PORTRAIT OF BIG CATS

Maxime Terssier

Portrait of big cats

An Analysis of Non-Leonine Felids in Medieval Encyclopaedias and Bestiaries (6th-15th centuries)

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Master's research thesis in Medieval History, completed at Bordeaux Montaigne University under the supervision of Professor Sophie Coussemacker within the Ausonius Institute (UMR 5607).

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To the memory of Martin Aurell,
who, through his writings and lectures,
instilled in me the historical spark and a passion for the Middle Ages.

VOLUME I

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FOREWORD

This study is the product of two years of research, drawing upon numerous texts, iconographies and sources. For the sake of practicality and reading comfort, this dissertation has been divided into two volumes. This first volume contains the core of the research: the reflections, analyses and developments. A second volume contains the entirety of the appendices, namely the corpus of sources, the iconographic corpus and the other texts utilised within the reflections. It is recommended that these two volumes be consulted jointly in order to fully grasp the various resources that constitute this study, particularly the illuminations.

Acknowledgements

Research work is a long and arduous task. While it is an exciting and stimulating intellectual adventure, it also brings its share of uncertainties, doubts and self-questioning. It is also a human adventure that reveals the most valuable support. Throughout this journey, being well-surrounded is a privilege, and it is appropriate here to pay tribute to the people who have helped and supported me.

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every major milestone of this research. To Lucie, who helped me review and rehearse my presentation for the study day. To Lucie, who has always supported me.

And of course, to my mother, who gave me the most precious thing for a piece of research: the freedom to devote myself to it one hundred percent.

Book I: Introductory Elements

INTRODUCTION

'The lynx is an immense white worm whose gaze pierces through walls. The hyena changes its sex at will. [...] These are just some of the assertions that can be read in medieval bestiaries, those strange "books of beasts", which speak of animal species not so much to describe them as they are, still less to study them in a scholarly manner, but rather to use them as vehicles for moral and religious meanings.' This is how Michel Pastoureau begins his seminal 2011 work, *Bestiaires du Moyen Âge*. Whilst these words state what is an obvious fact for medieval historians, reminding us of them remains indispensable. Numerous publications still confuse bestiaries in the modern sense—often a glossary of animals, particularly within medieval-fantasy universes or video games—with medieval bestiaries, whose purpose was entirely different.

'Portrait of the big cats: An Analysis of Non-Leonine Felids in Medieval Encyclopaedias and Bestiaries (6th–15th Centuries)' is the title chosen for this study. It is now necessary to define its terms in order to clarify the scope of our reflection.

The term 'big cats' is a contemporary designation, anachronistic with regard to the period under study. Nowadays, it refers to the largest representatives of the Felidae family, such as the lion, the cheetah, the tiger, the leopard, the lynx or indeed the jaguar. Whilst this naming is suitable for expressing our initial object of research, its use must be qualified. The adjective 'non-leonine' signifies that the lion is excluded from this study. The latter constitutes a case apart: he is both the king of beasts—a title fully acquired in the Middle

Ages, from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries onwards[1]—and a subject that has generated a clear resonance among numerous historians. By virtue of this historiographical and symbolic throne, it was decided to exclude him. Regarding the jaguar, this animal is endemic to the South and Central American subcontinents; as our study focuses on the medieval West, it is de facto excluded. We are therefore left with the hard core of our animal corpus: the leopard, the tiger, the cheetah and the lynx. Other related animals will also be addressed, though in a more secondary manner.

With regard to the periodisation of our work, this is directly linked to our sources. According to historical research, the sixth century corresponds to the period during which the *Physiologus*, the earliest of the bestiaries, began to circulate. Conversely, the fifteenth century, which marks the end of the Middle Ages, coincides with the production of our latest bestiary (produced around the middle of the century).

Our study is not circumscribed by any strict geographical area, although our various manuscripts were predominantly produced in France and England, with a few rare cases originating from the Germanic zone (present-day Germany and Austria) and the Italian peninsula.

This study does not represent the first attempt to write on the subject of animals; a vast body of historians spanning various fields has preceded us.

[1] Pastoureau, M. (2007) : *L'ours: histoire d'un roi déchu*, Paris, 181.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

THE DAWNING OF RESEARCH

The nineteenth century was characterised by the rise of the sciences; it was during this period that the historical discipline became established. The earliest historians of the Romantic era were primarily interested in national histories, wars, great figures and pivotal dates. Culture, symbolism, animals and colours are subjects that have only very recently been addressed. Bestiaries gathered everything that failed to interest these early historians. This explains why studies concerning them were exceedingly few in number during the nineteenth century. These objects of study seemed so insignificant to these great scholars that other disciplines undertook their analysis instead. Indeed, the earliest studies on bestiaries were essentially the work of antiquarians such as Thomas Wright or Father Charles Cahier, who acted as precursors in the field.

Thomas Wright[2] was an English antiquarian and writer. Born in 1810 near Ludlow, Shropshire, he was descended from a Quaker family. He was educated at the old Ludlow Grammar School, and subsequently at Trinity College, Cambridge, from which he graduated in 1834. In 1835, he embarked upon a literary career in London. Over the following four decades, he published a vast array of

[2] THE MEDIEVAL BESTIARY, *The Bestiary of Philippe de Thaon* [en ligne]. 2024. https://bestiary.ca/etexts/etext100056.htm [consulté le 30/12/2024]. Original text produced by David Badke (2003) during the creation of a digital edition of Wright, T. (1841): 'The Bestiary of Philippe de Thaon', in: *Popular treatises on science written during the Middle Ages, in Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and English*. Edited from the original manuscripts, London.

scholarly works. He was instrumental in the founding of the British Archaeological Association as well as the Percy, Camden and Shakespeare Societies. He was a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, alongside numerous other British and foreign learned societies. In 1859, he supervised the excavations of the Roman city of *Uriconium* (Wroxeter), near Shrewsbury. He died in 1877 in Chelsea, at the age of sixty-seven.

Charles Cahier[3] (1807-1882) was a French antiquarian, born in Paris. He completed his preparatory education at the Collège Saint-Acheul in Amiens, subsequently entering the Society of Jesus in 1824. He taught for several years in Paris, Brig (in the Swiss canton of Valais), Turin and Brugelette (in Belgium). The major part of his life, however, was dedicated to the collection, classification and interpretation of a vast number of medieval art relics that had survived in France, Belgium and the rest of Europe. These relics interested him not only for the artistic skill involved, but also as evidence of the Catholic faith.

Whilst Cahier and Wright were precursors, others followed their example during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Person	Dates	Profession(s)	Nationality
Jacques-Paul Migne	1800-1875	Catholic priest, printer, publisher and journalist	French

[3] THE MEDIEVAL BESTIARY, *Mélanges d'archéologie, d'histoire et de littérature - Bestiaire* [en ligne]. 2004. https://bestiary.ca/etexts/etext105135.htm [consulté le 30/12/2024]. Original text produced by David Badke.

Person	Dates	Profession(s)	Nationality
Barthélemy Hauréau	1812-1896	Historian, journalist and administrator	French
Theodor Möbius	1821-1890	Philologist	German
Henry Morley	1822-1894	Professor of English literature and physician	English
Edward Payson Evans	1831-1917	Lecturer and researcher	American
Richard Morris	1833-1894	Priest and philologist	English
Joseph Hirst	1836-1905	Clergyman and author	English
Paul Meyer	1840-1917	Philologist	French

Person	Dates	Profession(s)	Nationality
John Romilly Allen	1847-1907	Archaeologist	English
Albert Stanburrough Cook	1853-1927	Philologist	American
Oskar Kuhn	1856-1929	Historian and philologist	American
Hélène Adeline Guerber	1859-1929	Teacher and writer	American
Alice Kemp-Welch	1865-1934	Historian	English

As can be observed, among this list of scholars, only two can be considered historians. By this, it must be understood that their works do not strictly belong to the historical discipline. Most, if not nearly all of them, were philologists. Furthermore, it is important to bear in mind that this list is based on early publications. The vast majority of these are primarily editions of bestiaries, occasionally accompanied by translations. The scholarly analysis offered is

essentially literary; these scholars were chiefly interested in the texts themselves, their qualities, their shortcomings, and so forth. The first publications offering genuine historical or symbolic analyses did not appear until the second half of the twentieth century.

Major Advances in the Discipline

As previously noted, the earliest research on bestiaries essentially consisted of source editions, translations or literary analyses. The twentieth century brought with it major advances in the discipline, notably due to the work of two researchers.

Throughout the twentieth century, three historians profoundly altered the analytical methodology applied to bestiaries. Montague Rhodes James[4] (1862-1936) was born in Kent, where his father served as a curate. He was educated at Eton College, Berkshire, and subsequently at King's College, Cambridge. He became an assistant in classical archaeology at the Fitzwilliam Museum and later taught theology. He climbed the academic ranks at King's College, eventually serving as Provost, and then as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge between 1913 and 1915. His fields of research encompassed apocryphal biblical literature as well as illuminated medieval manuscripts. He edited several of these manuscripts for the Roxburghe Club, notably in 1928 his famous *Bestiary: Being A Reproduction In Full of MS. Ii 4. 26 in the University*

[4] THE MEDIEVAL BESTIARY, *The Bestiary* [en ligne]. 2024. https://bestiary.ca/etexts/etext100049.htm [consulté le 07/01/2025]. Original text produced by David Badke (2003) during the creation of a digital edition of James, M. R. (1931): 'The Bestiary', *History: The Quarterly Journal of the Historical Association*, XVI-61, 11.

Library, Cambridge. It was in this work that M. R. James revolutionised research into medieval bestiaries by creating a classification system based on 'families'. This system, though subsequently modified, is still utilised by researchers today[5].

In 1962, Florence McCulloch (?–1982), a Professor of French at Wellesley College (Massachusetts) and a graduate of Vassar College (New York), published a work of significant importance: *Mediaeval Latin and French Bestiaries*. In this seminal book, Florence McCulloch modified the system of families established nearly half a century earlier by M. R. James. She divided the first family established by her predecessor into three sub-families.

Finally, in 1985, a definitive modification was brought to this classification system for medieval bestiaries by William Brunsdon Yapp (1909–1990), an English zoologist and author who was Emeritus Professor of Zoology at the University of Birmingham. His field of research encompassed the depiction of birds in English medieval illustrations, including the Bayeux Tapestry. In 1985, he published *A New Look at English Bestiaries*. It was within this work that he introduced alterations to the classification of bestiaries, dividing the second family established by M. R. James in 1928 into four sub-families.

Twentieth-century scholars successively devised a classification system for bestiaries—a monumental undertaking given that this taxonomy is based on the *Physiologus*, whose date of composition is estimated between the second and fourth centuries, and which has left us no copies predating the eighth and ninth centuries. However, this system is beginning to be called into question. In 2012, Ilya Dines published an article entitled 'The Problem of the Transitional Family

[5] For explanations, see the section 'Preamble on Bestiaries', p. 42

of Bestiaries', criticising one of the sub-families created by Florence McCulloch.

> 'The present article will treat in detail the so-called Transitional Family of manuscripts, which includes six late twelfth and thirteenth-century manuscripts, and is undoubtedly the most puzzling of the families.'[6]

This classification system has also been partly called into question by the historian Michel Pastoureau[7]. He points out that, given the proliferation of families and sub-families—some of which contain only a single manuscript—there are now effectively as many families as there are bestiaries.

Whilst bestiaries still do not attract the interest of many historians, since the 1980s they have once again become an object of study—not as bestiaries *per se*, but as windows into medieval thought.

The Revival of Animal Symbolism

The period spanning the 1980s to the 2000s brought a genuine resurgence in studies on bestiaries and, more broadly, on animals. This revival can be attributed to the emergence of cultural history.

> 'The "culture" envisioned by cultural history is not that of the restricted definition (a store of acquired knowledge), but rather that of the broader sense: it encompasses all the collective representations specific to a society. Representation lies at the very heart of this definition and of the field it

[6] Dines, I. (2012) : « The problem of the Transitional Family of bestiaries », *Reinardus. Yearbook of the International Reynard Society*, 24, 29-52.
[7] Pastoureau, M. (2020) : *Bestiaires du Moyen âge*, Points 569, Paris, 290.

> delineates. As a perceptible form, it generates both practices and discourses. Thus, an algebraic equation is a representation of the world in the same way—albeit not in the same position—as a philosophical treatise or a comic strip.'[8]

This new approach to evaluating sources has profoundly reinvigorated the historical discipline, opening it up to new objects of study—those which are of particular interest to us here: animals and symbolism.

One of the pioneers of animal history—or 'zoohistory' as he termed it—notably in France, is the historian Robert Delort. Born in 1932, he is a medievalist historian specialising in the relations between humans and animals. Educated at the ENS (*École normale supérieure*) and the EHESS (*École des hautes études en sciences sociales*), he defended his doctoral thesis in 1960. He was also a member of the *École française de Rome* and sustained his *thèse d'État* (State doctorate) in 1975 at the Sorbonne. He served as a secondary school teacher, an assistant lecturer at the Sorbonne, and subsequently as a senior lecturer and professor at the University of Paris VIII and the ENS; he was also a professor at the University of Geneva. Outside the academic circuit, he chaired a section of the National Commission of the CNRS, organised the *Colloques du millénaire de la France* (French Millennium Conferences), directed the CNRS-PIREN scientific programme,

[8] ORY, Pascal. *Histoire (Domaines et champs) - Histoire culturelle* [en ligne]. 2009. https://www.universalis.fr/encyclopedie/histoire-domaines-et-champs-histoire-culturelle/ [consulté le 09/01/2025]. Translation from french: « La « culture » envisagée par l'histoire culturelle n'est pas celle de l'acception restreinte (capital de connaissances acquises), mais celle de l'acception large : elle englobe l'ensemble des représentations collectives propres à une société. La représentation est au cœur de cette définition et du champ qu'elle délimite. Comme forme sensible, elle engendre des pratiques et des discours. Ainsi, une équation algébrique est-elle une représentation du monde, au même titre – quoique pas à la même place - qu'un traité de philosophie ou une bande dessinée. »

managed a historical collection for the publisher Albin Michel, and was a member of both the scientific committee for the *Rendez-vous de l'Histoire* and the editorial board of the journal *Histoire*. Robert Delort is a pioneer because he was one of the first to bring animals back into the historian's focus, at a time when they had been under the strict domain of the hard sciences (zoology, natural sciences, etc.) since the nineteenth century.

> '[In this work] The intention has rather been to privilege one of the amiable facets, one of the external and illustrated reflections of this hidden monster—a less austere and ponderous way of drawing attention to a fact that is, ultimately, little known, if not ignored: animals have a history. [...] For a long time, this historical zoology remained closely bound to a history of zoology, from which it has only recently and radically separated itself, following in the belated wake of palaeontology.'[9]

Whether consciously or not, in addition to its pioneering nature, this work by Robert Delort aligns with the long tradition of medieval zoological treatises through its very structure. Following an introduction on Humans and Animals (akin to the dedication in a bestiary or, as is frequently the case, the biblical scene where Adam names the animals—although Delort's first part is significantly more expansive), the author begins his history of animals, or rather of animal categories: here, invertebrates, then wild vertebrates, and finally domestic vertebrates. The classification chosen by Delort was contemporary to his own era; medieval authors would have categorised animals differently (for instance: quadrupeds, birds, fish, serpents and then worms). However, despite Delort remaining a major

[9] Delort, R. (1993) : *Les animaux ont une histoire*, Paris.

historian—if only by virtue of the prestigious positions he held—zoohistory initially found little resonance, and it was not until the 2000s that this subject truly gained prominence, notably due to the pre-eminent figure in this field of study: Michel Pastoureau.

Born in Paris in 1947, Michel Pastoureau[10] pursued his higher education at the Sorbonne and the *École des Chartes*, where in 1972 he defended his thesis on *Le bestiaire héraldique médiéval* (The Medieval Heraldic Bestiary). Initially a curator at the *Cabinet des médailles* of the *Bibliothèque nationale*, he was elected in 1982 as *Directeur d'études* (Director of Studies) at the *École pratique des hautes études* (IVth section), where he held the chair in the history of medieval symbolism until 2016. For twenty years (1987–2007), he was also an associate *Directeur d'études* at the *École des hautes études en sciences sociales*, dedicating his seminars to the symbolic history of European societies. Undertaking various academic and associative roles, Pastoureau has, in recent years, been a visiting professor at several European universities, notably those of Lausanne and Geneva. He is a correspondent of the *Institut de France* (*Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*) and was president of the *Société française d'héraldique et de sigillographie* until 2017. Michel Pastoureau's early works developed as an extension of his thesis, focusing on the study of coats of arms, seals and images. They contributed to establishing heraldry as a historical science in its own right. Subsequently, from the 1980s onwards, he devoted his research and teaching primarily to the history of colours across all related fields. In this domain, where everything remained to be constructed—including regarding the history of painting—he became the pre-eminent specialist on an international scale. Alongside these diverse

[10] Biography, updated, taken from Pastoureau, M. (2004): *Une histoire symbolique du Moyen Âge occidental*, Paris.

fields of inquiry and reflection, Pastoureau has never ceased working on the history of animals, bestiaries and zoology, principally in the Middle Ages. For five decades now, he has established himself as an absolutely major historian of the medieval mindset and symbolism. Without entirely abandoning the zoological aspect, Pastoureau has concentrated his work on medieval iconography and texts, not to criticise the errors, approximations, fables or inventions of our predecessors, but to comprehend their spirit and mentality. There are numerous ways to study animals. A historian specialising in codicology will view animals as raw materials (parchment skins for quires, sinews for binding, etc.), while Robert Delort explored human-animal interactions. Michel Pastoureau, conversely, focuses on this cultural aspect, on human perception and on symbolism. Pastoureau seeks to understand medieval people by studying the representations they have left us. Although his work has heavily focused on heraldry, colours, and more globally on symbolism in the medieval West, he has also taken a wide-ranging interest in animals.

For over twenty years, Michel Pastoureau has regularly published volumes, syntheses and monographs on animals. Arguably his most famous work—and the one at the very origin of the present study—is *Bestiaires du Moyen Âge*, published by Seuil in 2011. This extensive study on bestiaries, likely the finest at our disposal, addresses bestiaries not only as physical objects but also as pedagogical tools (in the same manner as *exempla* or mirrors for princes). Furthermore, it examines the medieval mindset alongside the actual content of these treatises—namely, what was said regarding the animals. Rich in iconography, this volume allows for an understanding of animal symbolism within bestiaries (and encyclopaedias) without casting

judgment on past knowledge[11]. Such an approach seems self-evident today; yet, for a very long time, until the 2000s, this was simply not the case. Alongside this research on medieval bestiaries, Pastoureau has published numerous studies on specific animals: two monographs on the pig published by Gallimard[12], five other studies published by Seuil[13], and finally a study on the unicorn for the *Réunion des musées nationaux*[14].

Over the years, Michel Pastoureau has become a popular historian, firstly through the number of his reference works, and then through the number of television, radio, and other media appearances he has made: eleven books on animals, and at least thirty-seven preserved filmed appearances. Michel Pastoureau writes extensively, speaks extensively, and is frequently sought after, and this inspires vocations and aspirations among historians, whether future, current, or even retired.

By being in the right place at the right time, Michel Pastoureau successfully popularised the theme of animals within academic research. For some twenty years, animals have been regularly studied—particularly regarding their symbolism—by doctoral candidates and historians, especially within the Francophone world.

[11] 'Any judgment of the past through the lens of present-day knowledge can only be anachronistic. This is not how History must be written.' Pastoureau, M. (2020): *Bestiaires du Moyen Âge*, Points 569, Paris, p. 57. Translation from french: « Tout jugement du passé à l'aune des connaissances du présent ne peut être qu'anachronique. Ce n'est pas ainsi que doit s'écrire l'Histoire ».

[12] Pastoureau, M. (2011) : *Le cochon: histoire d'un cousin mal aimé*, Paris ; Pastoureau, M. (2013) : *Le cochon*, Paris.

[13] Pastoureau, M. (2007) : *L'ours: histoire d'un roi déchu*, Paris ; Pastoureau, M. (2018) : *Le loup: une histoire culturelle*, Paris. ; Pastoureau, M. (2020) : *Le taureau: une histoire culturelle*, Paris. ; Pastoureau, M. (2021) : *Le corbeau: une histoire culturelle*, Paris. ; Pastoureau, M. (2023) : *La baleine: une histoire culturelle*, Paris.

[14] Pastoureau, M. et Delahaye, É. (2018) : *Les secrets de la licorne*, Paris.

However, as this object of study is relatively 'recent', it has undergone a major fragmentation, following the trajectory of the historical discipline as a whole. Comprehensive studies such as those by Pastoureau and Delort have fallen out of fashion; alternatively, funding is no longer available, or researchers have simply lost interest. Indeed, overall studies on animals and their symbolism have been scarce since the publication of Michel Pastoureau's *Bestiaires du Moyen Âge* in 2011. Animals have gained popularity in research at the same time as they have occupied greater space in daily life[15] and the media landscape, notably due to an increased awareness of animal suffering and 'alternative' diets and lifestyles such as vegetarianism, plant-based diets and veganism. Nowadays, questions linked to the environment and climate change command the greatest interest in academic research. Nevertheless, it remains possible to find a few recent volumes.

René Cintré, born in 1949, is a retired professor, palaeographer and medievalist. Although he long focused his research on Brittany and daily life in the Middle Ages, he has recently published relatively broad works on bestiaries. In 2012, he published *Bestiaire médiéval des animaux familiers* with Éditions Ouest-France, in which he takes a particular interest—as the title indicates—in familiar animals such as the wolf, the bear, the pig, the dog and the cat. In 2022, again with Éditions Ouest-France, he published a more comprehensive work: *Bestiaire du Moyen Âge : images de la réalité et réalités de l'imaginaire* (Bestiary of the Middle Ages: Images of Reality and Realities of the Imaginary). This time, the volume mirrors Michel

[15] FÉDÉRATION DES FABRICANTS D'ALIMENTS POUR CHIENS, CHATS, OISEAUX ET AUTRES ANIMAUX FAMILIERS. *FACCO-ODOXA, baromètre 2024, chiffres 1/3* [en ligne]. 2024. https://www.facco.fr/wp-content/uploads/2024/05/RAPPORT-ACTIVITE-FACCO-2024.pdf [consulté le 25/11/2024].

Pastoureau's *Bestiaires du Moyen Âge*, yet the focus is oriented more heavily towards the medieval imagination.

From the perspective of art history, 2011 saw the publication by Citadelles & Mazenod of the monumental *Le bestiaire médiéval : l'animal dans les manuscrits enluminés* (The Medieval Bestiary: The Animal in Illuminated Manuscripts). It was co-authored by Christian Heck, Professor of Medieval Art History at Lille-III University and Director of the Research Centre for Art History in Northern Europe (ARTES), and Rémy Cordonnier, who holds a doctorate in art history and is an associate researcher at both the *Institut de recherches historiques du Septentrion* (Lille) and the Institute of Medieval Studies at the New University of Lisbon. This volume contains over 600 reproductions of illuminations and covers around one hundred animals.

The three aforementioned works are the most significant and recent; however, it is also worth mentioning a selective overview of other publications, resulting from exhibitions or conferences:

- Tesnière, M.-H. et Bibliothèque Nationale de France, éd. (2018) : *Bestiaire médiéval : enluminures*, Paris.
- International Reynard Society et Abeele, B. van den, éd. (2005) : *Bestiaires médiévaux : nouvelles perspectives sur les manuscrits et les traditions textuelles : communications présentées au XVe Colloque de la Société Internationale Renardienne (Louvain-la-Neuve, 19-22 août 2003)*, Publications de l'Institut d'études médiévales : textes, études, congrès vol. 21, Louvain-la-Neuve.
- Pastoureau, M. (2023) : *L'historien face à l'animal : l'exemple du Moyen Âge*, Paris.
- Protais, J. et Rousseau, É. (2022) : *Mystérieux bestiaire : panorama du symbolisme animalier*, Paris.

This list does not aim to be exhaustive, but rather to offer further examples of publications. Abroad, one might mention: Bartosiewicz, L. et Choyke, A. M. (2021) : *Medieval animals on the move: between body and mind*, Cham, Switzerland.

While comprehensive studies are few and far between due to the fragmentation of the discipline, there is a vast number of publications on more specific topics. Moreover, many of these historians are from abroad, although they are frequently Francophone. It should also be added that, at times, these researchers are not traditional historians, but rather art historians or, notably, literary scholars.

This is precisely the case for Richard Trachsler, a Swiss scholar who teaches medieval French and Occitan literature at the University of Zurich. He has authored several articles on animal symbolism, notably *La pire de toutes les bêtes. Observations sur l'hyène médiévale* (2012), *Du lynx à l'once. Animaux réels et créatures symboliques* (2017), *Le tigre, la guivre et la monture de Bacchus : un double accident d'interprétation* (2020), *La Louve et le Lion : la métaphore animale dans les romans en prose français* (2024).

Mention must also be made of the article by Henri Simonneau (Université Toulouse-II) entitled *Le léopard et le coucou. La figure animale dans les textes de propagande français à la fin du Moyen Âge* (2014).

Closer to our own subject matter, Baudouin Van den Abeele has specialised in birds in the Middle Ages—specifically their symbolism—as well as in medieval encyclopaedias. He has notably published *Bestiaires encyclopédiques moralisés. Quelques succédanés de Thomas de Cantimpré et de Barthélémy l'Anglais* (1994), *Éditer l'encyclopédie de Barthélemy l'Anglais* (1999), *Un Bestiaire à la croisée des genres : le manuscrit Cambridge UL Gg.6.5 (« Quatrième famille » du Bestiaire latin)* (2000), *L'utilisation du grand corbeau, d'après le traité de chasse d'Al-Asadi* (2005), *La tradition manuscrite des* Étymologies *d'Isidore de Séville* (2008).

The scholar who has most recently published work closely related to our own subject matter—large felines in bestiaries and encyclopaedias—is Thierry Buquet. Affiliated with the UMR 6273 - CRAHAM (*Centre Michel de Boüard, Centre de recherches archéologiques et historiques anciennes et médiévales*) at the University of Caen-Normandie since 2015, Thierry Buquet has been publishing articles for nearly fifteen years on animals from a zoological, symbolic and historical perspective, notably focusing on the cheetah, as well as on medieval encyclopaedias. Among his most relevant publications are: *Le guépard médiéval, ou comment reconnaître un animal sans nom* (2011), *Les panthères de Timothée de Gaza dans l'encyclopédie zoologique de Constantin VII* (2012), De proprietatibus quorundam animalium *: le bestiaire du manuscrit 28 d'Avranches* (2019) et *Les informations relatives à la faune du Nord dans le* Liber de natura rerum *de Thomas de Cantimpré* (2019).

Through the progressive reading of historical publications, the analysis of historiography, and an initial assessment of the primary sources, several lines of inquiry begin to emerge. These correspond to ways of reflecting upon a single subject—here, bestiaries and encyclopaedias—differently from our predecessors. Thus, many publications align with a 'zoological' perspective on animals: seeking to understand, for instance, what a specific animal represented in the medieval world, or how it was utilised within the medieval context. Yet, numerous questions remain: what exactly is a (large) feline? What do the images reveal? And what can be said about the exceptions? Where does the new knowledge found in encyclopaedic compilations originate? What can be inferred from the evolution of these two literary genres? How do large felines become pedagogical tools? These

are the lines of inquiry that have hitherto remained unexplored, and to which we shall endeavour to provide an answer.

PRESENTATION OF CORPUS OF SOURCES

From an initial dataset of approximately 220 manuscripts, 25 works (comprising 13 bestiaries and 12 encyclopaedias) have been selected for this study. In addition to introducing the chosen works and authors, this section aims to outline the specific characteristics of these medieval sources, namely bestiaries and encyclopaedias.

BESTIARIES

PREAMBLE ON BESTIARIES

Half of the present study focuses on bestiaries. Although this type of work has existed for a considerable time, its popularity reached its zenith during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The earliest bestiary serving as a reference for a major part of the medieval period is the *Physiologus* (*Φυσιολόγος*). This work is dated between the second and fourth centuries AD and is thought to originate from Alexandria in Egypt or from Syria. It is a pseudo-scientific compilation of descriptions of both fantastic and real animals, aimed at teaching morality and Christian dogma. This work is believed to have entered the Latin world around the fourth century AD—although the earliest surviving Latin manuscripts date from the eighth and ninth centuries—and it became immensely popular during the Middle Ages. Medieval bestiaries are the direct heirs to the *Physiologus* (particularly its Latin versions), upon which their various families are founded.

Our work aligns with the framework established by Florence McCulloch[16] in 1962 (which itself supplemented that of M. R. James

[16] McCulloch, F. (1962) : Mediaeval Latin and French bestiaries.

from 1928). While more recent historians have created new families and sub-families—which are undoubtedly compelling and allow bestiaries to be decoded with greater precision—they also introduce a considerable amount of confusion. Consequently, it appears more constructive, for the time being, to operate with 'only' ten families (see table below).

Bestiaries belonging to the First Family consist of the *Physiologus* supplemented by additions from Isidore of Seville (*Etymologiae*, Book XII, *De animalibus*). This family is subdivided into three sub-families. The first is designated **B-Is**. These bestiaries are based on the **B**[17] version of the *Physiologus*, which is the earliest. This sub-family constitutes the primary source material for the Old French bestiaries of Guillaume le Clerc, Philippe de Thaon and Pierre de Beauvais. It consists of a *Physiologus* to which extracts from **I**sidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* have been appended, hence the designation **B-Is**. The second sub-family, designated **H**, represents an evolution of the B-Is sub-family: the chapter on the *Panthera* is henceforth separated from that on the *Draco*, and the descriptions of two birds differ, originating from an *Aviarium* by the Pseudo-**H**ugh of Saint-Victor (possibly **H**ugh of Fouilloy).

Bestiaries are also found whose function is indicated by their designation: the Transitional type. In these, following the chapters that adhere to the order of B-Is or H, there appears another chapter on beasts sourced from Isidore of Seville, which describes, in order, the *Tigris*, *Pardus*, *Linx*, *Grifes*...

Bestiaries of the second family (or *The Bestiary*) developed concurrently with the B-Is sub-family. This represents the classic form

[17] This version was the most widely used in medieval texts. The earliest surviving manuscript is Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 233.

of the bestiary, heavily enriched by additions from Isidore of Seville, Solinus, the *Hexaemeron* of Saint Ambrose, and occasionally by extracts from Rabanus Maurus (*De rerum naturis* or *De universo*) or the *Pantheologus* of Peter of Cornwall. They are all thought to be of English origin.

Bestiaries of the third and fourth families are few in number and date from the thirteenth century. Domestic animals are presented first, followed by wild animals, birds, fish, serpents and insects. A section on mythological monsters, sourced from Isidore of Seville, is appended. There is only a single surviving manuscript of the fourth family, Camb. Univ. Lib. Gg.6.5, which largely incorporates Bartholomew the Englishman's *De proprietatibus rerum* as well as Isidore of Seville.

There also exist two 'families' designated **TH** and **DC**. The TH family concerns manuscripts attributed to **Th**eobaldus, Abbot of Monte Cassino between 1022 and 1035, whose works are entitled *De naturis (proprietatibus) animalium* or *Bestiarius (parfois Physiologus) seu liber de naturis XII animalium*. The DC family stands for the ***D**icta **C**hrysostomi*, a work traditionally attributed to John Chrysostom. The Bestiary of Gervaise, composed around the early thirteenth century, is a translation of this latter work.

The final two 'families' of bestiaries encompass all vernacular works written in Old, Middle, and Anglo-Norman French, as well as in Italian. These works were intended for a broader audience and were often less luxurious. They consist primarily of translations of the *Physiologus*, inspired by the B-Is sub-family. These volumes notably include the bestiaries of Philippe de Thaon, Guillaume le Clerc, Pierre de Beauvais and Gervaise, as well as the *Bestiaire d'Amour* by Richard de Fournival. As for the Italian bestiaries, referred to as 'Tuscan

bestiaries', they correspond to those written in the Italian vernacular and possess their own distinct textual tradition.

Family Name	Type manuscript	Characteristics
Première famille (B-Is)	Vatican, Palat. Lat. 1074	Basé sur le *Physiologus* B avec ajouts d'Isidore de Séville
Première famille (H)	*The Peterborough Pasalter and Bestiary*. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Parker Library, MS. 53	Ordre du B-Is ou H. Ajout d'un chapitre d'Isidore de Séville, dans l'ordre : *Tigris*, *Pardus*, *Linx*, *Grifes*...
Deuxième famille (ou *The Bestiary*)	*The Aberdeen Bestiary*. Aberdeen, The Aberdeen University Library, MS. 24	Version la plus complète du bestiaire. Ajouts d'Isidore, de chapitres sans morale, ajouts de Solin, saint Ambroise, Raban Maur, Pierre de Cornouailles. Originaire d'Angleterre
Troisième famille	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. 254	Ils sont rares et du XIIIe siècle. Animaux domestiques, puis sauvages, puis poissons, serpents et insectes. Ajout de monstres mythologiques d'Isidore de Séville
Quatrième famille	Cambridge, Camb., Univ. Lib. Gg.6.5	Un seul manuscrit. Reprend en grande partie Barthélémy l'Anglais et Isidore de Séville
TH	Bruxelles, KBR, MS. 2434-52	Les œuvres se nomment *De naturis* (*proprietatibus*) *animalium* ou *Bestiarius* (parfois *Physiologus*) *seu liber de naturis XII animalium*
DC	Londres, British Library, Additional MS 28260	Basé sur l'ouvrage de Jean Chrysostome

Family Name	Type manuscript	Characteristics
Bestiaire français	Londres, British Library, Cotton MS Nero A V (Philippe de Thaon) Paris, BNF, MS. Français 2168 (Guillaume le Clerc) Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS-3516 (Pierre de Beauvais)	Traduction française et anglo-normande de bestiaire de la première famille B-Is ou du *Physiologus*. Philippe de Thaon, Guillaume le Clerc, Pierre de Beauvais
Bestiaire toscan	Londres, Wellcome Collection, MS. 132	Tradition textuelle de la péninsule italienne

Selected Manuscripts

As previously stated, this corpus is the result of a deliberate selection, structured around ease of access, legibility, the manuscript's authority, and personal preferences.

For the *Physiologus*, the choice fell upon Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 318. This manuscript, copied in Reims around 830, represents a C version of the *Physiologus*. It was selected despite the fact that it occasionally differs from the B version (the one most widely utilised by medieval scholars), because it features entirely original illustrations—it is, moreover, the earliest illustrated *Physiologus*. These illustrations reflect the Alexandrian (Byzantine) style, as seen in other ninth-century Carolingian works such as the *Utrecht Psalter*. Unlike subsequent Western images found in

bestiaries, these illustrations depict natural scenes, showing animals within their specific environment—a rare, if not unique, characteristic. The panther is the only feline (excluding the lion, which is omitted from this study) present in the *Physiologus*.



Figure 1 – *Physiologus*

Since the first family of bestiaries is subdivided into two sub-families, a bestiary from each of these sub-families has been selected. For the B-Is bestiaries, the chosen manuscript is London, British Library, Stowe MS 1067. This bestiary, produced in England around 1120–1140, contains only a translation of the *Physiologus* supplemented by elements from Book XII of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*; the panther is therefore the only feline present. This manuscript is rather poorly illustrated, featuring uncoloured black ink drawings. Given the limited number of surviving B-Is bestiaries, and the loss of the British Library's digital collections, this manuscript is, virtually speaking, the only one to which we have access.



Figure 2 – First-family bestiary (B-IS)

For the H bestiaries, the choice fell upon Chalon-sur-Saône, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 14. This manuscript is, once again, one of the few to which we were able to gain access. Copied around 1280, it nevertheless demonstrates a significant stylistic evolution, particularly regarding the illustrations; these are executed in colour and are not inspired by the Aberdeen Bestiary, which otherwise exerted a profound artistic influence. Once more, this H-type manuscript differs only slightly from the *Physiologus*, meaning the panther is the only feline present.



Figure 9 – First-family bestiary (H)

For the transitional bestiaries, the selected manuscript is Cambridge, Trinity College Library, R.14.9. Copied during the final quarter of the thirteenth century, this bestiary is richly illuminated,

and every single feline under consideration in this study is illustrated within it. Furthermore, these illustrations correspond precisely with the iconographical characteristics that enable the identification of the felines.



Figure 8 – Transitional-family bestiary

The second family of bestiaries is the most significant, representing the 'classic' form of the bestiary. It is within this category that the most renowned manuscripts are found. The choice fell upon Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.4.26. More famous manuscripts, such as the *Aberdeen Bestiary* or the *Ashmole Bestiary*,

which are very richly illuminated with gold leaf, were not selected for several reasons. First of all, these manuscripts are exceedingly well known; a simple search on bestiaries is enough to be inundated with images from the Aberdeen and Ashmole codices. Furthermore, although the iconographical style aligns with that of the Aberdeen Bestiary, the illustrations are of high quality. This manuscript was produced around 1200–1210, likely in the Benedictine abbey of Crowland in Lincolnshire[18]. The presence of all the felines under consideration should be noted.



Figure 3 – Second-family bestiary

As indicated in section BI.III.A.1, the third and fourth families comprise only a few manuscripts. For the third family, the selected manuscript is Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 711, entitled *De natura animalium*. This manuscript was copied around 1270–1275 in Cambrai (which was then part of the Holy Roman Empire). It features less conventional illustrations—at least compared to what is typically expected in a bestiary—that are arguably more 'naturalistic' or 'realistic', yet of high quality. Here, all the animals are named (as is often the case, the *leopardus* is integrated into the chapter on the *pard*).

[18] Cambridge University.

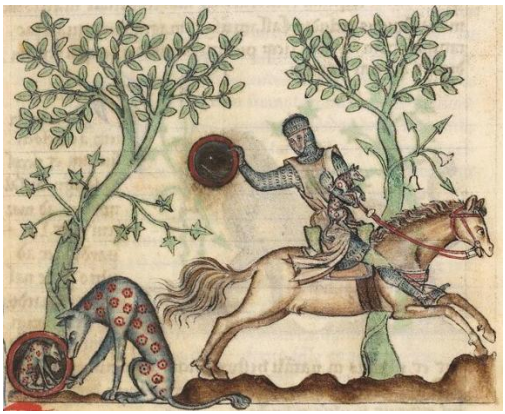

Figure 19 – Third-family bestiary, *De natura animalium*

The fourth family contains only a single manuscript: Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Gg.6.5, entitled *De bestiis et aliis rebus*. This work was copied in England during the third quarter of the fifteenth century. As this manuscript has not been digitised, our source is the edition published by Jacques-Paul Migne[19] in 1854. Once again, all the felines are present.

For the French bestiaries[20], a manuscript of each work is included in the corpus. The first of these works is the Bestiary of Philippe de Thaon, an Anglo-Norman cleric about whom very little information is available. He lived during the first half of the twelfth century. He worked towards the popularisation of science, translating and composing several works in the vernacular tongue, notably his bestiary, written between 1121 and 1135, and a work entitled *Comput*

[19] Migne, J.-P. (1854) : "De bestiis et aliis rebus", *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina*, 177, 139.

[20] The biographical and historical information is derived primarily from McCulloch, F. (1962) : *Mediaeval Latin and French bestiaries* et Pastoureau, M. (2020) : *Bestiaires du Moyen âge*, Points 569, Paris et de *The Medieval Bestiary*.

or *Livre des Creatures*, around 1119. This *Comput* is dedicated to 'Unfrei de Thaün / Le chapelain Yhun / E seneschal lu rei [21], indicating that the Thaon family occupied a rather important position within the Anglo-Norman world. For this author, the most interesting manuscript is Oxford, Merton College, MS 249. It is a composite manuscript whose latest works date from the fourteenth century. Among the manuscripts containing Philippe de Thaon's Bestiary, this particular one—which makes it so valuable—dates from a few years after 1154 and before 1174, as it is dedicated to 'ma dame Alienor la reine'. While perhaps incidental, this information allows it to be anchored to a precise historical moment. The University of Oxford dates this manuscript to the years 1175–1350 (regarding its most recent texts), but it seems unlikely that Philippe de Thaon—whose dates of birth and death remain unknown—would dedicate his work to Queen Eleanor while she was imprisoned following the revolt of 1173–1174. However, this manuscript appears to be a copy of an earlier one, and the bestiary section itself is thought to date from the years 1200–1250. Being a translation of the *Physiologus*, only the panther is present. Furthermore, the illustrations are rather poor.



Figure 4 – Philippe de Thaon, *Bestiaire*

[21] Philippe de Thaon, *Comput,* édité par Ian Short, London, Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1984.

The longest bestiary is that of Guillaume le Clerc (or Guillaume de Normandie), entitled *Bestiaire* or *Bestiaire divin*, and was undoubtedly the most popular given the number of surviving manuscripts—thirty-three. Nothing is known of Guillaume, who identifies himself as a cleric and writes in a Norman dialect. We know that he was active during the first third of the thirteenth century. His work, the *Bestiaire divin*, was written around 1210–1211, a date determined by several historical events he mentions: 'El tens que Phelipe tint France / [...] Qu'Engleterre fu entredite'. In one manuscript, he explains that he composed his work two years after England was placed under interdict, referring to Pope Innocent III who pronounced this interdict on 23 March 1208. Guillaume le Clerc used a B-Is *Physiologus* as his source material, which could be London, British Library, Royal MS 2 C XII. In contrast to the bestiary of Philippe de Thaon, which is rather impersonal, Guillaume le Clerc offers a more personal work. He includes references well known to medieval audiences, such as King Arthur, Charlemagne, Ogier or Reynard. For this study, the selected manuscript is Paris, BNF, MS Français 14969. Copied in England, either in London or Oxford, during the years 1265–1270, the text is in Norman, the *littera* is clear, and the manuscript contains numerous illustrations. These illustrations are executed in colour, unlike those in Philippe de Thaon's work; they are also well preserved and large in size (generally occupying a third of the page). As a work based on the *Physiologus*, only the panther is present.



