he has left out the tomb.

The elephant is fully described and illustrated, the miniatures usually taking the form of the elephant with the castle. There were no doubt pictures available from Eastern sources, and the fashion once started, one artist followed the other. The texts speak of the elephant's enormous size, saying that it is as big as a mountain, and that the Persians and Indians, stationed in wooden towers placed on them, fight with darts as if from a wall. MS. Harl. 4751, furnishes a vivid scene of the combat (Plate VIII), the castle being filled with mailed knights who oppose an attacking party on foot. The weapons are of the most varied description. The elephant's trunk, ears, and tusks may be noticed; the last projecting up instead of down; also the conventional castle fastened on with quite modern-looking straps and buckles.

Many items of information are given, mostly traceable to Pliny and Ambrose. "Its snout is called a trunk because it puts food into its mouth with it; and it is like a snake guarded by a wall of ivory. They break whatever they roll up in their trunks, and what they tread upon is crushed as it were by the crash of a large building falling down." Their intelligence and courtesy is remarkable, for if they see a man wandering in the desert, they offer themselves as an escort to the high road, or should they fall in with a flock of sheep, they clear the way for them gently with their trunk, so that they should not come to any harm. The elephant is also said to be a terror to bulls, but very much afraid of a mouse.[1]

The majority of carvings similarly show the elephant with the castle, and are found principally in the later woodwork. There is however an elephant motif on a twelfth-century capital at Loulay (France); and another carving on the twelfth-century font at Dunkeswell (Devon)

[1] MS. Harl. 3244 and many others.

which illustrates the fight between the elephant and dragon. Perhaps the best known is on the thirteenth-century misericord at Exeter Cathedral (Plate IX). This creature must have been done from an incorrect copy, as it exhibits the usual anatomical errors, namely, the tusks rising from the lower jaw and the legs of a horse.

There are two examples of the elephant with the castle on misericords at St. George's Chapel. The details in one case are carved with considerable spirit. The folds of the ear are treated in a curious way, following the manuscripts, as may be seen in the miniature in the Westminster Bestiary. One of the best carved elephants that we have is on a misericord at St. Mary's, Beverley.

At South Lopham (Norfolk), the carver has not been so happy (Plate IX). The elephant here is on a poppy-head and displays many anatomical defects. Its trunk is of the crudest description, it has no tusks or ears, and its legs are those of a horse.

The legend of the elephants is interesting, and an important symbolic lesson is founded upon it. We are told that they are cold-blooded creatures and slow to breed. When the time of mating arrives they go to Paradise,[1] where the mandrake grows, and the female eats of it and then gives it to the male, whereupon she immediately conceives. And when the time of delivery approaches, they retire into a swamp, where the calf is born and where the female stays guarded by the male for fear of the dragon, its enemy, which lays wait to destroy the young elephant. The story of the Fall is symbolised here, the elephants being Adam and Eve, the mandrake the Tree of Knowledge, and the dragon the Serpent. The lesson is worked out in great detail and is followed by its corollary, that of the Redemption. This is founded on the old idea that the elephant had no joints in its legs and could not lie down. It therefore sleeps leaning against a tree. The hunters cut a slit in the tree, so that it gives way and the elephant falls down and cannot get up. It trumpets loudly, whereupon a big elephant comes and tries to raise it but fails. It is followed by twelve more, all of whom try to raise it but

[1] *I.e.*, the Garden of Eden.

PLATE IX.

Fig. 1.—Elephant and Castle, South Lopham.

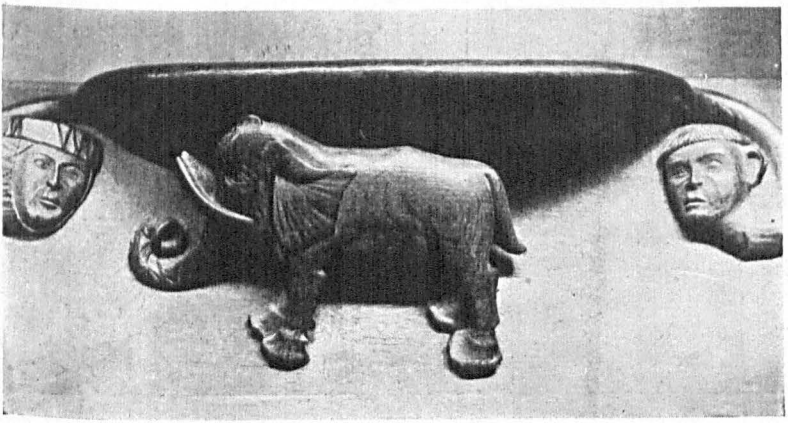


Fig. 2.—Elephant, Exeter Cathedral.

also fail. Finally there comes a little elephant, which kneels down and thrusting its trunk under the big elephant assists it to rise. So Christ, the little elephant, humbled Himself and came on earth to raise fallen man, whom neither the law nor the multitude of prophets, the big elephants, had been able to save.[1]

The earlier features of the legend are illustrated in MS. Sloane 278 (Plate VIII), where a group of elephants is seen, curiously drawn, with the dragon and mandrake, the latter in human form with roots at the top. These elephants cannot have been copied from life.

The story of the hostility between the dragon and the elephant was borrowed from a classical source, being based on the account of the great struggle between the two recorded in vivid style by Pliny. In the Bestiaries it occurs under the heading of Draco, which we are told is an enormous serpent, its power being not in its bite, but in the blows it gives with its tail. "Poison is not necessary to this creature, because if it has caught any one in its coils, it kills him. From which not even the elephant is safe by the greatness of its body."[2] This antipathy is stated by Pliny[3] to be natural, for the dragon lives in such a hot climate and is so consumed with thirst, that it seeks the elephant for its victim, on account of its cold blood; and the dragon is so big that it is able to swallow the whole of the elephant's blood. It lays wait for it, springs upon it, and tries to suffocate it; the elephant on the other hand tries to crush the dragon, and so the great fight goes on until the elephant, weakened by loss of blood, falls down and in doing so crushes the dragon to death. The miniature of this subject is from MS. Harl. 4751, and shows the dragon trying to strangle the elephant (Plate X).

This is a scarce subject in carving, but in addition to the Dunkeswell example already mentioned, it is found on one if not two misericords at Carlisle Cathedral. In the latter case the elephant is very crudely shaped, with a curious beak-like trunk and cloven feet, which correspond

[1] MS. Harl. 3244 and many others.
[2] MS. Harl. 4751.
[3] Bk. viii, ch. 11–12.

closely with the miniature in a Bestiary at St. John's College, Oxford.

The description and illustration of the mandrake usually come next after the elephant in the Bestiaries. The mandrake was supposed to have wonderful curative properties, but it could not be pulled out of the ground without shrieking and involving the death of the operator. So it was necessary first to ring it round with iron, then to tie a rope to it, the other end being fastened to a dog; which being offered meat, gave a violent tug, and pulled it out. There are two illustrations of mandrakes in Queen Mary's Psalter,[1] where there is a series of Bestiary subjects on the margins. In the first the process of extracting the mandrake is shown. The plants are in the ground reversed, in human form male and female, with the leaves above the surface. The dog is tied to them, and is seizing some meat in the form of a limb, while the man is keeping at a safe distance. In the other picture the medicinal virtues of the mandrake are being expounded. An excellent illustration occurs in MS. 14969 (Fr.) at the Bibl. Nat., Paris.

The antelope is an interesting subject, because it affords a clear proof of the influence of the Bestiary in both architecture and heraldry. According to its story it is so exceedingly swift that no hunter can approach it. It has long horns after the semblance of a saw, with which it cuts down great trees and casts them to the ground. When it is thirsty it goes to the great River Euphrates and there it finds a little bush of heather, into which it thrusts its horns, and it plays with them until it gets entangled and cannot escape. It cries out and the hunter, hearing its cry, comes up and kills it.[2] In the Bestiaries the antelope is drawn either as a wild beast with clawed feet as in MS. 12 F, xiii (Plate X), or as a more graceful cloven-footed creature. Its horns are serrated, and are entangled in a conventional bush. The hunter is in mail with lance and shield.

Mystically the antelope is man, and its two horns are the two testaments with which man may cut off and

[1] MS. Roy. 2 B, vii (Brit. Mus.).

[2] MS. Harl. 4751 and MS. 12 C, xix (Brit. Mus.).

PLATE X.

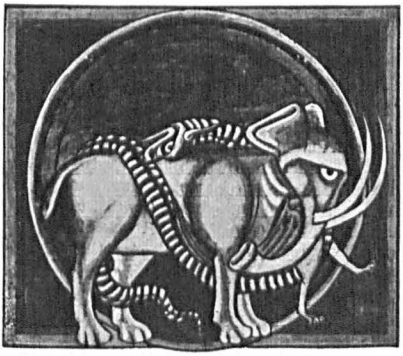


Fig. 1.—Dragon strangling Elephant. MS. 4751 (B.M.).

Fig. 2.—Antelope. MS. 12 F, xiii (B.M.).

destroy all vices bodily and spiritual. But if he allows himself to give way to drunkenness, which leads to luxury and vice, he is caught in them and the devil will come and destroy him. For, as the moralist sententiously concludes, "wine and women cause a man to separate himself from God."[1] There are plenty of antelopes in carving, but it is necessary to distinguish between the antelope of the Bestiary and the heraldic antelope which

Fig. 3.—Eynesbury Church, Hunts. Antelope.

was developed from it. Both have serrated horns. There are good examples of the first, at Eynesbury upon a poppy-head, and at Durham Castle and Manchester upon misericords, but no instance is known to us in which the full details of the legend are included. At Manchester the antelope may be sawing trees and so illustrate it in part (Fig. 3).

[1] MS. Harl. 4751 and MS. 12 C, xix (Brit. Mus.).

The heraldic antelope is much more common than the other. Its popularity was due to its adoption as a badge by Henry V, and it is repeated on the ceiling of his chapel at Westminster Abbey. It may be recognised by its collar and chain, and generally tusks, which the antelope of the Bestiary never has, but there are some examples of tusked antelopes without collar and chain, as upon a corbel at Tring, which may be due to reflex heraldic influence. There is a fine heraldic antelope on a bench arm at St. Nicholas Church, King's Lynn. It has serrated horns, tusks, and an elaborate collar, but the chain is not visible. It is balanced by an ibex, also a Bestiary subject, on the opposite bench.

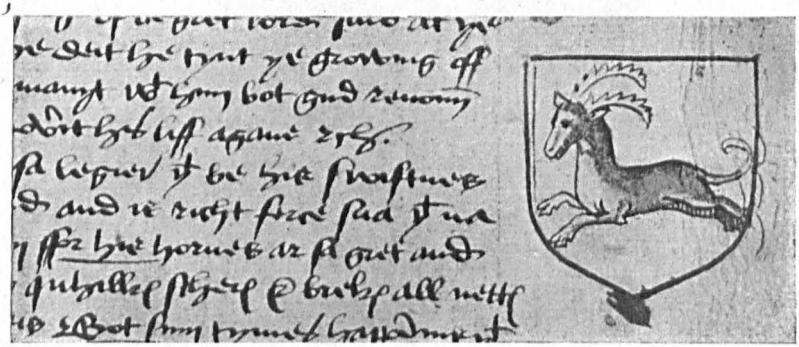


Fig. 4.—Heraldic Antelope. MS. Harl. 6149 (B.M.).

The process by which the heralds borrowed their subjects from the Bestiary may be learnt by reference to the earlier heraldic treatises, for instance that of Sir Wm. Cummyn, Marchemont Herald of Scotland, and which is dated 1494. It is in effect a heraldic Bestiary, in which the animal is described, but the moral is made applicable to a knight and to the performance of knightly deeds. The figure was taken out and put upon a shield (Fig. 4).

Coming to minor animals, the wether may be noticed. There is a short account of it, which is chiefly remarkable for a display of cheap etymology. Its name vervex is said to be derived from either "vires," strength, or "vir," a male, or "vermis," a worm. The last seems the favourite, for wethers are said to be most pugnacious

creatures, and this according to the Bestiary is due to their having worms in their heads, which cause such intense itching that they can only find relief in butting violently.

The artists followed the text closely, and the miniatures are uniform in showing a pair of rams butting. The carvers followed suit, as may be seen at Wells, Ely and Beverley Minster, on misericords.