Figure 5 – Guillaume le Clerc, *Bestiaire divin*

The *Bestiary* of Pierre de Beauvais (sometimes referred to as 'the Picard') is perhaps the one that presents the highest number of unknowns. Once again, no biographical record of the author has survived. We only know that he was active during the first third of the thirteenth century. However, it is established that he was a cleric close to the House of Dreux in Normandy. His Bestiary was composed, as he states, at the 'commandement de l'evesque Philipon Cuers', whom we identify as Philip of Dreux, Bishop of Beauvais from 1175 to 1217, who distinguished himself during the Crusades and at the Battle of Bouvines. Considering the bishop's death on 2 November 1217, the Bestiary of Pierre de Beauvais cannot have been written after 1218. This work is dedicated to a certain Raoul, whose identity remains unknown to us. Two versions of the Bestiary exist: a long version of seventy-four chapters, and a short version of thirty-eight. As previously stated, a vast number of unknowns surround this work. Regarding the long and short versions, research has not determined which possesses priority over the other. There is a genuine

historiographical debate on this issue. Similarly, the provenance of the supplementary chapters in the long version remains unknown to us, although correlations can be found between this work and others, such as Gautier de Metz's *Image du monde*. For this study, only the long version was retained, as it constitutes an enriched version of the short one. The selected manuscript is Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 3516, a composite manuscript containing several works. Produced in France during the thirteenth century, it offers reasonably good legibility and high-quality illustrations. Within this work, only the tiger and the panther are found.



Figure 18 – Pierre de Beauvais, *Bestiaire*

The *Bestiary* of Gervaise is the least well known. Nothing is known of the author, except that an onomastic study reveals the existence of several individuals named 'Gervaise' within the diocese of Bayeux during the thirteenth century. Only a single manuscript of this bestiary has survived, preserved at the British Library under the shelfmark London, British Library, Additional MS 28260. It is a thirteenth-century manuscript (possibly dating from the second half of the century). The work is presented as a translation of John Chrysostom. Nonetheless, the Bestiary diverges from the *Dicta Chrysostomi* on certain points, such as the order of the chapters or the role of the female pelican, which is here attributed to the male. Gervaise modified or expanded upon the manuscript he was translating. The text is written in Old French and contains a few illustrations of very poor quality. The panther is the only feline present.



Figure 11 – Gervaise, *Bestiaire*

Our final French bestiary is a much more original and unique work. Richard de Fournival, son of Roger de Fournival, a physician to Philip Augustus, was born in Amiens in 1201 and died in 1259 or 1260. A canon in Paris and Rouen, he assembled an extensive library.

The author of several works—*Comment d'amours*, *Censes d'amore*, *Poissance d'amore*, *Amistié de vraie amour*—his most famous work is the one that concerns us here, the *Bestiaire d'Amour*. A highly original work, Richard de Fournival frees himself from strictly Christian morality to discuss love, an 'amorous casuistry' (Michel Pastoureau). Although the *Bestiaire d'Amour* was written in prose, it was adapted into verse, which was more highly appreciated at the time (this work appears to have been written around 1245). The selected manuscript is Français 12469, held at the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Produced in northern France during the 13th and 14th centuries, it features a clear *littera* and gilded illuminations. Only the tiger and the panther are present.



Figure 12 – Richard de Fournival, *Bestiaire d'Amour*

The final bestiary we include in this corpus belongs to an Italian tradition. This family, known as the Tuscan bestiaries[22], emerged in the 14th century on the Italian peninsula and is written in the vernacular. These works are textually close to the *Physiologus*, but fables can also sometimes be found within them. It is a small family of bestiaries containing only seventeen manuscripts. Almost all of these are held in Italian institutions, with the exception of one manuscript held at the Bibliothèque nationale de France and another at the Wellcome Collection in London. It is this latter one that we have chosen. Preserved under the shelfmark London, Wellcome Collection, MS. 132, it is a mid-15th-century manuscript presenting a difficult *littera*. However, the primary interest of this manuscript lies in its iconographic program. The latter stands out from the rest of our bestiary corpus, as it features remarkably naturalistic images. In this bestiary, we find the panther and the *leopardus*. The folios concerning the tiger have unfortunately disappeared.



Figure 44 – *Bestiaire toscan*

[22] THE MEDIEVAL BESTIARY, *Tuscan bestiary* [online]. January 23, 2026. https://bestiary.ca/prisources/psdetail101664.htm [accessed le 29/05/2026].

ENCYCLOPAEDIAS

PREAMBLE ON ENCYCLOPAEDIAS

The second half of this study focuses on medieval encyclopaedias. The Centre National de Ressources Textuelles et Lexicales (CNRTL) defines an encyclopaedia as follows: 'A work that surveys all human knowledge or a whole field of this knowledge and presents it in an alphabetical or thematic order.' If the concept of a 'work' is broadened to encompass any physical medium allowing the safeguarding of human knowledge, the origin of the encyclopaedia is ancient: the earliest traces date back to the fourth millennium BC, in Sumerian Mesopotamia. While this knowledge was primarily transmitted through oral tradition, the desire to preserve it manifested in the appearance of libraries, such as that of Ashurbanipal in the seventh century BC, or the Library of Alexandria, founded in 288 BC. It was during the first century AD that the first encyclopaedia related to our theme appeared, the *Natural History* (*Naturalis historia*) by Pliny the Elder[23]. While Pliny's work served as a foundation for medieval encyclopaedists, Solinus, another Roman author, also played a significant role.

During the Middle Ages, the encyclopaedia gained widespread popularity from the thirteenth century onwards. However, the first medieval author to compile an encyclopaedia was Isidore of Seville, in the seventh century. Although the literary genre subsequently fell somewhat into obscurity, and while ancient manuscripts such as Pliny's *Natural History* continued to be copied and recopied, it re-emerged during the Twelfth-Century Renaissance. The encyclopaedia truly flourished in the thirteenth century, thanks to prominent authors such as Bartholomeus Anglicus, Thomas of

[23] The authors and their works are detailed in section BI.III.B.2.

Cantimpré, Vincent of Beauvais, and Albertus Magnus, who remained authorities until well into the early modern period.

Selected Manuscripts

The first encyclopaedia of interest to us is, naturally, the *Natural History* of Pliny the Elder. Caius Plinius Secundus, known as Pliny the Elder, was an illustrious first-century Roman author (23–79) whose major work—and the only one to have survived—is a thirty-seven-volume encyclopaedia published around 77, prior to his death during the eruption of Mount Vesuvius. This is a monumental work, fully integrated into medieval scholarship, and it served as a foundation for encyclopaedists. Contrary to what one might expect—in part, once again, due to the loss of the British Library's digital collections—it is not particularly easy to find a medieval manuscript of the *Natural History*, as digitised versions of printed editions are far more common. Nevertheless, the manuscript selected for this work is New York, Morgan Library & Museum, MS M.871. This manuscript was copied around the years 830–840 in Germany at Worms, at Lorsch, or at Arras[24]. As is frequently the case with encyclopaedias, it contains no illustrations. Within this work, the panther, the *pard*, the *chama*, and the tiger are all present.

The first medieval encyclopaedia is that of Isidore of Seville. Born around 560 and dying in 636, this Bishop of Seville was the author of numerous works, including theological treatises, historical texts, and notably his *Etymologiae*, his encyclopaedia. Alongside Pliny the Elder, Isidore of Seville constitutes a fundamental source of material for medieval encyclopaedists. The selected manuscript is London, British Library, Additional MS 15603. Copied during the

[24] Heidelberg University.

second half of the ninth century, it features clear script and complete chapters, unlike other manuscripts. There are no illustrations, apart from a *lipar*[25], but the presence of illuminated initials at the beginning of chapters should be noted. Within this work, the tiger, the panther, the *pard*, the *leopardus*, and the lynx are all present.



Figure 40 – Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*

An author of primary importance, Rabanus Maurus (c. 780–856) wrote an encyclopaedia inspired by Isidore of Seville and Pliny the Elder, entitled *De rerum naturis* or *De universo*, around 847. A disciple of Alcuin, Rabanus Maurus was an important architect of the 'Carolingian Renaissance'. He held major positions, first as abbot of Fulda (822) and later as archbishop of Mainz (844), and was close to the court of Charlemagne. Animals occupy a significant place in his

[25] A variant nomenclature for the *leopardus*; see the table concerning this animal: BII.I.A.1.

encyclopedia. The selected manuscript is Badische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Aug. perg. 96. This manuscript, copied in the ninth to tenth centuries, contains only books I to XI. It is highly austere, featuring no illustrations, no rubrication (only the name of the animal written in the margin), and no illuminated initials. Within this encyclopaedia, the panther, the tiger, the lynx, the *pard*, and the *leopardus* are all present.

Lambert of Saint-Omer (c. 1061–1150) was a Benedictine monk, chronicler, and abbot. He entered the monastery of Saint-Bertin and became its abbot in 1095. His major work, the *Liber Floridus*, is an encyclopaedia published in 1121[26]. While its content differs little from other encyclopaedias, it displays a distinct originality in its rich illustrations and presentation, which are replicated in each manuscript. Once again, animals occupy a significant place in this encyclopaedia. The selected manuscript is Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 92. In a very rare instance, this manuscript is an autograph by Lambert. Some sections are slightly damaged and faded. None of the felines in this study are illustrated. The presence of the tiger, the *pard*, the *leopardus*, and the lynx is noted, as well as a double mention of the panther.



Figure 49 – Lambert de Saint-Omer, *Liber floridus*

[26] Ghent university.

Thomas of Cantimpré (c. 1201–c. 1272) leads the way for the thirteenth-century encyclopaedias. Born in the Brussels region, he was sent by his father to school in Liège around 1206 and became a Friar Preacher around 1230. He later attended the lectures of Albertus Magnus in Cologne starting in 1233, before continuing his studies in Paris. It was around 1237–1240 for a first draft, and then in 1244, that Thomas of Cantimpré produced his *Liber de natura rerum*. This is a major encyclopaedia, which was at times drawn upon by Bartholomeus Anglicus and Albertus Magnus in their respective works. Animals occupy a significant place in this encyclopaedia. Unusually for this type of work, manuscripts of the *Liber de natura rerum* are frequently illustrated and possess their own iconographic tradition, which is consistently reproduced from manuscript to manuscript. The one selected for this study is Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, R 174, a manuscript copied in the second half of the fifteenth century that features a clear *littera*. All the felines under consideration are present within it: the *chama*, panther, lynx, tiger, *leopardus*, and *pard*.



Figure 45 – Thomas of Cantimpré, *Liber de natura rerum*

One of the reigning encyclopaedias of the Middle Ages is the *De proprietatibus rerum*. Its author, Bartholomeus Anglicus (Bartholomew the Englishman), was a Franciscan friar, possibly born in Suffolk, England, around 1190 and dying around 1250. He studied at Chartres, Oxford, and Paris. His order sent him to Magdeburg around 1231 to serve as a lecturer. Around 1242–1247, Bartholomew compiled his *De proprietatibus rerum*, an encyclopaedia that achieved immense success. This work was translated into numerous languages—into French in 1372, as well as into Provençal, English, Italian, Spanish, and Dutch—a testament to its widespread popularity. The manuscript of the *De proprietatibus rerum* retained for this study is Lilienfeld, Stift Archiv, Codex Campililiensis 154, copied in Austria during the first quarter of the fourteenth century. It is an unadorned manuscript that features a clear *littera*. The choice of a slightly later manuscript over certain copies held at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France is justified by the high quality of its digital reproduction, whereas several of the older manuscripts are available only on microfilm.

Gautier or Gossuin de Metz is an author of whom next to nothing is known, apart from his work, the *Image du monde*. Published around 1245, it is an encyclopaedia written in verse—an original format for an encyclopaedia of this period, coming as it does after those of Thomas of Cantimpré and Bartholomeus Anglicus. An enriched version, as well as a prose adaptation of the work, were published a few years later. The selected manuscript is Paris, BNF, MS Français 574. This document was copied in France around 1320; it is of very high quality, features a remarkably clear script, and is quite richly decorated. None of these manuscripts illustrate felines, and only the tiger and the panther are present within the text.

The longest encyclopaedia of the Middle Ages (and indeed, until the end of the early modern period) originated in France. It was the work of Vincent of Beauvais. Born around 1195 and dying in 1264, he was originally a Friar Preacher in Paris, but became a lecturer at the Abbey of Royaumont in 1246, which brought him into the circle of King Louis IX and led him to serve, perhaps, as the tutor to the king's children. His work, the *Speculum majus*, was commissioned by Saint Louis in 1246 and completed in 1259. This monument of scholarship is divided into three parts: *Speculum naturale*, *Speculum doctrinale*, and *Speculum historiale*. It is the first part, the *Speculum naturale* (the "Mirror of Nature"), which concerns us here, as it contains all knowledge pertaining to animals. The selected manuscript is Oxford, Exeter College Library, MS 15, copied in England during the thirteenth century. It is not the clearest text, as it contains numerous abbreviations, but it is well digitised. It is a plain manuscript without illustrations, decoration, or illuminated initials, featuring only rubrics. The presence of the leopard, the lynx, the panther, the *pard*, the tiger, and the ounce is noted within it.

Finally, the last encyclopaedist included in this study is Albertus Magnus. Born between 1193 (*The Medieval Bestiary*) and 1206[27] in Lauingen, and dying in 1280 in Cologne, Albertus Magnus was a master of theology in Paris and Cologne, and notably one of the masters of Saint Thomas Aquinas. Well known to all intellectuals of his era, he was among the prominent scholars responsible for reintroducing the writings of Aristotle to Western Europe. His major work, *De animalibus*, is an encyclopaedia completed in 1260. In it, he takes up Aristotle's *De animalibus*, commenting upon it and expanding the text with material borrowed from Pliny and Thomas of Cantimpré. The selected manuscript is Florence, Biblioteca Medicea

[27] Michel Pastoureau.

Laurenziana, Plut. 84.18, copied around 1291–1300. Like many encyclopaedias, *De animalibus* is unillustrated. The document features a heavily abbreviated script, and the presence of illuminated initials should also be noted. The usual animals are present—the *chama*, *leopardus*, lynx, tiger, *pard*, and panther—but the appearance of a 'new animal', the *alphec*, must once again be noted.

However, we have selected three additional manuscripts, as they present significant iconographic interest. Two of these manuscripts are copies of the *Liber de natura rerum*. The first is preserved under the shelfmark Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 320, copied around 1290[28] in France, at the Abbey of Saint-Amand. This manuscript constitutes one of the earliest surviving witnesses of this work. Its originality stems from instructions left for the illuminator, providing guidelines for the drawings.



Figure 29 – Valenciennes, B.M., MS. 320

[28] Thierry Buquet.

The second manuscript of the *Liber de natura rerum* is Granada, Biblioteca Universitaria, C-67. Here, the originality lies in the uniqueness of its iconographic programme, which is completely distinct and signals a shift in style.



Figure 30 – Grenade, B.U., C-67

Finally, we will draw upon an Italian work, the *Acerba*. Written by Cecco d'Ascoli (1257–1327), this is an encyclopaedia likely compiled in the early fourteenth century. Born Francesco Stabili, he was, in addition to being an encyclopaedist, a physician and a poet. He studied astrology and mathematics, which he taught from 1322 onwards at the University of Bologna. He ultimately died at the stake, condemned by the Inquisition. The manuscript selected for this work is Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 40.52. Written in the vernacular, the primary interest this manuscript holds

for us—much like MS C-67 from the University of Granada—stems from its iconographic programme.



Figure 42 – Cecco d'Ascoli, *Acerba*

As we have seen throughout this introduction, bestiaries and encyclopaedias constitute a very specific type of source. Standing halfway between moral, religious, and scientific teachings, these works evolved rapidly over a relatively short period. Across the nearly ten centuries encompassing our chronological framework, we will endeavour to draw a portrait of the non-leonine large felines that can be found within medieval encyclopaedias and bestiaries.

In the first instance, it will be necessary to analyse our sources: what can be said about the nomenclature of the large felines, how are they depicted, and how should we understand the iconographic exceptions present within our corpus? Subsequently, we will focus on the pre-zoological discourse, particularly that of the encyclopaedias, in order to understand the origins of this knowledge and how our sources evolved. Finally, we will address the heart of the matter: symbolism. What form does it take? What do our large felines represent? Of what are they the name?

Book II: Portrait of the Big Cats

THE STATE OF THE SOURCES: DEPICTIONS AND NOMENCLATURE OF THE BIG CATS

The sources under consideration in this study have already been examined from a historical perspective. To analyse them correctly, it is essential to understand their specific content. Two fundamental elements are necessary for studying large felines: their depictions and their nomenclature.

NAMING THE BIG CATS

MEDIEVAL NOMENCLATURE

To approach this study in the best possible way, it is important to agree upon the terms employed. The chosen title, 'non-leonine big cats', is slightly misleading. At the outset of this research project, it was decided to work on several specific big cats: the leopard-panther, the tiger, the cheetah, and the lynx. This choice of specific animals is completely anachronistic. The most recent publications that profoundly overhauled the classification of felines date from 2006[29] and 2017[30]. Without delving into the actual contents of these publications, they serve to illustrate the anachronistic nature of our choice.

[29] Johnson, W. E., Eizirik, E., Pecon-Slattery, J., Murphy, W. J., Antunes, A., Teeling, E. et O'Brien, S. J. (2006) : « The Late Miocene Radiation of Modern Felidae: A Genetic Assessment », *Science*, 311-5757, 73-77.

[30] Kitchener, A. C., Breitenmoser-Würsten, C., Eizirik, E., Gentry, A., Werdelin, L. Wilting, A., Yamaguchi, N., Abramov, A. V., Christiansen, P., Driscoll, C., Duckworth, J. W., Johnson, W., Luo, S.-J., Meijaard, E., O'Donoghue, P., Sanderson, J., Seymour, K., Bruford, M., Groves, C., Hoffman, M., Nowell, K., Timmons, Z., Tobe, S. (2017). « A revised taxonomy of the Felidae. The final report of the Cat Classification Task Force of the IUCN/SSC Cat Specialist Group ». *Cat News Special Issue 11*.

Consequently, we must set aside twenty-first-century terminology and adopt the vocabulary of the Middle Ages. Indeed, to approach this field of study with academic rigour, we must employ the same terms as the sources themselves; if we spend our time trying to guess which real-world animal corresponds to each description, we will stray too far from our subject. It is essential to note, however, that such identification work is vital if one is attempting to write the history of a specific animal—but that is not our objective here. Our focus rests entirely on the medieval bestiaries and encyclopaedias themselves.

The study of animal nomenclature, while fascinating, presents a genuine challenge. For this project, our focus rests primarily on Western Europe; Latin and Greek are thus at the root of all these names. We nevertheless observe an Arabic etymology for certain names attested in the latest sources. To these etymological origins, one must add spelling variants, differing pronunciations that manifest in the written forms, and the entire melting pot of European cultures coexisting in the Middle Ages: the *pard* of a Latin bestiary can easily find itself transformed into *part* in a French text. The difference here is minor, but it can sometimes make certain texts difficult to grasp. During the preliminary research for this study, reviewing both the historiography and the primary sources allowed for the compilation of a short table containing the various designations of these animals, thereby demonstrating the complexity of the exercise.

	Panther	Female panther	Male panther	Lynx	Cheetah	Tiger
Greek	Pardalis Pantherae Panthera			Lukos	Panthêr	
Latin	Pardi Pardo Panthera		Pardus	Lupus cervarius Uncia Cama Chama Rufium Ltnx Linche Lincis Linsio Linsius Linx Luchs Lince	Leopardus Leopardos Leopardi Alfech* Fehit* Fehed* Tabaccus Gapardus Lipar latinisation de l'arabe*	Tigris Tygride
French	Lyepart Liepart Leopart Leupart Leuparz Lepart Part Pantere	Lyeparde Parde		Lovo cervere Loup-servier Once Lynx Lince	Gapard	Guépard
Italian				Lonza Lupo cervino	Leopardo Leonpardo Gattopardo	
Spanish	Leopardo			Onso tabach Lobo cerval		
German	Lupard			Lunza Linzam		

This table may present gaps in certain places, particularly in the entry for the tiger. All the designations used either within the primary sources or across the historiography[31] have been brought together here. While it is obvious that French or German authors used vernacular terms to designate the tiger, these have not been included

[31] For names derived from the sources, see the source corpus. For names derived from the historiography, see in particular: Buquet, T. (2011) : « Le guépard médiéval ou comment reconnaître un animal sans nom », *Reinardus. Yearbook of the International Reynard Society*, 23, 12-47., which traces the evolution of the nomenclature of the cheetah and, consequently, that of the big cats.

for the sake of clarity and to avoid overloading an already complex table. Certain animals do not pose a fundamental problem: this is the case for both the tiger and the lynx, because even though we find a wide variety of names for the latter, they remain quite distinct. On the other hand, it is far more difficult to deal with the remaining animals, namely the panther (leopard), the *pard*, and the cheetah. One can see this entire complexity reflected in the table, particularly the transfer of names from one animal to another depending on the language, region, and period. Faced with this unstable nomenclature, preference has been given to the contemporary names found within our sources, rather than twenty-first-century zoonyms.

What of these animals in our sources? Let us set aside these categories of big cats and other *Felidae*. Bestiaries are less concerned with this issue because their organization is essentially alphabetical. In the encyclopaedias, our felines are classified among the 'quadrupeds'. Where the source is more precise, they appear in the category of 'wild beasts' (as opposed to animals domesticated by man).

Questions of nomenclature are thus greatly simplified. From the preceding table, we can exclude the vast majority of names, as they derive from a wide diversity of sources rather than from bestiaries and encyclopedias alone. The animals retained for this study are therefore the following: the *panthera*, the *tigris*, the *lynx* (or *lince*), the *leopardus*, the *pardus*, the *chama* (or *rufium*), the *alphec*, and the *once*. From fifty-five different terms, we come down to ten. One may occasionally find a few minor variants, but nothing that would disrupt our development.

We will, however, make a small exception to the principles we have just laid down. Now that our nomenclature has been established, the work of writing begins. For the sake of clarity and readability, we will not rely solely on medieval terms. Certain animals do not clash

with twenty-first-century English. For the following animals, we will continue to use current nomenclature: panther for *panthera*, tiger for *tigris*, and lynx for *lynx* or *lince*. These animals do not introduce confusion; it is therefore scientifically safe to employ them. Regarding the other felines, medieval nomenclature will be preferred and will always be italicized: *leopardus*, *pardus*, *chama*, *rufium*, *alphec*, and *once*. These animals pose many problems because they can cause confusion, or they simply do not 'exist'!

'Real' Animal and 'Imaginary' Animal

Yes, our animals 'do not exist'—at least not in the zoological sense of the term. This is a fundamental concept to which we must devote particular attention. We spoke earlier about setting aside twenty-first-century nomenclature for the sake of clarity and comprehension. Once again, we will have to detach ourselves from our modern conceptions of the big cats. To illustrate this necessity, we will compare our sources with biological reality. Let us take the time to describe each of the big cats objectively and factually.

> An animal whose coat is orange with black stripes. It is found predominantly in the jungles and forests of Asia. It is an excellent swimmer.
>
> An animal whose coat is yellow with black rosettes. It is found predominantly in the savannah. It is an excellent climber, hoisting its prey up into the trees.
>
> An animal whose coat is yellow with solid black spots and black 'tear tracks' beneath its eyes. It lives mainly in the savannah. It is the fastest animal in the world.
>
> An animal whose coat is greyish-brown with solid black spots and 'tufts' on its ears. It lives mainly in forests and mountains. It has a short tail.

These descriptions constitute the identity cards of our big cats as we know them today. In them, one can easily recognize the tiger, the leopard, the cheetah, and the lynx. Let us now apply the same method to the medieval sources. This time, we will take into account only the factual, zoological elements that can actually be found within our corpus of sources.

An animal whose coat is constellational with varied spots.
An animal whose coat is constellational with varied spots. It comes from Asia.
An animal close to the wolf, whose coat is constellational with spots.
An animal close to the wolf, whose coat is constellational with spots.
An animal whose coat is constellational with solid black spots. It is sometimes used for hunting.
An animal sometimes used for hunting.
An animal no taller than a dog. It climbs trees.
An animal whose coat is constellational with varied spots.

The same process was used in compiling both sets of descriptions. The second set draws up the identity cards of the big cats in a factual manner, strictly in accordance with our sources. While one could easily guess which description corresponded to which animal in the first instance, it is a practically impossible task for the second. It is for this very reason that our big cats 'do not exist' within the bestiaries and encyclopaedias, and it is also why we must detach ourselves from them.

Once rid of our twenty-first-century perspective, how should we approach this subject? The very notion of 'real' or 'imaginary' is, in truth, of little relevance. Our object of study—these names that we find within the bestiaries and encyclopaedias—exists within the

sources. Whether or not they exist within our zoological reality matters little; it is the elements recorded in the sources that interest us. This entire line of reasoning is inspired by the work of Bruno Dumézil. In an interview[32] for the Librairie Mollat upon the release of his book *Charlemagne*[33], he states: 'Just because what has been said about Charlemagne isn't true, doesn't mean that the fact it was said isn't important [...]'. This highly pertinent remark applies entirely to our subject of study. Just because we are dealing with animals that do not exist in a zoological sense, does not mean it is not important to study what is said about them. The distinction between real and imaginary animals fades away: these creatures were probably very real to the medieval authors. Our twenty-first-century vision must not enter into the equation.

[32] Dumézil, B. (2024) : *Bruno Dumézil - Charlemagne*, interview conducted by Coutelle, P. [online], Youtube, Station Ausone, january 18, 2024. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HutMCd_oBuI [accessed on 13/05/2026].
[33] Dumézil, B. (2024) : *Charlemagne*, Paris.

Representing the Big Cats

Images of the medieval world are far more than mere images. They take a wide variety of forms (stained glass, coats of arms, paintings, sculptures, etc.). One absolutely fundamental aspect must be highlighted: the image is not a simple illustration. The various iconographic productions that we will address are not mere drawings, but rather representations crafted with purpose. It is therefore necessary to decipher each great feline.

Iconographic Decipherment

Five big cats are under study: the panther, the *pardus*, the tiger, the *leopardus*, and the lynx. Certain 'big cats' should be added to this list (*Chama*, *Rufium*, *Alphec*, *Once*), but they are extremely minor: they rarely receive more than a single sentence in the sources and have no representations[34]. The aforementioned animals, which correspond to the leopard, the tiger, the cheetah, and the lynx, remain the primary elements upon which our reflections are based.

The first great feline we must address is the most important one: the panther. Save for a few exceptions[35], all representations of the panther feature the same characteristics.

Whether in bestiaries or encyclopaedias, the panther is depicted as colourful, spotted, or of diverse colours. This property is formulated in multiple ways depending on the work. In the writings of the encyclopaedists Isidore of Seville and Rabanus Maurus, one can

[34] Except for the exception constituted by Thomas of Cantimpré's *Liber de natura rerum*. See the section 'Iconographic Traditions That Stand Out', p. 101.
[35] Once again, see the section 'Iconographic Traditions That Stand Out', p. 101

read concerning its coat: 'Bestia minimis orbiculis superpicta, ita ut oculatis ex fulvo circulis, nigra vel alba distinguatur varietate'[36]. In bestiaries, particularly French ones, authors speak of an animal of 'several colors': 'si ad plusurs culurs' (Philippe de Thaon, *Bestiaire*); 'E coloree de meinte guise' (Guillaume le Clerc, *Bestiaire divin*); 'La beste est de plisors colors' (Gervaise, *Bestiaire*).

One can find in the sources a series of three connected characteristics, which will take on their full meaning when we address the iconographic discourse. First, before the 'physical description' (for lack of a better term) of the panther: it is said that she is 'the friend of all animals': '[...] ut omnium animalium sit amicus [...][37]' (*Physiologus*); '[...] omnium animalium si amicus [...]' (Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*). The second characteristic of this series is the following: if the panther is the friend of all animals, 'she has the dragon as her only enemy': '[...] quam inimicum habet solum draconem'[38] (First-family bestiary, Type B-Is); '[...] excepto dracone quem valde odit [...]'[39] (Bartholomew the Englishman, *De proprietatibus rerum*). Finally, the third characteristic of this series is the panther's breath, which attracts all animals to her: '[...] si grant douceur de sa bouche quant elle alaine [...][40]' (Gautier de Metz, *L'image du monde*); '[...]

[36] 'Its coat is dotted with small round spots, being marked with black or white, with ocelots on a tawny background.' Translated from french : « Son pelage est piqueté de petites taches rondes, étant marqué de noir ou de blanc, avec des ocelles sur un fond fauve. » André, J. (1986) : *Des animaux, Étymologies 12*, Paris.

[37] '[...] so that she is the friend of all animals [...]'. (Author's translation)

[38] '[...] who has the dragon as her only enemy'. (Author's translation)

[39] '[...] with the exception of the dragon which she deeply hates [...]'. (Author's translation)

[40] 'such a great sweetness from its mouth when it breathes'. (Author's translation).

cum rugitu exit de ore ejus odor suavitatis super omnia aromata.'[41] (Lambert of Saint-Omer, *Liber floridus*).

Although this motif is rather rare in iconography, it is nonetheless possible to see a dragon depicted in its lair, or underground: '[...] draco [...] fugit in cavernis terre'[42] (Second-family bestiary).



Figure 5 – Guillaume le Clerc, *Bestiaire divin*

This representation of the panther from a manuscript of Guillaume le Clerc's *Bestiaire divin* (figure 5) is a true iconographic archetype. Every element mentioned is depicted there: the panther of several colours, the sweet breath, the animals accompanying the panther, and the dragon fleeing underground. Not all representations display so many elements; this depends greatly on the richness of the manuscript and the care given to its design. In the *Physiologus* (type C)

[41] '[...] with a roar, there issues from its mouth an odor of a sweetness surpassing all aromatics.' (Author's translation)
[42] '[...] the dragon [...] flees into the bowels of the earth'. (Author's translation)

(figure 1), one can see a spotted panther that is a friend to the animals and a dragon (in the form of a serpent) terrified by her.



Figure 1 – *Physiologus*

In the First-family bestiary (B-Is) (figure 2), one can see a spotted panther accompanied by animals, but without a dragon. The representations are certainly protean, but they remain structurally linked to the aforementioned elements.



Figure 2 – First-family bestiary (B-Is)

While the panther is the most important of the big cats, second place is most certainly occupied by the tiger. Just like the

panther, representations of the tiger highlight notable elements that are found from manuscript to manuscript, almost without exception.

Like the panther, the tiger is represented as a spotted animal: '[...] sunt notate maculis, fulvo nitent velut interundante varietate nigra'[43] (Thomas of Cantimpré, *Liber de natura rerum*); 'Tygris bestia variis distincta maculis [...]'[44] (Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum naturale*).

However, the primary characteristics of the tiger's iconography are intrinsically linked. The tiger is always—with a few rare exceptions—represented during a 'hunting scene' (or a scene of pursuit, or theft), characterized by the presence of a "hunter" (or thief): '[...] et li veneor ont espié ou il sont, si li emblent en tel maniere con vos ores chi dire'[45] (Pierre de Beauvais, *Bestiaire*); '[...] illico raptoris vestigiis insistit'[46] (Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum naturale*). This scene of hunting, pursuit, or theft features one element that is undoubtedly the most important: a mirror. The use of this mirror takes a central, if not capital, place in the text: '[...] miex fui ge pris par mon veoir que tygres n'est au mireoir [...]'[47] (Richard de Fournival, *Bestiaire d'Amour*). Sometimes, the term 'glass sphere' can be found in the manuscripts, replacing that of 'mirror'. However, the function

[43] '[...] they are marked with spots, they shine with a tawny brilliance, as if with a black variegation undulating throughout.' (Author's translation)
[44] '[...]. The tiger [is a] beast marked with varied spots [...].' (Author's translation)
[45] '[...] and the hunters have spotted where they are, and they steal it from him in the manner you are about to hear here.' (Author's translation)
[46] '[...] immediately, she throws herself upon the tracks of the abductor.' (Author's translation).
[47] '[...] I was more surely caught by my sight than is the tiger before the mirror [...]'. Translated from Bianciotto, G. (2009) : *Le bestiaire d'amour et la Response du bestiaire*, Champion Classique 27, Paris.

and symbolism of these two terms are identical: 'Ubi se contiguum viderit, speram de vitro proicit.'[48] (Second-family Bestiary).

Unlike the panther, it is easy to find 'iconographic archetypes' for the tiger. While for the former, each element stands on its own, representations of the tiger lose their meaning if they are not all present (or, at the very least, the mirror). Figure 19 comes from the *De natura animalium*.

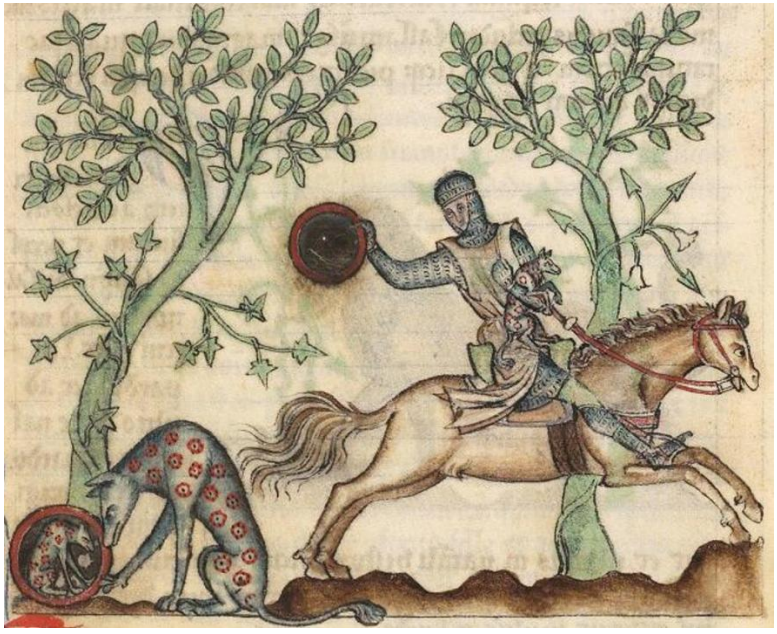

Figure 19 – Third-family bestiary, *De natura animalium*

All the elements mentioned are present: the hunting scene, the mirrors, and the spotted coat of the tiger. Once again, the presence of these elements depends on the care given to the creation of the manuscript. In the iconographic tradition of Thomas of Cantimpré's

[48] '[...] When he [the hunter] sees her very close [the tigress], he throws a glass sphere.' (Author's translation)

Liber de natura rerum, the tiger is always represented with a mirror—which definitively remains the central element—but outside of any hunting scene (figure 24).



Figure 24 – Thomas of Cantimpré, *Liber de natura rerum*

After the panther and the tiger, the last of the 'primary' big cats of medieval sources is the lynx. This animal, like the panther and the tiger, possesses an iconography with elements that are entirely characteristic. In contrast, this will not be the case for the *pardus*, the *leopardus*, and the *chama*.

Like all the big cats, the lynx features a coat studded with spots. However, authors indicate that it resembles a wolf: 'Linx maculis distincta ut pardus, lupo similis est.'[49] (Lambert of Saint-Omer, *Liber floridus*); 'Est autem bestia similis lupo, dorsum hujus

[49] '[...] The lynx, marked with spots like the pard, is similar to the wolf.' (Author's translation)

maculis distinctum sicut pardus [...]'[50] (Bartholomew the Englishman, *De proprietatibus rerum*).

However, the primary characteristic of the lynx is found in its urine. With the exception of the iconographic tradition inherited from the Aberdeen Bestiary, the overwhelming majority of lynxes are represented urinating, with the urine transforming into stone: '[...] Hujus urinam convertere in duriciam preciosi lapidis dicunt, qui ligurius appellatur [...]'[51] (Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*); '[...] Lincis urinam in duritiam preciosi lapidis converti dicunt, qui ligurius appelatur [...]'[52] (Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum naturale*).



Figure 26 – Second-family bestiary. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 764

[50] '[...] Now it is a beast similar to the wolf, whose back is marked with spots like the pard.' (Author's translation)

[51] '[...] Its urine, it is said, hardens and turns into a precious stone called *ligurius*.' Translated from André, J. (1986) : *Des animaux, Étymologies 12*, Paris.

[52] '[...] They say that the urine of the lynx is turned into the hardness of a precious stone, which is called *ligurius*.' (Author's translation)

This representation (figure 26) comes from a Second-family Bestiary, but which deviates from the iconographic tradition of the *Aberdeen Bestiary*, an almost foundational work of this family, it is therefore quite rare. However, all the elements characterizing the lynx are found on this illumination: it is 'spotted' and is urinating a stone (the name of this one, *ligurius*, is even inscribed there). This iconographic archetype is quite rare. If the centrepiece of the lynx's iconography resides in the stone it urinates, it is on the other hand uncommon to see it spotted. By way of example, in the manuscript of the *Transitional bestiary* (figure 28), one can observe a lynx urinating a stone and whose coat is uniform. It is the same for the *De natura animalium* (figure 27), where this time the lynx is represented neither spotted, nor urinating.



Figure 28 – Transitional-family bestiary



Figure 27 – Third-family bestiary, *De natura animalium*

The case of the *pardus*, the *leopardus*, the *chama* (also called *rufium*, but the name *chama* will be used), the *alphec*, and the ounce is more complex. While the *pardus* does benefit from an iconographic tradition, it is barely visible in the texts. The *leopardus* has only a few identified occurrences. As for the *chama*, it is only present in encyclopaedias. It is only represented in Thomas of Cantimpré's *Liber de natura rerum*.

Like all the big cats, the *pardus* is described as an animal with a spotted coat: 'Pardus varietate distinctus [...]'[53] (Lambert of Saint-Omer, *Liber floridus*); 'Pardus [...] est varium [...]'[54] (Raban Maur, *De universo*). This time, the texts are of no help in recognizing this animal with precision. One must then dive into the images.

[53] '[...] The pard, distinguished by its varied colors [...].' (Author's translation)
[54] '[...] The pard [...] is a diverse [spotted] [animal] [...].' (Author's translation)



Figure 32 – Second-family bestiary



Figure 36 – *The Peterborough Psalter and Bestiary*



Figure 37 – *Elucidari de las proprietaz de totas res naturals* (*De proprietatibus rerum*)

These three illuminations have been selected because they are representative, constituting almost iconographic archetypes. Although it is not mentioned in the texts, the *pardus* is—almost—always represented with its face toward the viewer, like the heraldic leopard. This is the most recognizable characteristic of this animal. Figure 37, which comes from a very rich manuscript commissioned by Gaston Fébus around 1350, constitutes a fairly rare case since it features a spotted animal. However, we have the certainty that it is a pard, as this animal is identified under the name *part* (a Provençal spelling variant).

For the *leopardus*, the problem is different. As mentioned before, manuscripts representing it are rare. However, we have two manuscripts dating from the 14th and 15th centuries originating from

Italy. The major characteristic of these two *leopardus* is their much more naturalistic, realistic style.



Figure 42 – Cecco d'Ascoli, *Acerba*



Figure 44 – *Tuscan bestiary*

Finally, concerning the *chama*, the *alphec*, and the ounce, the situation is just as paradoxical. For the ounce and the *alphec*, there are no representations. The *chama* does possess an iconographic tradition, but it is limited to certain illustrated manuscripts of Thomas of Cantimpré's *Liber de natura rerum*. However, since the iconography of this work breaks with the archetypal representations studied so far, it will be treated separately [55].

At first glance, it may seem difficult to draw a unique and uniform iconographic portrait of the big cats. Each representation possesses its own characteristics. The unique common point of all these figures—at least for most of them—is to present a spotted animal. Ultimately, the main interest of these images is not what they show, but what they are.

The Iconographic Discourse

After exploring questions related to nomenclature and the concepts of reality and the imaginary, and having described the iconography, it is time to examine what the images say—what they truly are. At first glance, we might think, almost legitimately, that these images are mere illustrations. This thought seems natural for a person of the twenty-first century living in a world bombarded with visuals, especially since the advent of the digital and internet era. However, this is a trap into which it is easy to fall when first discovering the sources. Indeed, there is a strong connection between the text and the images, making this shortcut seem entirely natural. Yet, the images in bestiaries and encyclopaedias are not illustrations.

[55] See the section 'Iconographic Traditions That Stand Out', p. 101.

In *L'iconographie médiévale*[56], Jérôme Baschet defines the 'classical triad' of the use of the medieval image: 'to instruct, to remind, to move.' It is precisely within this register that the images of bestiaries and encyclopaedias are situated. The study of medieval iconography is a difficult science, given how much practices evolved over the course of the period. Even within our own research, which spans the long term (from the 6th to the 15th century), the function of these images changes, particularly toward the end of our periodization.

Since the beginning of this study, a background noise has persisted, noticeable through the multiple developments we have conducted until now: we are studying something that does not exist in reality, which is difficult to name precisely, and which is difficult to represent. In reality, we are studying a discourse put forward by various authors. To support and understand this discourse, several tools are available to us. First and foremost are the texts, which we will study in the third part, but above all: the images. In our study, the latter serve as tools. More precisely, within the framework of bestiaries and encyclopaedias, they function as mnemonic tools. For while the texts deliver knowledge and morals, the image accompanies them as an anchor, allowing the reader to identify the main characteristics to be retained.

It is important to separate substance from form. As we will see, certain iconographic traditions diverge to the point of losing their archetypal elements. Let us take a literary example to understand the discourse of images. In Chrétien de Troyes's *Perceval, the Story of the Grail*, the main character, Perceval, must face another character called the Red Knight. This knight is identified by the red armour he wears. In representations of this passage of the story, this character will always

[56] Baschet, J. (2008) : *L'iconographie médiévale*, Folio / Histoire 161, Paris, 31.

be depicted with his red armor, which allows for his identification. However, the armor will not necessarily be identical, for a whole host of reasons (style, century, evolutions...). The same applies to our big cats.

Let us take the example of the panther. We have previously seen its iconographic archetype, which contains the following elements: a varied coat, sweet breath, a friend to all beasts, and a terrified dragon. The text delivers what needs to be retained about this animal—a point we will address in the third part. But to memorize it, a mnemonic tool is required: the image.

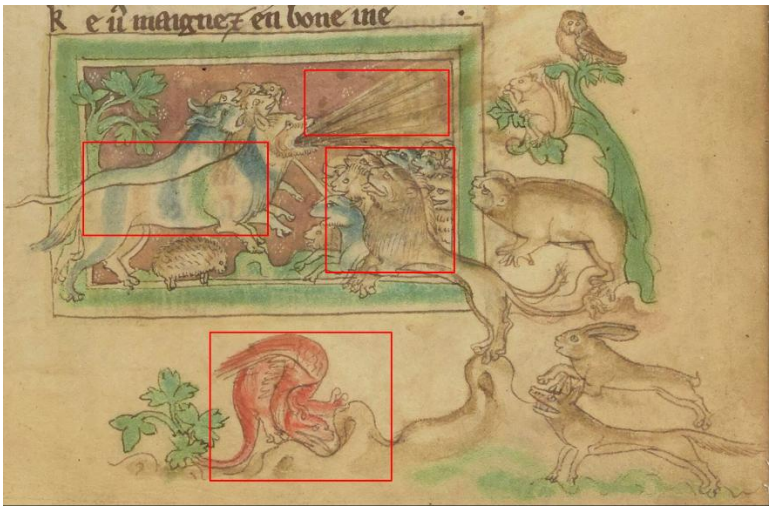

Figure 5 – Guillaume le Clerc, *Bestiaire divin*, c. 1265-1270

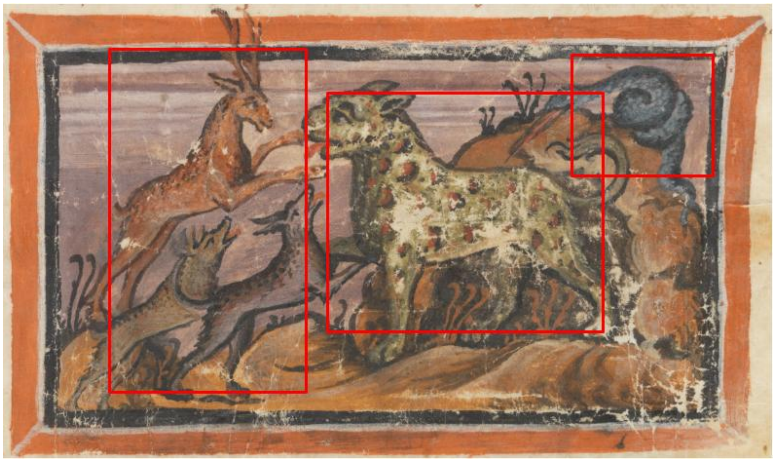

Figure 1 – *Physiologus*, c. 830



Figure 3 – Second-family bestiary, c. 1200-1210



Figure 9 – First-family bestiary (H), c. 1280

Here are four images of the panther, from four different manuscripts and different centuries: the 9th century (figure 1), followed by the beginning (figure 3), the middle (figure 5), and the end of the 13th century (figure 9), which remains the golden age of medieval bestiaries and encyclopaedias. Yet, we clearly find the constituent elements of the panther. Of course, all of these characteristics are not always present simultaneously in every illumination, but there is no image that does not contain at least two explicit elements (in figure 1, the panther's protruding tongue could represent this sweet breath, though it is not explicitly emphasized). We have used the example of the panther here because it is rich in elements to memorize, but this process applies equally to the tiger. As a reminder, the main characteristics of this feline's images are the chase scene and the throwing of the mirror.



Figure 17 – Second-family bestiary, c. 1200-1210

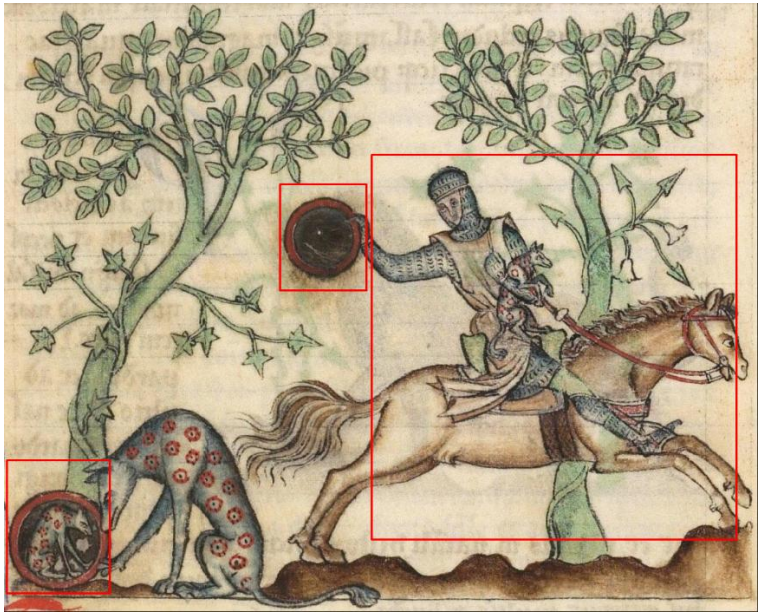

Figure 19 – *De natura animalium*, c. 1270-1275



Figure 21 – Richard de Fournival, *Bestiaire d'Amour*, c. 1300



Figure 20 – Transitional-family bestiary, c. 1275-1300

Once again, we find the main elements, namely the mirror and the chase scene. As with the Red Knight, the form can be heavily modified, but the characteristic elements and the substance remain the same.

However, and we will see this in the second part, the function of our images undergoes a modification. As mentioned above, the Middle Ages is a long period that brings about many evolutions. Within our sources themselves, an image from the *Physiologus* (around 830 in our case) and another from a bestiary of Italian origin from the 14th or 15th century shift in function (in reality, we see the beginning of a change that is fully realized during the Renaissance and throughout the modern era, right down to the present day).

EXCEPTIONS AND UNCERTAINTIES
CONFUSIONS, MIXTURES, AND RECREATIONS IN MEDIEVAL NOMENCLATURE

Now that we have defined our nomenclature and the function of our images, we must turn our attention to the exceptions, errors, strangenesses, and peculiarities. In bestiaries and encyclopaedias, nomenclature is relatively stable. Confusions arise when the diversity of sources increases—both for medieval individuals and for modern historians. If we add sources derived from menageries or trade to our corporate material, this implies a confrontation between numerous languages and cultures among the agents producing these written records.

Let us take as an example[57] the lynx and the *once*, which are found uniquely in the encyclopaedia of Vincent of Beauvais. Without turning this study into a linguistic history of these animals, Richard Trachsler notes that these two felines are distinct but are linked by the etymology of *once*, derived from *lonce* (lynx), from which the 'l' is thought to have disappeared through apheresis[58]. *Lonce* probably comes from the Italian *lonza* (panther), coined during the era of the Crusades, which itself derives from the Greek *λυγξ* (*lunx*). There is an obvious link between the lynx and *lonce*, but if this etymology is correct, it highlights a Western confusion with an animal it did not know: the panther. Lacking an appropriate term, they used something that looked similar (both being spotted felines), but which was not a lynx. This confusion is corroborated by other elements, such as the fur

[57] Example largely inspired by Richard Trachsler's article on the subject: Trachsler, R. (2017) : « Du lynx à l'once. Animaux réels et créatures symboliques. », *Reinardus. Yearbook of the International Reynard Society*-29, 142-163.

[58] 'The suppression of a phoneme or group of phonemes at the beginning of a word.' (CNRTL).

trade, a subject we will address in the second part[59]. In this immense confusion, the shadow of the panther hovers over both the lynx and the *lonce*, even though the panther is a completely different animal!

Furthermore, confusion and mixing within nomenclature can stem from another source. For many animals, what we now consider a subspecies constituted an entirely separate animal for medieval scholars. Prior to the creation of the concepts of species and subspecies, this was a constant source of confusion for these academics. This observation can be detected within the sources, particularly in late encyclopaedias, when texts attribute the exact same behaviour to multiple animals. In Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum naturale*, we read regarding the pard: '[...] in Affrica insidunt arbore condenpsa pardi [...]'[60], and then in the chapter on the *once*: 'Predam non comedit, nisi eam in altum portet, sed quand ad arborem venit, ad supremum eam ramum defert eamque pendendo comedit.'[61] Two chapters, two animals: these are therefore two distinct animals for Vincent of Beauvais—at least according to the authors he copies. However, we observe that they exhibit the exact same behavior: climbing trees. Several centuries of advancement in zoology allow us to be definitive: the leopard is the only great feline to adopt this behavior. Of course, tigers can climb trees, and it is a behavior very rarely observed in lions as well, but the leopard is the only great feline to utilize trees in this specific manner: as a hunting method (ambush) or as a secure place to devour its prey. Here, we clearly have a single animal depicted as two different creatures.

[59] See the section 'Menageries and Diplomatic Exchanges', p. 115.

[60] '[...] in Africa, pards perch in ambush in a thick tree [...]'. (Author's translation)

[61] '[It] does not eat its prey unless it carries it aloft, but when it comes to a tree, it carries it to the highest branch and eats it while letting it hang.' (Author's translation)

The final instance where confusion can arise stems from the linguistic adaptation of one animal name to another. We find two rather explicit cases in the works of Albertus Magnus and Pliny the Elder. In Saint Albert's *De animalibus*, one can read in the chapter on the *alphec*: 'Alphec arabice est animal quod multi Ytalicorum et Alemanorum et Gallicorum linzam vocant [...]'[62]. In Pliny's *Natural History*, we find: 'XXVIII. Pompei Magni primum ludi ostenderunt chama quem Galli rufium vocabant [...]'[63]. It is curious that these are once again confusions surrounding the lynx, as was the case with the *once*. If we refer to the table we previously established, the *alphec* is one of the many names for the cheetah, which Albertus Magnus associates... with the lynx! In Pliny' work, it is again the lynx (called *chama* and *rufium*) that is confused. Name transfer is one of the primary causes of nomenclatural errors.

Iconographic Traditions That Stand Out

We shall now leave errors aside and examine exceptions. This subsection focuses on a highly significant work, the *Liber de natura rerum* by Thomas of Cantimpré. Compiled between 1237 and 1240, and later expanded in 1244, it stands as one of the great encyclopaedias of the 13th century. While it may at first glance appear to be a most traditional encyclopaedia, a striking observation emerges when examining its illuminated manuscripts: its iconographic tradition stands out completely.

[62] 'The *alphec*, in Arabic, is an animal that many Italians, Germans, and French call linzam [lynx?] [...]'. (Author's translation)

[63] 'XXVIII. It was at the games of Pompey the Great that the *chama*, which the Gauls call *rufium* (lynx), was exhibited for the first time [...]'. Translated from Ernout, A. (2003) : *Histoire naturelle. Livre VIII*, Paris.



Figure 48 – *Chama*



Figure 45 – *Leopardus*



Figure 31 – Lynx



Figure 16 – Panther



Figure 39 – *Pard*



Figure 24 – Tiger

These images create an immense amount of confusion. It is the first time in any work that the *chama* is depicted; the *leopardus* receives what is almost the sole characteristic of the *pard*: its face is turned toward the viewer; the *lynx* is no longer shown urinating a precious stone, but instead finds itself facing a building... a wall? a door? a tower?; the panther, an allegory of Christ, now resembles what one might easily mistake for a dragon—its spotted coat can perhaps only be recognized by the multi-coloured brushstrokes applied to the folio; the *pard*, no longer looking at the spectator, becomes impossible to identify without the text; the tiger is the only one, despite its appearance, to remain identifiable thanks to the mirror. How can these illuminations even exist?

We must begin with a brief overview of the history of this work. The most heavily studied manuscript[64] is very similar to ours: it is Valenciennes, B.M., MS. 320. In fact, it is identical to ours[65] in every way, with the sole exception of the panther illumination. This encyclopaedia is one of the first to bring a vast amount of new knowledge to light, particularly concerning sea monsters, but also coming from the East. What makes MS. 320 so distinctive is the presence of marginal annotations giving instructions regarding the illuminations. These directives are very simple, which suggests that the strangeness of these representations can be attributed to them. We are fortunate enough to have one of these annotations for one of our large felines, the *lynx*:



Figure 29

[64] See notably:: Friedman, J. B. (2004) : « 'Monstres qui a ii mamelles bloe': Illuminator's Instructions in a MS of Thomas of Cantimpré », *Journal of the Early Book Society for the study of manuscripts and printing history*, 7, 11-3. ; Gatewood, D. (2000) : *Illustrating a Thirteenth-Century Natural History Encyclopedia: The Pictorial Tradition of Thomas of Cantimpré's De Natura Rerum and Valenciennes Municipal Library Manuscript 320*, Dissertation, University of Pittsburgh ; Buquet, T. (2016) : « Les "propriétés" des animaux et leur utilisation dans la création des images », in : *Journée d'étude « L'école des bêtes (XIIe-XVIe siècle). L'animal exemplaire, objet de savoir et miroir de l'homme »*, Pau, France. These three studies constitute the scholarly foundation of this subsection.

[65] Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, R 174.

We can read: '.I. beste qui a langue de serpent, a .I. grant col granz ongles et treperce les murs par son veoirs'[66] (IRHT). It is therefore much easier for us to understand the originality of the iconographic program of the *Liber de natura rerum*. The annotations are very simple. Let us stick with the example of the *lynx*, as this short phrase provides us with another vital piece of information regarding this iconographic tradition.

The second major reason justifying the iconography of the *Liber de natura rerum* is the text itself. Unlike other contemporary works, Thomas of Cantimpré's text does not say exactly the same things about the animals. The chapter on the *lynx* is an archetypal example[67]. Usually, the bulk of this chapter is devoted to the *lynx* urinating a precious stone called *ligurius*. In our manuscript, this chapter consists—in our edition of the source—of 186 words. Only 46 words (24.73%) are dedicated to this characteristic, which is fundamental in all other works: 'Qui autem hujus animalis naturam plenius cognoverunt, ejus urinam in duriciam preciosi calculi coire dixerunt. Hic lapis ligurius appellatur. Sed invidia quadam naturali liquorem emissum harenis in quantum possunt abscondunt, ne talis egestio in nostros usus transiant. [Hic lapis dolores renum placat et medetur morbo regio].'[68], whereas 113 words (60.75%) are dedicated to its sight! For in Thomas of Cantimpré's encyclopaedia, it is indeed sight that stands as the primary characteristic of the *lynx*.

[66] 'It is a beast that has a serpent's tongue, a long neck, large claws, and it pierces through walls with its gaze.' (Author's translation)

[67] See the different chapters on the *lynx* that can be found in the corpus of sources.

[68] 'As for those who have more fully known the nature of this animal, they said that its urine congealed into the hardness of a precious stone. This stone is called *ligurius*. But, out of a sort of natural envy, they hide the emitted liquid in the sand as much as they can, for fear that such an excretion might pass into our use. [This stone soothes kidney pains and cures the royal disease (jaundice)].' (Author's translation)

> 'Linx, ut dicunt Plinius et Jacobus, et lapidarius, bestia est que ita perspicaces habet oculos, quod solida corpora subtilitate visus penetrare dicatur. Questio autem non modica est quomodo hoc possit. Constat secundum Philosophum quod oculus situs est in humido. Tria autem in aqua sunt : aquea humiditas, dyafanitas, et perspicacias lucis. Et hanc ultimam communicat cum natura celesti, et hec ultima depuracione a materia in natura lucis. Et quia lux est ultima perspicacitas in corpore terminato, ideo si ponatur aquea substantia in ultima sua depuracione quantum ad perspicacitatem in oculo lincis, poterit penetrare corpus solidum et obscurum. Hoc quoque in natura ejus mirabile reperitur, quod quicquid viderit, statim cum oculos avertit, obliviscitur.[69]"

This is a new element that persists in other works, such as Bartholomew the Englishman's *De proprietatibus rerum* or Gaston Phoebus's *Livre de chasse* (c. 1387–1389), a great expert in the field who considered the appellation 'loup-cervier' (the lynx) to be an error[70].

The case of the panther is more complex. In MS. 320, one of the earliest traces of the *Liber de natura rerum*, the iconography attributed to the panther differs entirely from our manuscript.

[69] 'The lynx, as Pliny, Jacobus [de Vitry], and the lapidary state, is a beast that possesses such piercing eyes that it is said to penetrate solid bodies through the subtlety of its vision. It is, however, no small question as to how it can achieve this. It is established, according to the Philosopher, that the eye is situated in moisture. Furthermore, there are three properties in water: aqueous humidity, transparency, and the perspicacity of light. It shares this last property with celestial nature, and this latter arises from a purification from matter into the nature of light. And because light is the ultimate perspicacity within a bounded body, therefore, if an aqueous substance is posited in its ultimate purification regarding perspicacity in the eye of the lynx, it will be able to penetrate a solid and opaque body. This too is found to be marvellous in its nature: that whatever it has seen, the moment it turns its eyes away, it forgets.' (Author's translation).

[70] Trachsler, R. (2017) : "Du lynx à l'once. Animaux réels et créatures symboliques.", *Reinardus. Yearbook of the International Reynard Society*-29, 8.

Whereas in Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, R 174, one can observe a grey quadruped with a long neck interacting with a visually distinct animal (Figure 16), MS. 320 (Figure 10) instead depicts two similar creatures, resembling a cross between a bear and a monkey, interacting with one another



Figure 16 – Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, R 174



Figure 10 – Valenciennes, B.M., MS. 320

In its description of the image, the IRHT indicates that it depicts one panther attacking another. It is also mentioned that no instructions for the illuminator have been found. We have reached an impasse. We can only note what these images have in common: two animals interacting. Perhaps their colours should also be taken into account? It is difficult to discern any further correlations. It is equally difficult to apply the same approach as was used for the lynx.

Perhaps it is hidden beneath the illumination, but no indicative annotation has been found. By observing the commonalities, it is possible to imagine a grey-brown beast interacting with another animal. The text, which largely reiterates the writings of earlier encyclopaedias and bestiaries, is entirely disconnected from the iconography. We can, nevertheless, weave a subtle link between the text and the image: '[...] sed capitis sui torvitate terrentur.'[71] and 'Panthera pernicitate nimia ferox occidit zubronem[72] qui est maximus ac fortissimus. Insiliens enim dorso ejus discerpit eum unguibus, et ejus carnibus saciatur.'[73] Thanks to the text, we have two new pieces of information that may be important: the panther's ferocious head that frightens its prey, and its hunting technique: jumping onto the latter's back. We can only formulate hypotheses. When comparing the two images, one can see that the panther's head seems to 'impose itself, to dominate' the second animal, which displays a submissive posture that can be perceived in the dynamics of the scene and in the gaze of the submissive animal, its eyes raised towards the predator. Regarding the hunting technique, in both cases, the panther towers over the second

[71] '[...] but they are terrified by the fierce appearance of its head.' (Author's translation)
[72] The *zubron* is a type of European bison from Eastern Europe.
[73] 'The panther, fierce due to its excessive agility, kills the *zubron*, which is very large and very strong. Leaping onto its back, it tears it apart with its claws and sates itself on its flesh.' (Author's translation). The *zubron* is a European bison from the Slavic regions.

animal: by means of a very long neck for one, and by a part of its body (its paws) resting on the prey's head for the other. This is a hypothesis we can posit regarding these depictions of the panther. Should this hypothesis prove accurate, we would find ourselves in a situation entirely opposite to that of the lynx: out of a 191-word chapter, only 27 words are dedicated to these traits (14.14%), whereas the entire remainder of the text consists of the standard characteristics of this large feline.

The cases of the tiger and the *chama* are less complex. The tiger is entirely consistent with the rest of the iconographic tradition. The depiction of the *chama*, on the other hand, is virtually unprecedented; it is therefore difficult to speak of any originality concerning an unestablished iconographic tradition. Indeed, the *Liber de natura rerum* is the first work to depict the *chama*, making it the founding work of this iconographic tradition.

However, the cases of the *leopardus* and the *pard* are more enigmatic. It is not entirely unprecedented for the *leopardus* to be depicted with a gaze fixed upon the reader: this can be observed in other contemporary works. Furthermore, given that confusions between these two felines are frequent in the texts, an iconographic confusion is not unlikely. Nevertheless, the iconography of the *pard* remains a major issue, as it departs so radically from its tradition. The text offers no assistance, for it is symbolically laden with entirely new elements, which we will address in the third part.

What can be said of our sources? An examination of them demonstrates the complexity of apprehending medieval knowledge. Medieval nomenclature regarding animal names reveals a profound

porosity, although it also indicates a high degree of knowledge mobility: from Greco-Latin etymological roots to Arabic lexical transfers.

Regarding the images, we have demonstrated that they are far more than mere illustrations. They serve as tools—primarily mnemonic, but also discursive—that function in conjunction with the text. Nevertheless, these images are not exclusively subordinate to the text: they articulate a discourse of their own.

Ultimately, we observe that our subject is fundamentally concerned with this notion of discourse. We examine symbolic elements, which only take on meaning within the textual and iconographic space of the manuscript.

Pre-Zoological Discourse on Big Cats

In this second part, particular emphasis will be placed on the encyclopaedic genre. Indeed, having examined the sources, we shall see that encyclopaedias and bestiaries are two genres that, while appearing quite similar at first glance, are in fact quite distinct.

Evidence of a Biological Observation in the Sources

As we survey our corpus of sources, particularly the encyclopaedic compilations, we can identify highly original elements. Encyclopaedias provide knowledge that is absent from bestiaries, pertaining to a form of 'pre-zoology'. To understand and verify this data, we must compare the sources against current zoological knowledge.

Let us begin with the most obvious example, which we have examined previously. In Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum naturale*, one reads the following regarding the *pard*: '[...] in Affrica insidunt arbore condenpsa pardi [...]'[74], and then in the chapter devoted to the ounce: 'Predam non comedit, nisi eam in altum portet, sed quando ad arborem venit, ad supremum eam ramum defert eamque pendendo comedit.' As we have noted, this behaviour is absolutely characteristic of the leopard; it is the only big cat to utilise the arboreal environment in this manner. This is undoubtedly the most telling example for us because it is highly specific: such behaviour can only be known through observation of the animal, possibly in its natural habitat.

[74] '[...] in Africa, the pards lie in ambush in a dense tree [...]' (Author's translation).

When we attempted to understand the iconography of the *Liber de natura rerum*, we noted this passage: 'Panthera pernicitate nimia ferox occidit zubronem[75] qui est maximus ac fortissimus. Insiliens enim dorso ejus discerpit eum unguibus, et ejus carnibus saciatur.'[76] Once again, knowledge of this behaviour can only be the result of direct observation. However, this information must be qualified. Indeed, this hunting method is common to the majority of big cats[77]. It attests to the observation of this hunting technique, but it cannot be attributed to any one animal in particular.

A new element emerges in encyclopaedias from the thirteenth century onwards. This characteristic can occasionally be found in the *pard*, but above all in the *leopardus*—as we have seen, the chapters devoted to these felines frequently overlap. Thus, one reads once again in Thomas of Cantimpré: 'Quam si quarto aut quinto saltu capere non potest, subsistit iratus ferociter [...]'[78]. This specific detail appears exclusively in the *pard* and the *leopardus*. This behaviour stems from the observation of a hunting cheetah. This big cat, the fastest land animal, uses its great speed to catch its prey, but only over a short distance. This short distance, or brief moment of maximum velocity,

[75] The zubron is a type of European bison from Eastern Europe.

[76] 'The panther, fierce through its excessive agility, kills the zubron, which is very large and very strong. Springing onto its back, it tears it apart with its claws and feeds on its flesh.' (Author's translation).

[77] A lioness leaping onto the back of a buffalo during a hunt: NAT GEO ANIMALS (National Geographic), *The Hunting Game (Full Episode) | Predator Fail* [online], 14 July 2022, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8hrL7ed69Do (accessed 20 May 2026), 08:30. The same behaviour can be observed in the cheetah: NAT GEO ANIMALS (National Geographic), *The Way of the Cheetah (Full Episode) | DOCUMENTARY SPECIAL ft. Jeremy Irons | Nat Geo Animals* [online], 26 December 2025, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rb9Bby_H9Sg (accessed 20 May 2026), 35:20.

[78] 'Which, if it cannot catch [it] within four or five leaps, stops, fiercely angered [...]' (Autho"s translation).

could be interpreted in the medieval mind as '[...] quarto aut quinto saltu [...]'. The encyclopaedist adds that if the *leopardus* fails to reach its target, it stops. This element, once again the result of real-world observation, is interpreted as a bad temper or a malicious nature in the animal. However, centuries of zoology teach us that the cheetah—assuming it is indeed this animal—consumes so much energy during its sprint that its muscles seize up once the effort is over[79].

These examples drawn from our corpus show that although the medieval Western world, for centuries, did not have access to the animals it discusses, the latter were nevertheless not unknown to it. The behaviours we have extracted from the sources demonstrate the observation of these big cats, without this necessarily having taken place in their natural habitat.

Channels of Real-World Observation

As we have just seen, the knowledge disseminated by encyclopaedias is not solely the centuries-old heritage of textual traditions. Sometimes, particularly from the thirteenth century onwards, it is possible to discern new data, resulting from the observation of these big cats. While we now know that these scholars observed these animals, we must determine how such observations were made. These channels of transmission are both varied and interrelated: trade, menageries, diplomatic exchanges, or indeed cynegetics.

[79] Hetem, R. S., Mitchell, D., De Witt, B. A., Fick, L. G., Meyer, L. C. R., Maloney, S. K. et Fuller, A. (2013): "Cheetah do not abandon hunts because they overheat", *Biol. Lett.*, 9-5, 20130472.

TRADE

Trade is the primary factor enabling the expansion of knowledge within encyclopaedic compilations. In reality, it is intrinsically linked to all other elements, yet it operates distinctly in each instance. Indeed, trade entails exchanges, whether cultural, material, or intellectual. Here, we address exclusively the material dimension of this activity.

We briefly discussed peltry[80] when examining the lynx and the ounce. In the same article[81], Richard Trachsler elaborates on the fur trade and its significance for our knowledge of big cats. We learn from his research that the term *ounce* is used exclusively for cheetah and leopard pelts, and not for those of the lynx[82]. Furthermore, the latter was traded less frequently. For his part, Jacques Le Goff[83] explains that the medieval West experienced a true commercial revolution between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. This expansion, of which the trade in so-called 'exotic'[84] furs is a testament, is discernible in the sources.

In early medieval encyclopaedias, such as Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* (625), Raban Maur's *De universo* (c. 847), or Lambert of Saint-Omer's *Liber floridus* (1121), animal descriptions are very succinct. The *leopardus* constitutes an archetypal example in this

[80] 'Any skin from which furs are made'; 'The art of dressing pelts with their hair intact to make furs'; 'The trade in fur pelts.' (CNRTL)

[81] Trachsler, R. (2017) : « Du lynx à l'once. Animaux réels et créatures symboliques. », *Reinardus. Yearbook of the International Reynard Society*-29, 142-163.

[82] Alongside the ounce, the lynx constitutes the primary focus of this article.

[83] Le Goff, J. (1980) : *Marchands et banquiers du Moyen âge*, Que sais-je ? 699, Paris, 10.

[84] The notion of the 'exotic' was not used in the Middle Ages to qualify animals. The sources instead employ terms such as *extranea* or *ultramarinae*. See: Buquet, T. (2013), 'Les animaux exotiques dans les ménageries médiévales', in *Fabuleuses histoires des bêtes et des hommes*, pp. 97–121.

respect: nothing in Isidore of Seville nor in Raban Maur, but 'fulvus ut leo, nigris distinctus maculis'[85] in Lambert of Saint-Omer. Across five centuries of compiling knowledge, it was not until 1121[86] that the first mention of its coat appeared. Tawny marked with black spots: this is what we will henceforth find in all encyclopaedias, in various forms: '[...] colore subrufum, maculas habens nigras per totum.'[87] in Vincent of Beauvais's[88] *Speculum naturale* (c. 1259) or '[...] ruffus autem eius nigris maculis interpositis.'[89] in Albert the Great's *De animalibus* (c. 1260). With the exception of *fulvus*[90] which belongs to a close yet nonetheless distinct register, the various colours associated with the *leopardus* are near-synonyms[91]. This chromatic precision, ranging from tawny to reddish, is the marker of a greater knowledge of these animals' pelts—*fulvus* will no longer be used in subsequent works. It is also interesting to note the use of the term *interpositis*[92] in Albert the Great. The choice of this word—rather than terms like *vario*[93] or *distinguo*[94]—evokes a knowledge of the *leopardus*'s coat pattern.

If we go further back in time, another precise mention regarding the coat of a big cat can be found. In Pliny's *Natural History* (77 AD), we read the following regarding the panther (and the tiger):

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[85] 'Tawny like a lion, marked with black spots.' (Author's translation).

[86] Perhaps lost works mentioned this coat, but this remains highly unlikely, as such writings would have been mentioned by other scholars.

[87] '[...] reddish in colour, having black spots throughout.' (Author's translation).

[88] An identical sentence, almost verbatim, is found in the *Liber de natura rerum*: 'Leopardus subrufum colorem habet, maculas per totum nigras [...]'.

[89] '[...] reddish, with black spots interspersed [...]' (Author's translation).

[90] 'Yellowish, tawny, gold-coloured' (Gaffiot Dictionary).

[91] *Rufus*: 'reddish, red/russet'; *subrufus*: 'somewhat reddish, reddish' (Gaffiot Dictionary).

[92] 'To place between, interpose, insert' (Gaffiot Dictionary).

[93] 'To vary, diversify, shade' (Gaffiot Dictionary).

[94] 'To separate, to divide' (Gaffiot Dictionary).

'Panthera et tigris maculorum varietate prope sola bestiarum spectantur; ceteris unus ac suus cuique generi color est [...]'[95]. While the tiger never posed any confusion for medieval scholars, an awareness of the 'panther'—most likely cheetahs or leopards in Pliny—is already perceptible. The terminology is less precise, but his account is closer to the animal than what will be read during the Early Middle Ages. This is where trade comes into play: Pliny the Elder (23–79) lived during the first century, when the Roman Empire controlled the entirety of the *Mare nostrum*. While it is impossible to know whether he saw cheetahs or leopards with his own eyes (perhaps in Rome during the circus games), the West and the East were united by close ties, notably through trade.

However, peltry is not the sole vector for learning the morphology and ethology of big cats.

Menageries and Diplomatic Exchanges

This phenomenon once again relates to trade, but in a quite different register. Menageries were highly significant institutions in the princely courts of the Middle Ages—and this across numerous cultural spheres. The medieval West was no exception to the symbol of power associated with the menagerie. However, the dynamics of diplomatic exchange must be factored in, as such menageries were

[95] 'The panther and the tiger are almost the only beasts whose coats are variegated; the rest have a uniform colour, specific to each species.' Translated from Ernout, A. (2003) : *Histoire naturelle. Livre VIII*, Paris.

costly, and the rarest animals were frequently the result of sovereign-to-sovereign gifts[96].

Our object of study is not the most heavily represented in these animal collections, with primacy going to the lion and the bear. However, the sources attest to their presence: lions and leopards were most often confined to cages, whereas cheetahs were more frequently left at liberty, as they were used more extensively in a hunting context. The cheetah could also serve as a pet, as at the court of Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor (1215–1250). This sovereign possessed such a menagerie that it became a 'redistribution centre for other royal menageries', according to Michel Pastoureau[97]. Frederick II perfectly illustrates the dynamics of diplomatic exchange. Although our big cats were not the rarest animals or the most heavily invested with royal symbolism, the Holy Roman Emperor received a polar bear from King Hakon IV of Norway in 1235. A few years later, it was his brother-in-law, King Henry III of England, who received the same animal from the same sovereign. One may nevertheless note the gift of three 'leopards' presented[98] by Frederick II to this same English monarch. Michel Pastoureau[99] notes a fairly significant presence of big cats in menageries: naturally, the lion takes first place, but cheetahs and leopards are also encountered there. The same holds true for the various supply markets, such as Venice or Byzantium.

Regarding menageries, one case has been studied in particular by Baudouin Van Den Abeele and Daniel Lievois: that of the princely

[96] This subsection draws extensively on the work of Thierry Buquet: Buquet, T. (2013), 'Les animaux exotiques dans les ménageries médiévales', in *Fabuleuses histoires des bêtes et des hommes*, pp. 97–121.
[97] Pastoureau, M. (2007) : *L'ours: histoire d'un roi déchu*, Paris, 200-201.
[98] Buquet, T. (2013) : « Les animaux exotiques dans les ménageries médiévales », in : *Fabuleuses histoires des bêtes et des hommes*, 97-121.
[99] *Ibid*.

collection of Ghent[100]. Their subject of study is as follows: the menagerie of Ghent[101] from the time of the Dukes of Burgundy to the early Habsburgs (1421–1641). Upon reading their article, we find that this menagerie features numerous references to the 'leopard', 'cheetah', 'panther', and even the lynx. A cheetah[102] is mentioned in the 1430s, 1440s, and in 1487. We also discover the setting of these menageries: the names of the 'keepers', repairs, and organisation. We know that leopards were caged (in accordance with Thierry Buquet's article) and that they regularly damaged their enclosures. It is also learned that the person tasked with looking after the animals received a higher wage when feeding the lions (five *gros* for the leopards versus ten for the lions), which demonstrates the lesser status of our animal compared to the 'king of beasts'. Outside our chronological scope, in 1546, the presence of several lynxes is noted.

As we have seen, particularly thanks to the article by Van Den Abeele and Lievois, menageries were important to princes. Yet they are also crucial to our subject of study: bestiaries and encyclopaedias. As we shall see later[103], close contact with these animals allowed for the production of new knowledge, which was transcribed in our sources. Before turning our attention to iconographic and textual developments, one final factor remains to be analysed: hunting.

[100] This entire section draws extensively on their joint study: Van den Abeele, B., and Lievois, D. (2012): 'Une ménagerie princière entre Moyen Âge et Renaissance. La Cour des Lions à Gand de 1421 à 1641', *Reinardus. Yearbook of the International Reynard Society*, 24-1, 77–107.

[101] The Prinsenhof of Ghent, the 'Court of the Lions'.

[102] Most likely a panther (leopard).

[103] See the section 'Towards a Zoological Approach in the Late Middles Ages?', p. 122.

Hunting

Hunting is the art of the chase. It is rich in information regarding the animal world, particularly on hunting methods, which is what interests us here. Using non-European animals—in the case of European sources—involves numerous factors: learning the behaviour of big cats, knowing how to train them, and understanding how to use them in a hunting context. These factors all point in the same direction: bringing new knowledge, which ultimately finds its way into encyclopaedias. Where does this information come from? In the very first instance, from the muslim world[104]. The medieval Eastern world, from the Near East to Persia and India, was highly familiar with hunting with cheetahs. This was a common practice among the Muslim aristocracy, and one that was thoroughly mastered. The cheetah would ride on horseback or on a cart, hooded to prevent stress, before being released onto its prey. In this hunting context, the cheetah actually played a role very close to that of the falcon, with cheetah handlers entering into competition with falconers.

Eastern and Western sources are markedly different. As we have noted, the cheetah was very well known in the muslim world, but this was not the case in the West: we encounter once again our perennial problem of nomenclature. These big cats, known by the names *nimr* (leopard) and *fahd* (cheetah), became confused and conflated in the 'West'[105]. The earliest mention of what appears to be

[104] Buquet, T. (2012) : *La chasse au guépard et au lynx en Syrie et en Irak au Moyen Âge*.

[105] *Ibid*. Here, Thierry Buquet relates the story of a Frankish Crusader who reportedly sought to sell a domesticated cheetah... which was in fact a leopard. This impressed the Muslim trader with whom he wished to do business, as the latter believed that the leopard could only ever be wild.

a domesticated cheetah dates to after 1105[106], during a procession of King Henry I Beauclerc of England in Caen. The sources report that a *leopardus* was seen riding on horseback.

References to *leopardus* seem to disappear from the sources under study for nearly a century, between 1121 (Lambert of Saint-Omer's *Liber floridus*) and 1237–1240 (Thomas of Cantimpré's *Liber de natura rerum*). While this potential disappearance remains somewhat obscure[107], its reappearance appears to corroborate a historical event: in 1239, Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor, imported 'leopards' (most likely cheetahs) from Tunisia[108]. In the following decades, two encyclopaedias were published: Thomas of Cantimpré's *Liber de natura rerum* (c. 1237–1240, expanded in 1244) and Bartholomew the Englishman's *De proprietatibus rerum* (c. 1247). Subsequently, two other major encyclopaedias appeared: Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum naturale* (c. 1259) and Albertus Magnus's *De animalibus* (c. 1260). Although the latter two draw heavily on the former two (or even solely on Thomas of Cantimpré, who greatly

[106] Buquet, T. (2020) : « Hunting with Cheetahs at European Courts, from the Origins to the End of a Fashion », in : Weber, N. et Hengerer, M., éd. : *Animals and courts : Europe, c. 1200-1800*, 17-42.

[107] *Ibid*. 'Leopards' are mentioned in several sources during this century-long absence, such as in the chronicle of the Woodstock menagerie (1125), Wace's *Roman de Brut* (1155), or through the two *leopardos* presented by Saladin to Louis III of Thuringia (1151/1152–1190). It was a known animal, yet absent from bestiaries and encyclopaedias. Is this a chronological coincidence, stemming from the fact that no encyclopaedia was produced across the entire 1121–1237/1240 period? Should one see in this the influence of Old French works such as Guillaume le Clerc's *Bestiaire divin* or the *Bestiaire de Beauvais*, which, heavily inspired by the Latin *Physiologus*, rigidified the genre to the extent of excluding the animal? It is also probable that the name *leopardus* merged with that of the *pard*, which itself remained present in the sources. The names *pardus* and *leopardus* were long almost interchangeable in texts, denoting real animals in contrast to *panthera*, which designated the allegorical animal of the bestiaries.

[108] *Ibid*.

inspired Bartholomew the Englishman), an intriguing piece of information should nevertheless be noted. In the 1240s, Thomas of Cantimpré and Bartholomew the Englishman were both situated in the Germanic realm (after 1230 for the latter, and between 1248 and 1251 for the former). It was also during this period that Albertus Magnus was teaching in Cologne, serving as a major translator of ancient Greek texts transmitted via the arab world. It is conceivable that these authors, all based in the Germanic world, were influenced by the court of Frederick II—an avid hunter who used his cheetahs much like Byzantine and Arab princes.

In this way, encyclopaedias acquired new information on big cats. One finds, for example: 'Quam si quarto aut quinto saltu capere non potest, subsistit iratus ferociter [...]'[109] in the *Liber de natura rerum*, or again: 'Saliendo non currendo insequitur predam et si in tercio saltu predam non capit vel in quarto, per indignacionem sistit et quasi victus retroredit. Corpus cum cauda et pedibus leoni assimilatur, sed in capite forma pardi imitatur. Leone autem corpore est minor et leoni masculo mirabiliter est exosus.'[110] in the *De proprietatibus rerum*. In the *De animalibus*, close to the two entries just mentioned, we read: 'Quando domesticatur, si in saltu tercio vel quarto predam non accipit, indignature ita quod nisi sanguine placetur, aliquando in venatorem insilit.'[111] Here we encounter elements that we have already

[109] 'If it cannot capture [its prey] on the fourth or fifth leap, it stops, fiercely enraged [...]' (Author's translation).

[110] 'By leaping, not by running, it pursues its prey, and if on the third or fourth leap it does not catch the prey, it stops out of indignation and turns back as if vanquished. Its body, together with its tail and feet, resembles that of a lion, but in its head it mimics the form of the pard. In body, however, it is smaller than a lion, and is wondrously hated by the male lion.' (Author's translation).

[111] 'When tamed, if on the third or fourth leap it does not catch its prey, it becomes so indignant that unless it is appeased with blood, it sometimes leaps upon the hunter.' (Author's translation).

addressed, notably the quotation from the *Liber de natura rerum*. In the quotation from Bartholomew the Englishman, we have for the first time a physical description[112] of the *leopardus*! It is even fairly precise: it resembles a small lion with a different head that mimics the *pard*—does it refer here to the leopard? We too, in the twenty-first century, regularly confuse the leopard and the panther (which are the same animal, *Panthera pardus*) and the cheetah (*Acinonyx jubatus*). However, it is Vincent of Beauvais in his *Speculum naturale* who elaborates most extensively on this animal:

> « *Domesticatur autem ad venandum. Itaque cum ad predam in venacione ducitur, relaxatur, quod si quarto vel quinto saltu capere nequiverit, ferociter iratus subsistit. Et nisi statim venator furenti bestiam aliquam obtulerit, in ipsum venatorem vel in quoslibet obvios irruit. Impossibile enim est eum placari, nisi in sanguine. Sed in hoc providi sunt venatores, ut agnos penes se vel alia animalia semper habeant, quibus iratos placent, huic autem furenti qui resistere vult, inter manus allia fricet, et statim ille resiliet* [...][113] »

Vincent of Beauvais offers us a truly narrative account. Nevertheless, the details put forward by the encyclopaedist are corroborated by elements we have already mentioned: the animal released in pursuit of prey (the cheetah carried on horseback while hooded); the *leopardus*

[112] At least, a description that goes beyond the mere mention of its coat.