In the cat and mouse we have a purely domestic subject. In the miniatures the cat is nearly always catching a mouse, but occasionally it is alone, and there is one illustration in which it is trying to get at a bird in a cage. Its name is "musio," because it is an enemy of mice, but it is mentioned as being also called "cattus," *i.e.*, the clever one, from the Latin "capto," which may be rendered: "It is called 'cat' because it is always on the 'catch.'" Its sight is also said to be so keen that it overcomes the darkness of the night. In MS. 4751 the miniature shows three cats seated stiffly in a row, one of them holding a mouse (Plate XII).

Mice are separately described and illustrated. The name "mus" is stated to be derived from "humus," on the strength of the old story about mice being generated from damp earth. Pliny's account of the growth of their livers at the time of the full moon when the tides flow, and their decrease when it wanes, is also repeated. The mouse is a type of gluttons and thieves. In the words of the Bestiary: "Mystically mice signify men gaping with greed for earthly desires and secretly pilfering what they can gain from other people's stores."[1] They are therefore usually shown eating grains, and very fat as in MS. Harl. 4751 (Plate XII.).

There are at least eight instances of the cat and mouse in ecclesiastical carving in this country, and another on a canopy of the thirteenth-century stalls in the cathedral at Poitiers. It occurs on a thirteenth-century cap in the Chapter-house at York, the treatment being unusual. The cat and mouse are set in foliage, and the cat is spying out after the mouse. But in carving generally the details follow the miniatures, both approximating to

[1] MS. 12 F, xiii, and Harl. 4751.

nature, as we should expect. On the thirteenth-century font at Hodnet (Salop) (Plate XI), the treatment is rude but expressive. It will be noticed that the cat has only three toes, a feature which is common to many animals illustrated in the Bestiaries. It is also general in both carving and heraldry.

The cat alone appears on a misericord at Godmanchester; and the cat and mouse at Wells, Beverley, Godmanchester, Boston, and Sheringham, either on misericords or benches. There is a particularly pleasing example at Winchester Cathedral, about 1300 in date (Plate XI). The way in which the cat is holding the mouse is quite naturally rendered.

The dormouse is separately described. Its name "glis" is said to be derived from "gliscere" to swell up, for "sleep makes them fat. Dormice, however, although they seem to be such, are not mice, because they sleep all the winter and lie motionless as if dead. They revive in the summer-time."[1]

The dormouse is a type of the slothful man who will not labour usefully, and the passage in Proverbs xx, 4, is introduced: "The sluggard will not plow by reason of the cold, therefore shall he beg in summer, and it shall not be given to him." The moralist says that he who is idle now in this present life, shall beg in vain in the day of judgment when it is time of harvest, and shall in no wise share the heavenly joys in company with the just.[2]

In the Westminster Bestiary the three vices of luxury, malice, and greed are symbolised by three kinds of mice, namely: the shrew-mouse, mole, and dormouse. Martial's epigram[3] about the dormouse is introduced, and there is another quotation, the source of which is at present unknown to us, to the effect that there are three creatures which remunerate their hosts ill, namely: fire, a serpent, and a mouse; for fire burns, a serpent bites, and a mouse gnaws.

There is a very curious illustration of the dormouse in

[1] MSS. Harl. 4751 and 12 F, xiii. [2] MS. Harl. 4751.

[3] xiii, 59. "Tota mihi dormitur hiems et pinguior illo
Tempore sum, quo me nil nisi somnus alit."

PLATE XI.

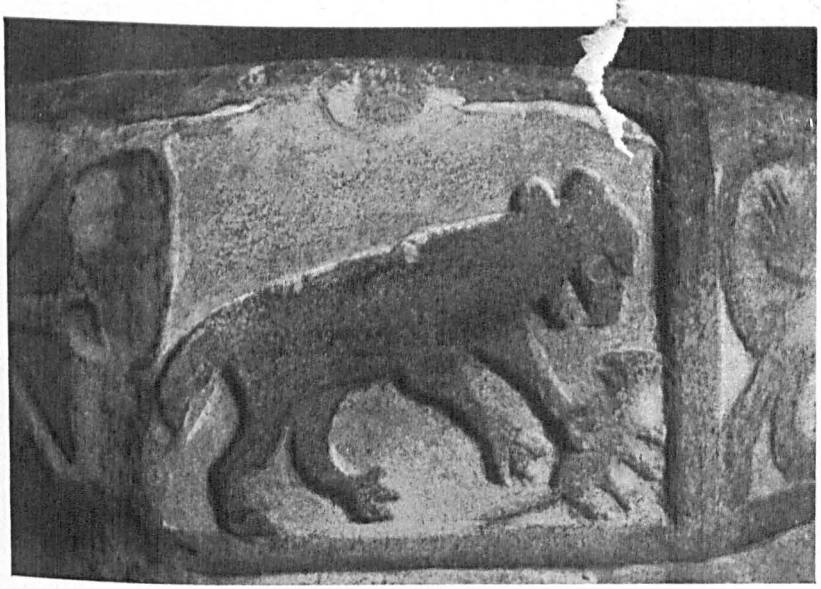


Fig. 1.—Cat and Mouse. Font at Hodnet, Salop.

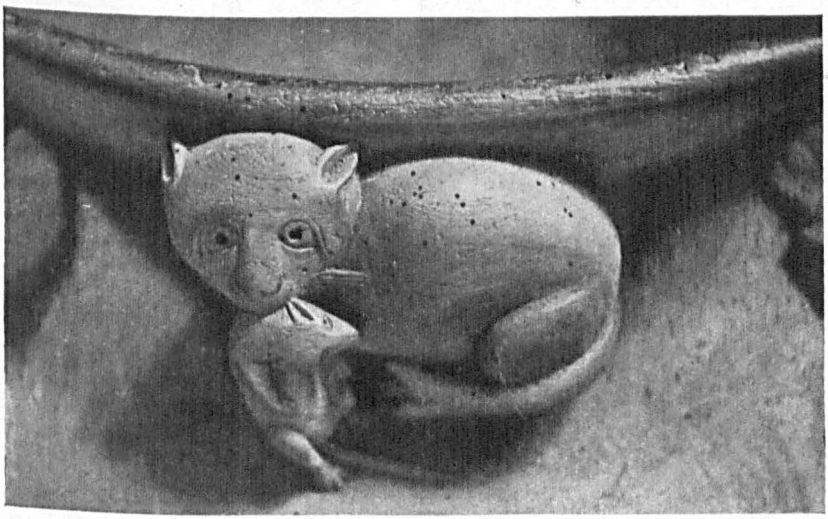


Fig. 2.—Cat and Mouse, Winchester Cathedral.

Fig. 1.—Cats and Mouse, and Mouse. MS. Harl. 4751 (B.M.).

Fig. 2.—Eagle and Young. MS. Sloane 3544 (B.M.).

the Westminster Bestiary. It resembles a slug at full length on sloping ground. Presumably it represents the dormouse in a torpid state, but it is possible that the artist copied an incorrect picture, or even that he got his subjects mixed up and drew some other creature altogether.

Of the birds, about thirty-five in number in a full Bestiary, the eagle is the most important. As the king of birds it symbolised Christ. In MS. Harl. 3244 the miniature shows it standing with its head turned back gazing at the sun and holding a scroll bearing the words: "Sum pennatorum rex atque magister eorum." The sculpture at Alne (Plate VII) appears to correspond with this, for the eagle stands alone with its head turned back, as if gazing at some object. On the other hand, the carver may have composed it thus in order to fit it more conveniently in the medallion.

There are so many stories about the eagle that it is worthy of a paper all to itself. Most of them are traceable to Pliny. It is said to have such keen eyesight that it is able to see the fish in the sea from a great height, and then swoops down and seizes them. Another story runs that when it is old its wings become heavy and its eyes dim, so it seeks a place where there is a fountain of water, and there it flies up into the rays of the sun and scorches its wings and burns the blindness out of its eyes. Then it dives into the fountain three times, and thereupon its wings and eyesight grow strong again and it is rejuvenated as before. All these episodes have their religious or moral counterpart, the last symbolising regeneration by baptism. "So also thou, O man, whether Jew or Gentile, who art clothed in an old garment, and who hast the eyes of thy heart darkened with unbelief, seek the spiritual fountain of the Lord, who said: 'Whosoever is not born again by water and the Holy Spirit cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven. Unless then thou art baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost and raise the eyes of thy heart to the Lord who is the Sun of Righteousness, thy youth shall not be renewed as the eagle's.'"[1] Both these stories

[1] MS. 12 C, xix.

are illustrated together in MS. 12 C, xix, and the latter very fully in the Brussels Bestiary.

The eagle flying into the sun symbolised the Ascension, and Honorius in the twelfth century makes use of it in his Sermon for Ascension Day.

An eagle's claw grasping a fish is carved on the screen at Conway, and there is a doubtful example of the eagle diving into the fountain in late woodwork at Forrabury (Cornwall).

The eagle is said to bear up its young ones when little on its wings, and to beat them when becoming fledged and urge them to fly. It also forces them to gaze at the sun. This is well illustrated in MS. Sloane 3544 (Plate XII), in which the parent appears with three young birds in a nest, two of which are gazing at the sun, and the other is being pulled out by the scruff of the neck. This is because it has failed to maintain its gaze, and the Bestiary explains that the eagle does this not from any lack of love for its offspring, but because it regards it as degenerate and unfit to rear. The coot, however, finds a home for the rejected eaglet, and rears it with its own brood ; and a pretty little moral is founded upon this to the effect that while the coot takes care of the stranger and tends it with the same maternal love and provides it with the same food as her own family, we human beings reject and cast out our own children with harsh cruelty.

No carving is known to us in this country which corresponds with this story, but there is an excellent one on the frieze on the north side of the Cathedral at Strasbourg (Plate XIII). The parent bird is actually holding out a young bird towards the sun, represented as a human face within rays.

The symbolism is explained in this way : " God invites us to Himself as to the true Sun. He sympathises with our infirmities and bears us upon the wings of His grace. But whoever is unwilling to fix his gaze on the Sun and loves the darkness of the world, he is despised of God, as the young eagle."[1]

One of the most attractive of the bird subjects is the

[1] MS. 12 F, xiii.

Fig. 1.—Eagle and Young, Strasbourg Cathedral.

Fig. 2.—Caladrius, Alne Church.

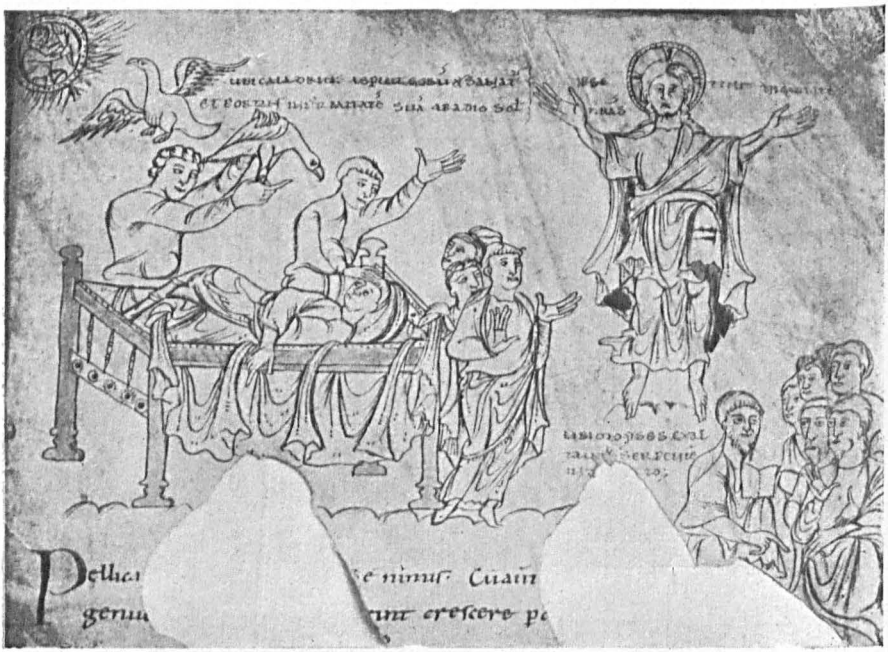


Fig. 1.—Caladrius (favourable omen). MS. 10074 Bibl. Roy., Brussels.

Fig. 2.—Caladrius (unfavourable omen). MS. 10074 Bibl. Roy., Brussels.

caladrius, the prophetic bird, which foretells if a sick man is going to recover or die, by standing on his bed and either gazing into his face or turning its head away. The caladrius came into the Bestiary in consequence of its inclusion among the unclean birds of Leviticus, but the story came from classical sources. Besides the Bestiary it was also introduced into romances, such as the Romance of Alexander. There are many miniatures, particularly two in the early MS. at Brussels which are of great interest.