[113] 'It is, moreover, tamed for hunting. Thus, when it is led out to prey during the hunt, it is released; but if it is unable to catch it on the fourth or fifth leap, it stops, fiercely enraged. And unless the hunter immediately offers some animal to the raging beast, it rushes upon the hunter himself or upon anyone who happens to be in its path. For it is impossible for it to be appeased except with blood. But hunters are prudent in this regard, taking care always to keep lambs or other animals at hand with which to appease them when enraged; furthermore, whoever wishes to resist this raging creature should rub garlic between his hands, and it will immediately recoil [...]' (Author's translation)

stopping when it cannot catch its prey (the cheetah whose muscles seize up due to the exertion required). We nonetheless face new criteria that are difficult to analyse: does garlic truly frighten the *leopardus*? Perhaps. In any case, this information suggests that it stems from someone who had come into close contact with this *leopardus*—though not necessarily Vincent of Beauvais himself.

As our study progresses, a new dimension begins to emerge: reality. Whether through observation, trade, or hunting, knowledge regarding big cats becomes less and less symbolic and increasingly 'naturalistic' or 'zoological'.

Towards a Zoological Approach in the Late Middle Ages?

Nowadays, encyclopaedias and zoology seek to be purely factual. While medieval compilations represent the sum of knowledge of their time, many centuries of science separate our works from theirs. However, it was during the Late Middle Ages that the first signs of major change began to emerge. This section seeks to understand the origins of this movement, which ultimately led to the compilations with which we are familiar today. We begin from a simple premise: medieval works are highly symbolic, whereas ours are highly factual. Our aim is to examine the journey between these two states—without, of course, stepping outside the medieval period.

An Iconographic Revolution?

The first and most visible of these changes occurs at the iconographic level. As we have already discussed at length[114], the images found in encyclopaedias and bestiaries act primarily as a mnemonic device. Nowadays, the images found in an encyclopaedia are first and foremost illustrations of the subject matter[115]. The transition from mnemonic device to illustration finds its earliest beginnings in the Late Middle Ages.

The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in Italy witnessed the emergence of the pre-Renaissance. The Renaissance was a period of civilisational transformations across Europe of paramount importance. In his book on the bear[116], Michel Pastoureau demonstrates the evolution of knowledge regarding this animal between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. He notes in particular that 'the iconography was renewed'. This fact is equally applicable to our animals, whose representations were completely transformed: both visually and functionally.

In the first part[117], we deciphered the iconography of our big cats. Our task here is to understand its evolution during the Late Middle Ages. If we consider iconographic archetypes to be the foundation of our images, they evolve along two branches: those tending towards 'probable realism', and those tending towards 'zoological realism'.

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[114] See the section 'The Iconographic Discourse', p. 92.

[115] One need only look at a random page of what is, perhaps, the best-known of modern encyclopaedias: Wikipedia. Indeed, it is rare to browse its pages without encountering an illustration of the subject matter (photograph, drawing, map, location, etc.).

[116] Pastoureau, M. (2007) : *L'ours : histoire d'un roi déchu*, Paris, 303.

[117] See the section 'Iconographic Decipherment', p. 79.

Let us begin with the first case. Here, our primary subject is a highly singular manuscript of Thomas of Cantimpré's *Liber de natura rerum*[118]. What makes it so distinctive is its iconography. While the text corresponds to Cantimpré's classical work, the iconographic tradition departs markedly from the rest of the manuscript tradition. Indeed, there are no comparable illuminations in the other copies of this encyclopaedia.



Figure 47 – *Chama* (detail)



Figure 43 – *Leopardus*



Figure 30 – Lynx



Figure 14 – Panther



Figure 38 – *Pard*



Figure 23 – Tiger

These various representations contrast sharply with what we have previously[119] analysed: the *chama* bears no relation whatsoever to the tradition; the *leopardus* no longer looks out at the reader; the lynx no longer sees through a wall (or a tower); the panther no longer resembles a monstrosity; the pard resembles an ordinary feline, and the depiction of the tiger contains absolutely no mirror. However, the

[118] Granada, University Library, C-67. Produced in Germany or Austria c. 1440–1445, far from Renaissance Italy.

[119] See the section 'Iconographic Traditions That Stand Out', p. 101.

various animals correspond to their textual descriptions: 'Hoc animal effigiem habet lupi, respersumque est per totum pardorum maculis'[120] (*chama*); 'Leopardus subrufum colorem habet, maculas per totum nigras [...]'[121] (*leopardus*); no description of the lynx is to be found, so the question of its representation remains unresolved; 'Panthera, [...] est animal colore varium, [...] minutis orbiculis superpictum, it ut oculis ex fulvo circulis reluceat et ceruleum, vel album varietas distinguatur.'[122] (panther); 'Pardi, [...] bestie sunt secundum genus a pantheris, que notate sunt varietate macularum.'[123] (pard); 'Tygrides, [...] sunt notate maculis, fulvo nitent velut interundante varietate nigra.'[124] (tiger). This manuscript allows us to understand that the patron, or the illuminator, excluded the traditional elements of big cat symbolism in order to focus on real features. It is difficult to speak of drawings made from observation, for even if we approach a form of physical reality concerning these big cats, we remain far from it: anyone who has seen a lynx would note that it possesses a short tail. This is what makes the manuscript so interesting: it straddles two worlds, two eras. It is an heir to the medieval tradition (which is particularly evident in the depiction of the panther, still slightly multicoloured) and bears witness to the emergence of the Renaissance (as seen in the 'realism' of certain big cats). This transitional character

[120] 'This animal has the appearance of a wolf, and is covered all over with the spots of pards.' (Author's translation).
[121] 'The leopardus has a reddish colour, [and] black spots all over [...]' (Author's translation).
[122] 'The panther [...] is an animal of varied colour, [...] adorned with small circular spots, such that to the eye it gleams with tawny rings, and a variety of blue or white can be distinguished.' (Author's translation).
[123] 'Pards, [...] are beasts second in kind to panthers, which are marked by a variety of spots.' (Author's translation).
[124] 'Tigers, [...] are marked with spots, and gleam tawny, as if with an undulating black pattern.' (Author's translation).

is all the more remarkable when one compares this manuscript to contemporary or earlier Italian works.

Let us now turn our attention to two manuscripts: a copy of Cecco d'Ascoli's *Acerba*[125] and an Italian bestiary[126] belonging to the Tuscan family of bestiaries. As with our previous manuscript, the texts of these productions from the Italian Peninsula are highly conventional and introduce no revolutionary innovations to our textual corpus. However, their iconography departs markedly from the rest of our iconographic corpus.



Figure 42 – Cecco d'Ascoli, *Acerba*, c. 1350-1375

[125] Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 40.52. c. 1350–1375.
[126] London, Wellcome Collection, MS 132. c. 1450.



Figure 44 – *Tuscan Bestiary*, c. 1450

These two illuminations are particularly realistic. In the first case (Figure 42), we are in pre-Renaissance Italy, and in the Renaissance in the second (Fig. 44). These two images are entirely devoid of any symbolism. While Figure 44 still presents a *leopardus* looking out at the viewer (an attribute of both the *pard* and the *leopardus*), demonstrating a certain respect for the iconographic tradition, Figure 42 is strikingly realistic. Here, we can be categorical: it is a leopard. One recognises the shape of the head, very different from that of a cheetah; the three-point spots represent the rosettes of a leopard—the only thing missing is the brown spot at their centre. Such precision in the drawing necessarily stems from the artist's direct observation of a leopard. It is an extremely early image of zoological realism. However, can we therefore speak of it as an illustration? It is very easy to yield to this temptation, yet this manuscript is not an illustrated bestiary as we

understand the term today. If one examines the following pages, which concern, in part, the panther and the tiger, the theory of illustration collapses.



Figure 13 – Panther. Cecco d'Ascoli, *Acerba*, c. 1350-1375



Figure 22 – Tiger. Cecco d'Ascoli, *Acerba*, c. 1350-1375

Although it would have been remarkable to discover a truly illustrated work, this was merely an illusion. This leopard is an anomaly within this manuscript of the *Acerba*, for in the very next pages we encounter the classical iconographic programme of the bestiaries: almost indistinguishable animals, with the exception of the mirror and the scene of the hunting or pursuit of the tiger. We note, however, that

just as with the previously studied manuscript C-67, we are witnessing a transitional period regarding the function of the image. Turning our attention once more to our Tuscan bestiary, the observation remains the same. The image of the *leopardus* appears quite realistic to us, or at the very least approaches zoological reality. Nevertheless, when referring to the only other big cat in this bestiary (the folios concerning the tiger having been lost)—the panther—it is difficult to identify the animal without the support of the text. While we cannot elaborate on the illumination of the tiger, which is absent from this manuscript, it is nonetheless insightful to invoke menageries once more. The zoological realism of these leopards is necessarily linked to the presence of this animal in menageries, or at the very least, its presence in trade. Indeed, Thierry Buquet points out that the tiger was absent from Europe until 1475, a date subsequent to the production of our manuscripts. This accounts for the lack of realistic representation in these two manuscripts, the panther being equally impossible to depict realistically, since it does not exist in zoological reality.



Figure 15 – Panther. *Tuscan bestiary*, c. 1450

A Textual Evolution

The idea that a literary genre evolves over a period of a thousand years is not a revolutionary one. However, it is worthwhile to analyse these developments. We have already addressed this phenomenon, particularly regarding the factors driving these changes. It is now time to examine the outcomes of these transformations—or at least those we have not already discussed. This will also provide an opportunity to examine a rather unique manuscript: Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg.6.5, the sole representative of the Fourth Family of bestiaries.

Let us make a factual comparison of the content of our manuscripts. Taking the chapters on the panther in the bestiaries as an example, the oldest witness in our corpus is that of the *Physiologus* (c. 830). This chapter consists of 161 words. If we compare it to our latest bestiary, that of the fourth family[127], the same chapter comprises 832 words: it is thus five times longer, representing an increase in length of approximately 416 per cent. The same applies to the encyclopaedias. Comparing the chapters on the *leopardus* in Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* (c. 625) and Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum naturale* (c. 1259), the difference is even more substantial: 38 words in the *Etymologiae* against 393 words in the *Speculum naturale*, representing a tenfold increase (approximately 934 per cent)!

The explanation for this increase in size is quite simple: numerous bestiaries and encyclopaedias were produced during the Middle Ages, and, in accordance with the scribal practices of the period, authors copied their predecessors. It is for this entirely logical reason that more recent authors had more material to copy. But this is

[127] Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg.6.5 5, c. 1450-1475.

not the only reason. The size of bestiaries and encyclopaedias remained broadly stable between the seventh and twelfth centuries. Evidently, the scope of the compilations expanded because the corpus of works grew. It was primarily from the thirteenth century onwards that encyclopaedias assumed monumental proportions. This expansion was driven by everything we have discussed thus far: new knowledge stemming from trade, cultural transfers, and the rediscovery of scientific texts. Gradually, science itself occupied an increasingly prominent place within the texts. The theological sections, particularly in the bestiaries, were fairly static because they constituted a truth of the world. There were, of course, minor developments or additions, but fundamentally, the allegorical texts remained quite similar to one another when dealing with the same animals. This is perhaps what led to the decline of the bestiary genre after the 1320s and 1330s[128]. The case is different for encyclopaedias, which were in a state of constant evolution[129]. While each author copied his predecessors—or his contemporaries—he often introduced new knowledge. Where Isidore of Seville provided an etymology for the name of the lynx, Thomas of Cantimpré expounded an optical theory in his own chapter. Alexander Neckam, for his part, suggested something novel and quite astonishing. Indeed, in Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum naturale*, as he copies Neckam, we read: 'Nonnulli tamen in rerum naturis instructi potius ascribunt olfactus, quam vissus virtuti.'[130] While elaborating on the visual faculties of the lynx, Alexander Neckam proposes a new perspective, a new reflection, on the strength of the lynx's sense of smell—something entirely

[128] Pastoureau, M. (2020) : *Bestiaires du Moyen âge*, Points 569, Paris, 33.

[129] Over a very long period.

[130] 'However, some people, well-versed in the nature of things, attribute this to the sense of smell rather than to the faculty of sight.' (Author's translation).

unprecedented. Such innovations only very rarely found their way into the bestiaries, whose greatest advances lay in the addition of new animals. This is where the Bestiary of the Fourth Family comes into play, a unique case.

This bestiary of the Fourth Family serves as a prime example of the decline of the genre. While the elements that characterise it can be found in other manuscripts, it is nonetheless the sole text to combine all the factors indicative of exhaustion. Due to the lack of digitisation for this unique manuscript, we are forced to rely solely on the edition by Jacques-Paul Migne[131] and the articles of historians who have worked on this manuscript, notably Baudoin Van den Abeele[132]. In his work, Van den Abeele highlights the fact that this bestiary stands halfway between an encyclopaedia and a bestiary. Admittedly, numerous borrowings from Bartholomeus Anglicus's *De proprietatibus rerum* are to be found within it, yet the historian also underscores the work's lack of moralisation. As far as we are concerned, this is only partially true. According to Migne's edition[133], the chapter on the panther is entirely conventional, containing the usual descriptions and theological teachings[134]. While it is true that in the case of the *pard* and the *leopardus*, the moralisation has completely disappeared and the text bears a striking resemblance to the writings of Isidore of Seville or Bartholomeus Anglicus, the section on the tiger remains fairly classical: some works are more prolific regarding it,

[131] Migne, J.-P. (1854) : 'De bestiis et aliis rebus', *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina*, 177, 139.

[132] Van den Abeele, B. (2000): 'Un Bestiaire à la croisée des genres: Le manuscrit Cambridge UL Gg.6.5 ("Quatrième famille" du Bestiaire latin)', *Reinardus*, 13-1, 215–236. The substance of these paragraphs belongs to Baudouin Van den Abeele, whose cited article has informed our reflection.

[133] See corpus of sources.

[134] We address this subject in the third part.

whereas others are less so. Nevertheless, on the scale of the manuscript as a whole, it is recognised by its heavy interpolations originating from encyclopaedias and its partial abandonment of moralisations: it exhibits very little independent evolution, and when innovations do occur, they derive from encyclopaedias rather than from a *ex nihilo* renewal.

It is time to analyse the core of the subject: who are the big cats?

Symbolism of Christian Good and Evil: The Use of Big Cats

Typology of the Symbolism of Good and Evil

In the hands of the authors of bestiaries and encyclopaedias, big cats are powerful didactic tools. Each *scriptorium* or scholar, basing their knowledge on their predecessors, manipulates, develops, and enriches the symbolism of big cats. Regarding the symbolism of Good and Evil—in a Christian sense—it was necessary to establish a typology to understand what the authors intended to convey.

Understanding This Symbolism

Praise	Critique
Behaviour	Behaviour
Nature	Nature
Positive biblical reference	Negative biblical reference
Association with God or Christ	Association with God, Christ or the Devil
Allegorical exegesis	

The consultation and analysis of the corpus sources have enabled this table to emerge. Whether concerning the symbolism of Good or Evil, a system of praise and critique is observed, mirroring one another. Different factors that can serve as a foundation for our analyses can be discerned within the sources: the behaviour of the animal, its nature, references to the Bible, and associations with God,

Christ, or the Devil. Each of these elements contributes to the symbolism of Good or Evil.

The analysis of behaviour is fairly intuitive: an animal can do good, act in a Christian, charitable, or virtuous manner. Conversely, an animal can do evil or act in a sinful manner. The analysis of nature corresponds to what constitutes the very foundation of the animal: the latter may be evil, or not, by essence. The final two factors are equally clear: authors may associate the characteristics of big cats with biblical passages, in either a positive or a negative sense; the same applies to associations with God, Christ, or the Devil. However, one element differs: the notion of 'allegorical exegesis'.

Special Case: 'Allegorical Exegesis'

The case of 'allegorical exegesis' differs from the rest of the typology, as it specifically serves neither the symbolism of Good nor that of Evil. While the four criteria presented (behaviour, nature, biblical reference, association with God, etc.) engage in an intertextual dialogue, this is not the case for this new element.

Allegorical exegesis does not manifest itself in all the works of the corpus. It presents itself in the following manner: drawing on one of the four criteria of the typology, the author embarks upon a more or less lengthy digression within the text itself to address this element. This digression frequently deals with Christian theology or morality. The author, who is not systematically an ecclesiastic, having copied out his predecessors, takes a moment to step outside the compilation of knowledge he is in the process of building and sets down a moral gloss on his subject.

BIG CATS AND THE SYMBOLISM OF GOOD

To better understand the use of non-lion big cats in the symbolism of Good and Evil, it is important to address the symbolism of Good first.

THE SYMBOLIC ELEMENTS OF GOOD

Recap of the main animals studied: the *tiger*, the *lynx*, the *pard*, the *leopardus*, and the *panther*. It is appropriate to highlight the elements pertaining to the symbolism of Good for each of these big cats.

While the perception of the *tiger* evolves somewhat, texts reveal similar elements. The *tiger* is an animal whose nature is highlighted: its strength, speed, and courage, but also its behaviour (which could in fact, once again, stem from its nature): the tigress is characterised by her maternal instinct.

These elements are found in several texts. Pliny, in his *Natural History*, highlights the maternal aspect of the tigress: 'Ad ubi vacuum cubile repperit feta – maribus enim subolis cura non est, – fertur praeceps odore vestigans. [...] donec in navem regresso inrita feritas saevit in litore'[135]. While the maternity of the tigress is emphasised by Pliny the Elder, this is also the case with other authors. However, he is the sole author to do so in a purely positive manner[136].

[135] 'As soon as the mother has found her empty lair – for the males take no care of the offspring –, she rushes headlong, tracking the scent. [...] until, once [the hunter] has returned to the ship, her frustrated ferocity rages upon the shore.' Translated from Ernout, A. (2003) : *Histoire naturelle. Livre VIII*, Paris.

[136] See the section 'Representing the Big Cats', p. 79.

Texts highlighting the nature of the *tiger* (its strength, speed, and courage) are legion. One can read in Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, Rabanus Mauru"s *De universo*, or Lambert of Saint-Omer's *Liber Floridus*: 'Est enim bestia [...] virtute et velocitate mirabilis'[137]. This same element is reiterated in other works, such as the transitional-type bestiaries, the second family, and the third family.

It is not easy to find elements pertaining to the symbolism of Good in the *lynx*. As the risk of over-interpreting or misinterpreting the encyclopaedists' lengthy discussions concerning this feline's eyesight is high, only a single element of this symbolism can be found, in Albert the Great: '[...] innocum est homini [...]'. The *lynx* is harmless to man; its nature is therefore rather good. However, Albert the Great is the sole author to mention this element.

The case of the *pard* is quite simple: there is no element pertaining to the symbolism of Good concerning it. This animal will therefore be examined more substantially in the third part. The same applies to several other animals. As for the *leopardus*, although authors have much to say about it, no element pertaining to the symbolism of Good is to be found. The same holds true for the *leopardus*'s cousin according to Albert the Great, the *alphec*, which presents no element pertaining to this symbolism. A similar observation can be made for the *chama* (or *rufium*). This animal is found only in the encyclopaedists, but it is difficult to apply the symbolism of Good—or even that of Evil—to it. The situation is once again identical for the *ounce*, which is found solely in Vincent of Beauvais.

[137] 'For it is a beast [...] wonderful in strength and speed'. Translated from André, J. (1986) : *Des animaux, Étymologies 12*, Paris.

The Uniqueness of the Panther

One big cat has not yet been mentioned: the *panther*. This animal constitutes a unique case in our research. With the exception of the lion—and this prior to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries[138]—the *panther* is the sole big cat possessing an exclusively positive symbolism. It is a highly significant animal, if not the most significant, for the symbolism of Good. The elements characterising it remain remarkably stable across the centuries, even though novel variations may occasionally be observed. It fulfils all the criteria of our typology.

Several elements corresponding to the animal's nature can be discerned in the texts: '[...] ejus ut omnium animalium sit amicus inimicus autem est draconis.'[139] This excerpt highlights two characteristics of the *panther*: it is the friend of animals, yet the enemy of the dragon, which it terrifies. This quotation comes from the Latin *Physiologus*, but it can be found almost verbatim in a large number of manuscripts and works[140]. Other elements inherent to the nature of the *panther* may be noted. The sweetness, beauty, and uniqueness of this animal are highlighted by Guillaume le Clerc in his *Bestiaire divin*: 'Unkes sa per ne fu veüe/Ne plus dulce ne plus sueve'[141], as well as by Pierre de Beauvais in his *Bestiaire*: 'bele de grant beauté et molt soef.'[142]

For our typology, it was decided to separate the biblical references and the associations with God or Christ in order to highlight each of these aspects, although they are often intertwined in

[138] Pastoureau, M. (2007) : *L'ours: histoire d'un roi déchu*, Paris, 181.

[139] '[...] so that it is a friend to all animals, but an enemy to the dragon.' (Author's translation).

[140] At least in Pliny, Rabanus Maurus, *De natura animalium* (Third Family Bestiary), Vincent of Beauvais, or the Fourth Family Bestiary. See the corpus of sources.

[141] 'No one has ever seen its peer / Neither sweeter nor more pleasing.' (Author's translation).

[142] 'Beautiful of great beauty and very soft.' (Author's translation).

the texts. A large proportion of the texts directly associate the name or term 'panther' with God and Christ, often in various forms. In Philippe de Thaon's poem *Bestiaire*, this association manifests itself as follows: 'Deus co dit Salemun / que pantere est sun dreit nun / Pan co est "tut", Deus est pan / pur veir et sanz engain'[143]. Guillaume le Clerc also makes this association with God: 'Si verrun la verai pantere / Pur Deu e pur la veraie croix'[144]. This particularity of associating the panther's name with God is notably found, as we have just seen, in the French bestiaries. In the other sources, the panther is predominantly associated with Christ by allegory: 'Sic et dominus Noster Jesus Christus verus pantera'[145]. This can be read in the Second Family Bestiary, but also in all the other bestiaries (First Family of type B-Is and H, Transitional, Third and Fourth Families). The association with Christ can also manifest itself through the figure of King David: 'Quod spetiosum animal sic, David dicit de Christo, spetiosus prae filiis hominum.'[146] (First Family Bestiary, type B-Is).

Direct references to the Bible are also found in the sources. The authors are particularly expansive on two elements: the behaviour of the panther and its three-day sleep (which is developed below), and the sweet odour that emanates from its mouth upon waking. In all the bestiaries, the authors discuss the panther's breath, which they parallel with the word of Christ. Numerous biblical references are utilised: 'De hiis odoribus mandatorum ejus dicit David: "Diffusa est gratia in labiis

[143] 'God, so says Solomon / that panther is his rightful name / Pan, that is "all", God is all / in truth and without deceit.' (Author's translation).
[144] 'Thus we shall see the true panther / For God and for the true cross'. (Author's translation).
[145] 'Thus also our Lord Jesus Christ is the true panther'. (Author's translation).
[146] 'Just as this animal is thus beautiful, David says of Christ, beautiful beyond the sons of men.' (Author's translation).

tuis proptera benedixit te Dominus in eternum."'[147](Transitional-type Bestiary, Psalm 45 (44), 3); 'Propheta sic dicit factus sum sicut panter in domo Effrem' (Physiologus, Hosea 5:14). We also find:

> '[...] si comme Salemons dist de Nostre Segnor Jhesu Crist : "Il est sapience de Deu, esperis veritables, sains hom seus, monteploians, soutis, movables, certains, purs, verrais, soés, amans bien, covenables, que nule cose de bien ne devee a faire, pitieus, fers, estables, seurs, tos poissans, esgardans totes coses faisans tot, plus movable de sapience"'[148] (*Bestiaire* de Pierre de Beauvais, Sagesse 7, 22-23).

These examples are not exhaustive; bestiaries and encyclopaedias, notably concerning the panther, are replete with biblical references. The objective here is simple: to teach Christ through allegory.

The panther is the perfect allegory of Christ; it is difficult to detach oneself from this association. The behaviour of this big cat is thus intimately linked to that of the latter. By way of transition, we shall confine ourselves to citing the elements intrinsically linked to Christ in order to analyse them from a shared perspective immediately afterwards. In Rabanus Maurus's *De universo*, in Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, in the First Family bestiaries, in Bartholomew the Englishman's *De proprietatibus rerum*, and in Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum naturale*, one reads: '[...] ad eandem quicquid accipit reddit [...]'[149]. The panther returns whatever it receives, which will take on its

[147] 'grace is poured upon your lips. Therefore you are blessed by God for ever.' Translated from *Bible de Jérusalem*.

[148] '[...] just as Solomon says of our Lord Jesus Christ: "He is the wisdom of God, a true spirit, holy, a unique man, manifold, subtle, mobile, certain, pure, true, sweet, loving good, fitting, who forbids no good thing to be done, merciful, firm, stable, secure, all-powerful, overseeing all things, doing all, most mobile of wisdom."' (Pierre de Beauvais's *Bestiary*, Wisdom 7:22–23). (Author's translation).

[149] '[...] it returns to the same whatever it receives [...]' (Author's translation).

full significance in the remainder of our study. However, even without interpretation, this undoubtedly evokes the symbolism of Good. One can also read, for example, in Lambert of Saint-Omer's *Liber floridus*:

> '[...] commederit tribus diebus dormit ; post triduum ex surgens de somno emittit rugitum et cum rugitu exit de ore ejus odor suavitatis super omnia aromata. Cum ego audiunt vocem ejus, silvarus bestiae sequuntur eam propter odorem tante suavitatis.'[150]

This characteristic of the panther's behaviour is found in almost all the works. Moreover, it is straightforward to understand the metaphor underlying this behaviour, and thus its association with the symbolism of Good—we shall expand upon this point later.

It is clear that the bond uniting the panther to Christ is extremely strong. It is central to the study of this animal. Outside of the latest encyclopaedias—and indeed certain bestiaries—the panther is above all an allegory of Christ.

Allegory of Christ

Through our typology, we have seen that every element concerning the panther serves to transform it into an allegory of Christ. Beyond our typology, each characteristic trait of the panther can be associated with the latter. Let us briefly recall its attributes: it is

[150] '[...] having eaten, it sleeps for three days; after three days, arising from sleep, it utters a roar, and with the roar there comes forth from its mouth a sweet odour beyond all spices. When they hear its voice, the beasts of the forest follow it because of the odour of such great sweetness.' (Author's translation).

the friend of animals, its sweet breath attracts them, it frightens the dragon, and finally, it is of varied colours.

Upon reading the chapters devoted to the panther in the sources, a primary observation becomes clear: it is the friend of all animals. This aspect is mentioned from the earliest texts. Thus, one reads in the *Physiologus* (around the sixth century): 'Physiologus sic testificat de panterio quam talis est natura ejus ut omnium animalium sit amicus'[151]. The equivalent is found in Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* (625): 'Panter dictus, sive quod omnium animalium sit amicus [...]'[152]. The formulation evolves somewhat in the French verse bestiaries. One reads: 'e de bestes amee / tuz aime par raisun'[153] in Philippe de Thaon (c. 1121–1135), or 'Tutes bestes communement [...] / Ayment tut dis sa compaignie'[154] in Guillaume le Clerc (c. 1210–1211). These variations are of minor importance, as the point remains the same: the panther attracts animals to itself, they follow it, and they are close to it, in the image of Christ.

The metaphor is straightforward to understand. Jesus Christ is the saviour of humanity through his crucifixion, seeking to save all people—both the good and the bad—without distinction. As we have seen previously, the panther is the friend of all animals (with the exception of the dragon, a case we shall address below). Numerous passages in the Bible evoke this lack of distinction in Christ's attitude towards humankind. One reads in the Gospel of Matthew (Matt. 11:19) and in the Gospel of Luke (Luke 7:34): 'Look, a glutton and a drunkard, a friend of tax collectors and sinners!' (NRSV). This episode

[151] 'Physiologus thus testifies concerning the panther that such is its nature that it is a friend to all animals.' (Author's translation).
[152] 'Called panther, either because it is a friend to all animals [...]'. (Author's translation). Translated from André, J. (1986) : *Des animaux, Étymologies 12*, Paris.
[153] 'and loved by beasts / rightly loves all' (Author's translation).
[154] 'All beasts in common [...] / Always love its company'. (Author's translation).

demonstrates that Christ is a friend even to those whose behaviour is reprehensible. Another facet of this friendship for humankind appears in the First Epistle to Timothy (1 Tim. 2:3–4): 'This is right and is acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour, who desires everyone to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth.' (NRSV). Here again, one observes this universality (*katholikos*) in Jesus Christ, who seeks the salvation of all people. Another element supporting our point is found in the First Epistle of John (1 John 2:1–2): 'My little children, I am writing these things to you so that you may not sin. But if anyone does sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous; and he is the atoning sacrifice for our sins, and not for ours only but also for the sins of the whole world.' (NRSV). Even more explicitly, an episode in the Gospel of Mark (Mark 11:17) definitively reinforces this idea of universality: 'He was teaching them and saying, "Is it not written, 'My house shall be called a house of prayer for all the nations'? But you have made it a den of robbers."' (NRSV). The link between the panther as friend of all animals and Christ as friend of all humankind is thereby consolidated. Nevertheless, whether for the panther or for Christ, a single entity cannot receive Salvation.

The panther's sole enemy is the dragon. This characteristic is found across all bestiaries and encyclopaedias: '[...] inimicum solum habet draconem'[155] in Thomas of Cantimpré's *Liber de natura rerum*, 'Panthera dictus est sive quod omnium animalium sit amicus, excepto dracone [...]'[156] in Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum naturale*, or again

[155] '[...] it has the dragon as its only enemy' (Author's translation).
[156] 'It is called panther, either because it is a friend to all animals, except for the dragon [...]' (Author's translation).

'Phisiologes dist de ceste best que li dragons le het molt [...]'[157] in Pierre de Beauvais's *Bestiary*. Why the dragon? Why only the dragon? If the panther is an allegory of Christ and has only one enemy, this enemy can be none other than a single entity: Satan. This key to understanding is provided in the *Physiologus*: 'Draconem antiquum diabolum valde dissimulem ut dominus persequitur, nam nihil scripturae sine similitudine nobis dixerit'[158]. The metaphor is straightforward: the dragon is the Devil. This passage echoes a verse from the Bible, the Book of Revelation (Rev. 12:9): 'The great dragon was thrown down, that ancient serpent, who is called the Devil and Satan, the deceiver of the whole world—he was thrown down to the earth, and his angels were thrown down with him.' (NRSV). The panther has its enemy, the dragon; Christ has his, Satan.

While the panther's relations with other animals and its enmity toward the dragon are often confined to textual sources, the panther's breath is frequently corroborated by iconography. In Latin encyclopaedias and bestiaries, one often encounters the following formulation: 'Cum autem audierint vocem ejus cetera animalia propter suavitatem odoris sequuntur eam quocumque ierit'[159] (Second Family Bestiary), or '[...] simulque odorem nimie suavitatis emittit cum rugitu, ita ut odor hujus modi precellat omnia aromata et pigmenta'[160] (First Family Bestiary, Type H). In a French bestiary such as Philippe de Thaon's, it is expressed as follows: 'de sa buche isterad /

[157] 'Physiologus says of this beast that the dragon hates it greatly [...]' (Author's translation).
[158] 'The Lord pursues the ancient dragon, the devil, who is utterly unlike [him], for Scripture has told us nothing without a similitude.' (Author's translation).
[159] 'And when the other animals hear its voice, on account of the sweetness of its odour they follow it wherever it goes.' (Author's translation).
[160] '[...] and at the same time it emits an odour of exceeding sweetness with its roar, so that an odour of this kind surpasses all spices and perfumed ointments.' (Author's translation).

un tel odurement / cume fust basme u piment'[161]. As mentioned previously, this element finds a direct echo in the iconography. Several images from the corpus of sources can be observed below.



Figure 23 – *Second family bestiary*



Figure 8 – Guillaume le Clerc, *Bestiaire divin* (detail)

[161] 'from its mouth shall issue / such a sweet scent / as if it were balsam or spiced wine' (Author's translation).



Figure 7 – Philippe de Thaon, *Bestiaire* (detail)

In the chapters devoted to the panther, this element systematically occurs when the authors explain that, once sated, it falls asleep for three days, then awakens. It is at this moment that it exhales such a sweet odour. Beyond the obvious reference to the Resurrection of Christ, the metaphor surrounding its breath and this sweetness extends further.

In this part of the chapter on the panther, its breath is also a Christological metaphor. It attracts animals just as Christ attracts humankind through his word. In the Bible, more precisely in the Gospel of John (John 1:1, 14), it is affirmed that Jesus Christ is the incarnation of the Word: 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. [...] And the Word became flesh and lived among us, and we have seen his glory, the glory as of a father's only son, full of grace and truth.' (NRSV). The Book of Revelation (Rev. 19:13) corroborates this notion: '[...] he is clothed in a robe dipped in blood, and his name is called The Word of God.' (NRSV). The breath embodies the Word, while the sweet scent symbolises the words of Christ.

In addition to the metaphor of the Word, the parallel between the panther and Christ can be further reinforced. The notion of

'odour' is found throughout the New Testament. One reads, for instance, in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians (2 Cor. 2:15–16): 'For we are the aroma of Christ to God among those who are being saved and among those who are perishing; to the one a fragrance from death to death, to the other a fragrance from life to life. Who is sufficient for these things?' (NRSV). Although biblical references could be multiplied (e.g. Song of Songs 1:2–3), this citation suffices to establish the link with the symbolism of Goodness: the fragrance of Christ leads to life. The same therefore holds true for the panther.

The Question of Its Coat

The question of the panther's coat is considerably more complex and contradictory. To understand the symbolism of this coat, one must draw upon historiography, the Bible, and the primary sources, which shall be examined first.

Although the sources sometimes diverge in form, they lead to the same conclusions. One reads in Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*: 'Bestia minimis orbiculis superpicta, ita ut oculatis ex fulvo circulis, nigra vel alba distinguatur varietate'[162]; in Lambert of Saint-Omer's *Liber floridus*: 'Panthera bestia, nigra ut alba, orbiculata varietate distinguitur, fulvis depicta orbiculis'[163]; in Philippe de Thaon's *Bestiary*: 'si ad plusurs culurs'[164]; or in a linguistic variant in Gervaise's

[162] '[a] beast overpainted with tiny round spots, such that it is distinguished by a black or white variegation with eye-like tawny circles' (Author's translation). Translation from André, J. (1986) : *Des animaux, Étymologies 12*, Paris.
[163] 'The panther beast, black as well as white, is distinguished by a round variegation, painted with tawny circles' (Author's translation).
[164] 'and it has many colours' (Author's translation).

Bestiary: 'La beste est de plisors colors'[165]. A detailed account of the colours is given in Guillaume le Clerc's *Bestiaire divin*: 'E si blanche, e ynde, e bleue / E jaune, e verte, e ruse, e bise / E coloree de meinte guise'[166] and in Gossuin of Metz's *Image du monde*: '[...] qui de diverses coleurs par taches blanches et noires et verz et yndes et jaunes, ausi comme s'ele feust painte.'[167] These extracts illustrate rather exhaustively all that can be found in the sources regarding the panther's 'appearance': an animal studded with small, round, multicoloured spots.

To address the question before us, one must turn to historiography. For five decades, Michel Pastoureau has dedicated his research to the three domains that concern us: symbolism, animals, and colours.

To gain a fuller understanding of this overall line of inquiry, the reader is invited to refer to the chapter 'Plain, Striped, Powdered, Spotted' in Michel Pastoureau's *The Devil's Cloth: A History of Stripes and Striped Fabric*[168]. The passages shedding light on our argument are as follows:

> 'The spotted pattern is an irregular *semé*. Not only are the small figures arranged in a disorderly manner, but they themselves have an irregular shape: no longer stars, bezants, or crosslets, but misshapen motifs or simple spots. In doing so, they convey an **idea of disorder, confusion, and transgression.** Visually, the boundary differentiating the

[165] 'The beast is of many colours' (author's translation).
[166] 'And white, and indigo, and blue / And yellow, and green, and red, and grey-brown / And coloured in many ways' (Author's translation).
[167] '[...] which is of diverse colours through white, black, green, indigo, and yellow spots, as if it were painted.' (Author's translation).
[168] Pastoureau, M. (2014) : L'étoffe du diable : une histoire des rayures et des tissus rayés, Points H386, Paris, 23-26.

> *semé* from the spotted is not always clear; but symbolically, they are two worlds situated in direct opposition to one another. On one side the sacred, on the other the diabolical. On the **bodies of men and animals, the spotted indeed serves to convey the idea of hairiness, impurity, or disease.** That which is spotted often relates to the **pustular**, the **scrofulous**, and the **bubonic**. In a society where skin diseases are simultaneously the most serious, the most frequent, and the most dreaded—one might think here of the fate reserved for "lepers"—spottiness represents degradation, banishment from the social order, the antechamber to death and hell. Indeed, in images, demons and satanic creatures are often spotted.'
>
> 'This is equally true of animals. **Those whose coats are either striped (*tigridus*) or spotted (*maculosus*) are creatures to be feared.** They can be cruel and bloodthirsty like the tiger, the hyena, and the leopard—the medieval leopard, which bears little relation to the actual feline of the same name, always symbolically represents a bad lion—thieving like the trout or the magpie, cunning like the snake or the wasp, diabolical like the cat or the dragon. Even the zebra, upon which Renaissance zoologists love to discourse, is considered a dangerous animal at the end of the Middle Ages. Admittedly, authors have never seen it and know it very poorly (they mistake it for a sort of ass or onager); but, because they know it to be striped, they make it a cruel and diabolical creature and include it in Satan's bestiary. We shall see further on how this little-known animal is reappraised during the Enlightenment.'

In this work, as its title indicates, Michel Pastoureau examines the history of fabrics, as well as the symbolism surrounding them. A general finding emerges across his work: the 'spotted' pattern carries a deeply negative symbolism. It represents disease, Evil, or hairiness. Yet, it seems difficult to believe that medieval theologians and scriptoria would have attached an element laden with such pejorative symbolism

to the allegory of Jesus Christ. In *Bestiaires du Moyen Âge*[169], Michel Pastoureau devotes a paragraph to the panther's coat:

> 'First of all, its coat: it is not uniform but made of different colours, most often seven—a number which in the Middle Ages constitutes a totality, indeed perfection. What are these **seven colours**? **Most authors do not say**; others disagree, particularly regarding the presence of white and black on the coat. **Red**, **blue**, **green**, **yellow**: yes. **Brown**: probably. But for the two remaining colours, one must choose between **purple**, **orange** (*luteus*), **grey**, **black**, or **white**. Likewise, how are these seven colours arranged? Here again, there is disagreement. The panther can be **striped**, **spotted**, **scattered with stars or small circles** across its entire body.'

Pastoureau's synthesis regarding the panther's coat aligns with our observations. Explicit mention of these seven colours is rather rare. However, when they are cited, as in the excerpt from Guillaume le Clerc's *Bestiaire divin*, the number seven is indeed present. Nevertheless—as is the case in the extract from Gossuin de Metz's *Image du monde*—this figure is not systematic: only five colours are listed in this work. An analysis of our iconographic corpus, taking into account both the pelt and the spots, reveals that depictions of the panther display an average of three or four colours: green predominates (89%), followed by white (56%), then in equal measure blue, red, and brown (44%), preceding black (22%) and grey (11%)[170]. Regarding the distribution of colours, our corpus aligns closely with Michel Pastoureau's observations. A paradox nevertheless persists: in light of the historian's work, the entire symbolic universe surrounding

[169] Pastoureau, M. (2020) : *Bestiaires du Moyen âge*, Points 569, Paris, 89-90.

[170] Out of nine depictions of the panther, eight feature green, five white, four blue, red, or brown, two black, and one grey.

the panther's coat revolves around Evil and negativity. This stands in complete contradiction to the allegory of this big cat.

Let us set aside historiography to return to the primary sources. Aside from its physical description, the bestiaries and encyclopaedias remain silent regarding the panther's coat, with the exception of the *Physiologus*: 'Varium est enim aspectus illius sicut tonica Joseph etiam et totus varius est.'[171] This sentence is highly interesting and provides nuance. Based solely on Pastoureau's work, one might believe that the panther's symbolism is negative, which constitutes a troubling paradox, as it is the allegory of Jesus Christ. It is difficult to imagine that a cleric could have attributed negative aspects to the Lord. This sentence refers to the Book of Genesis (Gen. 37:3, 23): 'Israel loved Joseph more than all his other sons, for he was the son of his old age, and he had a coat of many colours made for him'; 'So when Joseph reached his brothers, they pulled off his coat, the coat of many colours he was wearing.' (Jerusalem Bible). The answer to this question is found in the *Glossa ordinaria*[172], the authoritative compilation of biblical glosses. In the interlinear gloss, one reads: 'allegorice: tunicam polimitam id est varietatem populorum ex omnibus gentibus congretam in Christi corpore adherentem sibi Ecclesiam ex omnibus gentibus'[173]. This is the gloss for verse three of Genesis 37. The commentary on verse twenty-three corroborates this idea by establishing a link between Joseph and Jesus Christ,

[171] 'For its appearance is varied [multicoloured], just as Joseph's tunic is also entirely varied.' (Author's translation).

[172] *Glossa ordinaria*, ed. by Martin Morard, *Sacra Pagina* (Paris: IRHT-CNRS) https://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/page.php?id=4 [accessed 11 April 2026].

[173] 'Allegorically: the multi-coloured tunic, that is, the variety of peoples gathered from all nations, adhering to the body of Christ, [which is] the Church [assembled] from all nations.'(Author's translation).

reaffirming the value of comparing the panther's coat with Joseph's tunic:

> 'Carne assumpta que omni virtute perfecta'[174] (interlinear gloss).
> 'Nudaverunt eum etc. Isidorus. Et Iudei Christum per mortem expoliaverunt tunica corporali et polimita id est decorata omnium virtutum diversitate. Resperserunt autem tunicam sanguine hedi quia falsis testimoniis eum accusantes in invidiam peccati deduxerunt. Ioseph mittitur in cisternam id est in lacum et Christus expoliatus carne humana descendit ad infernum.'[175]

As Joseph constitutes a prefiguration of Christ, it seems pertinent to draw upon the example of his garment when examining the panther's coat.