In the first (Plate XIV), which shows the favourable omen, the sick man lies in bed, and the bird, which is held by an attendant, is gazing at him. His eyes are open, a sign that he will recover. His friends are expressing their surprise and joy. Note the elaborate bed and drapery, for which there is a reason. Above, the bird is drawn flying up towards the sun, in order to burn up the disease of the sick man which it has taken upon itself. There is an explanatory inscription: "UBI CALADRIUS ASPICIT EGRUM ET SANATUR—ET PORTANS INFIRMITATEM SUAM A RADIO SOLIS . . ."

The legend of the caladrius says that it is all white, and thus it symbolised Christ, "who is without spot or stain. He came to save the Jews, who rejected Him; and so He turned away His face from them, as the caladrius from the sick man, and turned towards the Gentiles, bearing our sins and healing our infirmities."[1] The symbolic lesson is itself illustrated in this MS. in the form of figures of Christ and Moses, the latter engaged in teaching the Israelites. There is an explanatory inscription attached to each of them.

The other miniature shows the unfavourable omen (Plate XIV). The bird is turned away and the sick man's eyes are shut, so that he is going to die. The attendant is dismayed. The bed and drapery are differently drawn. The legend above runs: "UBI CALADRIUS EVERTIT OCULOS SUOS AB INFIRMO." There is a unique feature in this scene. The legend says that the caladrius is found in the courts of kings, and the artist has introduced a palace on the left, with a man engaged in catching the bird with a kind of landing-net.

[1] The text is common to many MSS.

It does not seem to raise any objection. The legend above says: "UBI CALADRIUS COMPREHENDITUR IN DOMIBUS REGUM." This brings us into connection with our classical sources. Pliny, Aelian, and Plutarch all tell us that the illness which the caladrius cures is jaundice. Now jaundice was known as the REGIUS MORBUS, or royal disease, which accounts for the scene being laid in a palace and for the rich apparel of the bed. In MS. Harl. 4751 the patient is actually crowned (Plate XV). Pliny tells us that the usual cure for jaundice was honied wine, and often refers to it as a very aristocratic drink. Celsus the physician is still more explicit. He says: "The remedy against jaundice is for the patient to have an elegant chamber, company, change of scene, games, frivolity, and everything else that tends to keep up the spirits—which things, he adds, are the daily pleasures of kings." Thus, we see all the features of the legend and illustrations accounted for.

The favourable omen is more frequently illustrated than the reverse, but the latter is seen in MS. Harl. 3244 (Plate XV). The heading runs: "DE CALANDRIO AVE ALBA QUE SE A MORITURO AVERTIT"; and the sick man's eyes are accordingly shut.

There is an interesting reference to the caladrius as far back as the sixth century B.C. in a proverb of Hipponax, which suggests that the birds were sold in shops for the purpose of the cure. "Look, he is hiding it! Have you got a Charadrius for sale?" words which are put into the mouth of a would-be purchaser. Suidas explains that a customer suffering from jaundice might walk into a shop where the birds were sold, and if they looked at him, he would be cured for nothing; and so the shopkeeper pops them out of sight as quickly as possible. The proverb seems to have been applied in time to hiding anything.

The only recorded example of the legend in carving is at Alne, the details following the MSS. closely (Plate XIII). The subject is adapted to suit the space, the bed being reduced to a stool under the man's head, but the coverlet is well rendered. The bird is much too large, perhaps to enable it to be better seen from the ground,

PLATE XV.

Fig. 1.—Caladrius (favourable omen). MS. Harl. 4751 (B.M.).

Fig. 2.—Caladrius (unfavourable omen). MS. Harl. 3244 (B.M.).

PLATE XVI.

Fig. 1.—Hoopoes. MS. 61, St. John's College, Oxford.

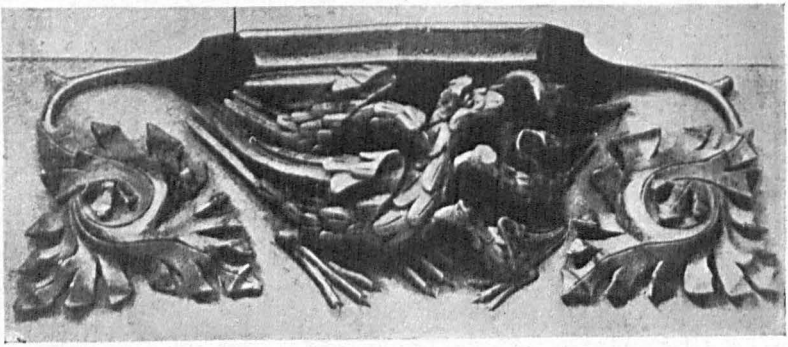


Fig. 2.—Hoopoes, Carlisle Cathedral.

but more likely for the sake of the composition. The is a good example in glass at Lyons Cathedral.

Another interesting bird is the hoopoe. It is the subject of a pretty legend. It is described as a foul bird, spending its time about graves feeding on filth, and so it is a type of wicked men who delight in dwelling in the filthiness of their sins. In nature the hoopoe does build its nest of quite foul materials.

The legend is well expressed in one of the early MSS. at Berne (No. 233). "The Naturalist has said: There is a bird which is named 'hoopoe.' When the young of these birds see their parents grown old and unable to fly or see through blindness, then these their children pluck off the very old feathers from their parents and lick their eyes and cherish their parents under their wings until their feathers grow again and their eyes become ight; so that they are made quite young again in body ore, and can see and fly and show their gratitude eir children, because they have fulfilled their duty ards their parents with such love." But their children to them: "Behold, sweetest of parents, as you have ght us up from infancy, and have made us the object ll your labours, so in your old age we are paying you same services and ministrations." Then follows the oral: "If birds, which have no reasoning power, treat ie another in turn like this, how can men, seeing that ney are possessed of reason, refuse to render like for like o their own parents?"

The scene is well displayed in the miniature in MS. 61 St. John's, Oxford) (Plate XVI). Three young birds are plucking the feathers off their parent, while a fourth is licking its eye. The hoopoes here have no crests. When they have, the crest is usually of the ball-headed pin type, upstanding like the peacock's; but occasionally it appears as a saw-like ridge upon its head and back, as in MS. Harl. 3244 and MS. Sloane 278.

There is a good instance of the legend on a misericord at Carlisle Cathedral (Plate XVI). The hoopoes are grouped very much as in the MSS. and are supposed to be pulling the feathers off their parent. They have no crests, unless they have been broken off. There is another

misericord carving in St. George's Chapel, which may represent the subject. In this case the hoopoes are crested, but one head is missing. The adult bird's crest is of the ridge sort. From the attitude of the bird below it would almost appear to be attacking its parent.

Another bird on a bench-front at Great Gransden (Hunts) is strongly suggestive of the hoopoe, although it may not illustrate the legend. It has a crest and long beak corresponding with those of the bird in nature, and it has a nest with two eggs, a feature which does not appear to be illustrated in the Bestiaries; but the text of the Picardy Bestiary at Paris says that when the hoopoe has eggs it is greatly attached to them and is assiduous in sitting on them; and when the eggs are hatched the mother is still devoted to her offspring and cares for them until they have grown big and can shift for themselves. This example would certainly point the carver having worked from nature, but there difficulty, that there are other creatures carved on benches, unicorns and strange fish, which could not been done from nature, and so we prefer to think he worked from a good copy.

There are many interesting creatures among the rep fish, and insects; but we thought better to omit tl from this paper, and to confine our survey to a moder number of beasts and birds and deal a little more fu with them. It may, however, be pointed out that the are at least twenty-five different kinds of serpents, lizard &c., illustrated in the form of dragons in the Bestiarie and this we maintain had a marked influence upon th number of dragons appearing in ecclesiastical sculpture. The latter are really intended for serpents, but unfortunately few of them can be identified. They afford a fine field for investigation for anyone who will give the necessary time to the study.

The profusion of illustrations in this paper is largely due to the kindness of the Royal Archæological Institute, the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, and the Kent Archæological Society, all of whom have lent blocks.

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The Mediæval Bestiaries and Their Influence On Ecclesiastical Decorative Art.-II

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THE MEDIÆVAL BESTIARIES AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON ECCLESIASTICAL DECORATIVE ART.—II.

By GEORGE C. DRUCE, F.S.A.

THIS paper is presented by way of Supplement to that printed under the above title in Vol. XXV of the *Journal* of the Association. It is not, therefore, deemed necessary to repeat the introductory remarks there given. It will be enough to mention that the Bestiary was a kind of religious Natural History Book, containing illustrations of animals, birds and reptiles, together with a text which describes their appearance and habits and gives the *sermo* or lesson founded on them, besides other miscellaneous information.

The craftsmen used the Bestiaries, in common with other manuscripts, in their search for suitable subjects for decorative sculpture. They selected beasts and birds from the miniatures and adapted them to their needs. They were satisfied that the Bestiaries were religious books and that therein lay their authority to introduce into sacred buildings creatures which often appear strange and unorthodox. In illustration of this the importance of the painted Bestiary in the church of St. Savin-le-Mont (Plate I) and the sculptures on the twelfth-century doorway at Alne has been pointed out, as they afford direct proof of the connection between the Bestiaries and certain details of church decoration.[1]

[1] The doorway at Alne is illustrated in *Journ. of Brit. Arch. Assoc.*. Vol. XXV, p. 40.

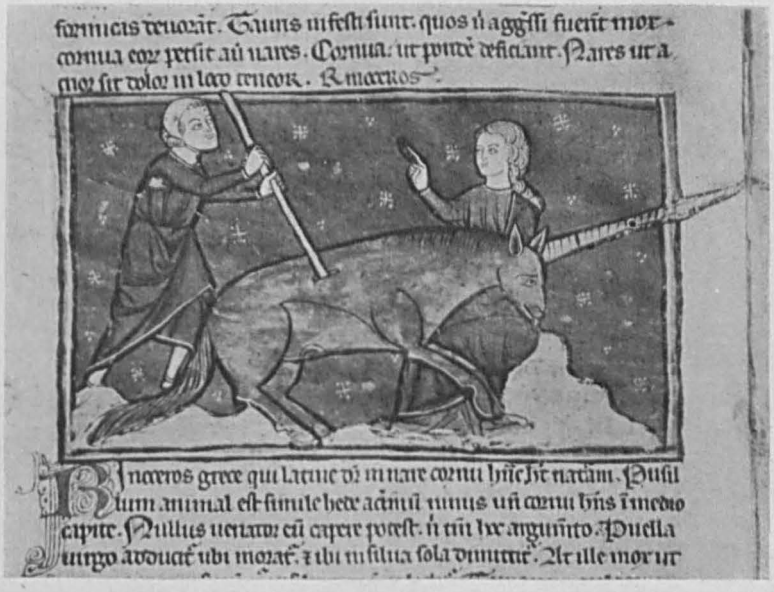
Following our previous classification—namely: fabulous animals, rare or little-known animals, and domestic or otherwise well-known animals—we commence with a description of the unicorn. This creature is found in nearly all versions of the Bestiary, and is also well represented in carving. Two forms of it are described and illustrated in the manuscripts. They pass under the names of "monoceros" and "rinoceros vel unicornis" respectively. This duplication is due to the two descriptions given by Pliny (Book viii, 31 (21) and 29 (20)) and Solinus ("Polyhistor," ch. lv and xxxiii), but whether the same creature, the rhinoceros, is indicated in both references is not quite clear; the two descriptions certainly came from different sources. Similarly, the two forms are carefully distinguished in the Bestiaries, the heading in MS. Harl. 3244 being explicit: "De monocerote secundum quod aliud est quam unicornu."[1]

Monoceros is said to be "a great beast, with a terrible bellow, the body of a horse, the feet of an elephant, and a tail very like that of a stag." There is an omission here, for it should run as in Solinus: "with a pig's tail and head like that of a stag." "It has a horn in the middle of its forehead, which projects with an astonishing magnificence to the length of four feet and is so sharp that anything that it strikes is easily pierced by the blow. It does not come alive into man's power; it can be killed indeed, but it cannot be captured." There does not appear to be any Sermo attached to this creature.

The description "body of a horse" influenced the artists. However little they knew of the unicorn, they did understand a horse, and the unicorn usually takes that form. In MS. Harl. 4751 (Brit. Mus.) and MS. 61, St. John's College, Oxford, it is a clumsy creature resembling a cart-horse, and is no doubt intended to convey the idea of "a great beast with a terrible bellow,"

[1] "About the monoceros and how it differs from the unicorn." The same distinction is repeated in Marco Polo's "Travels," where in the reference to the rhinoceros we get: "They are not of the description of animals which suffer themselves to be taken by maidens as our people suppose, but are quite of a contrary nature." The allusion here is to the legend of the unicorn and virgin.

Monoceros. MS. 61, St. John's College, Oxford.



Unicorn and Virgin. MS. 22, Westminster Chapter Library.

Westwell. Monoceros. [*G. C. D.*

Boston. Unicorn and Virgin [*G. C. D.*

but in the latter MS. its head is inadequate (Plate II). This, however, is compensated for by its horn, which is on a grand scale. In MS. Kk–4–25, University Library, Cambridge, it is also a heavy animal apparently leaping. In the Westminster Bestiary[1] it is a mauve-brown hairy animal like an ox, with short bushy tail, cloven feet, and a long green horn which is described as "longum et lucidum et peracutum." In MS. Douce 151 (Bodl.) it resembles a deer. It varies in colour. In MS. Ashmole 1511 (Bodl.) it is red; in MS. Bodl. 764, blue; in MS. Gg–6–5, a Bestiary of the fifteenth century in the University Library, Cambridge, it is of a dark blue tone with a black horn. In the French versions monoceros has no place, but the name is occasionally applied to the other kind of unicorn.

Where the unicorn appears in carving as a single figure we can never be sure whether it is based on "monoceros" or the unicorn of the unicorn and virgin legend, but there are one or two examples which point to the former. For instance, on a poppy-head at Westwell (Kent) there is a clumsy horse-like beast with a very large spiral horn, composed to fit the space and perhaps carved by a local hand (Plate III). Another on a misericord in Durham Castle chapel is of the cart-horse type and agrees generally with the St. John's College MS. Unicorns as single figures may be seen in wood-carving at Beverley Minster, Great Gransden, and Amiens Cathedral, all horse-like beasts.

The unicorn of the legend is quite a different creature and in one respect presents a peculiar difficulty. In some of the Bestiaries it is described as a little animal like a kid with a horn in the middle of its forehead, and so extremely swift that no hunter can capture it. It is taken by a trick. A young virgin is brought to the wood which it haunts and is left alone there, and when the unicorn sees her it runs to her and lays its head quietly in her lap, and falls asleep. The hunter who has been on the watch then comes up and kills it, or, as certain French MSS. say, captures it and takes it alive to the royal palace.

The *sermo* teaches that Christ is the spiritual Unicorn and the Virgin is His mother. Its capture and slaughter

[1] MS. 22, Westminster Chapter Library.

mean the taking of Christ and His death at the hands of the Jews. The lesson is fortified by quotations from the Psalms and elsewhere, which are supposed to fit in with the various characteristics of the unicorn. For instance, its description as a little animal is used to signify the humility of Christ, and the passage from Matthew xi, 29, is introduced: "Learn from Me, because I am meek and lowly in heart." In the French versions also the symbolism is fully developed.

The miniatures usually show the girl seated, with her arms round the neck of the unicorn, which crouches before her. Behind is a hunter who wounds it with a spear (Plate II). Some of the pictures are quite artistic, as in MS. Harl. 4751, where the girl is seated in a wood with her arms round the neck of the unicorn which is leaping up to her. It is a smooth cloven-footed animal rather like a large dog. Behind it are three hunters furnished with sword, spear and axe, two of whom strike it in the side. So elaborate a picture is unusual, but there is another on similar lines in MS. Bodl. 764.[1] In some MSS. the girl is seated on a chair or stool,[2] and she is often clothed in a brilliantly coloured gown. On the other hand, in a few instances she is naked.[3] The unicorn itself is also variously coloured, blue, red, or mauve, and in MS. 12 C, xix (Brit. Mus.) is pink in tone with a long blue horn. Although as a rule it approximates to a horse, in MS. Sloane 3544 (Brit. Mus.) and the Sion College Bestiary it rather resembles a calf, and in MS. add. 11283 (Brit. Mus.) a woolly sheep. In MS. Sloane 278 (Brit. Mus.), the version of Hugo de Folieto, there are two hunters in mail whose horses are tied to a tree. In the early Latin Bestiary at Brussels[4] the scene is duplicated. On the left a king is seen seated on a throne within a palace, and in front of him a group of persons including the girl and the unicorn. On the right

[1] These two MSS. have much in common.

[2] MS. add. 11283 (Brit. Mus.); MS. 12 C, xix (Brit. Mus.); MS. Sloane 278 (Brit. Mus.); MS. 178, St. John's Coll., Oxford; MS. 10074, Bibl. Roy. Brussels; MS. Vesp. A, vii (Brit. Mus.).

[3] MS. 12 F, xiii (Brit. Mus.); MS. Douce 132 (Bodl.).

[4] MS. 10074, Royal Library.

the girl is seated in a chair holding the head of the unicorn, which stands before her; the symbolism is also illustrated, for there is a figure of Christ teaching two men, and the legend on the ground: DISCITE A ME QUIA MITIS SUM ET HUMILIS CORDE. In MS. Douce 167 (Bodl.) the unicorn has run to the girl and two men are trying to secure it with a rope. In the twelfth-century French version of Philip de Thaun, the text says that the hunter either kills the unicorn in its sleep or takes it alive. In the MSS. of Guillaume's version of the thirteenth century the miniatures are on normal lines.

The Bestiary also tells us that the unicorn fights with the elephant, and wounds it in the belly and lays it low. This is useful, because it fixes the identity of the creature and the source, namely, Pliny's account of the fight between the rhinoceros and the elephant in Book viii, 29 (20). This was repeated by Solinus[1] and Aelian.[2] The last named tells us that the cause of the quarrel is pasturage, and he describes in a graphic way the manœuvres of the two beasts. He particularly says that the rhinoceros attacks the elephant with its horn in the tender parts of the belly and kills it. This incident is illustrated in MS. Roy. 2 B, vii (Brit. Mus.),[3] in which are miniatures of Bestiary subjects probably based on Guillaume's version, but no text. The unicorn is charging the elephant. It is drawn like a horse and is as large as the elephant.

In Guillaume's version the unicorn is not mentioned as being like a kid; on the contrary its fierceness is emphasised. In the French prose version of Pierre[4] the two forms are mixed up, and it is said to be "not big," and to be "moult bele de cors." How, then, came such an animal as the rhinoceros to be described as like a kid? Isidore ("Etym.," xii, 2) and Rabanus ("De Universo," viii, 1), following him, give the story of the capture of the unicorn through the girl, their authority being "those who have applied much labour and research in describing the natures

[1] "Polyhistor," ch. xxxiii.
[2] Lib. xvii, ch. xliv.
[3] Queen Mary's Psalter.
[4] MS. 3516, Arsenal Library, Paris.

of animals," but they say nothing about the unicorn being like a kid. We can only imagine that some monkish scribe thought the description of the rhinoceros as given in classical writers inconsistent with the Biblical references to unicorns and the requirements of the lesson to be taught, and so " faked " it ; and that he was followed by others. In the French version of Thaun, which is as early as *circa* 1121, the unicorn is said to be like a goat.[1]

There is a fair number of examples of the legend in carving in this country, but all in woodwork. At Strasbourg Cathedral it occurs with other Bestiary subjects on an external stone frieze, of early fourteenth-century date. The scene shows no special feature. The girl is seated with the unicorn crouching before her, and holds up her hands as if signalling to the hunter, who is armed with a spear. The unicorn is like a horse and it has lost its horn.

In this country the legend is illustrated on misericords in the stalls at Ely and Chester Cathedrals, Nantwich, and Boston (Plate III). At the last named the composition is modified to suit the space under the ledge, but the details are the same. The unicorn is clearly a horse, but its horn is not very distinct, and probably passed under the girl's arm as in some MSS. illustrations. The hunter pierces the unicorn with a spear.

The unicorn in heraldy has followed tradition in retaining the form of a horse.

Among other strange animals of uncertain identity is a creature called the parandrus. Its story in the Bestiary is short, but attractive, and runs thus :—

" Ethiopia produces a beast called parandrus. It is as large as an ox, and has cloven feet, branching horns, a stag's head, and the colour of a bear, with an equally thick coat of hair. They affirm that this parandrus changes its appearance when alarmed ; and that when it hides, it matches its colour to whatever is next to it, whether that be white like stone, or green like bushes ; or in any other way it chooses."

[1] " De buc ad facun " (MS. Nero A, v (Brit. Mus.)).

The parandrus, or tarandrus, as Pliny calls it, got into the Bestiary in company with other animals of the same class described by him, viz., the mantichora, eale[1] and leucrocotta. They do not seem to have been used symbolically. The account in the Bestiary corresponds with that given by Solinus ("Polyhistor," ch. xxxiii). Pliny and Aelian say that its home is in Scythia. The former states that its normal colour is like that of the ass—when it thinks proper to return to it—and that owing to its reflecting the colour of trees, shrubs and flowers, or the spot in which it is concealed, it is rarely captured; and he adds: "It is wonderful that such varied hues should be given to the body, but still more so that they should be given to the hair."[2]

The artists could do no more than compose this creature from the description in the text, and as this included features of the ox, stag, and bear, it had a pretty good make-up. A typical illustration may be seen in MS. 12 C, xix, where the parandrus is blue and resembles a sheep covered with thick wool. It has antlered horns and cloven feet and is in motion. In other MSS. it is coloured red, yellow-ochre, various shades of brown, purple, or grey, and in form approximates to a stag. Its horns are either blue, green, or yellow. In MS. 61, St. John's College, Oxford, it resembles a horse cantering and has a yellow body, blue horns, and a mane extending to the tail. In MS. 178 in the same library it is drawn as a woolly sheep in motion.

It would not be safe to assume that this varied colouring in the MSS. is altogether due to the peculiar property that the parandrus possessed, because the artists of the Bestiaries revelled in colour, and painted well-known animals quite unnaturally. This fact contributed to the unnatural colours that animals have in heraldry and consequently on inn signs, where we find the lion red or white, and the boar blue.

[1] For the mantichora see *Journ. of Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, Vol. XXV, p. 47; for the eale, see *Archæological Journal*, Vol. LXVIII, p. 173.

[2] Book viii, ch. 52 (34).

It is possible that the parandrus served as a model for ecclesiastical sculpture, but we cannot indicate any precise instance. It would be difficult to differentiate it from other horned animals such as the stag, and any such examples would have to be scrutinised very carefully.

Passing to the second group, the panther may be taken as a typical example. It is described and illustrated in the Bestiaries in two forms, namely :—Pardus, the male panther, and Panthera, the female. The male is thus described in the Latin Bestiaries :—

" The pard is a spotted animal, very swift and blood-thirsty ; for with a leap it strikes its victim dead. The leopard is the outcome of the union of a panther with a lioness, and thus a third kind of animal is originated ; as Pliny says in his Natural History that the lion mates with the female panther and the male panther with the lioness, and from each union inferior offspring are produced, as is also the case with the two kinds of mules."[1]

The text usually stops here, but in MS. Harl. 4751 a moral is attached which is taken from Rabanus (" De Universo," Book viii, ch. 1) and turns on the panther's spots :—" Now mystically the pard means the Devil, filled full of different vices ; or a sinner disfigured with the marks of crimes and errors of all kinds as if with spots ; as the Prophet says : ' The Ethiopian shall not change his skin, or the panther his spots.' " And with further illustration the author explains that he is speaking of those persons who dwell in the darkness of sins and diversity of errors ; and he concludes : " But elsewhere it is written : ' The wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the panther shall lie down with the kid, which was fulfilled at the coming of Christ, when those who before were savage now lead the life of the innocent, and those who were fouled with the spots of error are changed to the true faith."

Pardus is usually represented in profile and in motion, as in the Westminster Bestiary (Plate IV). It is there maned somewhat like a lion, and its head is turned sideways with

[1] Pliny, Book viii, ch. 17 (16).

its mouth extended and tongue out, in order to indicate its bloodthirsty nature. Its tail is outstretched, but in most MSS. is returned over its back, sometimes passing under its leg on the way. In MS. 12 F, xiii (Brit. Mus.) it chases a stag on a mountain. In MS. Harl. 3244 there are two, one of which has seized a sheep. In MS. Sloane 3544, and MS. 178, St. John's College, Oxford, it is furnished with horns. It is coloured in all sorts of ways, and sometimes has fine spots. The resemblance between pardus of the Bestiary and the heraldic leopard is very marked, and our view is that the latter was originally composed from these miniatures. At the same time, owing to its mane and the treatment of its tail, it would be easily confused with the lion.