Following this exegetical digression, let us return to our primary sources. A final parallel can be drawn between the panther's coat and Jesus Christ. The animal's polychromy, whether in textual sources or in iconography, finds its justification in a specific passage common to several bestiaries and the Bible: the manifold virtues of Christ. By way of example, one reads in Pierre de Beauvais's *Bestiaire*:

> 'La panterre est de diverses colors coloree, si comme Salemons dist de Nostre Segnor Jhesu Crist : "Il est sapience de Deu, esperis veritables, sains hom seus, monteploians soutis, movables, certains, purs, verrais, soés, amans bien, covenables,

[174] 'The assumed flesh, which is perfect in every virtue.' (Author's translation).
[175] '[...] They stripped him, etc. Isidore. And the Jews stripped Christ through death of his corporeal and multi-coloured tunic, that is, decorated with the diversity of all virtues. Moreover, they sprinkled the tunic with the blood of a kid, because, by accusing him with false testimonies, they brought upon him the reproach of sin. Joseph is cast into the cistern, that is, into the pit, and Christ, stripped of human flesh, descended into hell.' (author's translation).

> que nul cose de bien ne devee a faire, pitieus, fers, estables, seurs, tos poissans, esgardans totes coses faisans tot, plus movables de sapience'.[176]

This extract is also found in Latin bestiaries. However, its source lies in the Bible, namely the Book of Wisdom (Wis. 7:22–23):

> 'For within her is a spirit intelligent, holy, unique, manifold, subtle, active, incisive, unsullied, lucid, invulnerable, loving the good, keen, unhindered, beneficent, kindly to man, steadfast, dependable, unruffled, all-powerful, all-surveying, penetrating through all spirits, intelligent, pure, most subtle.' (*Jerusalem Bible*)

Pierre de Beauvais begins by evoking the panther's colours, establishing the link between these multiple colours and the manifold virtues of Christ.

Faced with these contradictions, what stance should be adopted regarding the work of Michel Pastoureau and, more broadly, historiography? It appears that the panther's coat is an exception. The customary symbolism concerning colours and patterns simply does not apply to the panther's coat. To justify, decode, and understand the truth behind the animal and allegorical body of Christ, one must apply the interpretative framework of medieval scholars. This approach enables us to consolidate our initial argument: the panther is the allegory of Christ.

[176] 'The panther is coloured with diverse colours, just as Solomon said of Our Lord Jesus Christ: "He is the wisdom of God, a true spirit, holy, unique, manifold, subtle, movable, certain, pure, true, sweet, loving the good, fitting, forbidding no good thing to be done, merciful, steadfast, stable, sure, almighty, overseeing all things, accomplishing all, more movable than wisdom."' (Author's translation).

Big Cats and the Symbolism of Evil

The Symbolic Elements of Evil

While the sources prove rather reticent regarding the symbolism of Good, with the obvious exception of the panther, they are, conversely, far more expansive concerning the symbolism of Evil. As previously mentioned, our typology operates as a mirror image. We therefore find the same analytical criteria: behaviour, nature, biblical references, or indeed associations with God, Christ, or the Devil. It should be noted, however, that such references or associations are less frequent. When present, they fall more readily into the category of 'allegorical exegesis'.

Regarding the tiger, we previously highlighted its maternal aspect, alongside its strength and speed. This time, numerous criticisms are raised. The tiger's behaviour is reproached in Pierre de Beauvais's *Bestiaire*: 'Lors le gaitent tant qi le voient aler deduire et que il nes pas sor sa fosse a ses faons, et dont li emblent hors de sa fosse.'[177] A significant difference from our earlier analysis can be observed. While the tigress embodied a fierce maternity, attached to her offspring, her behaviour as an individual who yields to pleasure provides a signal for the abductors of her cubs. If one makes a brief courtly digression, the tiger's behaviour is criticised, in a different style, in Richard de Fournival's *Bestiaire d'Amour*:

[177] 'Then they watch it until they see it go to take its pleasure and that it is not over its den with its cubs, and then they steal them from its den.' (Author's translation).

> 'M'aida dont la veue a perdre ? Oill : miex fui ge pris par mon veoir que tygres n'est au miroir, qui ja ne sera tant courouchié de ses faons, a son li a embles, ke s'ele encontre un miroir, k'il ne li coviegne a ses ex aerdre et se delite tant au mirer la grant biauté de sa bone taille que ele oublyue a cacier chiaus ki li emportent ses faons et s'areste illuec come prise.'[178]

An extract from Pierre de Beauvais, closely resembling this one, will be examined in the section devoted to the critique of the tiger's nature. However, it applies more readily to courtly love, thereby pertaining more to behaviour than to nature. We are departing from our strictly Christian interpretative framework of the symbolism of Good and Evil, but it was interesting to note a singular analysis of a central element concerning the tiger: the use of the mirror during the capture of its cubs.

The tiger's nature is also criticised. The *Liber floridus* indicates, for example: '[...] crudelis est, nemini parcens'[179]. This cruelty is also highlighted in Pierre de Beauvais's *Bestiaire*: 'Cele beste est de tel nature qu'ele est si fiere et si cruels que nus hom vivans ne l'ose abiter.'[180] The tiger is described as a wicked, dangerous animal, which man seeks to avoid. A decidedly dark portrait emerges from these descriptions. This is not the only fault Pierre de Beauvais finds with the tiger. In a lengthy development, he writes:

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[178] 'Did my sight, then, contribute to my ruin? Yes: I was more thoroughly ensnared by my seeing than the tiger is by the mirror; who will never be so enraged over her cubs, when they have been stolen from her, that if she encounters a mirror, she is not compelled to fix her gaze upon it, and delights so much in admiring the great beauty of her fine form that she forgets to pursue those who carry off her cubs, and halts there as if captured.' (Author's translation). Translation from Bianciotto, G. (2009) : *Le bestiaire d'amour et la Response du bestiaire*, Champion Classique 27, Paris.

[179] '[...] it is cruel, sparing no one.' (Author's translation).

[180] 'This beast is of such a nature that it is so fierce and so cruel that no living man dares approach it.' (Author's translation).

> 'Et li veneor prenent lor mireors et les metent en la voie si comme il s'en vont ; et la tigre si est de tel nature que ne sera ja tant corecie se ele voit I mireor que il ne l'i covient ses ex aerdre. Lors quide que ce soient si faon qu'ele ivoit ens et conjoït s'ymage par grant deduit. Et quide chertainement avoir son faon trové. Et se delite tant a regarder la beaute de sa bone taille que ele en oblit a cahier cels qui ses faons li ont emblé et s'areste iluec tote coie alsi comme s'ele fust prise. Et en itel maniere en portent li veneor les faons.'[181]

We learn the following fact from this: the only thing capable of rendering the tigress inert is the image of her offspring.

The sources contain a few biblical references. Rabanus Maurus, in his *De universo*, cites the Book of Job: '[...] unde in Job scriptum est: "Tigris periit eo quod non haberet predam et catuli leonum dissipati sunt".'[182] While this quotation is taken directly from the Vulgate (Job 4:11), a peculiarity of translation should nevertheless be pointed out: the use of *tigris* is a stylistic feature of the Latin translation. The term 'ant-lion' (*myrmicoleon*) is found in the Greek translations, and *layish* (one of the five terms designating the lion in the Hebrew Bible[183]) in the Hebrew. In Thomas of Cantimpré, we

[181] 'And the hunters take their mirrors and place them in the path as they depart; and the tiger is of such a nature that she will never be so enraged that, if she sees a mirror, she is not compelled to fix her gaze upon it. Then she believes that it is her cubs she sees within, and rejoices in her image with great delight. And she believes with certainty that she has found her cub. And she delights so much in admiring the beauty of her fine form that she forgets to pursue those who have stolen her cubs from her, and halts there quite still, as if she were captured. And in such a manner the hunters carry away the cubs.' (Author's translation).

[182] '[...] whence it is written in Job: "The tiger has perished because it had no prey, and the whelps of the lions are scattered."' (Author's translation).

[183] For further discussion on this matter, see E. Kuhry, 'La fourmi-lion ou myrmicoleon: origine, transmission et avatars d'une chimère', *RursuSpicae*, 5 (2023).

find a reference to the Epistle of James (Jas 2:10): 'qui offenderit in uno, factus est omnius reus.'[184]

In Rabanus Maurus once again, we find an entirely explicit association with the Devil: 'Tigris autem mistice significat astutiam diaboli'[185].

The symbolism of Good was rather limited concerning the lynx, because it is an animal belonging primarily to the symbolism of Evil.

In the bestiaries, one element of the lynx's behaviour is particularly highlighted: 'Nam egestum liquorem arenis in quantum potuerint contegunt, invidia quadam nature, ne talis egestio transeat in usum humanum.'[186] (Transitional Family Bestiary). The lynx, whose urine transforms into a precious stone (*ligurius*), decides to conceal this stone so that men cannot take possession of it.

If one extends the definition of the animal's nature (what it is as an animal), a rather astonishing statement can be read in Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum naturale*: '[...] ungues lincum omnes cum corio tradunt in Carpato, efficacissime exuri eoque cinere poto precipue virorum libidines inhiberi.'[187] Christian doctrine and earthly pleasures are indeed quite often antithetical.

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[184] Form in the Vulgate: 'Quicumque autem totam legem servaverit, offendat autem in uno, factus est omnius reus.' Translated in the Jerusalem Bible: 'For if a man keeps the whole of the law, except for one small point at which he fails, he is still guilty of breaking it all.'

[185] 'The tiger, moreover, mystically signifies the cunning of the devil.' (Author's translation).

[186] 'For they cover the excreted liquid with sand as much as they can, through a certain envy of nature, lest such an excretion should pass into human use.' (Author's translation).

[187] '[...] they relate that on [the island of] Karpathos, all the claws of the lynx along with its skin are most effectively burned, and by drinking that ash, the lusts of men in particular are inhibited.' (Author's translation).

No explicit biblical reference appears in the chapters devoted to the lynx. A few resemblances can be found, notably in terms of vocabulary, but nothing that can be seriously substantiated. The same applies to associations with God, Christ, or the Devil, which are entirely absent from these chapters. Consequently, the interest of this animal lies essentially in its behaviour and its nature.

The case of the pard proves to be simpler. It is a large feline laden with an exclusively negative symbolism. It is perhaps the most malevolent of the felines, in competition with the *leopardus*.

Its behaviour is described, among other sources, in the *De natura animalium*: '[...] princeps ad sanguinem, saltu enim ad mortem ruit.'[188] It is the only animal—along with the *leopardus* (due to its lineage)—whose hunting method is depicted, and in a negative manner, even though the other large felines also kill and eat.

The analysis of the pard's nature is fundamentally linked to its sexuality, and thus to the *leopardus*, which we shall examine later, where this aspect will be more fully developed. The description of its nature is very succinct, yet highly explicit, in Bartholomaeus Anglicus's *De proprietatibus rerum*: 'Est autem animal libidinosum [...]'[189].

A few biblical references concerning the pard can be found. Vincent of Beauvais, taking up Saint Ambrose, writes: 'Ambrosius. Pardus coloris varietate, prodit motus varios anime sue. Unde propheta Jeremias: "Si mutare potest inquit pardus varietates suas".'[190] The origin of this quotation is found in the Book of Jeremiah (Jer.

[188] '[...] foremost for blood, for it rushes to death with a leap.' (author's translation).
[189] 'It is, moreover, a lustful animal [...]' (Author's translation).
[190] 'Ambrose. The pard, through the variety of its colour, reveals the various motions of its soul. Whence the prophet Jeremiah says: "If the pard, he says, can change its spots [varieties]".' (Author's translation).

13:23): 'Si mutare potest Æthiops pellem suam, aut pardus varietates suas, et vos poteritis benefacere, cum didiceritis malum.'[191] Several biblical references are found in Rabanus Maurus's *De universo*: 'Apocalipsi: "Et bestia quae ascendebat de mare similis pardo".' This is a reference to the Book of Revelation (Rev. 13:2): 'The Beast that I saw resembled a panther [...]'[192]. The pard is the Beast of Revelation: it is difficult to draw a more damning comparison than this within a Christian context such as ours. Still within the same work, another reference is found: 'Alibi tamen scriptum est: "Habitabit lupus cum agno et pardus cum hedo cubabit" [...]'[193] (Isa. 11:6). In Bartholomaeus Anglicus's *De proprietatibus rerum*, one can find a reference to the Book of Hosea: 'Pardus raptis catulis est nimis sevus, ut dicit Glosa super Osee XII.'[194] In reality, this refers to the Book of Hosea (Hos. 13:7–8): 'I have therefore been to them like a lion, like a leopard[195], by the wayside I lay in wait; I fell upon them like a bear deprived of her cubs, I tore the covering of their heart; there I devoured them like a lioness, the wild beast tore them.' Here, Bartholomaeus Anglicus has reappropriated these two verses to apply them to the pard.

It is once again in Rabanus Maurus that an explicit association with the Devil can be found: 'Pardus autem mistice

[191] 'If the Ethiopian can change his skin, or the pard its spots, then you also may do well, when you have learned to do evil.' (Author's translation).
[192] 'In the Apocalypse: "And the beast which came up from the sea was like a pard".' (Author's translation).
[193] 'Yet elsewhere it is written: "The wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the pard shall lie down with the kid" [...]' (Author's translation).
[194] 'The pard, when its cubs are snatched, is exceedingly fierce, as the Gloss on Hosea 12 says.' (Author's translation).
[195] The choice of translation for the term *pardus* by the École biblique de Jérusalem.

significat diabolum [...]'[196]. After having been associated with the Beast of Revelation, the pard is now associated with the Devil.

The *leopardus* follows in the lineage of the pard: an evil animal. While little information is found concerning it in the bestiaries, the encyclopaedists are far more loquacious. The behaviour of the *leopardus* is the subject of lengthy developments. Let us first examine Bartholomaeus Anglicus and his *De proprietatibus rerum*:

[196] It is once again in Rabanus Maurus that an explicit association with the Devil can be found: 'Pardus autem mistice significat diabolum [...]'. After having been associated with the Beast of Revelation, the pard is now associated with the Devil.

> 'Corpus cum cauda et pedibus leoni assimilatur, sed in capite forma pardi imitatur. Leone autem corpore est minor et leoni masculo mirabiliter est exosus. Unde timens leonem facit foveam subterraneam duplex orificium habentem, unum per quod intrat, aliud per quod exit. Est autem fovea illa in utroque orificia valde ampla, et in medio magis stricta. Veniente itaque leone subito in foveam se mergit, quem persequens leo foveam cum impetu subintrat, ubi triumphare putat de leopardo. Sed propter magnitudinem corporis per in medium fovee ubi strictior est, libere transire nequit, quem sciens leopardus ibi in strictura impeditum, illico foveam egreditur, et iterum in parte opposita foveam intrans, leonem a tergo morsibus et unguibus agreditur, et sic sepe arte non viribus de leone victoriam obtinet leopardus. **Et sic bestia de forciori si per astuciam in antro victoriam obtinet, quem per potentiam in publico invadere non audet**, sicut narrat Homerus *Liber de pugnis et astuciis bestiarum*'[197]

From this lengthy development, one essential point must be retained: the *leopardus* employs cunning rather than courage or strength. Different elements concerning its behaviour are found in other works. Albertus Magnus, in his *De animalibus*, offers us a singular piece of

[197] 'Its body, with its tail and feet, is similar to a lion, but in its head it imitates the form of a pard. It is, however, smaller in body than the lion, and is wondrously hated by the male lion. Whence, fearing the lion, it makes a subterranean den having a double opening, one through which it enters, another through which it exits. That den, moreover, is very wide at both openings, and narrower in the middle. Therefore, when the lion comes, it suddenly plunges into the den; the pursuing lion rushes into the den with force, where it thinks to triumph over the leopard. But on account of the size of its body, it cannot pass freely through the middle of the den where it is narrower. The leopard, knowing it to be impeded there in the narrow passage, immediately exits the den, and entering the den again from the opposite side, attacks the lion from behind with bites and claws, and thus the leopard often obtains victory over the lion by cunning, not by strength. **And thus the beast obtains victory over a stronger one by cunning in a cave, whom it does not dare to attack by force in the open**, as Homer narrates in the *Liber de pugnis et astuciis bestiarum*.' (Author's translation).

information: 'Leopardus diligit vinum, ita quod inebriatus capitur.'[198] The *leopardus* exhibits a behavioural flaw, which leads to its captivity and utilisation by men.

The nature of the *leopardus* constitutes the most central element of this large feline. The principal criticism levelled against it lies in its conception, which is found throughout the entirety of the textual tradition: 'Sicut et Plinius in Naturali hystoria dicit: leonem cum parda aut pardum cum leaena concumbere, et ex utroque degeneres partus creari ut mulus et burdo.'[199] (Second Family Bestiary). The very existence of the *leopardus* is perceived as something evil. It is important to note the filiation of the pard and the *leopardus*. This filiation, depending on the sources, is found in the paragraph devoted to the pard or the *leopardus*; sometimes the two paragraphs form but a single entry, highlighting the symbolic porosity of these felines. Following its cunning, its taste for wine, and its coming into the world, Thomas of Cantimpré criticises its nature as a hunter:

> 'Quam si quarto aut quinto salcu capere non potest, subsistit iratus ferociter et nisi statim venator bestiam furenti offerat, cujus sanguine placetur, irruit in venatorem vel quoscumque obvios, quia impossibile est placari eum nisi in sanguine.'[200]

The *leopardus* was domesticated in certain regions (the Islamic, Byzantine, and Germanic worlds under certain emperors) for hunting,

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[198] 'The *leopardus* loves wine, so much so that it is captured when intoxicated.' (Author's translation).

[199] 'As Pliny also says in the *Natural History*: the lion mates with the pard, or the pard with the lioness, and from either a degenerate offspring is created, like the mule and the hinny.' (Author's translation).

[200] 'If it cannot capture [its prey] by the fourth or fifth leap, it stops, fiercely angered, and unless the hunter immediately offers a beast to the raging creature, by whose blood it may be appeased, it attacks the hunter or whoever is in its path, because it is impossible to appease it except with blood.' (Author's translation).

but even when domesticated, it is impossible to erase its wicked nature. This is, moreover, what Thomas of Cantimpré himself tells us: 'Domesticantur aliquando, sed nunquam sic, ut sue crudelitatis obliviscantur; domesticantur tamen ad venandum. Igitur cum in venacione ducuntur, relaxantur ad predam.'[201] This observation is corroborated by Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum naturale*: 'Cum pardus bestia crudelissima sit, aliquando quidem domesticatur, sed nunquam sic, ut crudelitatis sue obliviscatur.'[202] It should be noted that here, although we are in the chapter *De leopardo*, Vincent of Beauvais employs the term *pardus*.

The chapters devoted to the *leopardus* are rather sparse in biblical references. The sole reference to be found in our sources is also encountered in relation to the pard: Jeremiah 13:23, which we have already examined. Regarding associations with the Devil, we find none. The *leopardus* being primarily an animal of the encyclopaedias, we find few elements pertaining to Christian symbolism.

Once again, we shall group together the 'secondary' large felines, about which the texts say very little: the ounce, the alphec, and the chama. As with the symbolism of Good, nothing explicit is said concerning the chama in the sources, aside from its appearance and its introduction into the Roman games by Pompey. It is more a matter of a rather secondary ancient legacy, which is scarcely developed in the encyclopaedias and bestiaries.

The nature of the ounce and the alphec is much better documented. Vincent of Beauvais tells us something simple: 'Uncia est

[201] 'They are sometimes domesticated, but never in such a way that they forget their cruelty; they are, however, domesticated for hunting. Therefore, when they are taken hunting, they are released upon the prey.' (Author's translation).
[202] 'Although the pard is a most cruel beast, it is indeed sometimes domesticated, but never in such a way that it forgets its cruelty.' (Author's translation).

animal sevissimum [...]'[203]. Albertus Magnus provides us with more precise details regarding the nature of his alphec, which he introduced into the encyclopaedias by drawing upon Arabic knowledge: '[...] natum autem ex leone et leopardo, et est ferox nimis et nocivum.'[204] Two elements are raised in this sentence. It must first be noted that, like the pard and the *leopardus*, the alphec is a bastard, born of the lion and an animal which is itself a bastard, the *leopardus*. As we shall see in the following section, this bastard lineage is an essential point for our analysis. The second point is the character of the animal, which is described as evil and vicious.

Only Albertus Magnus, in his *De animalibus*, deals with the behaviour of his large feline. The alphec is similar to the *leopardus*: 'Aliquando autem domesticatum cum ducitur ad venandum, nisi multum blandiatur ei venator, retrocedit et occidit homines et canes [...]'[205]. The alphec, too, is a dangerous animal to use in a cynegetic context.

No biblical references or associations with the Devil are found for these large felines.

To conclude this overview of the symbolism of Evil, a few original features concerning the panther should be noted. These elements can be found in two sources: the *Bestiaire d'Amour* of Richard de Fournival—which, *de facto*, does not belong to our context of Christian theology, since it deals with love—and in two encyclopaedists, Bartholomaeus Anglicus and Thomas of Cantimpré. An important point must also be noted: the two encyclopaedists deal

[203] 'The ounce is a most savage animal [...]' (Author's translation).
[204] '[...] born, moreover, from a lion and a *leopardus*, and it is exceedingly fierce and harmful.' (Author's translation).
[205] 'Sometimes, moreover, when domesticated and led out to hunt, unless the hunter flatters it a great deal, it turns back and kills men and dogs [...]' (Author's translation).

more with the 'real animal' which they call the panther (although the notion of real and imaginary animals must be handled with very great caution), and not with the allegorical object of the bestiaries.

> 'Pour cou di jou que jou fui pris au flairier ; et ai me volenté laissie pour le sieue sievir, ausi come les bestes, ke puis qu'eles ont une fois senti au flairier le pantere ja puis ne le lairont ains le sieurront dusques a la mort. Pour chou di jou que ge sui pris a ces III sens, a oir et a veoir, et au flairier. Et se ge suisse pris en autre II sens, au goster en baisant, et au touchier en acolant, dont parfuisse jou a droit en dormis : quar adont dort le hom quant il ne sent nul de ses V sens. De l'endormir d'amours vienent tout li perill, quar a tous les endormis sieut amours.'[206]

Without immediately analysing this quotation, one can quite easily understand Richard de Fournival's secular allegorisation of the panther. We find the characteristics we mentioned earlier: the sweet breath and the beauty, metamorphosed here into the 'five senses'.

Thomas of Cantimpré's commentary on the panther is rather original: 'Panthera pernicitate nimia ferox occidit zubronem[207] qui est maximus ac fortissimus. Insiliens enim dorso ejus discerpit eum

[206] 'For this reason I say that I was taken by scent; and I have abandoned my will to follow hers, just like the beasts, which, once they have caught the scent of the panther, will never leave it but will follow it unto death. For this reason I say that I am taken by these three senses: by hearing, by seeing, and by smelling. And if I were taken in the other two senses, by tasting in kissing, and by touching in embracing, then I should indeed be fully asleep: for a man sleeps when he feels none of his five senses. From falling asleep in love come all dangers, for love pursues all those who fall asleep.' (Author's translation).

[207] The *zubron* is a type of European bison from Eastern Europe.

unguibus, et ejus carnibus saciatur.'[208] It is difficult to recognise the Saviour of the world here.

For his part, Bartholomaeus Anglicus copies Pliny's *Natural History*, which deals with the fierce head of the panther:

> 'In colore autem vario pantere et tigris omnia animalia quadrupedia sollicitantur videre eos, sed cornicate capitis terrentur. Quam ob rem caput occultant et pulchritudine relique partis corporis bestias invitant ad se, et sic invitatas ad se accipiunt et manducant.'[209]

Once again, it is difficult to recognise Jesus Christ in this description. This is why the notion of the 'real animal' was mentioned. It is difficult here to speak of the symbolism of evil when the original source 'predates' the Christian era.

Sins and Devilries

As we have just seen, the sources are far more expansive concerning the use of the symbolism of Evil in relation to the large felines. While the panther was the exception, the other animals in our study constitute the norm. This is no coincidence. The panther was the allegory of Christ, the exception. The tiger, the pard, the lynx, the *leopardus*: these are the others, the sinners. A bestiary is a book of morality. This is less true of the encyclopaedias. Although the texts

[208] 'The panther, fierce with excessive swiftness, kills the *zubron* [wisent], which is very large and exceedingly strong. For, leaping upon its back, it tears it apart with its claws, and is sated with its flesh.' (Author's translation).

[209] 'By the varied colour of the panther and the tiger, all four-footed animals are enticed to see them, but they are terrified by the fierceness of their head. For this reason, they hide their head and invite the beasts to themselves by the beauty of the rest of their body, and thus invited, they catch and eat them.' (Author's translation).

may become conflated or interpolated, their primary purpose differs. The encyclopaedia is, above all, a sum of knowledge. We now have numerous elements at our disposal to analyse these large felines.

Allegorical Exegesis

It is finally time to address the notion of 'allegorical exegesis'. Within the bestiaries and encyclopaedias, there exist, as it were, textual or iconographic norms, logical expectations. This notion of allegorical exegesis stands as an anomaly in our sources. It is very often an originality specific to a single author, which will not be found elsewhere.

How does this notion manifest itself? In his chapter devoted to an animal, the author will focus on an element of our typology, or indeed on the animal as a whole. He then embarks upon a digression in which he conducts an exegesis. Sometimes, biblical references are drawn upon, as we shall see. These allegorical exegeses are found neither in all sources nor in all works.

Let us begin with the tiger. The first example we may examine is taken from the *De universo* of Rabanus Maurus:

> 'Tigris autem mistice significat astutiam diaboli, unde in Job scriptum est : "Tigris periit eo quod non haberet predam et catuli leonum dissipati sunt". Hunc vocabulo tigridis repetit, quem leonis appellatione signavit. Satan quippe et propter crudelitatem leo dicit : Et propter multiformis astutiae varietatem, non incongrue tigris vocatur. Modo enim se sicut perditus humanis sensibus objecit. Modo quasi angelum lucis ostendit. Modo stultorum mentes blandiendo persuadet modo ad culpam terrendo pertrahit. Modo suadere vitia aperte nititur. Modo in suis suggestionibus, sub virtutis spetiae palliatur, hec itaque belua que tanta varietate respergitur, vire tigris vocatur quae apud LXX (70) interpretes mirmicaleon dicit. Quod videlicet absconsum animal puluere formicas ut diximus frumenta gestantes interficit. Quia nimirum apostata angelus in terram de celis projectus est justorum mentes, quae bonorum sibi operum perfectione preparant in ipso actionis itinere obsident. Cumque has per insidias superat, quasi formicas frumenta gestantes inprovisus necat.'[210]

In this extract, Rabanus Maurus focuses on the name 'tiger', of which he conducts an allegorical exegesis. It is partly thanks to this process

[210] 'The tiger, moreover, mystically signifies the cunning of the devil, whence it is written in Job: "The tiger has perished because it had no prey, and the lion's whelps are scattered." He repeats under the word "tiger" what he had signified by the appellation "lion". For Satan is indeed called a lion on account of his cruelty: and on account of the variety of his multiform cunning, he is not incongruously called a tiger. For sometimes he presents himself, lost as he is, to human senses. Sometimes he shows himself as an angel of light. Sometimes he persuades the minds of fools by flattering; sometimes he draws them to guilt by terrifying. Sometimes he openly strives to urge vices. Sometimes in his suggestions, he is cloaked under the appearance of virtue; and so this beast, which is sprinkled with such variety, is truly called a tiger, which among the 70 interpreters [the Septuagint] is called the *mirmicaleon* [ant-lion]. Namely, this animal, hidden in the dust, kills the ants carrying grain, as we have said. Because, truly, the apostate angel, cast down to earth from the heavens, besieges the minds of the just, who prepare themselves by the perfection of good works, on the very path of their action. And when he overcomes them through snares, he unexpectedly kills them, like ants carrying grain.' (Author's translation).

that we can understand that bestiaries and encyclopaedias (especially prior to the Late Middle Ages) are primarily pedagogical tools in the service of morality. Care must be taken with this extract, however, as the *mirmicaleon* (*myrmicoleon* or ant-lion) is an adaptation of a Hebrew term for the Greek Bible; this animal therefore does not form part of our study. Its presence stems from a translation error. Nevertheless, it remains utilised by Rabanus Maurus as an example in the chapter devoted to the tiger. Remaining within the same lexical field, these allegorical exegeses are a blessing for our study, since they allow us direct access to the interpretation of medieval authors; this is first-hand information. If one inspects the text 'in the negative', the latter confirms our development concerning the panther. While we cannot invalidate Rabanus Maurus's interpretation regarding the name of the tiger, we can, on the other hand, observe that he attributes a highly negative connotation to the variety of colours of the tiger (and the *mirmicaleon*): 'For sometimes he presents himself, lost as he is, to human senses; sometimes he shows himself as an angel of light. Sometimes he persuades the minds of fools by flattering, sometimes he draws them to guilt by terrifying. Sometimes he openly strives to urge vices; sometimes in his suggestions, he is cloaked under the appearance of virtue.'[211] If for the tiger, an evil animal, a sinner, the variety of colours represents the 'variety of its soul', the variety of its vices, the exact opposite is true for the panther, whose varied coat demonstrates the manifold beauties of Christ.

[211] See our translation of Rabanus Maurus's chapter on the tiger.

Taking up the traditional episode of the capture of a tiger cub, we read in the Second Family Bestiary:

> 'Ubi se contiguum viderit, speram de vitro proicit. At illa ymagine sui luditur, et sobolem putat. Revocat impetum, colligere fetum desiderans. Rursus inani specie retenta, totis a se ad comprehendendum equitem viribus fundit, et iracundie stimulo velociter fugienti imminet. Item ille, spere objectu, sequentem retardat, nec tamen sedulitatem matris, memoria fraudis excludit. Cassam versat ymaginem, et quasi lactatura fetum residet. Sicque pietatis sue studio decepta, et vindictam amittit et prolem.'[212]

In this instance, our bestiary likely originates from an English *scriptorium*, so there is no identified author. It is 'simply' a bestiary, making the task to be undertaken more delicate. We can nevertheless examine this passage in several ways.

For this analysis, the focus is shifted more towards the allegorical notion. This approach is more religious than exegetical. Whereas Rabanus Maurus centred his analysis on the name of the tiger, here we shall deal more specifically with its behaviour. What do we see? A tigress has her cub stolen by a hunter and loses the pursuit. Considering the capacity of human beings to hunt animals that surpass them physically, it would be highly improbable that this hunting practice ever existed. Let us remember that we are, in reality,

[212] 'When he sees that she is close upon him, he throws down a glass sphere. But she is deceived by her own reflection, and believes it to be her offspring. She checks her charge, desiring to gather up her cub. Delayed again by the empty phantom, she launches herself with all her strength to apprehend the horseman, and, goaded by anger, rapidly bears down upon the fleeing man. He likewise, by the casting of a sphere, delays the pursuer, yet the memory of the fraud does not banish the mother's devotion. She turns over the hollow image, and settles down as if to suckle her cub. And thus, deceived by the zeal of her devotion, she loses both her revenge and her offspring.' (Author's translation).

studying the human and not animals, and doing so in an allegorical and religious manner. Consequently, if the tiger is a Christian, the hunter is the Devil or any evil entity, the mirror represents the temptations of the world, and the abduction embodies the loss of Salvation, the text reveals its hidden meaning. This paragraph does not deal with the abduction of a tiger cub, but with an evil entity that snatches away the Salvation of a Christian and prevents them from recovering it by casting the temptations of the world before them.

Another analysis may be applied to this paragraph. It concerns the use of the term *pietas* (*pietatis* in the text). The Gaffiot Dictionary provides the following definition for *pietas*: 'a sentiment that leads one to recognise and fulfil all duties towards the gods, parents, the homeland, etc.' Here, *pietas* designate maternal love. The tigress confuses her reflection with her abducted cub. This maternal love blinds her. The consequences of this excess of love? The loss of her cubs. Excess is something regularly condemned or disparaged in the Bible, including an excess of virtue, as one may read in Ecclesiastes (Eccles. 7:16): 'Be not overly righteous, and do not make yourself too wise; why should you destroy yourself?' More illustratively, excess is condemned in a famous episode in Leviticus (Lev. 10:1–3), where God burns the two sons of Aaron, brother of Moses, because they demonstrated excessive zeal. A third analysis of this passage may be constructed around the notion of pride and vanity, but we shall examine it later.

Let us move on to another animal and return to the work of Rabanus Maurus. As we have already seen, the latter is scarcely lenient towards the pard. Let us consider the chapter on the pard in its entirety, the exegetical passages being interwoven with other elements of our typology:

> 'Pardus secundus post pantere genus est varium ac velocissimum et preceps ad sanguinem saltu enim ad mortem ruit. **Pardus autem mistice significat diabolum diversis vitiis plenissimum vel peccatorem quemlibet maculis scelerum et diversorum errorum aspersum.** Unde dicit propheta : Ethiops non mutavit pellem et pardus varietatem suam. **Item pardus antichristus malicie varietate aspersus , ut in Apocalipsi : Et bestia quae ascendebat de mare similis pardo. De illis dicit qui in nigritudine peccatorum et varietate errorum perseverat.** Alibi tamen scriptum est : **Habitabit lupus cum agno et pardus cum hedo cubabit, quod in adventu Christi conpletum est quando illi qui antea feroces fuerunt cum innocentibus vitam ducunt et qui errorum maculis polluti erant penitentiam agentes ad veritatem fidei convertuntur.'**[213]

We have already studied the chapter devoted to the pard, and notably the excerpt taken from the *De universo*, which is rich in biblical references. Rabanus Maurus offers us numerous analyses concerning this animal. We witness the eternal return of the subject of the animal's coat. As our author already emphasised regarding the tiger, the diversity of the colours of the pard's coat is the symbol of its

[213] 'The pard, second after the panther kind, is varied and exceedingly swift, and headlong for blood, for it rushes to death with a leap. **The pard, moreover, mystically signifies the devil, exceedingly full of diverse vices, or any sinner sprinkled with the spots of crimes and diverse errors**. Whence the prophet says: The Ethiopian has not changed his skin, and the pard its variety. **Likewise, the pard is the Antichrist sprinkled with a variety of malice, as in the Apocalypse: And the beast which rose from the sea was like a pard**. **He speaks of those who persevere in the blackness of sins and the variety of errors**. Elsewhere, however, it is written: **The wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the pard shall lie down with the kid, which is fulfilled at the advent of Christ, when those who were previously fierce lead their lives with the innocent, and those who were polluted by the spots of errors, doing penance, are converted to the truth of the faith**.' (Authors's translation).

'crimes and diverse errors'. The variety of its malice makes it a figure of the Antichrist. It is the symbol of sinners who persist in their faults.

Another element reinforces the notion that our sources do not deal with animals, but with humans, with sinners. Rabanus Maurus cites the Book of Isaiah (Isa. 11:6): 'Alibi tamen scriptum est : "Habitabit lupus cum agno et pardus cum hedo cubabit" [...]'. If one refers to the commentary of the *Glossa ordinaria* concerning this verse, one reads: 'Habitabit lupus cum agno. est metaphorica locutio [...]'[214]. *Ite, missa est*. We already knew that our sources dealt with allegories and metaphors, but here, the link between the gloss and the writings of Rabanus Maurus confirms the idea that the large felines are, ultimately, merely didactic tools in the service of Christian morality. It is this approach that we shall subsequently examine through several examples.

The Sins of Animals

'Well then, sin entered the world through one man, and through sin death, and thus death has spread through the whole human race because everyone has sinned' (Rom. 5:12). Our animals are sinners, like all men. Two sins interest us particularly: pride and avarice. The study of this first vice, which particularly concerns the tiger, refers back to the third analysis we had mentioned: the allegory of pride and vanity, the one revolving around the other.

The texts of the bestiaries and encyclopaedias evolve little, but certain changes can be observed. If one examines a work such as the *Image du monde* by Gossuin de Metz, this example appears clearly: 'Et aucunes foie est avenu de ces bestes que des pensent tant a leur

[214] '"The wolf shall dwell with the lamb" is a metaphorical expression [...]' (Author's translation).

figures remirer, et en sont aucunes foie si esprises que l'en les porroit bien prendre toutes vives.'[215] The weakness of the tigress appears, in addition to her cubs, in the contemplation of her appearance in the mirror. This allegory is quite simple here, and is sometimes explained by the authors themselves, as in the case of Thomas of Cantimpré. The tigress has her cubs stolen by a hunter. The latter, aware that he will not be able to escape the mother, decides to throw a glass sphere or a mirror to her. The animal, seeing its reflection, enters a state of lethargy, so greatly does it admire itself, thus losing its cubs. Pride is a grave sin, indeed the gravest. The proud man often forgets that it is by the grace of God that he has obtained his possessions or his power. The tigress, whose strength, swiftness, courage, or motherhood are brought to the fore, loses everything through pride, much like Nebuchadnezzar in the Book of Daniel (Dan. 4)[216]. The king of Babylon, having become the most powerful, forgets the Lord, who, in a dream, foretells the loss of all that he possesses. Through pride, he who possessed everything ultimately loses everything.

Pride and vanity are often intimately linked; the former is directed inwards: 'I am the best', and the latter outwards: 'I wish to show that I am the best'. While the notion of pride can be discerned upon reading the sources, Thomas of Cantimpré, in his *De natura rerum*, develops an allegorical exegesis around the notion of vanity (*vanitas*):

[215] 'And sometimes it has happened with these beasts that they are so intent on admiring their faces, and are sometimes so enamoured of them, that one could well capture them completely alive.' (Author's translation).
[216] Reproduced in the Appendices.

> 'Tigris animam signat secundum quod consuevit, vel ad malum, vel ad bonum velox esse, secundum quod dicitur : In manibus tuis vita et mors : quodcumque vis elige, fetus hujus sunt opera bona. Insidiator dyabolus. Jactus pile representacio vanitatis. Decepcioni intenta anima perdit bona oper. Ac sic astucia dyaboli deridetur. Accidit aliquando, ut insidiator unum matri catulum reddat, ut sic a ceteris desistat. Sed attende simplex anima ; qui offenderit in uno, factus est omnius reus. Sic qui unam virtutem perdit, perdit omnes, quia qui unam habet, habet omnes.'[217]

The most important term in this passage is *vanitatis*: 'The casting of the sphere is the representation of vanity'. This is an even more concrete case of allegorical exegesis. Whereas Rabanus Maurus developed his theological ideas regarding the animal, Thomas of Cantimpré dissects here the mechanism of the allegory: 'Its cubs are good works'; 'The ensnarer is the devil'. The process is the same as the one we previously utilised to deal with the sin of pride and the tiger. This excessive vanity calls to mind a biblical figure: Absalom. This third son and heir of King David wages war against his father and sovereign. In the Bible, Absalom's exceptional beauty is brought to the fore. The latter, out of vanity, cultivates his hair, a sign of his splendour. It is this excess of vanity that will lead him to his death: 'Absalom happened to run into some of David's guards. Absalom was riding his mule, and the mule passed under the thick branches of a

[217] 'The tiger signifies the soul, according to its custom of being swift to either evil or good, according to what is said: "Life and death are in your hands: choose whichever you will"; its cubs are good works. The ensnarer is the devil. The casting of the sphere is the representation of vanity. The soul, intent upon the deception, loses its good works. And thus it is mocked by the cunning of the devil. It sometimes happens that the ensnarer returns one cub to the mother, so that she might thereby abandon the others. But take heed, simple soul: he who offends in one point is made guilty of all. Thus, he who loses one virtue loses them all, because he who has one has them all.' (Author's translation).

great oak. Absalom's head caught fast in the oak and he was left hanging between heaven and earth, while the mule he was riding went on' (2 Sam. 18:9). Absalom, heir to the throne of David, is hanged by his excess of vanity (his beauty, his hair), abandoned by his mule (a royal symbol), before being killed by Joab, David's general.

After the study of the tiger, let us now turn our attention to the avaricious lynx. Let us recall how the chapters on the latter are structured: this large feline sees its urine transform into a precious stone called *ligurius*. The lynx covers this stone with earth so that it may not be taken by men.

In the case of the lynx, it is in the *De universo* of Rabanus Maurus that we find the key to understanding this allegory:

> 'Similit et ista bestia tipum tenet invidorum huminum atque dolosorum, qui magis cupiunt nocere quam prodesse et terrenis cupiditatibus intenti, ea quae sibi superflua sunt et ceteris prodesse poterant inutiliter seruant.'[218]

The lynx is the figure of the perfect miser. The latter sees its urine transform into a precious stone, which is, *de facto*, of no use to it. But knowing that this stone may be of interest to men, it prefers to resort to cunning and hide this object of desire out of avarice and malice, so that no one may seize it. The figure of the miser is fundamental to Christianity: it is indeed the treasurer of the apostles, Judas, who sells Jesus Christ at the Temple for thirty silver pieces (Matt. 26:15), that is to say, the price of a slave's life. One may also read in the Gospel of

[218] 'Likewise, this beast serves as a type for envious and deceitful men, who desire to harm rather than to benefit, and who, intent upon earthly desires, uselessly hoard those things which are superfluous to themselves and which could have been of benefit to others.' (Author's translation).

John (John 12:6) that he was a thief and that he used to pilfer the money box of which he was in charge. Even more precisely, the entire articulation of the chapter on the lynx finds a particularly remarkable echo in the Book of Joshua (Josh. 7). In chapter seven[219], Joshua (sometimes called Jesus) leads the Israelite people in their conquest of their territory. However, God causes Israel to lose because the people have sinned: Achan, an Israelite, out of avarice, contradicted the orders of God, which required that all the booty they recovered be burned and offered up. The latter took a portion of this booty and buried it in his tent. Achan and the lynx utilise the same method: burying their precious objects to hide them from the eyes of men, and of God. Achan and Judas will both suffer a grim fate, the former being stoned and burned (Josh. 7:25), while the latter will hang himself (Matt. 27:3–5) – or die from a fall that spilled his entrails on the ground (Acts 1:18–19).