There are probably many instances of the male panther in church carving, but not with features sufficiently distinctive to differentiate it from the lion and other animals. On the twelfth-century font at Hook Norton (Oxon) is a beast which may well be intended for pardus, and at Hodnet (Salop), in two panels of the thirteenth-century font, there is a pair of beasts face to face (Plate IV). These are in profile, and their heads are not turned round, but their mouths are extended and their tails pass over their backs in the orthodox way. There is some probability that they came from the Bestiary, as there are animals and birds in the other panels. It is only necessary to study the sculptured animals on a doorway like that at Bradbourne (Derbyshire) to realise the difficulty of identification.

The female panther is a much more important creature than the male, and is the subject of an elaborate symbolic lesson. Its story is common to both Latin and French versions.

It is described as a parti-coloured and spotted animal, and particularly handsome and gentle in disposition. The dragon alone is its enemy. When it has fed it hides itself in its den and sleeps for three days, and when it wakes it gives vent to a loud roaring, and from its mouth issues a very pleasant smell " as of all spices." And when the other animals hear its voice, they assemble from far and near and follow it wheresoever it goes, on account

of the sweet smell. But the dragon is exceedingly frightened and flies into its hole, and not being able to endure the smell lies there curled up as if dead.

The panther is Jesus Christ, and its colours, its handsome appearance, and its gentleness reflect His personal attributes. Its feeding, hiding itself in its den, and sleeping for three days stand for His ill-treatment by the Jews, His death and descent into hell, and the binding of the great dragon; "but on the third day He rises from sleep and gives forth a great sound, breathing out sweetness, as David says: 'The Lord is awakened as out of sleep, as a mighty man strengthened with wine. And He shouted with a great voice, so that His sound was heard in the whole earth and His words to the ends of the world.'" As the odour of sweetness issues forth from the mouth of the panther, and the beasts which are near and those which are far off follow it, so do the Jews, who had once the sense of beasts, but were near according to the Law, and the Gentiles—that is, those who are far off and without the Law—hearing the voice of Christ, follow Him, saying with the prophet: "How sweet are Thy words unto my taste; sweeter than honey and the honeycomb." Many other passages from the Bible are brought into play, and the whole thing is well worked out.

In the miniatures the panther is usually indifferently drawn, but brilliantly coloured, and its breath is indicated. In MS. Harl. 4751 we see a parti-coloured panther—with its mouth open and breath showing—opposite five animals, consisting of an ox, goat, ram, stag and ass. Below, the dragon is coiled up in its hole (Plate V). In MS. Sloane 3544 the panther has stag-horns, and is covered with a chequer-pattern in red with blue spots; a pair of dragons hide their heads in holes. In MS. Douce 88 (Bodl.) it is drawn like a horse. In the Westminster Bestiary it is white, with yellow, blue, green, and red spots, and is followed by five animals. In MS. Sloane 278 there are seven. In MS. Bodl. 764 the lion and the unicorn are among them, and in MS. Douce 132 (Bodl.), Guillaume's version, the mantichora. In MS. Douce 151 and MS. 61, St. John's College, Oxford, the panther's breath is indicated in a marked way, in the latter MS. resembling a fountain

Male Panther. MS. 22 Westminster Chapter Library.

Hodnet. (?) Male Panther. [*G. C. D.*

Panther and Dragon. MS. Harl. 4751 (B.M.).

Alne. Fox, Panther and other subjects.

Newton. Panther and Dragon.

of water falling upon a group of eight animals. But perhaps the most comprehensive rendering is in MS. 14969 Francais at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, where no less than twenty animals appear, and the panther's breath is indicated as a stream of water squirted from its mouth.

The Bestiary also repeats Pliny as to other items of the panther's natural history, mostly relating to its generation and its spots. He says (Book viii, 23 (17)) that all quadrupeds are attracted in a wonderful manner by its smell, while they are terrified by its fierce aspect, for which reason the creature conceals its head and then seizes those animals which are attracted to it by the sweetness of the smell. Aelian (Book v, 40), also says that when it is in need of food it hides in a thicket and emits so sweet a breath that the young deer and goats assemble, when it springs upon them and devours them.

The panther is represented upon the doorway at Alne, where the title enables us to recognise it (Plate V). The details are much curtailed. The panther with open mouth stands opposite the head and winged body of a dragon, the group of animals being omitted. At Newton Church (Yorks) it occurs on a carved stone of the twelfth century, now built into the church wall (Plate V). The panther and dragon face each other as at Alne. The dragon is displayed in full, and again there are no animals. No sculptured example showing the full details is yet recorded.

The panther came into heraldry, but its sweet breath so generously showered forth was manipulated into flames. It became the "panther incensed." This may be seen on the bridge at Hampton Court Palace, where there are two modern figures of panthers, forming part of the group of King's and Queen's beasts.

The story of the sweet smell of the panther has been exploited by later writers. In Mandeville we read that the walls of the great hall in the palace of the Khan of Cathay were covered with skins of beasts called panthers, "faire and well-smellyng; so that for the swete odour of tho Skynnes, non evylle Ayr may entre in to the Palays."[1]

[1] Ed., 1725.

Spencer too, in one of his sonnets, accurately repeats Pliny's account of the panther hiding itself for the purpose of preying on other animals.

The story of the wolf is attractive, both on account of the description of the animal and the nature of the moral. It is common to most of the Latin versions, and also appears in the French prose version of Pierre. After an adventure in the etymology of its name, taken from Isidore,[1] the author tells us that the wolf is a greedy and bloodthirsty creature. Its greatest strength is in its forequarters and feet. It cannot bend its neck, and therefore when it wants to look back, it must turn its whole body round.[2] The female gives birth only in the month of May and when it thunders. It is said to subsist on prey, on earth (if very hungry, according to Pliny), or even on wind. It is very clever, for it seeks its prey at a distance, and visits the sheepfolds by night furtively like a trained dog and against the wind so that the dogs on guard may not detect it and raise an alarm. And if it should make a sound by treading on a branch or twig, it punishes its foot by a sharp bite. Some of this information is traceable to Pliny (Book viii, 34 (22)) and Solinus, ("Polyhistor," ch. viii), and is repeated by Rabanus ("De Universo," Lib. viii, ch. 1).

The miniatures usually exhibit the wolf approaching a fold full of sheep, with a watchdog and shepherd on guard, the latter often asleep. In MS. Sloane 3544 these details appear, and the wolf is also biting its foot, having trodden on some object. Blood flows from the wound (Plate VI). In MS. Stowe 1067 (Brit. Mus.) the same feature appears, but the drawing is very crude. In MS. Harl. 3244 the wolf is maned, and has seized a sheep. There are good miniatures in the Westminster Bestiary, and MS. 254, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Mystically the wolf is the Devil, who never relaxes in his hatred of the human race, and who prowls round the churches of the faithful in order to ruin and destroy their souls. The different characteristics of the wolf

[1] Etym. Lib., xii, ch. 2.
[2] This is also told of the hyena.

have their counterpart in the evil nature of the Devil, who is deceitful and ever ready with his tricks for the undoing of mankind.

But the most curious part of the story is yet to be told. The wolf's eyes are said to shine like lamps (or, in the French version, like candles) at night, and its nature is such that if it should see a man first it robs him of his power of speech; and a proverb was founded on this to the effect that they say to a man who suddenly becomes silent: "This is the wolf of the fable," or as it is otherwise put: "A wolf has appeared to thee." But if the man see the wolf first, it loses its savage boldness and cannot move. Both phases are illustrated in MS. Roy. 2 B, vii.

The moral is boldly handled: "What must the man do whom the wolf has deprived of his power of utterance? For whoever has not the power of shouting loudly loses the help of anyone standing a little way off. But what is to be done? The man must first take off his garment, lay it on the ground and stamp upon it; then, taking two stones, one in each hand, he must strike them together. What happens then? The wolf at once loses its boldness and power, and flees away, while the man is saved by his device and freed from the spell."

The wolf is the Devil, the man the human race, his garment sin. The stones are the Apostles or Saints, or even Christ Himself. Before we were redeemed, we were in the power of the Enemy; we had lost the power of crying out through our sins, and therefore God would not hearken unto us, nor could we call upon the Saints to help us. But through the favour of God we put off the old man with his works (*i.e.*, the garment), and put on the new man. Thereupon we took the stones and struck them one against the other—that is, with all the words at our command, we battered the Saints of God in heaven, who are called strong and living stones,[1] that they should in turn importune the ears of the Great Judge and obtain forgiveness for us; lest Cerberus swallow us up quick and rejoice in our destruction. This is quite a *tour de force* in the sphere of moralisation.

[1] 1 Peter ii, 4, 5.

Illustrations of this scene are apparently rare, and the only manuscript that we have so far found it in is MS. 12 F, xiii (Plate VI). The miniature is divided into two panels. In the upper is an adult wolf followed by two cubs. The adult and one cub are coloured blue, the other cub yellow. In the lower the man, who has lost his speech, has taken off his blue tunic, and is standing on it. He holds a red stone in each hand and looks at the wolf above. Trees with birds are introduced by way of accessories.

Pliny speaks of the noxious influence of the wolf's eye, and of its instantly taking away the voice of a man if it sees him first. It is also possible that the author was influenced in some of his details by Pliny's account of the "Versipellis" legend (Book viii, 34 (22)).

The wolf is a difficult creature to identify in carving, as it approximates in form to the dog, hyena, lynx, and other animals. But there is always the possibility that some accessory feature may be present. We know of no representation of the wolf facing the sheepfold, but there is an instance of an animal apparently treading on a branch and biting its foot on a capital in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral. The sculpture shows a hairy beast with clawed feet, biting (or possibly licking) its left fore-foot, which rests on what looks like a branch, but its tail hardly seems natural. There is a variation mentioned by Albertus Magnus in the thirteenth century that the wolf licks its paws when approaching the sheepfold, in order to silence its footsteps,[1] and this is illustrated in MS. 1444 Francais (Bibl. Nat.).[2] It also occurs on a late misericord at Faversham, where the wolf is a fine maned beast licking its paw (Fig. 1). Its mane extends all along its back. It is obvious that confusion might arise between biting and licking its paw, in illustration especially, and so the variation may be well understood. As to its mane, the Bestiary says that Ethiopia produces maned wolves, and of so many colours that none is missing; a

[1] "De Animalibus," Lib. II, Tract ii: "Vadens lupus per frondes lambit et lubricos facit pedes ne incessus audiatur."

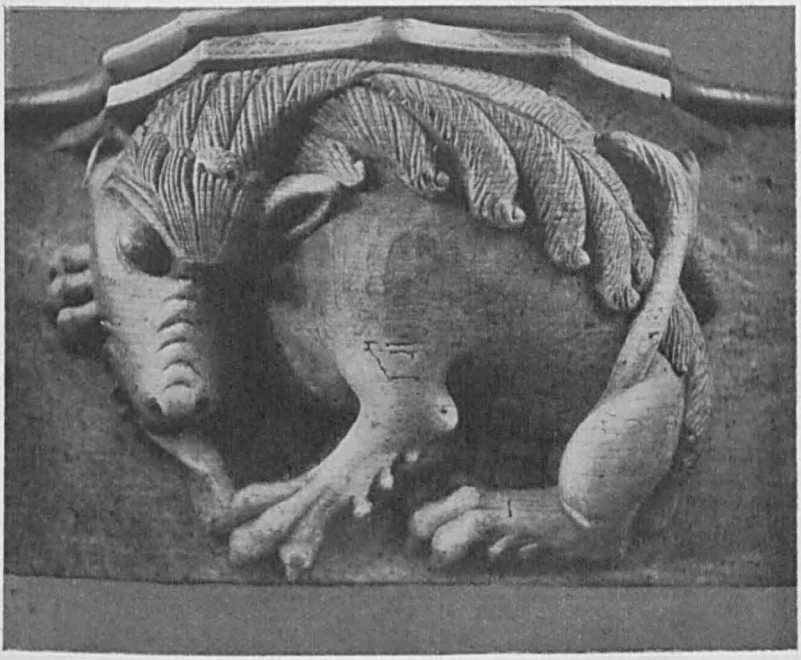
[2] Bestiaire D'Amour.

Wolf. MS. Sloane 3544 (B.M.).

Wolf. MS. 12 F, xiii (B.M.).

maned wolf, therefore, may be expected to occur in carving.

Passing to the third group, which includes domestic animals, we will take the sow first. It is a scarce subject in the Bestiaries, and we have found it so far in only two manuscripts, namely, MS. Harl. 4751 and MS. Bodl. 764. The account opens with a fine display of etymology, derived as usual from Isidore. "The sow is called sus,



[G. C. D.

Fig. 1.—Faversham. Wolf licking its paw.

'quod pascua subigat,' *i.e.*, because it grubs up the pastures in its search for food. The names of other swine are derived in the same way: 'verres,' boars, from 'vires,' because they are so strong; 'porcus,' pig, from 'spurcus,' because it wallows in filth and mud and covers itself with mire." And then a quotation from Horace follows: "Amica luto sus,"[1] mud is dear to the sow. The author is

[1] Epis., 1.2.26.

apparently fond of these etymological ventures, for he continues: "We call pig's hairs 'setæ,' because they are obtained from 'sus,' the sow; and from these again 'sutores,' shoemakers, 'quod ex setis suant id est consuant pelles,' *i.e.*, because they sew skins together with pig's hairs. This was the case before thread was invented."

There is no further description, and the moral follows at once: "Swine signify sinners and unclean persons or heretics, for the Law says that they divide the hoof and do not chew the cud, and so their flesh must not be touched by true believers. Though these men may take upon themselves the testaments of the Law and Gospels, yet because they do not chew the cud, that is, do not ruminate upon spiritual food, they are unclean." Again, swine signify penitents who have become slack and still cast longing eyes towards their old indulgencies, which they had wept for; "as Peter says in his Epistle,[1] 'The dog is returned to his vomit and the washed sow to her slough of mud.'" And then all three—dog, sow and sinner—are harnessed together, and after having been commended for unburdening themselves of that which was oppressing them, again incur the wrath of the moralist when they return, the dog to its vomit, the sow to its filth, and the sinner to his sins. "For he who bewails the sin that he has committed, but does not give it up, subjects himself to an even greater fault, in that he despises the very forgiveness which he was able to obtain by repentance, and as it were rolls himself once more like the sow in dirty water." There is a good deal more in the same vein, and some half-dozen passages from the Bible in which swine are mentioned are brought into play, one being the proverb: "A gold ring in the nostrils of a sow is as a fair woman who is foolish." This is used to show up the sinner who is of good understanding, but who elects to live a life of luxury. Beyond the passage in Horace, taken at second hand, there is no reference to classical authors.

There are illustrations in the two MSS. mentioned. They show a sow with her litter of pigs, the artists having apparently chosen to treat the subject from a familiar

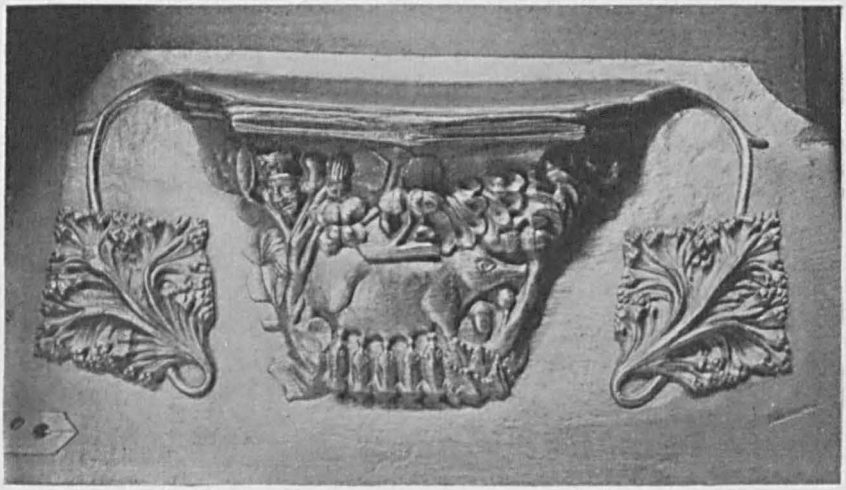
[1] 2 Peter, ii, 22.

PLATE VII.

Sow and pigs. MS. Harl. 4751 (B.M.).

Fox feigning death. MS. 61, St. John's College, Oxford.

PLATE VIII.



[F. H. Crossley.

Chester Cathedral. Sow and Pigs.

[F. H. Crossley.

Chester Cathedral. Fox feigning death.

point of view, but the composition is formal in the extreme. In the Harley MS. (Plate VII), the sow is coloured rose-red and stands stiffly, suckling four little pigs reared up on their hind legs in a very uncomfortable attitude for successful alimentation. There is provision for five, and in fact in the Bodleian MS. there are five.

In carving there is a fair number of examples, all on the same lines. At Toddington (Beds) and Bloxham (Oxon) the sow suckling her pigs occurs on external string-courses; at Glapthorn (Northants) as a terminal to a hood-moulding; at Hitchin upon a boss in the porch. The subject seems to have been a favourite one on bosses in Devonshire, where it occurs at Exeter Cathedral, Braunton, Newton St. Cyres, Spreyton, and Ugborough. At the last-named the sow is standing to left, suckling four little pigs as in MS. Harl. 4751, and the hindquarters of four more are visible on the other side. The background is composed of oak foliage, an appropriate setting in view of the practice of driving swine into the woods to feed upon the mast. An excellent example may be seen upon a misericord in Chester Cathedral, where the details correspond closely with the MSS. illustrations (Plate VIII). The sow stands to right in the same formal posture, suckling five little pigs, and the background is filled with oak foliage, out of which a man is looking.[1]

The sow is a case in which the carvers might have relied on a natural model, but do not seem to have done so. They preferred to follow the miniatures as more convenient, judging by the formal way in which the subject is treated. This disregard for natural models, even when accessible, is shown elsewhere, for upon a misericord at Edlesborough (Bucks) there is carved a frog which has all four feet webbed. For this there is no excuse, and we can only suppose that the carver was either grossly careless or worked from an incorrect picture.

The story of the fox is common to both Latin and French versions, and turns on its character for craftiness

[1] From this scene came the terms "sow" and "pig," as applied to cast-iron, the castings being in the form of a transverse bar with five bars depending from it.

and deceit. It is called "vulpis," that is "volupes," because it is so nimble on its feet. It never runs straight, but in tortuous curves as fancy suggests. It is deceitful and full of tricks; for when it is hungry and wants to catch birds, it feigns death. It covers itself with red earth, in order to make itself look bloody and tempting, lets its tongue hang out, and holds its breath. The birds fly down to it as if to a corpse, and peck its body and tongue, when it suddenly springs up and catches them. And many a man, taking it for dead, has thrown it into his cart laden with provisions, and when it has had a good meal, it jumps out and makes off. It also allures birds at night by the glitter of its eyes. They are fascinated and come down to it, and so are caught.

The miniatures represent the first episode, the fox pretending to be dead, and do not vary greatly. In MS. 12 F, xiii, there are two scenes. In the upper panel the fox is lying on its back, with birds flying down to peck it. In the lower the fox has caught a bird, and is making off with it. Trees with birds perched on them complete the scenes. In MS. 61, St. John's Coll., the birds are quaintly drawn. Two are perched on the body of the fox, while another is close to its tongue. There are holes below, in which are the heads of three young foxes, who are looking up in anticipation of a good meal (Plate VII).

The fox is the Devil. To those who live according to the flesh he pretends to be dead until he has got them into his "jaws," to punish them. But to those who are religious and strong in the true faith, he is really dead and brought to nought. Several passages in the Bible in which foxes are mentioned are used in illustration, such as: "They shall be given up to the power of the sword; they shall be a portion for foxes."[1]

The fox is also used as a type of deceitful heretics, with particular reference to Herod as "that fox," and the episode of the three hundred foxes, whose tails Samson tied together with torches between and thereby burnt up the Philistines' corn, is also quoted.

[1] Ps. lxiii, 10.

The carvings follow the MSS. closely. The subject is displayed on the doorway at Alne, with title VULPIS above (Plate V). It is very simply treated ; the fox lies on its back and a bird pecks its mouth, while another appears above. In the later woodwork there are examples on misericords at Nantwich and Chester Cathedral (Plate VIII). At Chester the subject is fully treated ; the fox is lying on its back with tongue out in the orthodox way, and some half-dozen birds are flying about or perched on it. The bird on the right is pecking its tongue. There are holes below, as in the St. John's MS. A fox is taking a bird into one, three cubs look out of another, and a fox is disappearing down a third.

The fox pretending to be dead in order to catch birds comes also in the romance of Reynard the Fox in the scene where " Corbant the Roke complayned on the Foxe for the deth of his wyf." " Ryght as the cony had made an ende of his complant, cam in Corbant the roke, flowen in the place to fore the Kynge ; and sayde, Dere lorde, here me : I brynge you hier a piteous complaynt : I wente to day by the morow wyth Sharpebek my wyf for to playe vpon the heth, and there laye Reynart the foxe doun on the grounde, lyke a dede keytyf. His eyen stared and his tonge henge longe out of his mouth, lyke an hounde had ben deed. We tasted and felte his bely, but we fonde thereon no lyf. Tho wente my wyf and herkened, and leyde her ere to fore his mouth, for to wite yf he drewe his breeth : whiche mysfylle her evyl, for the false felle foxe awayted wel his tyme, and whan he sawe her so nygh hym, he caught her by the heed and boote it of."[1]

Among the minor animals the hedgehog is the hero of a pretty little tale. It is said to have a certain likeness to the " milky way," and to be covered with prickles. It is a creature of great foresight, for when the time of vintage arrives, it goes to a vineyard and climbs up a vine and cuts off the bunches of grapes (or as Pliny and some manuscripts say, apples). Then it comes down and rolls

[1] Ch. xxiv, Caxton's Edition, 1481.

about on the grapes, and carries them off on its prickles to its young ones.[1]

The symbolism varies a good deal. In the above sense the hedgehog with its prickles signifies sinners filled full of the sharp thorns of their vices; and who are cunning and full of plundering tricks by which they enrich themselves from the labours of others. Elsewhere the hedgehog is the Devil, the vine man, and the grapes his soul; and the man of God is thus admonished: "Guard well thy vineyard and all its spiritual fruits, and let not the cares of this world and the pleasures of bodily vices occupy thy mind, lest the Devil, who bristles with pricks, scatter all thy spiritual fruits and fix them on his own pricks, so that he may destroy thy heart with his sharp points, and may make thee food for the beasts of the earth, and thy vineyard naked and empty." And then the moralist indulges in this pious sentiment: "How fitly has the Natural Philosopher set forth the natures of animals in the light of spiritual writings."[2] In Thaun's twelfth-century French version the symbolism agrees fairly closely with the second interpretation.

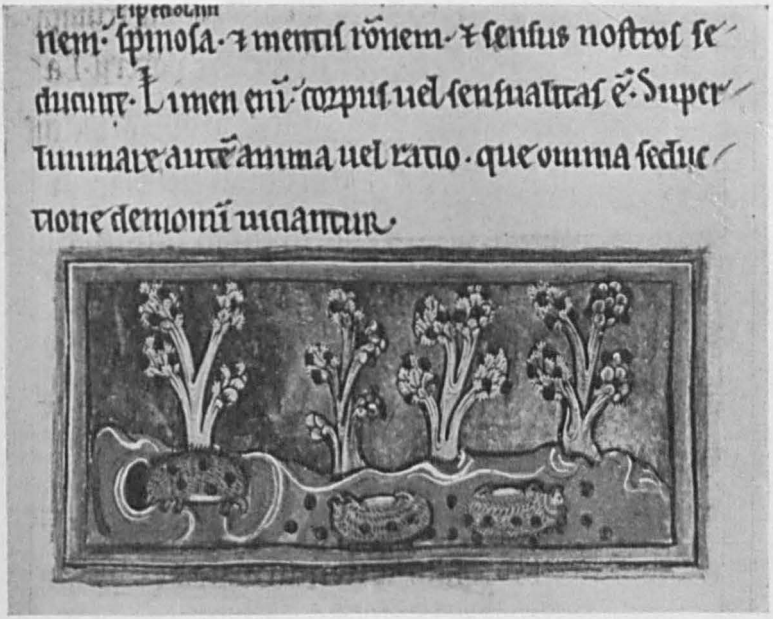
As to the miniatures, the scene is sometimes confined to a single figure of the hedgehog drawn as a little pig with spines; but more often shows conventional trees with fruit, and hedgehogs in the act of biting off the fruit and rolling on it. In MS. 12 F, xiii, there are four vines and three hedgehogs, two of which are rolling on the grapes and the other carrying them off to its hole (Plate IX). In MS. Ashmole 1511 there are no less than eight hedgehogs.