On the Evil Nature of Big Cats

It is now fitting to turn our attention to a big cat that we have left aside for too long: the *leopardus*. This is what can be read in the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville:

> 'Leopardus ex adulterio leene et pardi nascitur, et terciam originem efficit ; sicut et Plinius in Naturali hystoria ait, leonem cum parda, aut parfum cum leena concumbere, et ex utroque coitu degeneres partu creari, ut mulus et asinus.'[220]

[219] Reproduced in Appendices.

[220] 'The leopard is born from the adultery of a lioness and a pard, and produces a third lineage; just as Pliny also says in the *Natural History*, that a lion mates with a female pard, or a pard with a lioness, and from both couplings degenerate offspring are created by birth, like the mule and the ass.' Translation from André, J. (1986) : *Des animaux, Étymologies 12*, Paris.

One may symbolically add the pard to this extract, for according to the bestiaries or encyclopaedias, the two chapters are merged. While the form may differ depending on the texts, the substance remains the same: the *leopardus* is reproached for its very nature, for that which constitutes it. It is a 'bastard', a 'degenerate offspring'. It is an animal defined by its evil nature, because it defies the laws of God. Leviticus is, in the Old Testament, a lengthy book in which the laws governing the worship rendered to the God of Israel are transcribed. To contravene one of these laws is a very grave matter. However, one may read in chapter nineteen, verse nineteen: 'You must keep my laws. You are not to mate your cattle with those of another kind; you are not to sow two kinds of seed in your field; you are not to wear a garment woven of two kinds of yarn' (Lev. 19:19). The École biblique de Jérusalem provides the following commentary on this verse: 'This prohibition is perhaps directed against magic, which delights in bizarre mixtures.' By its nature, the *leopardus* contravenes the laws of God, being the result of the mating of two different species. Furthermore, by being born from two different species and *de facto* constituting a third, this animal is not a creation of God. Although Leviticus is addressed primarily to men, for a long time scholars knew not what to make of animals (do they go to heaven? Must they work on Sundays?)[221]. But within the didactic and moral framework that is ours, it does not seem incongruous to draw this parallel.

THE BIG CAT, MIRROR OF SOCIETY

In this final part, we shall explore new perspectives and distance ourselves somewhat from strictly Christian morality, whilst remaining within the symbolism of Evil. While the themes addressed

[221] See Pastoureau, M. (2020) : *Bestiaires du Moyen âge*, Points 569, Paris, 20.

diverge (a critique of intellectuals, of luxury, or of courtly love), we do not deviate from our subject: the use of big cats as didactic tools.

Let us begin by returning to the *Bestiaire* of Pierre de Beauvais and his chapter concerning the tiger:

> 'Est Amon li prophetes dit que cist siecles est example de la forest ou les tigres conversent, et rueve a cascun de nos que il soit ententieus de garder son faon, c'est s'ame, car li veneor vos gaitent et espient et ont adés lor mireors prest, se il peusent nostre faon embler. Les mireors sont les grans viandes, les grans de deduis del monde que nos desirons : de robes, de cevals, de beles femes de tos altres peciés, si comme li venere a portrait en son mireor que il gete l'ome en devant. Por ce se doit cascun hon tenir el service de son Creator quar dont n'a Anemis pooir sor lame de l'home, c'est li faons qu'il covoite a embler.'[222]

The critique here is quite clear: it is aimed at wealth. This denunciation is conveyed through the enumeration of several elements, such as rich foods, fine garments, or indeed beautiful women. However, the most significant point is not to be found in this list of earthly pleasures, but rather in the invocation of Amon. This refers to the prophet Amos. We may analyse this passage in two ways.

First of all, let us turn our attention to the Book of Amos. Pierre de Beauvais invokes the name of Amos to ground his critique in the Bible, which naturally carries authority. In chapter six of the Book

[222] 'Amos the prophet says that this world is an image of the forest where tigers dwell, and urges each of us to be intent on guarding his cub, that is his soul, for the hunters lie in wait for you and spy on you, and constantly have their mirrors ready, if they might steal our cub. The mirrors are the rich foods, the great delights of the world that we desire: clothes, horses, beautiful women, and all other sins, just as the hunter has depicted in his mirror which he throws before man. Therefore, every man ought to keep himself in the service of his Creator, for then the Enemy has no power over the soul of man, which is the cub he covets to steal.' (Author's translation).

of Amos (Amos 6)[223], a sharp critique of wealth can be read, particularly in verse six: 'they drink wine by the bowlful, and use the finest oil for anointing themselves, but about the ruin of Joseph they do not care at all!' (Amos 6:6). Whether in Amos or in Pierre de Beauvais, the critique of wealth is clear. If we broaden our reading to the entirety of the Book of Amos, we can draw a parallel between the Bible and the era of Pierre de Beauvais (his *Bestiaire* dates to before 1218). Western Europe and biblical Israel are two very wealthy regions, particularly due to trade: 'Relative peace succeeded raids and pillaging, and security allowed for an economic renewal and, above all, with land and sea routes becoming less dangerous, the acceleration, if not the resurgence, of trade.'[224] As an example of this growth in wealth during the High Middle Ages, let us cite Eleanor of Aquitaine, a contemporary of this period (1124–1204): '[...] we know Eleanor's annual expenses [while under "house arrest"], which were considerable. They fluctuated between 30 and 180 pounds, whereas the annual income of an English baron was around 100 pounds.'[225] The medieval economy is not our subject, but it is easier to understand the critique Pierre de Beauvais addresses to his time through this prism, even if the invocation of the prophet Amos aims, above all, to place his critique under the authority of the Bible, biblical Israel having acquired its wealth, notably, by crushing the weakest.

The second analysis relies rather upon a strictly Christian reading of this passage, without, however, deviating from the initial analysis. Clearly, this text formulates a reproach addressed to men for their sins. In it, one finds a reference to pride or vanity (fine garments,

[223] Reproduced in Appendices.
[224] Le Goff, J. (1980) : *Marchands et banquiers du Moyen âge*, Que sais-je ? 699, Paris, 9.
[225] Aurell, M. (2024) : *Aliénor d'Aquitaine : souveraine femme*, Paris, 53.

horses), gluttony (rich foods), or indeed lust (beautiful women). One can even discern an implicit reference to *acedia* (spiritual negligence), which stems from the preceding sins: 'Therefore, every man ought to keep himself in the service of his Creator, for then the Enemy has no power over the soul of man, which is the cub he covets to steal.'

Let us leave aside the sins of men and turn our attention to what Michel Pastoureau terms the 'amorous casuistry' of Richard de Fournival. Let us briefly recall the work of this poet and scholar. The *Bestiaire d'Amour* is a thoroughly original work and unique in its genre. Although it takes the form of a bestiary (a list of animals whose characteristics are interpreted), it deals in no way with theology or morality, but rather with love and amorous behaviour. This work is so different from those we have studied that we shall focus solely on what pertains to our subject: the didactic use of big cats.

The *Bestiaire d'Amour*, at least in our case, is structured around the senses of animals, transposed to human senses and to the amorous relationship. For the panther and the tiger, the two big cats utilised by Richard de Fournival, the senses involved are notably sight, hearing, smell, and touch. In the case of the tiger, one systematically encounters the mirrors, which serve here as a warning against a great beauty that would cause one to forget oneself:

> 'M'aida dont la veue a perdre ? Oill : miex fui ge pris par mon veoir que tygres n'est au miroir, qui ja ne sera tant courouchié de ses faons, son li a embles, ke s'ele encontre un miroir, k'il ne li coviegne ses ex aerdre et se delite tant au mirer la grant biauté de sa bone taille que ele oublye acacia chiaus ki li emportent ses faons et s'areste illuec come prise.'[226]

The allegory hidden behind the chapter on the panther is quite similar:

> 'Pour cou di jou que jou fui pris au flairier ; et ai me volenté laissie pour le sieue sievir, ausi come les bestes, ke puis qu'eles ont une fois senti au flairier le pantere ja puis ne le lairont ains le sieurront dusques a la mort. Pour chou di jou que ge sui pris a ces III sens, a oir et a veoir, et au flairier. Et se ge suisse pris en autres II sens, au goster en baisant, et au touchier en acolant, dont parfuisse jou a droit en dormis : quar adont dort le hom quant il ne sent nul de ses V sens. De l'endormir d'amours vienent tout li perill, quar a tous les endormis sieut amours.'[227]

Once again, Richard de Fournival cautions us: one must not succumb to a swoon, at the risk of losing oneself. Through these lines, there

[226] 'Did my sight then contribute to my ruin? Yes: I was more surely caught through my seeing than the tiger is by the mirror, who will never be so angered about her cubs, if they have been stolen from her, that if she encounters a mirror, she is not compelled to fix her eyes upon it, and delights so much in admiring the great beauty of her fine form that she forgets to pursue those who carry off her cubs and stops there as if captured.' Translation from Bianciotto, G. (2009) : *Le bestiaire d'amour et la Response du bestiaire*, Champion Classique 27, Paris.

[227] 'For this reason I say that I was caught by scent; and I have abandoned my will to follow hers, just like the beasts, which, once they have caught the scent of the panther, will never leave it but will follow it unto death. For this reason I say that I am caught by these three senses: hearing, seeing, and smelling. And if I were caught by the other two senses, tasting by kissing, and touching by embracing, then I would be completely and utterly put to sleep: for a man truly sleeps when he feels none of his five senses. From the sleep of love come all perils, for love pursues all those who sleep.' (Author's translation).

emerges the portrait of a person whose every sense would be enthralled by love: hearing by a sweet voice, sight by a fair face, smell by the fragrance of a perfume, taste by the savour of the beloved's lips, and touch by a comforting embrace. These are the delights of love that lull to sleep whoever lowers his guard. The *Bestiaire d'Amour* is completely secularised. The strictly Christian motif is abandoned, in accordance with the author's intention[228].

Let us turn to the intellectual and religious life of the mid-thirteenth century. Thomas of Cantimpré, author of the *Liber de natura rerum*, wrote his encyclopaedia in the years 1237–1240 and expanded it in 1244. In the chapter devoted to the pard, he writes a severe critique:

> 'Hii signant hereticos, qui per presumpcionis fastum, doctrinis variis et peregrinis fallaciter abducuntur, et adulterinis erroribus maculati, in occulto ecclesiastice fidei detrahunt, et de ejus filiis venenata peste grassantur, et hoc de illis frequencius qui Cherubin, id est plenitudinis scientie, pennis in sublimibus elevati super se curiosius extolluntur.'[229]

'Heretics'; 'strange and varied doctrines'; 'excessive curiosity'—Thomas of Cantimpré writes a rather scathing critique of the intellectual and religious milieu of his time. Identifying the targets of the encyclopaedist's remarks would make it possible to grasp an

[228] Donnat-Aracil, C., Helou, K.-A., Mourgues, P. et Russo, V. (2024) : *Richard de Fournival, 'Le bestiaire d'amour', 'Response du bestiaire'*, Neuilly, 74-75.

[229] 'These signify heretics, who through the pride of presumption are deceitfully led astray by strange and varied doctrines, and, stained by adulterous errors, secretly detract from the faith of the Church and prey upon her children with a poisonous plague; and this occurs most frequently among those who, raised on high by the wings of the Cherubim—that is, the fullness of knowledge—exalt themselves beyond measure through excessive curiosity.' (Author's translation).

author's vision of his era, although this is a difficult exercise. This is not the primary objective, but let us briefly attempt to tackle it. Reading the term 'heretics' from the pen of a canon in the mid-thirteenth century immediately sets off alarm bells, as the major heresy of this period is obviously 'Catharism' (an overused term propagated in the twentieth century). A canon of the Abbey of Cantimpré is necessarily aware of this movement. This is the simplest hypothesis.

The second hypothesis, which is more compelling and more plausible, is a broader critique of the intellectual world. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Western medieval world rediscovered Greek philosophy and science, notably Aristotle, thanks to scholars from the Arab world. Numerous translations and translators emerged, such as Michael Scot (c. 1175–c. 1232) or Albertus Magnus, who were also translators of the Arab scholar Averroes (1126–1198). It so happens that, during his education, Thomas of Cantimpré spent time alongside Albertus Magnus in Cologne. It is quite plausible that our encyclopaedist was acquainted with these translations and this 'new' knowledge originating from the Arab-Greek world. This transfer of knowledge took place, broadly speaking, at the junction between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, whereas Thomas of Cantimpré wrote his *Liber de natura rerum* around the 1240s. Some thirty years later, in 1270, allowing time for 'Averroism' to permeate, a first condemnation of these ideas occurred. In a chapter entitled 'Renan and Averroism' from a collective work[230], Alain de Libera, a historian of philosophy and specialist in medieval philosophy, offers a critique of Ernest Renan's work. While the critique itself does not strictly concern us, one can find within it the tenets imputed to the 'Averroists' in 1270, of which several propositions are as follows: 'The world is eternal', which implies that

[230] Laurens, H. (2013) : *Ernest Renan : Colloque annuel 2012, Collège de France*, Paris.

there is no Creation; 'There was never a first man', constituting a second negation of the Book of Genesis; 'After death, the soul, being separated from the body, cannot burn with a bodily fire', which contradicts Christian theology. These are but three of the thirteen propositions condemned in 1270.

This hypothesis seems more plausible than the first, even if 'Catharism' is not necessarily to be ruled out. These 'Averroist heretics' refute the teachings of the Bible. This knowledge originating from the Arab world, brought by Jewish scholars (the 'deicidal people') such as Moses Maimonides, is perceived as strange doctrines; finally, this excessive curiosity of masters and intellectuals leads them away from the footsteps of Christ. While this digression deviates somewhat from our subject in terms of form, we address the substance: Thomas of Cantimpré, in his encyclopaedia, utilises big cats, here the pard, as a didactic and pedagogical tool, and more particularly as a tool for critique.

BOOK III: CONCLUSION

We have reached the end of our study. The entirety of our discussion has been structured around a single objective: to depict non-leonine big cats in medieval encyclopaedias and bestiaries, from the sixth to the fifteenth century. What assessment, then, may we draw?

In the first instance, we have seen that these animals were unstable within the sources. The nomenclature of big cats is the legacy of numerous factors: textual tradition, cultural transfers, vernacular adaptations, or linguistic developments. We have also addressed central notions: those of the real and the imaginary. We concluded that, for the medieval scholar, these matter little: while these animals may not exist in physical reality, they are entirely real within the sources. Together, we have deciphered our iconographic corpus and understood its role within our context. Finally, we were able to analyse the confusions and conflations made by medieval authors, both regarding nomenclature and iconography, as well as the distinctiveness of the work of Thomas of Cantimpré.

Subsequently, we broadened the scope of our inquiry to the literary genres of the bestiary and the encyclopaedia, as well as to the contexts to which they belong. Our corpus of sources proves one thing: medieval society could indeed have knowledge of big cats! Certain authors even demonstrate direct observation of the latter across several contexts: the fur trade, menageries, diplomatic exchanges, or cynegetics. Finally, we were able to address the evolution of these literary genres by grounding our analysis in the study of big cats, demonstrating that these works tend, towards the end of the period, towards texts with a scientific and naturalistic vocation, whose images initiate the early stages of a shift in function.

Finally, we were able to delve into the symbolism of big cats. Rather than being represented for what they are in zoological reality,

these animals are above all akin to didactic tools serving Christian morality. Each of them is assigned moral characteristics, good or bad, serving to educate. Thus, the panther becomes a figure of Christ, the tiger the incarnation of pride, the lynx that of the miser, the pard the face of the heretic, and the *leopardus* the allegory of Man's flawed nature. For what bestiaries deal with first and foremost are not animals, but men.

How, then, might we pursue our reflections? Numerous questions still warrant being asked of our sources. Other works remain to be explored, particularly after the thirteenth century, such as that of Konrad von Megenberg or those of Hildegard of Bingen and Alexander Neckam further back. Our angle of study was arbitrary, but it has nonetheless allowed us to deepen our knowledge of non-leonine big cats in bestiaries and encyclopaedias. Certain animals, like the panther, deserve to be re-examined in greater depth. Seeking to understand what bestiaries reveal about men also constitutes a stimulating avenue of study to develop. Finally, while the two literary genres of the bestiary and the encyclopaedia have always been textually linked, and this from the Middle Ages onwards, it might perhaps be appropriate to study them more distinctly, inasmuch as these sources ultimately manifest different purposes.

VOLUME II

APPENDICES

Book IV: Bibliography & Digital Resources

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BERNE, BURGERBIBLIOTHEK, COD. 318 (*PHYSIOLOGUS*, C. 830)

ORIGINAL TEXT

De animale qui dicitur panthera. Propheta sic dicit factus sum sicut panter in domo Effrem. Physiolocus sic testificat de panterio quam talis est natura ejus ut omnium animalium sit amicus inimicus autem est draconis. Varium est enim aspectus illius sicut tonica Joseph etiam et totus varius est. Tacitur numen animal et mansuetus valde. Si autem manducaverit et sacitus fuerit dormit in sua spelunca et tercia die exsurgit de somno et cum surrexerit de loco suo et foris exierit vociferat voce magna et de voce ejus exiit suavitas aromatum et qui sunt longe et prope ab eum audientes vocem secuntur ut odore ejus repleantur. Ita et Salvator nostris Jesus Christus tercia die resurrexit a mortuis. Omnes qui longe et qui prope sunt sicut dixit apostolis replevit suavitatem fidei. Varius autem in eo quod multipliciter gentes terrae adquesierit ipse est torris forcitudinis pax misericordiae et virtus et gloriae. Draconem antiquum diabolum vale dissimulem ut dominus persequitur, nam nihil scripturae sine similitudine nobis dixerit.

TRANSLATION

Concerning the animal which is called the panther. The Prophet thus says: 'I am become as a panther in the house of Ephraim.' The *Physiologus* thus testifies concerning the panther, that its nature is such that it is a friend to all animals, but an enemy to the dragon. For its appearance is varied, just as the tunic of Joseph is also entirely varied. For it is a quiet animal, and exceedingly gentle. But if it has eaten and been satisfied, it sleeps in its cave, and on the third day it rises from sleep, and when it has risen from its place and gone outside, it cries out with a loud voice, and from its voice there issues forth the sweetness of spices; and those who are far and near, hearing its voice, follow it so that they may be filled with its fragrance. Thus also our Saviour Jesus Christ rose from the dead on the third day. All who are far and who are near, just as He said to the apostles, He filled with the sweetness of faith. He is 'varied', moreover, in that He has acquired the nations of the earth in manifold ways; He is the tower of strength, the peace of mercy, and virtue, and glory. It pursues the ancient dragon, the devil, who is exceedingly dissimilar, just as the Lord does; for the Scriptures have told us nothing without a similitude.

New York, Morgan Library & Museum, MS. M.871 (Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia*, c. 830-840)

Original Text

XXIII. Panthera et tigris maculorum varietate prope sole bestiarum spectantur ; ceteris unus ac suus cuique generi colore est leonum tantum in *Suria* [Syria] niger. Pantheris in candido breves macularum oculi. Ferunt colore earum mire sollicitari quadripedes cuntas, sed capitis toruitale [terreri] ; furreri quam ob rem occultato eo reliqua dulcedine invitatas corripiunt. Sunt qui tradant in armo his similem lunae esse maculam crescentem in orbis et cavantem pari modo [cornua]. Nunc varias et pardos qua mares sunt appelant in eo omni genere creberrimo in Africa *Syriaquae* [Syriaque]. Quidam ab his pantheras candore *soli* [solo] *discesnunc* [discernunt], nec adhuc aliam differentiam inveni.

XXIV. Senatus consultum fuit vetus, ne liceret Africanas in Italiam aduehere. Contra hos tulit ad populum Cn. Aufidius tribunus plebis, permisitque circensium gratiam inportare. Primus autem Scaurus aediliate sua varias CL (150) universuas misit, dein Pompeius Magnus, Aut X (10), Divus Augustus CCCCXX (420).

XXV. Idem Q. Tuberone Paulo Fabio Maximo cons. IIII (4) non. Mai. teatri Marcelli dedicatio tigrim primus omnium Romae ostendit in cavea mansuefactas, Divus vero Claudius simul IIII (4).

Tigrim Hyrcani et Indi ferunt, animal velocitatis tremendae et maxima cognita, dum capitur totus ejus foetus, qui semper numerosus est. Ab insidiante rapitur equo quam maxime pernici, atque in recentes subinde transferuntur. Ad ubi vacuum cubile repperit feta – maribus enim subolis cura non est, – fertur praeceps odore vestigans. Raptor adpropinquante f[r]emitu abicit unum ex

catulis ; tollit illa morso et pondere etiam ocio[r] acta remeat et iterumque consequitur ac subinde, donec in navem regresso inrita feritas saevit in litore.

XXVIII. Pompei Magni primum ludi ostenderunt chama quem *Calli* [Galli] rufium vocabant, effigiae lupi, pardorum maculis. Idem ex Aethiopa quas vocant *cephus* (*χήπους*), quarum pedes posteriores pedibus humanis et cruribus, priore manibus fuere similes. Hoc animal postea Roma non vidit.

XXX. Lyncas vulgo frequentes et fingas fusco pilo, mammis in pectore geminis, Aethiopia generat multaquae alia monstri similia, pinnatos equos et corbinus armatos, quos pegasos vocant. [...]

TRANSLATION

XXIII. The panther and the tiger are almost the only beasts whose coat is variegated; the others have a uniform colour, distinct to each species. Among lions, only the Syrian one is black. In the panther, ocelli are set upon a white ground. It is said that all four-footed animals are astonishingly attracted by its scent, but that they are terrified by the fierce appearance of its head; therefore, it hides its head; there then remains only the sweet fragrance which attracts them, and it seizes them. Certain authors claim that it bears upon its chest a mark resembling the moon, which grows round and hollows into a crescent along with it. Today, the name of 'variegated' and of pards, which are the males, is given to this entire species of animals, very common in Africa and Syria. A few authors distinguish panthers from pards, but solely by the whiteness of the coat, and thus far I have found no other difference.

XXIV. An ancient decree of the Senate forbade the bringing of African panthers into Italy. The tribune of the plebs Gnaeus Aufidius had it repealed by the assembly of the people, and permitted them to be imported for the circus games. But it was Scaurus who, during his aedileship, was the first to bring over 150 of them, all of the kind known as variegated; then Pompey produced 410, and the Divine Augustus 420.

XXV. It was this same emperor who, first of all, during the consulship of Quintus Tubero and of Paulus Fabius Maximus, consul for the fourth time, exhibited a tamed tiger in Rome at the theatre on the Nones of May. The Divine Claudius showed four of them at once.

(18). The tiger is born in Hyrcania and in India. It is an animal of fearsome swiftness, which is perceived above all when its entire litter, which is always numerous, is taken from it. The hunter who has

lain in wait for it carries it off upon one of the swiftest horses, and transfers it successively onto fresh horses. But when the mother finds the lair empty—for the males, indeed, take no care of their offspring—she hurls herself after the thief, tracking him by scent. The latter, when the roar approaches, throws down one of the cubs; the tigress takes it in her jaws, and, rendered even swifter by her burden, she returns to her den, then resumes her pursuit, and the chase continues, until, the hunter having re-embarked upon his vessel, she vents her fury in vain upon the shore.

XXVIII. It was at the games of Pompey the Great that the *chama* was exhibited for the first time, which the Gauls call *rufius* (lynx): it has the shape of a wolf, and the spots of the pard. At the same games appeared animals from Ethiopia, which are called *cepi*; their hind paws resemble the feet and legs of a man, their front paws his hands. Since then, Rome has not seen this animal again.

XXX. Ethiopia produces lynxes, which are widespread everywhere there, sphinxes, animals with reddish hair and two breasts on their chest, and many other monstrous animals; winged horses armed with horns, which are called pegasi. [...]

London, British Library, Additional MS. 15603 (Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae, c.* 850-900)

Original Text

Tigris vocata propter volucrem fugam ; ita enim nominant Perse et Medi sagittam. Est enim bestia variis distincta maculis, virtute et velocitate mirabilis, ex cujus nomine tigris fluvius appellatur, quod is rapidissimus sit omnium fluviorum. Has magis Hircania gignit.

Panter dictus, sive quod omnium animalium sit amicus, excepto dracone, sive quia ex sui generis societate gaudet et ad eandem similitudinem quicquid accipit reddit. Pan (*Πάν*) enim grece omne dicitur. Bestia minimis orbiculis superpicta, ita ut oculatis ex fuluo circulis, nigra vel alba distinguatur varietate. Hec semel omnino parturit ; cujus cause racio manifesta est. Nam cum in utero matris coaluerint catuli maturisque ad nascendum viribus pollent, odiunt temporum moras ; itaque oneratam fetibus vuluam tanquam obstantem partui unguibus lacerant : effundit illa partum, seu pocius dimittit dolore cogente. Ita postea corruptis et cicatricosis sedibus genitale semen infusum non erit acceptum, sed irritum resilit. Nam Plinius dicit animalia cum acutis unguibus frequenter parere non posse ; viciantur enim intrinsecus se moventibus catulis.

Pardus secundus post panterem est, genus varium ac velocissimum et preceps ad sanguinem. Saltu enim ad mortem ruit.

Leopardus ex adulterio leene et pardi nascitur, et terciam originem efficit ; sicut et Plinius in *Naturali hystoria* ait, leonem cum parda, aut pardum cum leena *cumconbere* [concumbere], et ex utroque coitu degeneres partu creari, ut mulus et asinus.

Lincis dictus quia in luporum genere numeratur : bestia maculis terga distincta ut pardus, sed similis lupo ; unde et ille licos

(*Λύκος*), iste lincis. Hujus urinam convertere in duriciam preciosi lapidis dicunt, qui ligurius appellatur, quod et ipsas linces sentire hoc documento probatur : nam egestum liquorem harenis, in quantum potuerint, contegunt invidia quidem nature, ne talis egestio transeat in usum humanum. Linces dicit Plinius Secundus, extra unum non admittere fetum.

Translation

The tiger is named for the swiftness of its flight; for this is indeed the name of the arrow among the Persians and the Medes. It is a beast with a spotted coat, of wondrous courage and swiftness; from it the river Tigris takes its name, because it is the swiftest of all rivers. It is Hyrcania that produces the most of them.

The panther is so named either because it is the friend of all animals, except the python[231], or because it likes to associate with its own kind and returns all that it receives with perfect similitude. *Pan* (*Πάν*) indeed means 'all' in Greek. Its coat is dotted with small round spots, being marked with black or white with ocelli upon a tawny ground. It gives birth only once in total. The reason for this is clear: indeed, when the cubs have grown in the mother's womb and are strong and have reached term, they do not like to wait; therefore, they tear with their claws the womb heavy with the litter, as if it were an obstacle to their exit: she [then] discharges her litter, or rather expels it under the effect of the pain. Subsequently, as the womb is thus damaged and covered with scars, the infused generative seed does not remain there once received, but emerges useless. Indeed, according to Pliny, animals with sharp claws cannot have frequent litters, being injured by the movements of the cubs within.

The pard comes after the panther; it is a spotted species, exceedingly swift and bloodthirsty, which leaps forward to kill.

The *leopardus* is born from the crossbreeding of the lioness and the pard, and yields a third species. As Pliny states in his *Naturalis historia*, the lion mates with the female pard or the pard with the

[231] The edition by J. André (Belles Lettres, 1986) speaks of the python, whereas all sources, even later ones, treating of the panther speak of the dragon.

lioness, and both pairings yield bastard offspring, of the kind of the mule and the hinny.

The lynx derives its name from the fact that this animal is classified among the wolf species. The beast has its back marked with spots like the pard, but it resembles the wolf; hence the latter is named *lykos* (*Λύκος*), and the former *lincis*. Its urine, it is said, hardens and transforms into a precious stone called *ligurius*. The lynxes themselves are aware of this, and here is the proof: out of a sort of natural jealousy, they cover with sand, as much as they can, the emitted liquid, in order to prevent man from making use of such an emission. According to Pliny, it gives birth only once.

KARLSRUHE, BADISCHE LANDESBIBLIOTHEK, COD. AUG. PERG. 96 (RABAN MAUR, *DE UNIVERSO*, C. 880-920)

ORIGINAL TEXT

Tigris vocata propter volucre fugam. Ita enim nominant Perse et Medi sagittam, est enim bestia variis distincta maculis. Virtute et velocitate mirabilis, ex cujus nomine flumen tigris appellatur, quod is rapidissimus sit omnium fluviorum has magis Ircania gignit. Tigris autem mistice significat astutiam diaboli, unde in Job scriptum est : « Tigris periit eo quod non haberet predam et catuli leonum dissipati sunt ». Hunc vocabulo tigridis repetit, quem leonis appellatione signavit. Satan quippe et propter crudelitatem leo dicit : Et propter multiformis astutiae varietatem, non incongrue tigris vocatur. Modo enim se sicut perditus humanis sensibus objecit. Modo quasi angelum lucis ostendit. Modo stultorum mentes blandiendo persuadet modo ad culpam terrendo pertrahit. Modo suadere vitia aperte nititur. Modo in suis suggestionibus, sub virtutis spetiae palliatur, hec itaque belua que tanta varietate respergitur, vire tigris vocatur quae apud LXX (70) *interpretes* mirmicaleon dicit. Quod videlicet *absconsum* animal puluere formicas ut diximus frumenta gestantes interficit. Quia nimirum apostata angelus in terram de celis projectus est justorum mentes, quae bonorum sibi operum perfectione preparant in ipso actionis itinere obsident. Cumque has per insidias superat, quasi formicas frumenta gestantes inprovisus necat.

Panter dictus sive quod omnium animalium sit amicus excepto dracone, sive quia et sui generis societate gaudet et ad eandem similitudinem quicquic accipit reddit. Pan enim Grece omne dicitur, bestia minutis orbiculis superpicta, ita ut oculatis ex fuluo circulis nigra vel alba distinguatur varietate, hec semel omnino parturit cujus

causae ratio manifesta est. Nam cum in utero matris coaluere catuli, maturisque ad nascendum viribus pollent. Odiunt temporum moras, itaque oneratam fetibus, vuluam tamquam obstantem partui unguibus lacerant. Effundit illa partum seu potius dimittit dolore cogente, ita postea corruptis et cicatricosis sedibus genitale semen infusum non erit acceptum sed in ritum resilit. Nam Plinius dicit animalia cum acutis unguibus frequenter parere non posse vitiantur enim intrinsecus se moventibus catulis.

Pardus secundus post pantere genus est varium ac velocissimum et preceps ad sanguinem saltu enim ad mortem ruit. Pardus autem mistice significat diabolum diversis vitiis plenissimum vel peccatorem *quemliber* maculis scelerum et diversorum errorum aspersum. Unde dicit propheta : Ethiops non mutavit pellem et pardus varietatem suam. Item pardus antichristus malicie varietate aspersus, ut in Apocalipsi : Et bestia quae ascendebat de mare similis pardo. De illis dicit qui in nigritudine peccatorum et varietate errorum perseverat. Alibi tamen scriptum est : Habitabit lupus cum agno et pardus cum hedo cubabit, quod in adventu Christi conpletum est quando illi qui antea feroces fuerunt cum innocentibus vitam *ducunt* et qui errorum maculis polluti erant penitentiam agentes ad veritatem fidei convertuntur.

Leopardus ex adulterio leaene et pardi *nascitut*. Et terciam originem efficit sicut et Plinius in *Naturali historia* dicit leonem cum pardo aut pardum cum leaena concubere et ex utroque coitu degeneres partus creari ut mulus ex equa et asina.

Linx dictus, quia in luporum genere numeratur, bestia maculis, terga distincta ut pardus sed similis lupo. Hujus urinam convertere se, in duritiam presiosi lapidis dicunt, qui ligurus appellatur, quod et ipsas linces sentire hoc documento probatur. Nam egestum liquorem arenis, in quantum potuerint contegunt, invidia

quadam naturali netalis egestio transseat in usum humanum. Linces dicit, Plinius secundum extra unum non admittere ferum. Similit et ista bestia tipum tenet invidorum huminum atque dolosorum, qui magis cupiunt nocere quam prodesse et terrenis cupiditatibus intenti, ea quae sibi superflua sunt et ceteris prodesse poterant inutiliter seruant.

Translation

The tiger is named for the swiftness of its flight. For thus the Persians and the Medes name the arrow; for it is a beast distinguished by varied spots. Of wondrous courage and swiftness, from whose name the river Tigris is called, because it is the swiftest of all rivers; Hyrcania produces the most of these. The tiger, moreover, mystically signifies the cunning of the devil, whence it is written in Job: 'The tiger perishes because it has no prey, and the cubs of the lion are scattered.' By this word 'tiger' he refers to him whom he signified by the name of the lion. Satan indeed is called a lion because of his cruelty: and because of the variety of his multiform cunning, he is not incongruously called a tiger. For now he presents himself to human senses as one who is ruined; now he shows himself as an angel of light; now he persuades the minds of fools by flattering them, now he drags them to sin by terrifying them; now he strives openly to advocate for vices; now in his suggestions, he is cloaked under the appearance of virtue. And so this beast, which is sprinkled with such variety, is truly called a tiger, which among the seventy interpreters is called the ant-lion (*myrmecoleon*). Which beast, evidently hidden in the dust, kills the ants carrying grain, as we have said. Because doubtless the apostate angel, cast down from heaven to earth, besieges the minds of the just—who prepare themselves through the perfection of good works—upon the very path of their action. And when he overcomes them through snares, he unexpectedly kills them, like ants carrying grain.

The panther is so called either because it is a friend to all animals, except the dragon, or because it rejoices in the society of its own kind and returns whatever it receives with the same similitude. For *Pan* means 'all' in Greek; it is a beast painted over with minute orbs, such that it is distinguished by black or white variety with ocelli

upon a tawny ground; it gives birth only once in total, the reason for which cause is clear. For when the cubs have coalesced in the mother's womb, and are strong with mature powers for being born, they hate the delays of time; therefore, they tear with their claws the womb burdened with offspring, as if it were an obstacle to birth. She pours forth the litter, or rather discharges it, compelled by pain; thus afterwards, the seats being damaged and covered with scars, the infused generative seed will not be received, but leaps back uselessly. For Pliny states that animals with sharp claws cannot give birth frequently, for they are injured inwardly by the cubs moving about.

The pard comes second after the panther; it is a variegated and exceedingly swift species, and headlong for blood, for it leaps to the kill. The pard, moreover, mystically signifies the devil, entirely full of diverse vices, or any sinner sprinkled with the spots of crimes and diverse errors. Whence the prophet says: 'The Ethiopian has not changed his skin, nor the pard his variety.' Likewise, the pard is the Antichrist, sprinkled with the variety of malice, as in the Apocalypse: 'And the beast that rose up from the sea was similar to a pard.' He speaks of those who persevere in the blackness of sins and the variety of errors. Elsewhere, however, it is written: 'The wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the pard shall lie down with the kid,' which was fulfilled at the coming of Christ, when those who were formerly fierce lead their lives with the innocent, and those who were polluted by the spots of errors, doing penance, are converted to the truth of the faith.

The *leopardus* is born from the adultery of the lioness and the pard. And it yields a third origin, just as Pliny states in the *Naturalis historia* that the lion mates with the pard or the pard with the lioness, and from both couplings bastard offspring are created, as the mule from the mare and the she-ass.

The lynx derives its name from the fact that it is numbered among the wolf species; a beast with its back distinguished by spots like the pard, but similar to the wolf. Its urine, they say, converts itself into the hardness of a precious stone, which is called *ligurius*, and that the lynxes themselves perceive this is proved by this evidence. For they cover the emitted liquid with sand, as much as they are able, out of a certain natural jealousy, lest such an emission should pass into human use. Lynxes, Pliny states, do not admit a second offspring beyond the first. Similarly, this beast also holds the type of envious and deceitful men, who desire more to harm than to benefit, and, intent upon earthly desires, uselessly hoard those things which are superfluous to them and which could benefit others.

GHENT, UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK, MS. 92 (LAMBERT DE SAINT-OMER, *LIBER FLORIDUS*, 112)

ORIGINAL TEXT

De tygride. Tygris bestia variis distincta maculis, virtute et velocitate *mirabis*[232], crudelis est, nemini parcens.

De panthera. Pantera bestia, nigra ut alba, orbiculata varietate distinguitur, fulvis depicta orbiculis. Haec semel omnino parit. Nam onerata foetibus, vuluam tamquam obstantem partui unguibus lacerant, ita ut semen infusum postea retinere non possit.

De pardo. Pardus varietate distinctus, velox nimis et preceps ad sanguinem, saltu ad mortem ruit festinanter.

De Leopardo. Leopardus ex adulterino concubitu leonis et pardae, vel pardo et leena nascitur, fulvus ut leo, nigris distinctus maculis.

Linx maculis distincta ut pardus, lupo similis est. Cujus urinam converti in duritiam lapidem dictum pretiosum, qui ligurius appellatur.

Pantera bestia speciosa et mitis dum commederit tribus diebus dormit ; post triduum ex surgens de somno emittit rugitum et cum rugitu exit de ore ejus odor suavitatis super omnia aromata. Cum ego audiunt vocem ejus, silvarum bestiae sequuntur eam propter odorem tante suavitatis. Solus autem draco audita voce ejus contrahit et recondit se in terre cavernis ne odorem sentiat tante dulcedinis, diabolum significans qui Christum die tercia resurgentem et omnia ad se trahentem sustinere non potuit, sed abscondit se in cavernis barati.

[232] Mirabilis.

Translation

Concerning the tiger. The tiger is a beast distinguished by varied spots, wondrous in courage and swiftness; it is cruel, sparing no one.

Concerning the panther. The panther is a beast, black as well as white, distinguished by orbicular variety, painted with tawny orbs. It gives birth only once in total. For, burdened with offspring, they tear with their claws the womb as if it were an obstacle to birth, such that afterwards it cannot retain the infused generative seed.

Concerning the pard. The pard is distinguished by variety, exceedingly swift and headlong for blood; it rushes hastily with a leap to the kill.

Concerning the leopardus. The *leopardus* is born from the adulterous coupling of the lion and the female pard, or the pard and the lioness; it is tawny like the lion, distinguished by black spots.

The lynx, distinguished by spots like the pard, is similar to the wolf. Its urine is said to be converted into the hardness of a precious stone, which is called *ligurius*.

The panther, a beautiful and gentle beast, when it has eaten, sleeps for three days; after three days, rising from sleep, it emits a roar, and with the roar there issues from its mouth a scent of sweetness above all spices. When, therefore, the beasts of the woods hear its voice, they follow it because of the scent of such sweetness. Only the dragon, however, having heard its voice, shrinks back and hides itself in the caverns of the earth lest it smell a scent of such sweetness, signifying the devil, who could not withstand Christ rising on the third day and drawing all things to Himself, but hid himself in the caverns of the abyss.

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, STOWE MS 1067 (*FIRST FAMILY BESTIARY TYPE B-IS*, C. 1120-1140)

ORIGINAL TEXT

Est animal quod dicitur pantera, varium colorem, sed spatiosum nimis atque mansuetum. Phisiologus dicit dictum de eo : quam inimicum habet solum draconem.

Cum ergo comederit et satiaverit se diversis cibis, recundit se in spelunca sua, et dormit. Post triduum autem surgit a sumno et statim emitit rugitum magnum. Cum autem rugitus ab ore ejus exierit, odor suavitatis exit sicut aromata. Cum autem audiunt vocem ejus, omnis bestiae quae prope sunt et quae longe. Solus autem draco, audiens vocem ejus, timore perterritus, fugit in cavernis terrae. Ibi non ferens odorem suavitatis, torpescit *in se in et ipso* [in seipso] et tamquam mortuus immobilis manet.

Sic et dominus noster Jesus Christus verus panthera descendens de caelis eripuit nos de captivitate diaboli et per incarnationem suam sotiavit nos sibi in filios cepit omnia captivam duxit captivitatem dedit dona hominibus. Quod est varium animal significat, sicut dictum est per Salomonem de Christo, qui est Sapientia Dei patris : sanctus, unicus, multiplex, verus, suavis aptus, clemens, firmus, stabilis, securus, omnipotens, omnia prospitiens.

Quod spetiosum animal sic, David dicit de Christo, spetiosus prae filiis hominum. Mansuetum animal, Isaias quoque dicit : Gaude et letare filia Sion praedica filia Jerusalem quia rex tuus venit tibi mansuetus. Cum satiata fuerit, statim requiescit et dormit.

Quia Dominus Jesus Christus satiatus fuerit judaicis illusionibus et flagris, alapis, injuriis contumeliis, spinis, sputis, manibus in cruce suspensis, clavibus crucifixus, felle et aceto potatus,

insuper lancea perforatus. Obdormiens requievit in sepulcro et descendit ad infernum, illic magnum draconem ligans. Die autem tercio surgit a sumno et emittit magnum clamorem flagrans suavitatem. Sic et Dominus Jesus Christus tercia die resurgens a mortuis, sicut David dicit : et excitatus est tamquam potens crapulatus a vino, et exclamavit voce magna, ita ut audiretur sonus ejus in omni terra et in fines orbis terrae verba illius.

Et sicut de ore panterae odor suavissimus exit, et omnes qui prope sunt et qui longe, Judei aliquando sensum bestiarum habuerunt, sed prope erant per legem. Quae longe, i[d est] gentes, quae sine lege erant, audientes vocem ejus, secuntur eum cum propheta dicente : quam dulcia faucibus meis eloquia tua, domine, super mel et favum ori meo. Item de eodem. Diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis propterea benedixi[t] te Deus in aeternum, et Salomon. Odor *ungentorum* [unguentorum] tuorum super omnia aromata. Item : in odorem unguentorum tuorum currimus, et Paulo post, introduxit me rex in cubiculum suum. Oportet nos quam citius sicut adolescentulas I [*id est* : glose] renovatas in baptismo animas, post unguentum mandatorum Christi currere, et de terrenis ad caelestia transmigrare, ut nos introducat Rex in palatium suum Jerusalem civitatem Domini Virtutum et montem omnium sanctorum.