Examples in carving are scarce, and there is only one known to us which displays the grapes on the hedgehog's prickles, namely, at New College, Oxford, upon one of the misericords (Plate IX). There is a pair, each of which has two grapes on its spines. The treatment is formal,

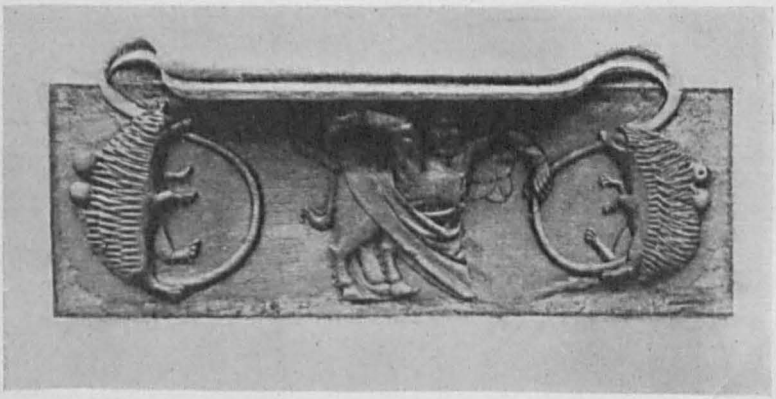
[1] MS. Sloane 278; MS. Harl. 4751; MS. 12 F, xiii, and others. For a discussion on this alleged habit *see* "The Ancient Legend as to the Hedgehog carrying fruits upon its Spines," by Miller Christy, *Memoirs and Proceedings of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society*, Vol. LXIII, Pt. I.

[2] MS. Sloane 278, and Sion Coll. MS.

PLATE IX.



Hedgehogs. MS. 12 F, xiii (B.M.).



New College, Oxford. Hedgehogs. [*Taunt.*

Childrey. Hedgehog and Dogs.

Norwich Cathedral. Squirrel. [*G. C. D.*

but the hedgehogs are well rendered. There is a single hedgehog on a misericord at Cartmel, equally good, but it has no grapes, and may not have been inspired by the Bestiary. The hedgehog with its French name "herichon," was a favourite rebus on the name of Harrison, and may have found its way to church on that account.

Further proof of the foresight of the hedgehog is shown by its providing its home with two apertures for getting air, so that when it has foreseen that Boreas, the north wind, is about to blow, it blocks up the north hole, and when it knows that Notus, the south wind, is letting loose its mists, it blocks up the south hole, and thus it wards off inconvenient draughts either way.[1] Both these stories are based on information to be found in Aristotle, Pliny and Plutarch. Aelian speaks of figs instead of grapes.

The Bestiary also says that the hedgehog, although provided with armour, is a timid creature, and that when it perceives anything approaching, it erects its prickles and rolls itself into a ball, taking refuge within its own weapons. And if this be not enough and it might be caught through any trick, it has a refuge among the rocks. The passage in the Psalms (civ, 18), "The rock is a refuge for the hedgehogs," is introduced in support. This episode is used to signify the man for whom "one may have some hope; who, though bristling with his own sins, in the fear of judgment to come is known to have taken as his refuge the strongest of all rocks—Christ."[2]

The artist of MS. Roy. 2 B, vii, has been moved to illustrate this phase in the form of the hedgehog being worried by two dogs, but so little regard has he had for the text or accuracy in depicting the natural habits of the hedgehog that he has failed to draw it rolled into a ball, and has simply repeated it as drawn in the first scene.

There is a pretty form of the story carved in the spandril of a tomb at Childrey (Berks) (Plate X). Here the hedgehog is eating or biting off the fruit of a conventional vine, with three delightful little terriers below barking at it.

[1] MS. Harl. 4751.
[2] *Ibid.*

The story of the squirrel appears in only one group of manuscripts, so far as we know, the group to which the Westminster Bestiary belongs. It is called "cyrogrillus," from χείρ, the hand, because it may be caught and tamed; or "pirulus," from πῦρ, fire, because it runs up a tree quickly like flames. It is a little animal and of an angry nature, so much so that sometimes it dies of rage. It feeds on nut kernels, which it picks out after biting off the ends of the shells.

Most of the miniatures show the squirrel seated on the ground or on a branch cracking a nut, as in the Westminster Bestiary. It is usually naturally drawn and coloured as we should expect.

There is a pretty little story of the way in which the squirrel contrives to cross water. "When this creature wants to cross a river or torrent, it either spreads out a leaf of a tree for a vessel, or hollows out a mushroom or some dry integument of the kind into the shape of a shell, in which it embarks; and paddling with its forefeet or raising its tail for a sail, it, with its little bark laden with nuts, is conveyed across to the other shore."[1]

The only MS. in which we have found this episode illustrated is MS. Kk–4–25 at Cambridge (Plate XI). It shows a squirrel, coloured blue, seated upon a square mat-like leaf of a yellow tint, which is laden with nuts. The squirrel's tail is raised to form a sail, so that it is evidently crossing a river. There is another illustration in this MS., which shows a red squirrel seated on the top of a lofty tree cracking its nut. It may relate to its name "pirulus."

No symbolic meaning is given in the Bestiary, but we find it in the "De Naturis Rerum" of Alexander Neckam,[2] and elsewhere. Neckam says that a stupid and lazy man who fails to profit by the sagacity and providence shown by the squirrel should be censured. Its natural instinct turns it into a sailor, for it utilises as a boat a bit of bark or flat wood on which it sits securely, while its

[1] MS. 22, Westminster Chapter Library.
[2] Ch. cxxiv.

bushy tail held erect does duty as a swelling sail. He contrasts with the squirrel, which can be tamed, uncivilised men, who with difficulty throw off their savagery and even with great pains are improved but little; "but what is impossible or difficult for man is easy for Almighty God."

The story of the squirrel's voyage is also given in MSS. Harl. 7322 and Roy. 12 E, xxi (Brit. Mus.).[1] It crosses a river (in the latter MS. the sea) on a bit of flat wood, and so we who are about to cross the troubled waters of this world should hold fast to the wood of the Cross, and, reflecting how greatly Christ suffered thereon for us, keep before our eyes our death, which is our tail; and being so fortified we shall succeed in passing through the world's dangers the more easily.

The squirrel was naturally rendered by the carvers, as its form was well known, but they appear to have followed the MSS. as to composition, for the attitude of the squirrel is always the same. At Winchester Cathedral there is a charming rendering of the subject on a misericord, *c.* 1300. The squirrel is seated on a nut-branch cracking its nut, the foliage being carefully copied and forming the principal feature of the composition. At Norwich Cathedral, upon a misericord, it is set upon a large leaf, which serves as a background and may have been inspired by the story of the voyage (Plate X). At Lincoln Cathedral the squirrel appears on a panel of the stalls, at Ulm Cathedral on a misericord; and there are other examples.

Turning now to the birds we will take the hawk first. It is fully dealt with in the Latin Bestiaries, and is noteworthy for the curious way in which the symbolism is manipulated. The story turns on the hawk as a bird of prey. Rabanus ("De Universo," Lib. viii) gives it a bad character, because when tamed it gives help in plundering, and he likens those persons to it who appear to be gentle and quiet by nature, but who are really in league with tyrants and cruel men.

[1] Collections of moralised tales.

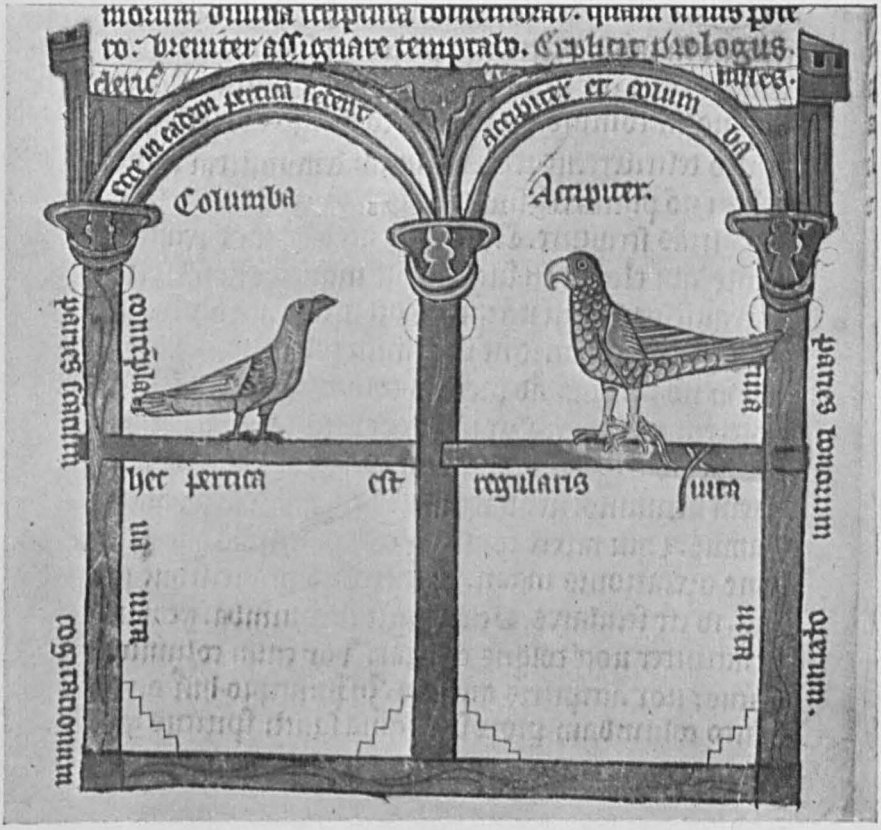
The information given in the Bestiary was gathered from the "Hexameron" of Ambrose, Gregory's "Moralia," and other sources, and is of a very complete character. The hawk is a bird whose weapons consist in its determination rather than in its claws, and it is possessed of a courage out of all proportion to the size of its body. Its Latin name "accipiter" implies that it is a robber. It is said to be very cruel to its young, for when it sees them able to try a flight, it gives them no food, and beats them with its wings and pushes them out of the nest, and thus drives them while still young to seek their prey. And this is in order that they should not become slack through being pampered and expecting their food to be given them instead of hunting for it themselves.

The hawk, despite its bad reputation as a bird of prey, or in a way because of it, became a type of the holy man or monk, "one who, so to speak, lays violent hands on the kingdom of God"; and the passage in Job (xxxix, 26) is brought in to teach that as the hawk gets her new plumage and stretches her wings, so anyone of the elect to whom understanding has been given may stretch his wings in the holy atmosphere of reflection, until he throws off the burdens of his former way of life and puts on the wings of virtue for a new flight.

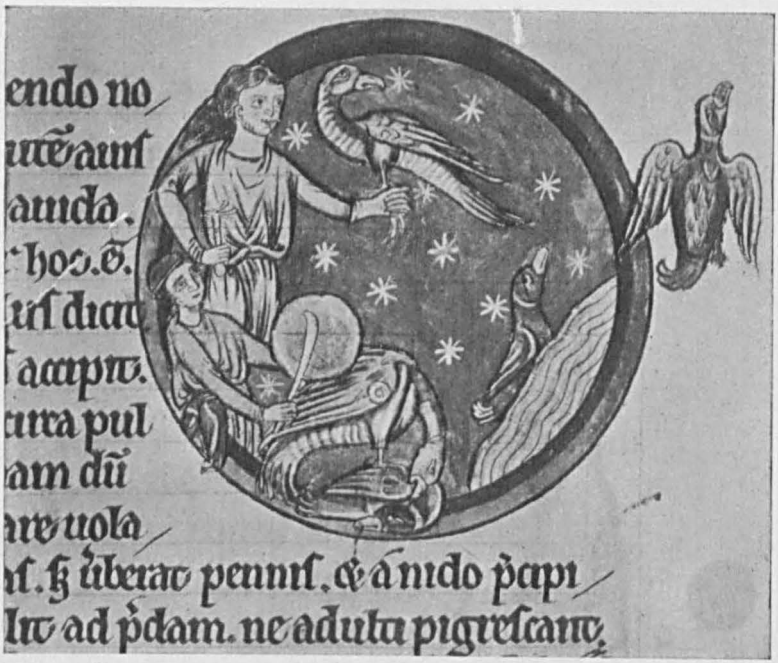
We then get a description of the domesticated hawk, which is used to signify the monk in the cloister. All the incidents of its training and use in flying are employed with great ingenuity. As it moults its old feathers and acquires new ones, so the dweller in the cloister is stripped of his old sins and is adorned with the virtues of a new man; "nor is he to be taken out thence until his old feathers are cut off and his new ones firmly grown. And as the hawk, after being let out, becomes steady in flying and comes back to the hand, so if the brother come out of the cloister he is bound to come back to the hand of good works, and when he tries a flight as it were he is to raise himself with all the strength of his mind to the high things of heaven."