Translation

There is an animal which is called the panther, of varied colour, but exceedingly beautiful and gentle. The *Physiologus* states what is said of it: that it has only the dragon as an enemy.

Therefore, when it has eaten and satisfied itself with diverse foods, it hides itself in its cave, and sleeps. After three days, however, it rises from sleep and immediately emits a great roar. Moreover, when the roar has gone forth from its mouth, a scent of sweetness goes forth like spices. When, moreover, they hear its voice, all the beasts which are near and which are far [follow it]. Only the dragon, however, hearing its voice, terrified by fear, flees into the caverns of the earth. There, unable to bear the scent of sweetness, it grows torpid within itself and remains immobile as if dead.

Thus also our Lord Jesus Christ, the true panther, descending from the heavens, snatched us from the captivity of the devil, and through His incarnation joined us to Himself as sons; He took all things, led captivity captive, and gave gifts to men. That it is a varied animal signifies, as it was said by Solomon concerning Christ, who is the Wisdom of God the Father: holy, unique, manifold, true, sweet, fitting, clement, firm, stable, secure, omnipotent, overseeing all things.

That it is a beautiful animal, David says thus concerning Christ: 'beautiful above the sons of men'. A gentle animal, Isaiah also says: 'Rejoice and be glad, O daughter of Zion, proclaim, O daughter of Jerusalem, because thy king cometh unto thee gentle.' When it has been satisfied, it immediately rests and sleeps.

Because the Lord Jesus Christ was satiated with Jewish mockeries and scourges, blows, injuries, insults, thorns, spitting, His hands suspended on the cross, crucified with nails, given gall and

vinegar to drink, and moreover pierced with a lance. Falling asleep, He rested in the sepulchre and descended into hell, binding the great dragon there. On the third day, however, He rises from sleep and emits a great cry, fragrant with sweetness. Thus also the Lord Jesus Christ, rising from the dead on the third day, as David says: ‘And He was awakened like a mighty man drunken with wine', and He cried out with a loud voice, so that ‘His sound was heard in all the earth, and His words unto the ends of the world.

And just as the sweetest scent goes forth from the mouth of the panther, and all who are near and who are far, the Jews formerly had the sense of beasts, but were near through the law. Those who are far, that is, the Gentiles, who were without the law, hearing His voice, follow Him with the prophet saying: 'How sweet are Thy words to my palate, O Lord, more than honey and the honeycomb to my mouth.' Likewise concerning the same: 'Grace is poured abroad in thy lips; therefore hath God blessed thee for ever', and Solomon: 'The odour of thy ointments is above all spices.' Likewise: 'we run to the odour of thy ointments', and a little after, 'the king hath brought me into his bedchamber'. It behooves us as quickly as possible, like the young maidens—that is [gloss]: souls renewed in baptism—to run after the ointment of Christ's commandments, and to cross over from earthly things to heavenly things, so that the King may bring us into His palace, Jerusalem, the city of the Lord of Hosts, and the mountain of all the saints.

CAMBRIDGE, CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, MS II.4.26 (*SECOND FAMILY BESTIARY*, C. 1200-1210)

ORIGINAL TEXT

Tygris vocata propter volucrem fugam. Ita enim nominant Perse, Greci et Medi sagittam. Est enim bestia variis distincta maculis, virtute et velocitate mirabilis, ex cujus nomine flumen tygris appellatur, quod is rapidissimus sit omnium fluviorum. Has magis Hircania gignit. Tygris vero, ubi vacuum rapte sobolis repperit cubile, ilico raptoris vestigiis insistit. At ille, quamvis equo vectus fugaci, videns tamen velocitate fere se preverti, nec evadendi ullum suppetere sibi posse subsidium, tecnam hujusmodi fraude molitur. Ubi se contiguum viderit, speram de vitro proicit. At illa ymagine sui luditur, et sobolem putat. Revocat impetum, colligere fetum desiderans. Rursus inani specie retenta, totis a se ad comprehendendum equitem viribus fundit, et iracundie stimulo velociter fugienti imminet. Item ille, spere objectu, sequentem retardat, nec tamen sedulitatem matris, memoria fraudis excludit. Cassam versat ymaginem, et quasi lactatura fetum residet. Sicque pietatis sue studio decepta, et vindictam amittit et prolem.

Pardus est genus varium ac velocissimum et preceps ad sanguinem, saltu enim ad mortem ruit.

Leopardus ex adulterio leene et pardi nascitur et terciam originem efficit. Sicut et Plinius in *Naturali hystoria* dicit : leonem cum parda aut pardum cum leaena concumbere, et ex utroque degeneres partus creari ut mulus et burdo.

Est animal quod dicitur pantera variumque quidem colorem habens, et est speciosissimum, et nimis mansuetum. *Phisiologus* dicit de eo, quam inimicum habet solum draconem. Cum ergo comederit,

et saciatum fuerit, recondit se spelunca sua, et dormit. Post triduum vero exurgit a sompno, et emittit magnum rugitum, et ab ore ejus odor suavissimus exit, velut omnium aromatum. Cum autem audierint vocem ejus cetera animalia, propter *suaviatem* [suavitatem] odoris sequntur eam quocumque ierit. Solus autem draco audiens vocem ejus timore perterritus, fugit in cavernis terre. Ibi non ferens odorem torpescit in semet ipso, et tamquam mortuus *inmobilis* [immobilis] manet. Sic et dominus noster Jesus Christus verus pantera descendens de celis eripuit nos de potestate diaboli. Et per incarnationem suam sociavit nos sibi in filios, cepit omnia, captivamque ducens captivitatem, dedit dona hominibus. Quod sit varium animal significatur, sicut dictum est per Salomonem de Christo qui est, Sapiencia Dei patris, Spiritus intelligibilis, [Spiritus] unicus, multiplex, verus suavis, aptus, clemens, firmus, stabit, securus, omnia potens, omnia prospiciens. Mansuetum autem animal Ysaias quoque dicit : Gaude et letare filia Syon predica filia Jerusalem quia rex tuus venit tibi mansuetus. Cum saturatus fuerit recondit se in Judaicis illusionibus, flagris, alaphis, injuriis, contumeliis, spinis, manibus, in cruce suspensus clavis confixus felle, et aceto potatus lancea perforatus, obdormiens requievit in sepulcro, et descendit in infernum, illuc magnum draconem ligans. Die autem tercio surgit a sompno, et emittit magnum clamorem *fralans* [flagrans] suavitatem. Sic et dominus Jesus Christus tercia die resurgens a mortuis sicut David dicit. Excitatus est tamquam dormiens, dominus tamquam potens crapulatus a vino. Et exclamavit voce magna ita ut audiretur in orbis terra sonus ejus, et in fines orbis terrae verba. ejus. Et sicut de ore pantere odor suavitatis exit, et omnes bestie que prope sunt, et que longe conveniunt eam sequntur, ita Judei qui aliquando sensum habuerunt bestiarum sed prope erant per legem, et que longe, id est gentes que sine lege erant audientes vocem Christi, sequntur eum cum

prophetia dicentes. Quam faucibus dulcia meis eloquia tua, super mel et favum ori meo. Item de eodem : Diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis, propter, benedixit, dominus in eternum. Et Salomon : odor unguentorum tuorum super omnia aromata. Item : in odorem unguentorum tuorum curremus. Et Paulo post : Introduxit me rex in cubiculum suum. Oportet nos quam cicius sicut adolescentulas, id est renovatas baptismo animas post unguentum mandatorum Christi currer de terrenis ad celestia migrare, ut nos introducat rex in palatium suum, in Jerusalem civitatem domini virtutum, et in monte omnium sanctorum. Pantera est bestia minutis oculis superpicta, ita ut oculatis ex fulvo circulis nigra vel alba distinguatur varietate. Hec semel omnino parcurit, cujus cause ratio manifesta est. Nam cum in utero matris coaluere *teos*[233] catuli, maturis ad nascendum viribus pollent. Odiunt temptorum moras. Itaque oneratam fetibus vuluam *tanquam* [tamquam] obstantem partui unguibus lacerant. Effundit illa partum seu potius dimittit : dolore cogente. Ita postea corruptis et cicatricosis sedibus genitale semen infusum non heret acceptum sed irritum resilit foras. Nam Plinius dicit animalia cum acutis unguibus frequenter parere non posse, viciantur intrisecus se. [X]

[Absence de la partie provenant d'Isidore de Séville aux folios [5a]r et [5a]v.]

Lincis dictus quia in luporum genere numeratur. Bestia maculis terga distincta ut pardus. Sed similis *lopo* [lupo]. Hujus urinam converti in duriciam preciosi lapidis dicitur, qui ligurius appellatur. Quod et ipsas linces sentire hoc documento probatur. Nam egestum liquorem arenis in quantum potuerint contegunt, invidia quadam

[233] Difficulté paléographique.

nature ne talis egestio transeat in usum humanum. Linces dicit Plinius extra unum non admittere fetum.

Translation

The tiger is named for the swiftness of its flight. For thus the Persians, the Greeks, and the Medes name the arrow. For it is a beast distinguished by varied spots, wondrous in courage and swiftness, from whose name the river Tigris is called, because it is the swiftest of all rivers. Hyrcania produces these in greater numbers. The tiger, indeed, when it finds the den empty of its stolen offspring, immediately presses upon the tracks of the thief. But he, although riding a swift horse, seeing himself nevertheless outstripped by the swiftness of the wild beast, and that no aid of escape could be available to him, contrives a trick of this kind by fraud. When he sees it drawing near, he casts forth a sphere of glass. But she is mocked by her own image, and thinks it is her offspring. She recalls her charge, desiring to gather her cub. Again, delayed by the empty image, she pours herself forth with all her strength to catch the horseman, and spurred by anger threatens the one fleeing swiftly. Likewise he, by the throwing of a sphere, delays the pursuer, and yet the memory of the fraud does not shut out the zeal of the mother. She turns over the hollow image, and settles down as if to nurse her cub. And thus deceived by the zeal of her devotion, she loses both her revenge and her offspring.

The pard is a variegated and exceedingly swift kind, and headlong for blood, for it rushes to the kill with a leap.

The *leopardus* is born from the adultery of the lioness and the pard, and yields a third origin. Just as Pliny states in the *Naturalis historia*: that the lion mates with the female pard or the pard with the lioness, and from both, bastard offspring are created, like the mule and the hinny.

There is an animal which is called the panther, having indeed a varied colour, and it is exceedingly beautiful, and exceedingly gentle.

The *Physiologus* says of it, that it has only the dragon as an enemy. Therefore, when it has eaten, and been satiated, it hides itself in its cave, and sleeps. After three days, indeed, it rises from sleep, and emits a great roar, and from its mouth a sweetest scent goes forth, like that of all spices. When, moreover, the other animals hear its voice, because of the sweetness of the scent they follow it wherever it goes. Only the dragon, however, hearing its voice, terrified by fear, flees into the caverns of the earth. There, unable to bear the scent, it grows torpid within itself, and remains immobile as if dead. Thus also our Lord Jesus Christ, the true panther, descending from the heavens, snatched us from the power of the devil. And through His incarnation joined us to Himself as sons; He took all things, and leading captivity captive, gave gifts to men. That it is a varied animal is signified, as it was said by Solomon concerning Christ, who is the Wisdom of God the Father: an intelligible spirit, unique, manifold, true, sweet, fitting, clement, firm, stable, secure, omnipotent, overseeing all things. That it is a gentle animal, Isaiah also says: 'Rejoice and be glad, O daughter of Zion, proclaim, O daughter of Jerusalem, because thy king cometh unto thee gentle.' When He had been satiated, He hid Himself in Jewish mockeries, scourges, blows, injuries, insults, thorns, His hands suspended on the cross, transfixed with nails, given gall and vinegar to drink, pierced with a lance; falling asleep He rested in the sepulchre, and descended into hell, binding the great dragon there. On the third day, however, He rises from sleep, and emits a great cry, fragrant with sweetness. Thus also the Lord Jesus Christ, rising from the dead on the third day, as David says: 'The Lord was awakened as one sleeping, as a mighty man drunken with wine.' And He cried out with a loud voice, so that His sound was heard in the earth, and His words unto the ends of the round world. And just as a scent of sweetness goes forth from the mouth of the panther, and all the beasts which are near and which

are far come together and follow it, thus the Jews, who formerly had the sense of beasts, but were near through the law, and those who were far, that is, the Gentiles who were without the law, hearing the voice of Christ, follow Him with the prophecy saying: 'How sweet are Thy words to my palate, more than honey and the honeycomb to my mouth.' Likewise concerning the same: 'Grace is poured abroad in thy lips, therefore the Lord hath blessed thee for ever.' And Solomon: 'The odour of thy ointments is above all spices.' Likewise: 'we will run to the odour of thy ointments.' And a little after: 'The king hath brought me into his bedchamber.' It behooves us as quickly as possible, like the young maidens, that is, souls renewed by baptism, to run after the ointment of Christ's commandments and to cross over from earthly things to heavenly things, so that the king may bring us into His palace, into Jerusalem, the city of the Lord of Hosts, and onto the mountain of all the saints. The panther is a beast painted over with minute orbs, such that it is distinguished by black or white variety with ocelli upon a tawny ground. This gives birth only once in total, the reason for which cause is clear. For when the cubs have coalesced in the mother's womb, they are strong with mature powers for being born. They hate the delays of time. Therefore, they tear with their claws the womb burdened with offspring, as if it were an obstacle to birth. She pours forth the litter, or rather discharges it: compelled by pain. Thus afterwards, the seats being damaged and covered with scars, the infused generative seed does not remain accepted, but leaps back out uselessly. For Pliny states that animals with sharp claws cannot give birth frequently, for they are injured inwardly. [X]

[Absence of the section originating from Isidore of Seville on folios [5a]r and [5a]v.]

The lynx is named because it is numbered among the wolf species. A beast with its back distinguished by spots like the pard. But similar to the wolf. Its urine is said to be converted into the hardness of a precious stone, which is called *ligurius*. That the lynxes themselves perceive this is proved by this evidence. For they cover the emitted liquid with sand, as much as they are able, out of a certain natural jealousy, lest such an emission should pass into human use. Lynxes, Pliny states, do not admit offspring beyond one.

Oxford, Merton College MS. 249 (Philippe de Thaon, *Bestiaire*, c. 1200-1250)

Texte original

De panthera et ejus natura que Christum significat.
Panthere est une beste
de mult precïus estre.
E oez de sun nun
la significatiun :
pan est griu « trestut » est
kar de tel nature est :
ele ad multes valurs,
si ad plusurs culurs,
dulce est e atempree,
e de bestes amee ;
tuz aime par raisun
fors sul le dragun.
Iceste beste mue
divers mangers mangue ;
quant saül serrad
en sa fosse enterad,
treis jorz dormira,
al terz se levera.
Quant ele se levera
un grant cri jetera,
e al cri que el frad
de sa buche isterad
un tel odurement
cume fust basme u piment.
Les bestes qui le orunt

qui prof et luinz serunt,
eles se assemblerunt,
le odurement siwerunt
qui de la buche istera,
que pantere ferra.
Li draguns sulement
quant ot le muement
mult grant poür len prent,
fut en le odurement,
en terre se muscerad,
cume mort se girrat,
laid et deffigure
cume se il fust tue,
mover ne se porra
signifiance i ad.
Panthere mustre vie
del filz seinte Marie,
e nus signifium
les bestes par raisun,
e li draguns diable
par semblant cuvenable.
Deus treis jurz vit en terre
pur nos almes cunquerre ;
al terz resuscita,
sun pople reapela,
tuz les soens reassemblat,
diable acraventad,
sulunc cele semblance
del dragun sanz dutance.
Deus al prince de mort

nus toli par sa mort,
de mort nus delivra,
nostre dolur portad.
E co avum oi
del prophete Davi :
Jesus en halt muntad,
nostre dolur portad.
Quant Deus nus asembla
panthere resembla,
Eiloc [a leon][234] le resembla
quant il resuscita.
Deus co dit Salemun
que pantere est sun dreit nun ;
Pan co est « tut », Deus est pan
pur veir et sanz engain :
uns est en deïté,
tut en humanité ;
Deus est tut fundement
e ben de tute gent :
si cume *solels* [li sols][235] uns est,
qui del mund lumere est,
e si rai sunt plusur,
qui sunt de sa luur,
issi [e si][236] est Deus luur
e nus si rai plusur ;

[234] One reads *Eiloc* in the manuscript, but all others speak of *a leon* or *lo lion*, including the edition by Luigina Morini.
[235] One reads *solels* in the manuscript, but all others speak of *li sols*, including the edition by Luigina Morini.
[236] One reads *issi* in the manuscript, but all others speak of *e si*, including the edition by Luigina Morini.

uns est multipliant,
suttilz, nobles, vaillanz,
nez veirs, suef, amiables,
bons, pius, cuvenables,
fiers, seurs, e estables,
poanz e purveables ;
tut ad fait quant quë est,
pur co « tut » sis nuns est.
E li cri de la beste
demustre poeir celestre :
puis que Deus fud levé,
de mort resuscité,
par *chescune* [trestute][237] cuntree
en fud la *reinee* [renumee][238].
E seint oreisun
par le odur entendum.
Tut ad Deus averred
par la sue bunté
quant que seint Escripture
nus demustre par figure.
Devencu ad diable
par vertu cuvenable ;
sur cristiene gent
ne avera mais naent
së il ne funt pesché
par quei seient lïe.
E sachez que dragun
de serpent ad fascun ;

[237] The other manuscripts utilise *trestute*.
[238] The other manuscripts utilise *renumee*.

crestu est e elez,
dous pez ad si est dentez
par co se defent
e mal fait a la gent.
Co demustre fin,
si cume dïent devin :
co est l'entendement
qu'en la fin veirement
diable destruia
ki en mal finerad.
Ne voil ore plus de li traiter,
de altre voil cumencer.

Translation

Concerning the panther and its nature which signifies Christ.
The panther is a beast
Of very precious being.
And hear of its name
The signification: *Pan* is Greek, it is 'all'
For it is of such nature:
It has many virtues,
And has several colours,
It is sweet and temperate,
And loved by the beasts;
It loves all by reason
Except only the dragon.
This silent beast
Eats diverse foods;
When it shall be satiated
It will enter into its den,
Three days it will sleep,
On the third it will arise.
When it shall arise
It will let out a great cry,
And at the cry that it will make
There will issue from its mouth
Such a sweet scent
As if it were balsam or spiced wine.
The beasts which will hear it
Which will be near and far,
They will assemble,
They will follow the sweet scent

Which will issue from the mouth,
Which the panther will make.
The dragon alone
When it hears the movement
Very great fear takes hold of it,
It flees from the sweet scent,
It will hide itself in the earth,
It will lie down like a dead thing,
Ugly and disfigured
As if it were killed,
It will not be able to move
There is a significance to this.
The panther shows the life
Of the Son of Holy Mary,
And we signify
The beasts by reason,
And the dragon the devil
By suitable likeness.
God lived three days in the earth
To conquer our souls;
On the third He resurrected,
Called back His people,
Reassembled all His own,
Struck down the devil,
According to this likeness
Of the dragon without a doubt.
God from the prince of death
Took us away by His death,
Delivered us from death,
Bore our sorrow.

And this we have heard
From the prophet David:
Jesus mounted on high,
Bore our sorrow.
When God assembled us
He resembled the panther,
There [as a lion] He resembled it
When He resurrected.
God, so says Solomon
That panther is His rightful name;
Pan is 'all', God is *pan*
In truth and without deceit:
He is one in deity,
All in humanity;
God is all foundation
And good of all people:
Just as the sun [*li sols*] is one,
Which is the light of the world,
And yet its rays are many,
Which are of its brightness,
Thus [and thus] God is brightness
And we are His many rays;
He is one multiplying,
Subtle, noble, valiant,
Pure, true, gentle, amiable,
Good, pious, suitable,
Fierce, secure, and stable,
Powerful and provident;
He made all whatever is,
For this 'all' is His name.

And the cry of the beast
Shows heavenly power:
After God was raised,
Resurrected from death,
Through every [all the] country
Went His renown [*renumee*].
And holy prayer
By the scent we understand.
God has made all true
By His goodness
Whatever Holy Scripture
Shows us by figure.
He has vanquished the devil
By suitable virtue;
Over Christian people
He will never have anything
If they do not commit sin
By which they are bound.
And know that the dragon
Has the shape of a serpent;
It is crested and winged,
It has two feet and is toothed
By this it defends itself
And does evil to people.
This shows the end,
Just as the divines say:
This is the understanding
That in the end truly
He will destroy the devil
Who will end in evil.

I do not wish now to treat more of it,
I wish to begin on another.

Paris, BNF, MS. Français 14969 (Guillaume le Clerc, *Bestiaire divin,* c. 1265-1270)

Original Text

Ce est la pantere.
La beste ke ad nun pantiere,
En dreit franceis love cerviere.
Deit cil ben estre amenteüe,
Unkes sa per ne fu veüe,
Ne plus dulce ne plus sueve ;
E si est blanche, e ynde, e bleue,
E jaune, e verte, e ruse, e bise,
E coloree de meinte guise.
Tutes bestes communement,
Fors le dragun tant sulement,
Ayment tut dis sa compaignie,
Mais cil la het tote sa vie.
Quant ceste beste est asaulée,
Ou en montaine ou en valée,
De bones viandes plusurs
Nule beste ne quert meillurs,
En sa fosse se entre e pose,
Jusqu'al ters jur dort e repose.
Al ters jur quant est levée,
E de sa fosse fors alée,
Dunc jette un grant mugisement
Ke hom la pot oïr clerement
De trestut le païs entur.
Dunc ist une bone odur
De sa buche pur verite,

Ken, la viron senz fauseté,
N'ad nule beste ke se tienge,
Ke de maneis a li ne vienge,
Pur le odur ke bone lur semble.
A lin vienent tutes ensemble,
E tutes suivent la pantiere.
Mais li draguns se trait ariere,
Si tost come la vorz entent,
E la dulçur del odur sent.
Ne la pot lungement suffrir,
Ainz l'estoet a terre flatir,
E enfoïr sei si el parfunt
Ke il ne pot pur tut le munt
En nule guise pus moveir,
Iloc li covent remaneir.

En ceste beste sanz dotance
Ad mut bele signefiance :
Pantiere dit ky dreit entent
Tant come chose ke tut comprent,
E signefie sanz errur
Jhesu Crist nostre Sauveür,
Ke par sa grant humilité
Vesti nostre charnalité,
E traist tut le secle a sei.
Pur nus suffri e feim e sei,
E mort en croix al darein,
Come veirs Deu e soverain.
Al tierz jur de mort releva,
E tut le munde *guaingna*,

Il meïsmes ot dit devant,
Quant el mund alout prechant :
« Quant de terre eshaucié serrai,
Tutes choses a mei trarai. »
Aillurs redit la Lettre tant,
Ke Jhesu Crist en halt muntant
Mena nostre cheitiveté,
E a homes ad duns doné.
E un autre prophete dist
De nostre seignur Jhesu Crist :
« Je sui en la Judas maisun,
La seignorie e le leon.
En la maison *Efferri* pantiere,
Issi est en meinte maniere
Nostre Seignor figuré.
Pur ce fu pantiere apelé,
De meinte guise coloree,
Kar il ad a sei apelee
Gent païene gent judaïsme,
Ke creient une lei meïsme.
Salemon dit en sa sentence
Ke Crist est de Deu sapience,
Un espirit multepliable,
Sotil, movant, e entendable,
Certains, verais sur tute rien,
Suef, enez, e amans bien.
Plein de pité e amiable,
E seur, e ferm, e estable,
Ke nul bien ne desturbe a faire,
Dirz e leals, e debonaire,

Ke tut esgarde e ki tut fait,
E par ki tut le munz estaït.
Seint Pol nus redit en un lieu :
« Crist en la sapience Deu. »
Pur la pantiere ke est bele,
Redit David autre novele ,
Kant de la beute Deu parla,
E luërs, « Spetiosus forma »
De la beste ke sueve est
K'avom nus len sample tut prest.
Sur Deu fiert la suavité,
Y savés pur verité.
Dist la prophetie pur quei,
« Fille Syon esjoïse tei,
Tun rei vendra suef e duz,
Ky n'est mie fels ne estuz. »
La beste ke est repleine
E pus repos signefie
Jhesu Crist nostre Sauveür,
Ky a Judas le traïtur
Se lessa lier, e vendre,
As giëus lier, e pendre,
Batre, bender, e escopir,
E tormenter, e escharnir.
Quant il fu saül des laidures,
Des turmenz, e des bateüres,
En la Seinte Croix s'endormi,
Pus demora juske al tierz di.
El cher sepulcre glorius
Dunc ala briser a estrus

Enfer, e lia le dragun
Ky teneit sa gent en prisun.
E quant il fu de mort resurs,
Tant en eïssirent bones odurs
De sa parole e de sun nun,
E tant en a la loing de sun,
Tant s'espandi sa bone odur,
Ke tut li munz enfu meillur.
Le odur del resuscitament
Odora si tres ducement
Ke tut le munz esteit gariz,
Ke devant ce esteit periz,
Le odur del Incarnaciun,
De sa mort e de sa Passiun,
Si leRresurdement ne feüst,
Ja nul mester ne nus eüst.
Tut fu el resuscitement
Acompli nostre sauvement.
Dunc dit nostre Seignor Jhesu
K'il aveit le mund vencu,
E ke nostre joie en feïsun.
E dist si come nus lisiun :
« Beu Pere, je ai ben garde
Ce ke tu maveies livré,
Si ke unc vu ne perdi
Fors celui ky par dreit peri. »
Ce dist il – n'en dotez pas –
Pur le maluré Judas.
A ses desciples s'aparut,
E a Thomas ke ce mescrut,

Mustra les leus, ce dit la Lettre,
E encore li fist sun dei mettre
Ou les dous aveient esté.
E pus dist quant furent osté
Trestut ensemble li apostre :
« Je vois a Mun Pere e al vostre.
E quant a Lui venu serrai,
Le Esperit vus enverai,
Ky vus enseignera trestut
Ke vus devrez faire de bot. »
Icestes paroles lur dist,
Ben avera ce k'yl pramist.
Seignurs, pur Deu le verai rei,
Kar pensom e *pernum* [prenum] conrei
Coment e en quele manere
Si verrun la verai pantere.
Pur Deu e pur la veraie croix
Oüm sa parole e sa voiz.
Kar de sa buche ist un odur,
Nuls hom ne senti onc meilleur ;
Plus sunt duz ses comandemenz
Ke aromates oingnemenz.
Si ses comandemenz fesum,
Riche en sera li guerdun.
Deu nus merra en sun palais,
En sa bele cite de peis,
En Jerusalem la celestre,
El haut munt ou fait bel estre,
Ou james nul ne serra triste.
Dunc purrum dire od le psaumistre :

« Cite Deu glorius diz
Sunt de tei cuntes e escris. »
Issi come nus oy l'avoin
En tel manere le veoin,
En tele ginse lavom veü,
En la cite le rei de vertu.

Translation

This is the panther.
The beast which has the name panther,
In proper French, the *love cerviere*
It ought well to be mentioned,
Never was its peer seen,
Nor one more sweet nor more gentle;
And it is white, and indigo, and blue,
And yellow, and green, and red, and grey,
And coloured in many a guise.
All beasts commonly,
Except the dragon only,
Love its company always,
But this one hates it all its life.
When this beast is satiated,
Either in mountain or in valley,
With several good meats
(No beast seeks better),
It enters its den and rests,
Until the third day it sleeps and rests.
On the third day when it is raised,
And gone forth from its den,
Then it lets out a great roar
That one can hear it clearly
From all the country around.
Then issues a good scent
From its mouth, in truth,
That, around it, without falsehood,
There is no beast that holds back,

That does not come to it immediately,
For the scent that seems good to them.
They all come to it together,
And all follow the panther.
But the dragon draws back,
As soon as it hears the voice,
And smells the sweetness of the scent.
It cannot suffer it long,
Rather it must flatten itself to the earth,
And bury itself so deep
That it cannot for all the world
In any way move anymore,
There it must remain.

In this beast without a doubt
There is a very beautiful signification:
Panther means, to one who understands rightly,
As much as 'a thing that encompasses all',
And it signifies without error
Jesus Christ our Saviour,
Who by His great humility
Put on our carnality,
And drew all the world to Himself.
For us He suffered both hunger and thirst,
And death on the cross at the last,
As true and sovereign God.
On the third day He rose from death,
And won all the world,
He Himself had said beforehand,
When He went preaching in the world:

'When I shall be raised up from the earth,
I shall draw all things to Me.'
Elsewhere the Letter says as much,
That Jesus Christ, mounting on high,
Led our captivity,
And gave gifts to men.
And another prophet said
Of our Lord Jesus Christ:
'I am in the house of Judah,
The lordship and the lion.
In the house of Ephraim, a panther,'
Thus is in many a manner
Our Lord prefigured.
For this He was called panther,
Coloured in many a guise,
Because He has called to Himself
Pagan people and Jewish people,
That they may believe one same law.
Solomon says in his teaching
That Christ is the wisdom of God,
A multiplying spirit,
Subtle, moving, and intelligible,
Certain, true above all things,
Sweet, pure, and loving good.
Full of pity and amiable,
And secure, and firm, and stable,
Who disturbs no good from being done,
Righteous and loyal, and debonair,
Who watches all and who makes all,
And by whom all the world stands.

Saint Paul tells us again in one place:
'Christ is the wisdom of God.'
For the panther which is beautiful,
David tells other tidings,
When he spoke of the beauty of God,
And praises, 'Speciosus forma'
Of the beast which is gentle
We have the example all ready.
Upon God belongs the sweetness,
Know it for truth.
The prophecy says why,
'Daughter of Zion, rejoice,
Thy king shall come gentle and sweet,
Who is not at all cruel nor haughty.'
The beast which is replete
And then rests signifies
Jesus Christ our Saviour,
Who to Judas the traitor
Allowed Himself to be bound, and sold,
To the Jews to be bound, and hung,
Beaten, blindfolded, and spat upon,
And tormented, and mocked.
When He was satiated with insults,
With torments, and with beatings,
On the Holy Cross He fell asleep,
Then remained until the third day.
In the dear glorious sepulchre
Then He went to forcefully break
Hell, and bound the dragon
Who held His people in prison.

And when He was resurrected from death,
Such good scents issued from Him,
From His word and from His name,
And so far went the sound of it,
So much did His good scent spread,
That all the world was made better by it.
The scent of the resurrection
Smelled so very sweetly
That all the world was healed,
Which before this had perished,
The scent of the Incarnation,
Of His death and of His Passion,
If the resurrection had not been,
Would never have been of any use to us.
All was in the resurrection
Accomplished, our salvation.
Then said our Lord Jesus
That He had vanquished the world,
And that we should make our joy in it.
And He said, just as we read:
'Fair Father, I have well guarded
That which Thou hadst delivered to Me,
So that I never lost one
Except him who by right perished.'
He said this – doubt it not –
For the wretched Judas.
To His disciples He appeared,
And to Thomas who disbelieved it,
Showed the places, says the Letter,
And even made him put his finger

Where the nails had been.
And then said when they were gathered
All together, the apostles:
'I go to My Father and to yours.
And when I shall be come to Him,
I shall send you the Spirit,
Who will teach you all
That you must do entirely.'
These words He said to them,
He will well keep what He promised.
Lords, for God the true king,
Let us think and make preparation
How and in what manner
We shall thus see the true panther.
For God and for the true cross
Let us hear His word and His voice.
For from His mouth issues a scent,
No man ever smelled a better one;
Sweeter are His commandments
Than aromatic ointments.
If we do His commandments,
Rich will be the reward for it.
God will lead us into His palace,
Into His beautiful city of peace,
Into the heavenly Jerusalem,
Onto the high mountain where it is good to be,
Where no one shall ever be sad.
Then we shall be able to say with the psalmist:
'City of God, glorious things
Are told and written of thee.'

Just as we had heard it
In such manner we saw it,
In such guise we have seen it,
In the city of the King of virtue.

Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS-3516 (Pierre de Beauvais, *Bestiaire*, end of thirteenth century, c. 1267-1268?)

Original Text

Tigre : Une beste est qui est apelee tigre, c'est une maniere de sarpent. Cele beste est de tel nature qu'ele est si fiere et si cruels que nus hom vivans ne l'ose abiter. Et quant il avient que ceste beste a faons et li veneor ont espié ou il sont, si li emblent en tel maniere con vos ores chi dire. Li veneor prenent mireoirs et les portent avoec els quant il vont enbler le faons de le tigre. Lors le gaitent tant qi le voient aler deduire et que il nes pas sor sa fosse a ses faons, et dont li emblent hors de sa fosse. Et li veneor prenent lor mireors et les metent en la voie si comme il s'en vont ; et la tigre si est de tel nature que ne sera ja tant corecie se ele voit I (1) mireor que il ne l'i covient ses ex aerdre. Lors quide que ce soient si faon qu'ele ivoit ens et conjoït s'ymage par grant deduit. Et quide chertai[ne]ment avoir son faon trové. Et se delite tant a regarder la beaute de sa bone taille que ele en oblit a cachier cels qui ses faons li ont emblé et s'areste iluec tote coie alsi comme s'ele fust prise. Et en itel maniere en portent li veneor les faons. De ce dist *Phisiologe* : prendons nos garde que nos ne somes tels con la tigre. Est Amon li proph[et]es dit que cist siecles est example de la forest ou les tigres conversent, et rueve a cascun de nos que il soit ententieus de garder son faon, c'est s'ame, car li veneor vos gaitent et espient et ont adés lor mireors prest, se il peusent nostre faon embler. Les mireors sont les grans viandes, les grans de deduis del monde que nos desirons : de robes, de cevals, de beles femes de tos altres peciés, si comme li venere a portrait en son mireor que il gete l'ome en devant. Por ce se doit cascun hon tenir el service de son Creator quar dont n'a Anemis pooir sor lame de l'home, c'est li faons qu'il covoite a embler.

Une beste qui est nomee pantere. Une beste qui est nomee pantere. Coloree de molt diverses colors, bele de grant beauté et molt soef. *Phisiologes* dist de ceste best que li dragons le het molt et fuit partot por la grant odor qu'ele a en soi. Quant la pantere trueve sa proie, ele s'en saole de diverses viandes et aprés se repont en sa fosse, et dont dort III (3) jors tot entierement. Tele est sa nature. Et aprés s'esveille et lieve soi et lors rent si grant odor et si doce que l'odor s'espant pres et loing par la forest, et jete I (1) grant muiement, si que les bestes qui sont el bos environ lui oent sa vois de molt loing. Lors s'asemblant totes les bestes qui sont et pres et loing qui ont sentu la soe odor qui ist de sa boce et se traient vers lui par la vois et par lodor. Mais li dragons, quant il ot sa vois, il en fremist tos de poor et se repont es fosses de la terre por ce que il ne puet souffrir l'odor de sa boche, que si par est doce et soef : ains remaint iluec enperecis et vains, en si comme s'il fust mors. Et les autres bestes sievent la panterre por sa douce odor de la bouce en quel liu qu'ele onques va, si espessement que nus nel poroit penser, que plus que la beste vait par la forest, plus de bestes le sievent, que par droite nature le sievent totes [celes] qui sa vois oent et qui s'odor sentent fors seulement li dragons : il fuit partot la pantere. Nostre Sire Jhesu Crist, il est vraie pantere, que tot altresi atrait il par sa sainte incarnation l'umain lignage que li dragons, c'est li Diables, tenoit en mort, dont David dist li prophetes : « Il monta es ciels et prist et mena nostre chaitivete et mist dons en homes ». La pantere qui totes diverses viandes usse senefie ce qui Nostre Sire tot l'umain lignage et totes les gens et les pueples ostra del *lieu* [lien] al Diable quant il descendi des ciels et [nos] acompaigna a sa bonté et fist de nos ses fils et raempli ce que li prophetes avoir dit devant : « Jo sui en si comme la pantere ». La panterre est de diverses colors coloree, si comme Salemons dist de Nostre Segnor Jhesu Crist : « Il est sapience de Deu, esperis veritables, sains hom seus, monteploians, soutis,

movables, certains, purs, verrais, *ses* [soés], amans bien, covenables, que nule cose de bien ne devee a faire, pitieus, fers, estables, seurs, tos poissans, esgardans totes coses faisans tot, plus movables de sapience ». Ce qu'il dit ci : Cris est sapience de Deu, *tesmoins* [tesmoigne] li maistres de verite, sains Pols, qui dist : « Nos preechons Jhesus Cristum crucifiié ». Ce que la pantere est bele dit David de Crist : « Il est de forme beax devant tos les fils des homes ». Ce que la pantere est molt privee, de ce dist Ysaies li prophetes : « Esjoïsse toi, esleece, fille de Syon, fille de Jherusalem, preeche, car tes rois vient a toi qui te salvera ». Ce que la panterre mangüe dont ele sa seolle et enraument se repose et dort, tot altre[si] Nostre Sire Jhesu Cris, puis qu'il fu saolles des escharnissemens des Juis, des tormens, des bufes, des torcheneries, des espines, des escopemens, des clous fichies en ses mains. Quant il le pendirent en crois il l'abevrerent de fiel et d'aisill et il tresperchierent ses costes de la lance : Jhesu Cris de tos ces dons fu saollés et s'en dormi et reposa el sepulcre III (3) jors, et descendi en enfer et loia iluec le grant dragon, ce est li Diables, qui est anemis a nos tos. Ce que la pantere s'esveille al tierc jor et ele gete grant muiement, don la douchor de sa boche espant, altresi Jhesu Crist resuscita al tiers jor de mort, enraument s'escria, si que li sons issans de lui fu oïs en totes teres. Et la parole de lui escoltee de la reondeche de la terre, dissans : « Esjoïssiés vos et ne dotés mie, car jo ai vaincu le monde ». En autre lieu redit : « Je vois a mon Pere et vostre Pere mon Dieu et vostre Dieu ; et si venrai a vos et ne [vos] *laira*[i] mie les orfelins ». En altre liu redist : « Pere, ce que tu me donas ai gardé, et nus n'en peri fors les fils de perdicion ». En la fin de l'Evangille redit : « Jo sui o vos tos jors de si en la fin del siecle ». Ce que de la bouce la pantere ist la doce odors par coi totes les bestes qui sont pres et loins la sievent, ce est ce que nos tot somes loing et pres – si comme li Jui a la fois avoient sens de bestes, qui pres erent par la loi qu'il avoient, et les Gens, qui loig erent, por ce qu'il erent sans

loi –, nos, qui oons sa vois et somes raempli de sa tres doce odor, c'est de ses commandemens, que nos l'ensievons, si comme li prophetes dist : « Sire, desor la dolçor de miel sont tes paroles douces en ma bouce est et en mes joes ». De *tes* [ces] odors, c'est des commandemens Deu, des commandemens Dieu dist David : « Sire grace, est espandue en tes levres ; por ce te beneï Dex pardurablement ». Et Salemons dist es Cantiques : « L'odors de tes oignemens est odorables sor tos laituaires ». Li oignement de Crist sont [laituaires : ce sont] li commandement de Deu, qui sont sor tos *aromaciemens* [aromatisemens] odorables, car les paroles de Dieu esleecent les cuers de cels qui l'oent et en sievent, si comme la presente odors des fins aromatisemens raemplist les narines de cels qui le reçoivent. « Sire, tes nons est dous sor tos aromatisemens et por ce *covint* [covient] nos jovenceaus core aprés tes commandemens » : c'est les ames renovelees par le baptesme, que li Rois nos en maint en Jherusalem, cités de Deu est, et mons de tos sains.

Translation

Tiger: There is a beast which is called the tiger, it is a kind of serpent. This beast is of such a nature that it is so fierce and so cruel that no living man dares approach it. And when it happens that this beast has cubs and the hunters have spied out where they are, they steal them from it in such a manner as you shall now hear tell. The hunters take mirrors and carry them with them when they go to steal the cubs of the tiger. Then they watch it until they see it go to amuse itself and that it is not over its den with its cubs, and then they steal them out of its den. And the hunters take their mirrors and place them in the path as they go away; and the tiger is of such a nature that it will never be so angered that, if it sees a mirror, it is not compelled to fix its eyes upon it. Then it believes that it is its cubs that it sees therein, and rejoices in its image with great delight. And it believes certainly to have found its cub. And it delights so much in looking at the beauty of its good form that it forgets to chase those who have stolen its cubs from it, and it stops there entirely quiet as if it were caught. And in such a manner do the hunters carry off the cubs. Concerning this the *Physiologus* says: let us take care that we are not such as the tiger. And Amos the prophet says that this world is the example of the forest where the tigers dwell, and he asks each of us that he be intent on guarding his cub, that is his soul, for the hunters watch and spy upon you and always have their mirrors ready, if they can steal our cub. The mirrors are the great meats, the great delights of the world that we desire: of robes, of horses, of beautiful women, of all other sins, just as the hunter has portrayed in his mirror which he throws before the man. For this reason each man must keep himself in the service of his Creator, for then the Enemy has no power over the soul of the man, which is the cub that he covets to steal.