Then, after further moralising based on the hawk being held on the left hand and flying to the right, we hear about the perch. As it is fixed well above the ground

Squirrel. MS. Kk–4–25. University Library, Cambridge.



Hawk and Dove. MS. Sloane 278 (B.M.).



Hawking. MS. Harl. 4751 (B.M.).

Lostwithiel. Hawking.

it shows the uprightness of a well-ordered life, far removed above earthly desires. And the two walls to which it is fixed are the active life and the contemplative life, which sustain the uprightness of those who live in religion. And here the illustration comes in which we find in MSS. of the version of Hugo de Folieto, showing the hawk's quarters, otherwise the monastery[1] (Plate XI). They are drawn as a conventional building enclosing two arched compartments. The side walls are labelled—that on the right, PARIES BONORUM OPERUM and ACTIVA VITA; and the left, PARIES SANCTARUM COGITATIONUM and CONTEMPLATIVA VITA. Attached to the walls is the perch, on which a hawk and dove stand facing each other, the hawk being under the right arch and the dove under the left. The perch is labelled, HEC PERTICA EST REGULARIS VITA, and round the arches is the legend, ECCE IN EADEM PERTICA SEDENT ACCIPITER ET COLUMBA. The reason why the hawk and dove appear together is that in the Prologue the author says he is going to treat of them first; and also because he compares himself and his "beloved Ranerius," the lay brother to whom he addresses his work, with them, as having come, himself from the profession of a clerk and his friend from military service, to meet as monks, and the words CLERICUS and MILES are written on the roof of the building.[2]

The hawk, too, has fetters which prevent it from flying away, and also a strap by which it is tied to the perch. This denotes the mortifying of the flesh, through which the brother is held to an ordered life; and this because the strap is made of the hide of a dead animal. It is not broken, but only untied when the hawk is let fly; and so the brother, when he goes out for any temporal advantage, does not break with his way of life, but returns and binds himself with the same bond more firmly than before.

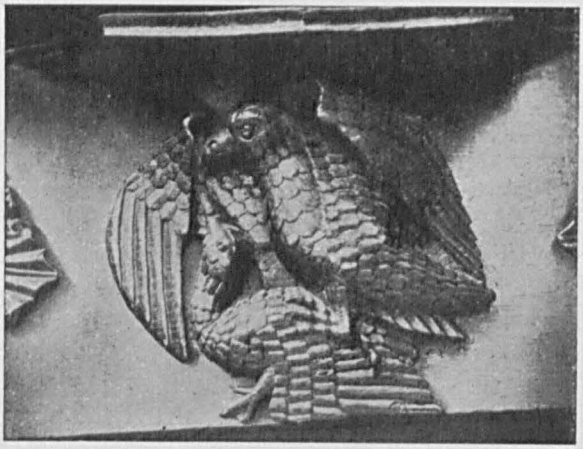
Apart from this treatment of the subject, the illustrations are as a rule limited to a single figure of a hawk, sometimes upon a perch or with a dove in its claws, or

[1] See MS. Sloane 278; MS. Bodl. 602; MS. at Sion College; and MS. 26 in the possession of Dyson Perrins, Esq.

[2] MS. Sloane 278.

facing a nest with young birds; but in MS. Harl. 4751 and MS. Bodl. 764 there is a nice hawking scene. In the former (Plate XII) the sportsman is a man, who has a hawk upon his left hand. At foot a hawk has brought down a duck, another duck is flying away, and a third is swimming off in water which is drawn at a quite impossible angle. An attendant beats a drum to rouse the birds. In the Bodleian MS. the sportsman is a lady, who is similarly assisted by two attendants.

In the majority of carved examples the hawk appears as a single figure, as at Edlesborough and Beverley Minster,



G. C. D.

Fig. 2.—St. Katharine's Chapel, Regent's Park. Hawk and Duck.

or striking a duck, as at Chester, Norwich, St. Katharine's, Regent's Park (Fig. 2) and Winchester College Chapel, all on misericords. It is impossible to locate the source of such details as these, because hawking scenes are numerous in other MSS., especially the calendars attached to psalters, where they illustrate one of the occupations of the months, generally May. There is a set of months on misericords at Ripple (Glos); but the most famous series that we have in this country is on the twelfth-century leaden font at Brookland (Kent), where they are combined with the signs of the

zodiac and small figures denoting the resurrection of the dead, the whole thus having a religious significance. May is represented by a man on horseback with a hawk on his wrist.[1]

There is a quaintly rendered hawking scene on the thirteenth-century font at Lostwithiel (Cornwall), which displays a delightful disregard for proportion in the figures (Plate XII). The sportsman is much too large for the horse and has upon his hand a hawk of portentous size, larger than his hound.

The peacock is another interesting bird, which occurs regularly in the Bestiaries, and occasionally in carving. Its beautiful plumage gave the artists a fine opportunity for a display of colour, of which they took advantage, especially as such treatment was favoured by the texts, which dwell much on the peacock's appearance.

There is considerable variation in the peacock's description and in the symbolism. We learn from MS. 12 F, xiii, that it dwells in the houses of the rich, and has wings which glitter like stars and are marked with a variety of beautiful colours. It also bears a tail of great length, which is used to adorn the heads of kings and rich men, and keep off the heat of the sun. It has a small head and crest of plumes, and it puffs out its body as it goes. It has the voice of a devil, the wing of an angel, the footstep of a thief, and the head of a serpent, "as is commonly reported." The mother hides its nest lest the father should find the eggs and eat them. In this MS. the peacock with its beautiful feathers stands for the holy man perfected by the adornment of his virtues; otherwise, for hypocrites who exhibit an appearance of virtue; and there is a reference to Solomon's ships bringing ivory, apes, and peacocks from Tarshish every three years.

Certain items of this information occur in the Westminster Bestiary, in which is also a very fine miniature (Plate XIII). The peacock is in profile with crest and

[1] There is an excellent series of zodiacs and months in the vestibule of the Cathedral at Lucca.

long tail feathers with eyes. It is brilliantly coloured pink, green and blue.

The symbolism generally turns on the peacock's beautiful feathers and its pride, and was no doubt stimulated by Pliny's description.[1] He speaks of the vanity of the peacock, and says that when it hears itself praised, it spreads out its gorgeous tail in the form of a shell, and particularly when the sun is shining, so that it may be seen to better advantage. The heading in MS. Harl. 3244 repeats this, for it runs: "De superbia pavonis, qui candam suam orbiculatam laudatus explicat."

The prose version of Pierre[2] says that when the peacock sleeps at night, it wakes up suddenly and cries out, because it thinks that it has lost its beauty. This signifies the human soul, which in the night of this world ought always to fear lest it lose the benefits and the grace which God has given it. It ought to cry out in distress, in tears, and in prayer when it feels the darkness of sin in itself, and should confess itself and find out in good time all its faults.

And from this version too we learn that the peacock has great foresight regarding itself, for the peacock's tail signifies foresight because it is behind, and consequently denotes that which is about to come to pass. But the man who has no foresight about himself is in very poor case, and no better off than the peacock when disfigured by the loss of its tail. But the prudent man looks forward; he knows how to ward off the blows which he sees coming upon him, and so by confession and penance prepares even for the blow of death.

There are examples of the peacock in carving, both full-face and in profile. One of the earliest examples of the latter is on the font at Hodnet, which, as we have seen, exhibits various animals and birds (Plate XIII). It is very crudely rendered, and doubtfully based on a natural model; it has a well-marked crest, but its tail feathers are altogether inadequate. There is a fine pair of peacocks in profile at Lincoln Cathedral, and three others at New College, Oxford, all on misericords. The latter have good crests

[1] Bk. X. 22 (20).
[2] MS. 3516, Arsenal Library, Paris.

Peacock. MS. 22, Westminster Chap. Library.

Hodnet. Peacock. [G. C. D.

and tail feathers, and the details suggest that the carver had the natural bird in view.

The peacock is represented full-face in MS. Harl. 4751. Its tail feathers are outspread and composed in a circle. The text in this MS. says that because it was brought to Solomon from distant regions, and because it has diverse colours in its feathers, it signifies the Gentiles coming to Christ from distant parts of the earth, "who also by His grace shine forth in the splendour of many virtues." Then the hardness of its flesh and difficulty of cooking it are alluded to, and a mutilated epigram of Martial's is introduced:—

> "Miraris quotiens gemantes explicat alas;
> Si potes hunc sevo tradere dura coco."[1]

Another version[2] says that its flesh is so hard that it can scarcely be cooked on a hearth by the cook, or digested in the stomach by the heat of the liver, and this is employed to illustrate the "minds of doctors, which neither the flame of greed burns up, nor the heat of wantonness consumes."

Carvings of the peacock full-face may be seen on misericords at Wells Cathedral (unfinished), and at Cartmel. On the latter the wings and feathers are well displayed.

The parrot is a scarce bird both in MSS. and carving. The Latin Bestiaries give a good description of it, which follows Pliny (Book x, 58 (42)) and Solinus (ch. lv) fairly closely. It is said to come from India only, and is of a green colour, with a purple ring round its neck. Its tongue is broader than the tongues of other birds, and this enables it to articulate words, so that if you did not see it, you would think it was a man speaking. It utters words of salutation naturally, but otherwise must be

[1] "Epig.," xiii, 70. It should read:

> "Miraris quotiens gemmantes explicat alas.
> Et potes hunc sævo tradere dure coco."
> "You admire as often as it spreads its jewelled wings,—
> And then hand this creature over to a cruel cook,—you hard-hearted man!"

[2] Hugo de Folieto. MS. Sloane 278.

taught, and an epigram of Martial's is again made use of in illustration :—

> " Psitacus a vobis aliorum nomina discam ;
> Hoc didici per me dicere cesar ave."[1]

It takes lessons like a man, and its head is so strong that if it is necessary to admonish it by blows, it may be struck with an iron rod. It will learn well when quite young, but when a little older, it becomes forgetful and hard to teach.

The miniatures are not very striking. They usually show a single green parrot (or a pair) perched on a branch, sometimes biting an object held in the claw. They are not always naturally drawn. An average rendering may be seen in the Westminster Bestiary, but the parrot lacks the short trousers that we see them wear in nature.

No moral appears in the Latin Bestiaries inspected, and they omit a feature mentioned by Solinus, which is used to great effect in the French version of Pierre. Solinus says that there is a distinction between parrots of high and of low birth,[2] which is shown by the number of their toes. The aristocratic parrots have five toes and the others only three. The author of the French Bestiary renders it thus : " There are two kinds of parrots, and one is much better than the other. The bad parrots have three toes on their feet, and the good parrots six. (He has however made a mistake here, for Solinus says five.) And they know how to talk well if one teaches them. The parrot has a great dislike to rain, and by its nature knows well how to keep out of the rain and to avoid a storm. It stays near the wood where it has its home, for it has such a nature that rain does it a great deal of harm and spoils its colour very much, and for this reason it is very careful, as wise birds are."

" By this we understand how to live spiritually. The man who lives so is the good parrot. He flees from the

[1] " Epig.," xiv, 73 :—

" I, a parrot, will learn the names of other things from you ;
This I have learnt to say by myself : ' All hail, O Cæsar.' "

[2] " Nobiles et plebeios."

rain and tempests of hell; he does not play about outside the wood and is not caught in the storm. But the man who sins, he is the bad parrot. He is caught in the rain and the storm, which hurts him very much and ruins him and kills him; that is, he is surprised in sin at the last, and dies in sin and is lost, and dwells for ever in the tempests of hell among the devils."

The only good example of parrots in carving that we are acquainted with is on a misericord at Wells Cathedral. These misericords date from about 1330, the best period of wood carving, and display many figures of animals and birds. The subject is here nicely composed, and shows a pair of parrots on a branch apparently "billing and cooing," if parrots possess that habit. They are naturally drawn, and have the orthodox trousers. The foliage has been left unfinished.

As to these sculptures of animals and birds we maintain that the correspondence between miniatures and carvings is in certain cases sufficiently close to prove that the craftsmen made use of the Bestiaries. And in many others there is a strong probability of association, if allowance be made for individuality in the craftsmen and for modifications in composition occasioned by exigencies of position and space. As to the subjects carved in mediæval ecclesiastical woodwork generally, there is a fine field open to the student, for they provide an interesting, not to say sporting, study for anyone who will give the time to the necessary research work.

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