A beast which is named the panther. A beast which is named the panther. Coloured with very diverse colours, beautiful with great beauty and very gentle. The *Physiologus* says of this beast that the dragon hates it greatly and flees everywhere because of the great scent which it has within itself. When the panther finds its prey, it satiates itself with diverse meats and afterwards hides itself in its den, and then sleeps three days entirely. Such is its nature. And afterwards it awakens and raises itself, and then yields so great and so sweet a scent that the scent spreads near and far through the forest, and it lets out a great roar, so that the beasts which are in the woods around it hear its voice from very far. Then all the beasts which are both near and far assemble, which have smelled its scent which issues from its mouth, and draw towards it by the voice and by the scent. But the dragon, when it hears its voice, shudders entirely with fear and hides itself in the caverns of the earth because it cannot suffer the scent of its mouth, for it is so sweet and gentle: rather it remains there torpid and faint, just as if it were dead. And the other beasts follow the panther for its sweet scent from the mouth in whatever place it may go, so thickly that no one could imagine it, for the more the beast goes through the forest, the more beasts follow it, for by rightful nature all those follow it which hear its voice and which smell its scent except only the dragon: it flees the panther everywhere. Our Lord Jesus Christ, He is the true panther, for in exactly this way He attracts by His holy incarnation the human lineage which the dragon, that is the Devil, held in death, of which David the prophet says: 'He mounted into the heavens and took and led our captivity and put gifts in men.' The panther which uses all diverse meats signifies that Our Lord removed all the human lineage and all the nations and the peoples from the bond of the Devil when He descended from the heavens and joined us to His goodness and made of us His sons and fulfilled what the prophet had said before: 'I

am thus like the panther.' The panther is coloured with diverse colours, just as Solomon says of Our Lord Jesus Christ: 'He is the wisdom of God, a true spirit, holy, unique, multiplying, subtle, moving, certain, pure, true, sweet, loving good, suitable, who forbids no good thing to be done, piteous, fierce, stable, secure, all-powerful, overseeing all things, making all, most moving of wisdom.' What he says here: 'Christ is the wisdom of God', the master of truth, Saint Paul, testifies, who says: 'We preach Jesus Christ crucified.' That the panther is beautiful, David says of Christ: 'He is beautiful of form before all the sons of men.' That the panther is very tame, of this Isaiah the prophet says: 'Rejoice, be glad, daughter of Zion, daughter of Jerusalem, preach, for thy king comes to thee who will save thee.' That the panther eats from which it satiates itself and immediately rests and sleeps, exactly thus Our Lord Jesus Christ, after He was satiated with the mockeries of the Jews, with the torments, with the blows, with the tortures, with the thorns, with the spittings, with the nails driven into His hands. When they hung Him on the cross they gave Him gall and vinegar to drink and they pierced His ribs with the lance: Jesus Christ was satiated with all these gifts and fell asleep and rested in the sepulchre three days, and descended into hell and bound the great dragon there, that is the Devil, who is an enemy to us all. That the panther awakens on the third day and lets out a great roar, from which the sweetness of its mouth spreads, thus Jesus Christ resurrected on the third day from death, immediately cried out, so that the sound issuing from Him was heard in all lands. And His word was heard from the roundness of the earth, saying: 'Rejoice and doubt not, for I have vanquished the world.' In another place He says again: 'I go to my Father and your Father, my God and your God; and thus I shall come to you and I shall not leave you orphans.' In another place He says again: 'Father, that which Thou gavest Me I have guarded, and none

of them perished except the sons of perdition.' At the end of the Gospel He says again: 'I am with you always, henceforth unto the end of the world.' That from the mouth of the panther issues the sweet scent by which all the beasts which are near and far follow it, this is that we all are far and near – just as the Jews at times had the sense of beasts, who were near by the law which they had, and the Gentiles, who were far, because they were without the law –, we, who hear His voice and are fulfilled with His very sweet scent, that is with His commandments, that we follow Him, just as the prophet says: 'Lord, above the sweetness of honey Thy words are sweet in my mouth and in my cheeks.' Of these scents, that is of the commandments of God, of the commandments of God David says: 'Lord, grace is poured abroad in Thy lips; therefore God hath blessed Thee everlastingly.' And Solomon says in the Canticles: 'The odour of Thy ointments is fragrant above all electuaries.' The ointments of Christ are [electuaries: they are] the commandments of God, which are fragrant above all spices, for the words of God gladden the hearts of those who hear them and follow them, just as the present scent of fine spices fills the nostrils of those who receive it. 'Lord, Thy name is sweet above all spices and therefore it behooves us young maidens to run after Thy commandments': these are the souls renewed by baptism, so that the King may lead us into Jerusalem, which is the city of God, and the mountain of all saints.

DOUAI, B.M., MS. 711 (*DE NATURA ANIMALIUM* (*BESTIAIRE DE LA TROISIÈME FAMILLE*), C. 1270-1275)

ORIGINAL TEXT

Tigris vocata propter volucrem fugam. Ita enim nominant Perse, Greci et Medi sagittam, est enim bestia variis distincta maculis, virtute et velocitate mirabilis, ex cujus nomine flumen Tigris appellatur, quod is rapidissimus sit omnium fluviorum. Has magis Hircania gignit. Tigris vero, ubi vacuum rapte sobolis reperit cubile, ilico raptoris vestigiis insistit. At ille, quamvis equo vectus fugaci, videns tamen velocitate fere se posse perverti, nec ullum evadendi suppetere sibi posse subsidium, tecnam hujus modi fraude molitur. Ubi se contiguum viderit, speram de vitro proicit. At illa imagine sui luditur, et sobolem putat. Revocat impetum, colligere fetum desiderans. Rursus vima nam spere retenta, tocis se ad comprehendendum equitem viribus fundit, et iracundie stimulo velociter fugienti imminet. Iterum ille spere objectu sequentem retardat, nec tamen sedulitatem matris memoria fraudis excludit. Cassam versat imaginem, et quasi jactatura fetum residet, sicque pietatis sue studio decepta, et vindictam amittit et prolem.

Pardus est genus varium ac velocissimum et preceps ad sanguinem, saltu enim ad mortem ruit. Leopardus ex adulterio leene nascitur et pardi, et terciam originem efficit. Sicut et Plinius in *Naturali historia* dicit : leonem cum parda, autem pardum cum leena concumbere, et ex utroque coitu degeneres partus creari, ut mulus et burdo.

[Absence of the beginning of the chapter on the panther]

[...] bestiarum. Sed prope perlegem erant, et que longe, id est gentes, que sine lege erant audientes vocem Christi, sequuntur eum, prophetia dicentes : « Quam dulcia faucibus meis eloquia tua, super mel ori meo. » Item de eodem. « Diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis, propterea benedixit te Deus in eternum. » Et Solomon. « Odor unguentorum tuorum omnia aromata. » Item, « In odore unguentorum tuorum currimus. » Et Paulo post : « Introduxit me rex in cubiculum suum. » Oportet nos quam cutius sicut adolescentulas, id est renovatas baptismo animas, post unguentum mandatorum Christi currere, de terrenis ad celestia migrare, ut introducat nos rex in palacium suum, in Jerusalem civitatem Domini Virtutum et in montem omnium sanctorum. Pantera est bestia minutis orbiculis superpicta, ita ut oculatis ex fulvo circulis, nigra vel alba distinguatur varietate. Hec semel omnino parturit cujus cause racio manifesta est. Nam cum in utero matris coaluere tres catuli, maturis ad nascendum viribus pollent, odiunt temporum moras. Itaque oneratam fetibus vulvam, tanquam obstantem partui unguibus lacerant. Effundit illa partum, seu potius dimittit, dolore cogente. Ita postea, corruptis et cicatricosis sedibus, genitale semen infusum non heret acceptum. Sed irritum resilit foras. Nam Plinius dicit animalia cum acutis unguibus frequenter parere non posse : viciantur enim intrisecus se moventibus catulis.

Lincis dictus, quia in luporum genere numeratur. Bestia maculis terga distincta ut pardus, sed similis lupo. Hujus urinam converti in duriciam preciosi lapidis dicunt, qui ligurius appellatur. Quod et ipsas linces sentire hoc documento probatur. Nam egestum liquorem arenis quantum potuerint contegunt, in vidia quadam nature, ne talis egestio transeat in usum humanum. Linces dicit Plinius extra unum non ad mittere fetum.

TRANSLATION

The tiger is named for the swiftness of its flight. For thus the Persians, the Greeks, and the Medes name the arrow, for it is a beast distinguished by varied spots, wondrous in courage and swiftness, from whose name the river Tigris is called, because it is the swiftest of all rivers. Hyrcania produces these in greater numbers. The tiger, indeed, when it finds the den empty of its stolen offspring, immediately presses upon the tracks of the thief. But he, although riding a swift horse, seeing himself nevertheless almost capable of being outstripped by the swiftness of the wild beast, and that no aid of escape could be available to him, contrives a trick of this kind by fraud. When he sees it drawing near, he casts forth a sphere of glass. But she is mocked by her own image, and thinks it is her offspring. She recalls her charge, desiring to gather her cub. Again, delayed by the empty sphere, she pours herself forth with all her strength to catch the horseman, and spurred by anger threatens the one fleeing swiftly. Likewise he, by the throwing of a sphere, delays the pursuer, and yet the memory of the fraud does not shut out the zeal of the mother. She turns over the hollow image, and settles down as if to nurse her cub, and thus deceived by the zeal of her devotion, she loses both her revenge and her offspring.

The pard is a variegated and exceedingly swift kind, and headlong for blood, for it rushes to the kill with a leap. The *leopardus* is born from the adultery of the lioness and the pard, and yields a third origin. Just as Pliny states in the *Naturalis historia*: that the lion mates with the female pard, or the pard with the lioness, and from both couplings bastard offspring are created, like the mule and the hinny.

[Absence of the beginning of the chapter on the panther]

[...] of beasts. But they were near through the law, and those who were far, that is, the Gentiles, who were without the law, hearing the voice of Christ, follow Him, the prophecy saying: 'How sweet are Thy words to my palate, more than honey to my mouth.' Likewise concerning the same: 'Grace is poured abroad in thy lips, therefore God hath blessed thee for ever.' And Solomon: 'The odour of thy ointments is above all spices.' Likewise: 'we run to the odour of thy ointments.' And a little after: 'The king hath brought me into his bedchamber.' It behooves us as quickly as possible, like the young maidens, that is, souls renewed by baptism, to run after the ointment of Christ's commandments, to cross over from earthly things to heavenly things, so that the king may bring us into His palace, into Jerusalem, the city of the Lord of Hosts, and onto the mountain of all the saints. The panther is a beast painted over with minute orbs, such that it is distinguished by black or white variety with ocelli upon a tawny ground. This gives birth only once in total, the reason for which cause is clear. For when three cubs have coalesced in the mother's womb, they are strong with mature powers for being born, they hate the delays of time. Therefore, they tear with their claws the womb burdened with offspring, as if it were an obstacle to birth. She pours forth the litter, or rather discharges it, compelled by pain. Thus afterwards, the seats being damaged and covered with scars, the infused generative seed does not remain accepted. But leaps back out uselessly. For Pliny states that animals with sharp claws cannot give birth frequently: for they are injured inwardly by the cubs moving about.

The lynx is named because it is numbered among the wolf species. A beast with its back distinguished by spots like the pard, but similar to the wolf. Its urine, they say, is converted into the hardness of a precious stone, which is called *ligurius*. That the lynxes themselves

perceive this is proved by this evidence. For they cover the emitted liquid with sand, as much as they are able, out of a certain natural jealousy, lest such an emission should pass into human use. Lynxes, Pliny states, do not admit offspring beyond one.

CAMBRIDGE, TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY, R.14.9 (*TRANSITIONAL BESTIARY*), C. 1275-1300

ORIGINAL TEXT

Est animal quod dicitur pantera, variumque colorem habens, sed speciosum valde nimis mansuetum. *Phisiologus* dicit de eo : quam inimicum solum draconem habet. Cum ego commederit et saciaverit se diversis cibet, recondit se in speculam suam, ponit se et dormit. Post triduum exurgit as ompno et statim emittit rugitum magnum. Cum autem audierint vocem ejus omnes bestia, que prope sunt et que longe, congregantur, omnes et sequntur suavitatis ejus odorem qui exit de ore. Solus autem draco, cum audierit vocem ejus, timore contrahitur et *fulsit* [fulcit] se in terraneis cavernis terre. Ibi non ferens vim suavitatis odoris, in semet ipsim contractus obtorpescit, et remanet immobilis ejus inanis tanquam mortuus. Cetera vero animalia sequntur panteram quocumque vadit. Sic et Dominus Noster Jesus Christ, verus pantera, omne humanum genus quod a diabolo captum, fervat, morte tenebatur obnoxium, per incarnationem ad se trahens captivam duxit captivitatem, sicut dixit David propheta : « Ascendens in altum, cepisti captivitatem, accepisti dona in hominibus. » « Pantera vel omnia capiens » multiplicetur. Sic Dominus Noster, ut diximus, videns humanum genus, a demonibus captum et ydolis mansipitum autem omnes genus et propes predam diaboli effectos, descendens de celis eripuit nos de captivitate diaboli et sociavit nos bonitati sue, et pietatis *prne* [munere] filios adoptavit, et implevit illud quod propheta autem predixerit. « Ego, inquit, sicut pantera factus Effraim et leo domui Juda ydolus serviebat. » *G*^{o} *tt uc* [Ego item nunc ?] vocationem gentium et viderorum sigritabat. Unde animal varium et pantera, sicut dictum est per Salomonem de Domino, enim, i[d est] Christo qui est Dei Sapienta, [spiritus] intelligibilis [spiritus]

multiplex unicus subtilis, mobilis, *ccus* [circumscriptus], incontaminatus, verus, suavis, amans, bonum, apter qui nisi boni vetat fieri, clemens, firmus, stabilis, secundus omnia potens omnia, perspiciens, omnia faciens, mobilior sapsa et reliqua. Quam sapienta Christe sit testatur doctor veritatis Paulus dicens : « Nos autem predicamus Chrustum crucifixum, Judeis quidam scandalum, Gentibus vero stulticiam ipsi autem vocatis, Judeis autem Gentibus, Christum Dei virtutem et Dei Sapientam. Et quia spesiosum animal est pantera, dicit David de Christo : « Spesiosus forma per filius hominum. » Et quia mansuetum animal est nimis, dicit Ysaias : « Gaude et letare, filia Syon, predica filia Jerusalem, quoniam rex tuus venit tibi mansuetus et salvans. » Et quia cum manducaverit et saciatus fuerit, statim quiescit et dormit. Et Dominus enim Jhesus Christus posteaquam saciatus fuerit a Judaicis illusionibus, i[d est] flagellis, alapis, *in vidiis* [injuris] contumeliis, spinis, sputis, manibus in cruce suspendentes, clavis figentes, et felle et aceto potantes insuper et lancea transforantes, hiis [igitur ?] tot et tantis judaicis [minutibus ?] saciatus Christe obdormivit et requivenit in sepulcro et descendit in infernum et ligavit illic draconem magnum et inimcum nostrum. Que autem die tercio exurgit a sompno illud animal et emittit rugitum magnum, et fragrat odor suavitatis ex ore ejus, sic et Dominus Noster Jhesus Christus tercia die resurgens a mortuis sicut dicit psalmista. Exitatus est tanquam potens crapulatus a vino. Et statim exclamavit voce magna ita ut audiretur in omni terra exiens sonus ejus et in fines orbis terre verba illius dicens : « Gaudete etiam et no lite timore quam ego vici mundum. » Et iterum, « Pater sancte quos dedisti mihi custodivi et nemo ex eis periit, nisi filius perditionis. » et iterum. « Vado ad Patrem meum et Patrem vestrum, et ad Deum meum et ad deum vestrum. » Et item : « Veniam ad vos et non dimittam vos orphanos. » Et in fine Evangelii ait : « Ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus

usque ad consummationem seculi. » Et sicut de ore pantere odor suavitatis egreditur et omnes qui prope sunt et qui longe, i[d est] Judei, qui aliquando sensum bestiarum habebant, qui prope erant per legem, et Gentes que longe erant sine lege, audientes vocem ejus et repleti et convocati suavissimo odore mandatorum ejus, sequimur eum, clamantes et dicentes cum prophetia : « Quam dulcia faucibus meis eloquia tua, Domine, super mel et favum ori meo. » De hiis odoribus mandatorum ejus dicit David : « Diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis proptera benedixit te Dominus in eternum. » Et Salomon in *Canticis Canticorum* dixit de eo : « Odor unguentorum tuorum super omnia aromata. » Unguenta Jhesus Christi quidem alia esse non possunt nisi mandata ejus, que sunt super omnia aromata. Sicut presens aromatum species reddit odorem suavitatis, sic et verba Domini que de ore ejus exeuntn letificant corda eorum qui audiunt eum et sequntur. « Unguentum exanimatum nomen tuum propter, adolescentule dilexerunt te nimis et attraxerunt te posse. » « In odorem unguentorum tuorum currimus. » Et Paulo post : « Introduxit me rex in cubiculum suum. » Opertet nos quam citius sicut adolesdentulas, id est renovatas in baptismo animas, post unguenta mandatorum Christi currere et de terrenis ad celestia transmigrare, ut nos introducat rex in palatium suum, id est in Jerusalem, civitatem Domini et montem omnium sanctorum. Et cum moverimus intrare illuc, dicamus : « Gloriosa dicta sunt de te, Civitas Dei », sicut audivimus sic vidimus in civitate Domini Virtutum. Bene de pantera *Phisiologus* dixit. Predictus sive quod omnium animalium sit amicus, excepto dracone, sive quia et sui generis societate gaudet et ad eandem similitudinem quicquid acceperit reddat. *Pan* enim Grece omne dicitur Latine. Bestia minucis orbi oculis superpicta, ita ut oculatis ex falvo circulis nigra vel alba distinguantur varietate. Hec [semel] omnino parturit, cujus cause ratio manifesta est. Nam cum in utero

matris concreati catuli, matricis ad nascendum viribus parvenerint, ad jurit ipsa moras. Itaque honeratam fetibus vulvam, tanquam obstantem partui *veronibus* [unguibus] lacerant. Et effundit illa partum, seu pocius dimittit, dolore cogente. Ita postea, corruptis matricis sedibus, genitale semen infusum non est acceptum sed irritum resilit foras. Nam Plinius dicit animalia cum acutis unguibus frequenter parere non posse, viciantur intrisecus se moventibus catulis.

Tigris vocata propter velocem fugam. Ita enim nominant Perse, Greci et Medii sagittam, est enim bestia variis distincta maculis, virtute et velocitate mirabilis, ex cujus nomine Tigris flumen appellatur, quod is rapidissimus fit omnium fluviorum. Has magis Hircania gingnit. Tigris, ubi vacuum rapte sobolis repetit cubile, illud raptoris vestigiis insistit. At ille, quamvis equo vectus fugati, videns tamen velocitate fere se posse preverti, nec evadendi ullum suppetere sibi posse subsidium, tecnam hujus fraude molitur ubi, se contignum viderit. Speram de vicio proicit. At illa ymagine sui luditur et sobolem putat. Revocat impetum colligere, fetum desiderans. Rursus *viani* [vana] ille retenta, totis se ad comprehendendum equitem viribus fundit, et *racundie* [iracundie] stimulo velociter fugienti iminet. Iterum ille spere objectu sequentem retardat, nec tamen sedulitatem matris memoria fraudis excludit. Cassam versat ymaginem, et quasi jatura fetum residet, sicque pietatis sue studio decepta, et vindictam amittit et prolem.

Pardus est genus varium ac velocissimum et preceps ad sanguinem. Saltu enim ad mortem ruit. Leopardus ex adulterio leene nascitur et pardi et quam originem efficit, sicut et Plinius in *Naturali historia* dicit : leonem cum parda, aut pardum cum liena concumbere, et ex utroque coitu degeneres partus creari, ut mulus et burdo.

Lincis dictus, quia in luporum genere numeratur, bestia maculis hujus terga distincta ut pardus, sed similis lupo. Hujus urinam converti in duriciam presiosi lapidis dicunt qui *ligurius* appellatur. Quod et ipsas linces sentire, hoc documento probatur. Nam egestum liquorem arenis in quantum potuerint contegunt, invidia quadam nature, ne talis egestio transeat in usum humanum. Linceris dicit Plinius extra unum non ad mittere fetum.

Translation

There is an animal which is called the panther, having indeed a varied colour, but exceedingly beautiful [and] exceedingly gentle. The *Physiologus* says of it: that it has only the dragon as an enemy. When, therefore, it has eaten and satiated itself with diverse foods, it hides itself in its cave, lays itself down and sleeps. After three days it rises from sleep and immediately emits a great roar. Moreover, when all the beasts which are near and which are far hear its voice, they are all gathered together and follow the scent of its sweetness which issues from its mouth. Only the dragon, however, when it has heard its voice, is contracted by fear and buries itself in the subterranean caverns of the earth. There, unable to bear the force of the sweetness of the scent, contracted within itself it grows torpid, and remains immobile [and] senseless as if dead. But the other animals follow the panther wherever it goes. Thus also Our Lord Jesus Christ, the true panther, drawing to Himself through the incarnation all the human race which, captured by the devil, was held subject to death, led captivity captive, just as David the prophet said: 'Ascending on high, thou hast led captivity captive, thou hast received gifts in men.' 'Panther, or catching all things', let it be multiplied. Thus Our Lord, as we have said, seeing the human race captured by demons and enslaved to idols, and all the race and those near made the prey of the devil, descending from the heavens snatched us from the captivity of the devil and joined us to His goodness, and adopted us as sons by the gift of piety, and fulfilled that which the prophet had moreover foretold: 'I am become', he says, 'like a panther to Ephraim, and the idol served the house of Judah as a lion.' [This also now] signified the calling of the Gentiles and the Jews. Whence the panther is a varied animal, just as it was said by Solomon concerning the Lord, for, that is, Christ who is the Wisdom of God,

an intelligible spirit, manifold, unique, subtle, moving, uncircumscribed, undefiled, true, sweet, loving good, fitting, who forbids nothing good to be done, clement, firm, stable, secure, all-powerful, overseeing all things, making all things, more moving than wisdom itself, and so forth. That Christ is wisdom, Paul the teacher of truth testifies, saying: 'But we preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews indeed a stumbling block, and unto the Gentiles foolishness, but unto them that are called, both Jews and Gentiles, Christ the power of God and the Wisdom of God.' And because the panther is a beautiful animal, David says of Christ: 'Beautiful of form above the sons of men.' And because it is an exceedingly gentle animal, Isaiah says: 'Rejoice and be glad, O daughter of Zion, proclaim, O daughter of Jerusalem, because thy king cometh unto thee gentle and saving.' And because when it has eaten and been satiated, it immediately rests and sleeps. And indeed the Lord Jesus Christ, after He had been satiated by Jewish mockeries, that is, scourges, blows, injuries, insults, thorns, spittings, hands suspending Him on the cross, piercing Him with nails, and giving Him gall and vinegar to drink, and moreover piercing Him through with a lance; satiated therefore by so many and such great Jewish offerings, Christ fell asleep and rested in the sepulchre and descended into hell and bound the great dragon there, our enemy. And because on the third day that animal rises from sleep and emits a great roar, and the scent of sweetness is fragrant from its mouth, thus also Our Lord Jesus Christ, rising from the dead on the third day as the psalmist says: 'He was awakened like a mighty man drunken with wine.' And immediately He cried out with a loud voice so that His sound going forth was heard in all the earth, and His words unto the ends of the round world, saying: 'Rejoice also and do not fear, for I have vanquished the world.' And again, 'Holy Father, those whom Thou gavest Me I have guarded and none of them hath perished,

except the son of perdition.' And again: 'I go to My Father and your Father, and to My God and your God.' And likewise: 'I will come to you and I will not leave you orphans.' And at the end of the Gospel He says: 'Behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world.' And just as the scent of sweetness goes forth from the mouth of the panther, and all who are near and who are far, that is, the Jews, who formerly had the sense of beasts, who were near through the law, and the Gentiles who were far without the law, hearing His voice and fulfilled and called together by the sweetest scent of His commandments, we follow Him, crying out and saying with the prophecy: 'How sweet are Thy words to my palate, O Lord, more than honey and the honeycomb to my mouth.' Concerning these scents of His commandments David says: 'Grace is poured abroad in thy lips, therefore the Lord hath blessed thee for ever.' And Solomon in the Canticles of Canticles said of Him: 'The odour of thy ointments is above all spices.' The ointments of Jesus Christ indeed can be nothing other than His commandments, which are above all spices. Just as the present species of spices yields a scent of sweetness, thus also the words of the Lord which go forth from His mouth gladden the hearts of those who hear Him and follow Him. 'Thy name is an ointment poured forth; therefore young maidens have loved thee exceedingly and drawn thee.' 'We run to the odour of thy ointments.' And a little after: 'The king hath brought me into his bedchamber.' It behooves us as quickly as possible, like the young maidens, that is, souls renewed in baptism, to run after the ointments of Christ's commandments and to cross over from earthly things to heavenly things, so that the king may bring us into His palace, that is into Jerusalem, the city of the Lord and the mountain of all the saints. And when we shall have moved to enter there, let us say: 'Glorious things are said of thee, O City of God', as we have heard, so have we seen in the city of the Lord of Hosts. Well

did the *Physiologus* speak of the panther. It is so named either because it is a friend of all animals, except the dragon, or because it rejoices in the society of its own kind and returns whatever it has received to the same similitude. For *Pan* in Greek is called 'all' in Latin. A beast painted over with minute orbs, such that it is distinguished by black or white variety with ocelli upon a tawny ground. This gives birth only once in total, the reason for which cause is clear. For when the cubs have been created together in the mother's womb, and have reached mature powers for being born, she herself hates the delays. Therefore, they tear with their claws the womb burdened with offspring, as if it were an obstacle to birth. And she pours forth the litter, or rather discharges it, compelled by pain. Thus afterwards, the seats of the womb being damaged, the infused generative seed is not accepted but leaps back out uselessly. For Pliny states that animals with sharp claws cannot give birth frequently, they are injured inwardly by the cubs moving about.

The tiger is named for the swiftness of its flight. For thus the Persians, Greeks, and Medes name the arrow, for it is a beast distinguished by varied spots, wondrous in courage and swiftness, from whose name the river Tigris is called, because it is the swiftest of all rivers. Hyrcania produces these in greater numbers. The tiger, when it finds the den empty of its stolen offspring, presses upon the tracks of the thief. But he, although riding a swift horse, seeing himself nevertheless almost capable of being outstripped by swiftness, and that no aid of escape could be available to him, contrives a trick of this fraud when he sees it drawing near. He casts forth a sphere of glass. But she is mocked by her image and thinks it is her offspring. She recalls her charge, desiring to gather her cub. Again, the empty sphere being retained, she pours herself forth with all her strength to catch the horseman, and spurred by anger threatens the one fleeing swiftly.

Likewise he, by the throwing of a sphere, delays the pursuer, and yet the memory of the fraud does not shut out the zeal of the mother. She turns over the hollow image, and settles down as if to nurse her cub, and thus deceived by the zeal of her devotion, she loses both her revenge and her offspring.

The pard is a variegated and exceedingly swift kind, and headlong for blood. For it rushes to the kill with a leap. The *leopardus* is born from the adultery of the lioness and the pard and yields a third origin, just as Pliny states in the *Naturalis historia*: that the lion mates with the female pard, or the pard with the lioness, and from both couplings bastard offspring are created, like the mule and the hinny.

The lynx is named because it is numbered among the wolf species, a beast with its back distinguished by spots like the pard, but similar to the wolf. Its urine, they say, is converted into the hardness of a precious stone, which is called *ligurius*. That the lynxes themselves perceive this is proved by this evidence. For they cover the emitted liquid with sand, as much as they are able, out of a certain natural jealousy, lest such an emission should pass into human use. Lynxes, Pliny states, do not admit offspring beyond one.

CHALON-SUR-SAÔNE, B.M., MS. 14 (*FIRST FAMILY BESTIARY (H)*, C. 1280)

ORIGINAL TEXT

De panthera. Est animal quod dicitur panthera, vario quidem colore, sed speciosum nimis et mansuetum valde. *Physiologus* dicit de eo quod inimicum solis draconibus sit. Cum comederit et saciaverit se de universis venationibus, recipit se in speluncam suam, ponensque se dormit per triduum. Surgens autem a sompno statim emittit rugitum per altum, simulque odorem nimie suavitatis emittit cum rugitu, ita ut odor hujus modi precellat omnia aromata et pigmenta. Cum autem audierint vocem ejus, omnes bestie que prope vel longe sunt, congregantes se nimiam suavitatem ejus secuntur. Solus autem draco, cum audierit vocem ejus, abscondit se sub terri genis speluncis. Ibi autem non ferens vim odoris ejus, in semetipso contractus obstupescit, et manet *in mobilis* [immobilis] inanisque velut mortuus. Jesus fuerit, et crediderit posse se per unam margaritam adquirere satis majores et meliores divitiarum facultates, precellentiorem honorem, insuper et lo glorie coronam. Que omnia ille negociator possidet, qui est Apostolorum Chorus. Per unum illum lapidem preciosum, Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, qui est vein margarita, via et veritas et vita nostra. *Deni* [Deinde] quem audi ipsum in Evangelio dicentem. « Ecce », inquit, « dedi vobis potestatem speciuum in mundorum » et calcandi super serpentes et scorpiones et supra omnem virtutem dyabolicam, et sanare omnes langores et omnes infirmitates. Et verum. « Euntes, predicate quoniam appropinquavit regnum celorum. » *Infrmos* [infirmos] curate, lepros, mundate, ce, illusos, mortuos, suscitate, demones, eicite. Videre nunc quam inestimabilis sit ista margarita, sanctis martiribus, qui non solum cum in hac vita essent, set etiam post vite hujus excelsum mira egerunt, sicut

nunc videmus quomodo in obsessis corporibus, specie mundi illorum virtute et potestate torquentur et cruciantur et invisibilibus flagris verberantur, quousque eitiantur et effugentur ab hominibus, sicut ipsi demones audientibus nobis exclamant, vociferantes et rogant eos ut cessent torquere eos. Cum ut sunt varii et multiformes, alii clamantes, alii rugientes, et sicut serpentes sibilant et fugantur ab obsessis corporibus hominum, per Apostolorum atque omnium Sanctorum virtutes, que illis secundum merita sua a Domino date sunt. Honorem vero illum transendentem et supereunitem omnibus terrenis fortiti sunt ab illo precioso lapide, pro quo omnia sua dimiserunt, ut illum celestem thesaurum possiderent, que aint ad salvatorem. « Ecce nos quidem dimisimus uxores et filios et omnes possessiones propter requia facies nobis in regno tuo. » Et ille dicit eis : « Amen dico vobis, cum sederit Filius Hominis in sede majestatis sue, adiudicamdum orbem terre, sedebitis et vos super sedes XII (12) Judicantes, XII (12) tribus Israel. » Unde satis confidens Paulus dicit : « Scitis quoniam angelos judicabimus. » Et in vobis judicabitur hic mundus. Tanta enim gloria, tanto honore remuneratus est Apostolorum Chorus ut qui in hoc seculo adhuc positus legitimus, ille athleta Paulus previderit in celis justicie sue coronam, sicut exceltans ait. Bonum certimen certavi, cursum consummavi fidem servavi. « De cetero reposita est mihi corona justicie, quam reddet mihi Dominus in illa die justus judex, non solum autem mihi, sed que omnibus qui diligunt presentiam regni ejus ». *Ealem* [Eandem] coronam merentur a Christo bonorum Apostolorum Chori, talem retributionem recipiunt pro corruptibilibus que contempserunt pro Christo.

TRANSLATION

Concerning the panther. There is an animal which is called the panther, having indeed a varied colour, but exceedingly beautiful and very gentle. The *Physiologus* says of it that it is an enemy only to dragons. When it has eaten and satiated itself with all sorts of prey, it withdraws into its cave, and laying itself down it sleeps for three days. Rising, moreover, from sleep, it immediately emits a loud roar, and at the same time it emits a scent of exceeding sweetness with the roar, such that a scent of this kind excels all spices and ointments. Moreover, when they have heard its voice, all the beasts which are near or far, gathering themselves together, follow its exceeding sweetness. Only the dragon, however, when it has heard its voice, hides itself in subterranean caves. There, moreover, unable to bear the force of its scent, contracted within itself it grows torpid, and remains immobile and senseless as if dead. Jesus, and believed that he could acquire through one pearl sufficiently greater and better resources of riches, more excellent honour, and moreover the crown of glory. All of which that merchant possesses, who is the Choir of the Apostles. Through that one precious stone, our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the true pearl, our way and truth and life. Then hear Him Himself saying in the Gospel: 'Behold,' He says, 'I have given you power over unclean spirits and of treading upon serpents and scorpions and upon all the power of the devil, and to heal all sicknesses and all infirmities.' And again: ''Going, preach that the kingdom of heaven is at hand. Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, the blind, the mocked, raise the dead, cast out demons.' To see now how inestimable is this pearl to the holy martyrs, who not only when they were in this life, but also after the departure of this life wrought wonders, just as we now see how in possessed bodies, unclean spirits are tormented and tortured by their virtue and

power, and are beaten with invisible scourges, until they are cast out and driven away from men, just as the demons themselves cry out in our hearing, vociferating and asking them to cease tormenting them. Since they are varied and multiform, some crying out, others roaring, and they hiss like serpents and are driven from the possessed bodies of men, through the virtues of the Apostles and of all the Saints, which were given to them by the Lord according to their merits. Truly they obtained that honour transcending and surpassing all earthly things from that precious stone, for which they abandoned all their own things, so that they might possess that heavenly treasure; who say to the Saviour: 'Behold, we indeed have left wives and sons and all possessions for the rest Thou wilt make for us in Thy kingdom.' And He says to them: 'Amen I say to you, when the Son of Man shall sit on the seat of His majesty, to judge the round world, you also shall sit upon twelve seats, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.' Whence Paul, sufficiently confident, says: 'Know you not that we shall judge angels?' And: 'in you shall this world be judged.' For with such glory, with such honour is the Choir of the Apostles rewarded, that he who was placed legitimately in this world, that athlete Paul foresaw in the heavens the crown of his justice, just as exulting he says: 'I have fought a good fight, I have finished the course, I have kept the faith. For the rest, there is laid up for me a crown of justice, which the Lord the just judge will render to me in that day, and not only to me, but to all who love the presence of His kingdom.' The choirs of the good Apostles merit the same crown from Christ, they receive such retribution for the corruptible things which they despised for Christ.

London, British Library, Additional MS 28260 (Gervaise, *Bestiaire*, c. 1250-1300)

Original Text

Une beste est, panthere a non ;
multi per est de bele façon,
Mult i a especial beste :
Lonc a le col, bien faite teste.
La beste est de plisors colors,
De grant senz et de bones mors.
Trop het cele beste dragon.
Quant *sole* [soole] est de veneison ;
En sa fosse se va dormir
Trois jorz i dort seins esperir.
Au tierz jort la beste s'esvoille,
En haut muit et, une mervoille,
O celui muit met ors odours
Soez et de bone douçour ;
Car pimenz ne encens ne graine
N'uelent si bon come s'aloine.
Quan les bestes sentent l'odour
Si s'aünent totes antor,
Se sevent lai ou ele vait.
Li dragons autremen le fait
Car il ne puet l'odor soffrir :
En terre s'en vait enfoïr.
C'est sa deffanse et ses conforz ;
Iluec se git, près est de mort ;
Vancuz est, ne se puet movoir.
La panthere por estovoir

Vont suivant totes autres bestes,
Vers s'aloine tornent les testes.
Nostre Signor et nostre Pere
Dex qui est veraie panthere
Trait a soi l'umaine lignie
Qui tote estoit a mort jugie.
Ca [Car] deables por sa convoitise
L'avoir trestote a soi mise.
Segons Deu, no guerpissons mie,
Et aemplisons la prophecie.
Panthere qui est de colors
Et qui ha *sablances* [sanblances] plusors
Nos senefie Jhesu Crist
Qui la loi novele escrist.
Il est douçours et sapience,
Bone est sa voiz, et patience
A en soi et est repidables,
Resplandisanz, fers et estaubles.
Quant *sole* [soole] est et replanie
La beste tost s'est endormie.
Quant Jhesu Crist fu soolez
Des gas es vies et lassez
De bufes et de batemenz,
Despines et descupimenz
Après ce fu crucifiez,
Piés et paumes fu closfichiez
Et d'une lance fu navrez.
Quant de tex dons fu soolez,
El seint sepulcre s'endormi,
Et jusque en anfer descendi.

Illuec ha lo fier dragon,
L'anciein ennemi felon.
Et quant la beste est adrecie
Et dou dormir s'est esvoillie,
De sa boche ist la douce aloine.
Qui les bestes a li amoine.
Jhesu la beste signifie
Qu'au tierz jort vient de mort a vie.
Adont cria Dex a haut criz,
De toz ses amis fu oïz ;
Et en ses paroles disoit
Que le monde vaincu avoit.
Encor disoit, n'en dotez pas :
« Pere, quanque tu me donas
Ai gardé de dampnation
Fors lo fil de perdicion.
Je vois a mon pere et au vostre. »
Dex est ses pere et li nostre ;
Dex dist : « Quant el ciel serai
Seint Esperit envoierai
En terre qui ou vos sera
Tant com cist siegles durera. »
Poet estre si soés odour
Com de Deu nostre creatour ?
Qui près est de Deu per creance,
Per ovres et par esperance,
Per loig, per sa fragilité,
Quant il de Deu est espiré,
Repleins de ses alumemenz,
Dont garde ses comandemenz.

Requerons Deu et lo servons
Totes houres et li prions
En l'odor de ces oignemenz.
De doivent croire totes genz.
Venir poons, n'en dotez mie,
Per baptisme a novele vie.
Terriaines choses laisons,
Et celestiaus trespassons ;
Guerpissons ovres de pechié ;
Deprions Deu per sa pidié
Qu'en cele joie soions mis
Que il promet a ses amis,
Ou n'a tristour, dolor ne ire,
Et que a joie puissons dire :
Gloriosa dicta sunt de te civita Dei.

Translation

There is a beast, panther is its name;
It is of a very beautiful form,
It is a very special beast:
It has a long neck, a well-made head.
The beast is of many colours,
Of great sense and of good manners.
This beast hates the dragon exceedingly.
When it is satiated with venison;
Into its den it goes to sleep
Three days it sleeps there without waking.
On the third day the beast awakens,
Roars aloud, and, a marvel,
With this roar it puts forth scents
Sweet and of good sweetness;
For spiced wine nor incense nor spice
Do not smell as good as its breath.
When the beasts smell the scent
They gather all around,
They follow it there where it goes.
The dragon does otherwise
For it cannot suffer the scent:
Into the earth it goes to bury itself.
It is its defence and its comfort;
There it lies, it is near death;
It is vanquished, it cannot move.
The panther by necessity
All other beasts go following,
Towards its breath they turn their heads.

Our Lord and our Father
God who is the true panther
Draws to Himself the human lineage
Which was entirely judged to death.
For the devil by his covetousness
Had brought it entirely to himself.
Let us follow God, let us not abandon Him at all,
And let us fulfill the prophecy.
The panther which is of colours
And which has several likenesses
Signifies to us Jesus Christ
Who wrote the new law.
He is sweetness and wisdom,
Good is His voice, and patience
He has in Himself and is merciful,
Resplendent, fierce and stable.
When it is satiated and replete
The beast has soon fallen asleep.
When Jesus Christ was satiated
With the mockeries of the Jews and wearied
With blows and with beatings,
With thorns and with spittings
After this He was crucified,
Feet and palms He was transfixed with nails
And with a lance He was wounded.
When He was satiated with such gifts,
In the holy sepulchre He fell asleep,
And down into hell He descended.
There He bound the fierce dragon,
The ancient wicked enemy.

And when the beast is raised
And has awakened from sleep,
From its mouth issues the sweet breath.
Which brings the beasts to it.
Jesus signifies the beast
Who on the third day comes from death to life.
Then God cried with a loud cry,
By all His friends He was heard;
And in His words He said
That He had vanquished the world.
He said again, doubt it not:
'Father, whatever Thou gavest Me
I have guarded from damnation
Except the son of perdition.
I go to My Father and to yours.'
God is His Father and ours;
God said: 'When I shall be in heaven
I shall send the Holy Spirit
On earth who will be with you
As long as this world shall last.'
Can there be so sweet a scent
As of God our Creator?
He who is near to God by belief,
By works and by hope,
He who is far, by his fragility,
When he is inspired by God,
Fulfilled with His illuminations,
Then keeps His commandments.
Let us seek God and serve Him
At all hours and pray to Him

In the odour of these ointments.
This all people must believe.
We can come, doubt it not,
By baptism to a new life.
Let us leave earthly things,
And cross over to heavenly ones;
Let us abandon works of sin;
Let us pray to God by His pity
That we may be put in that joy
Which He promises to His friends,
Where there is no sadness, sorrow nor wrath,
And that with joy we may be able to say:
Glorious things are said of thee, O city of God.

Oxford, Exeter College Library, MS. 15 (Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum naturale*, end of thirteenth century)

Original Text

De leopardo. Ysidorus. Leopardus ex adulterio leene et pardi sive leonis et parde nascitur et terciam originem efficit. Sicut et Plinius dicit, ex hujus coitu degeneres partus creari, ut mulos. [Ambrosius] Hic cum eger fuerit, agrestis capree sanguinem bibit et vim langioris evitat. Allium fugit. Denique siccubi aliquis allium confricaverit, ille exinde exilit nec resistit, quia odorem ejus sustinere non potest. Ex *libro de natura rerum*. Leopardus est animal ex leone et pardo generatum colore subrufum, maculas habens nigras per totum. Femina mare forcior est. Cum pardus bestia crudelissima sit, aliquando quidem domesticatur, sed nunquam sic, ut crudelitatis sue obliviscatur. Domesticatur autem ad venandum. Itaque cum ad predam in venacione ducitur, relaxatur, quod si quarto vel quinto saltu capere nequiverit, ferociter iratus subsistit. Et nisi statim venator furenti bestiam aliquam obtulerit, in ipsum venatorem vel in quoslibet obvios irruit. Impossibile enim est eum placari, nisi in sanguine. Sed in hoc providi sunt venatores, ut agnos penes se vel alia animalia semper habeant, quibus iratos placent, huic autem furenti qui resistere vult, inter manus allia fricet, et statim ille resiliet, quam odorem allii sustinere non valet hic cum venenosum aliquid comederit, stercus hominis querit eoque comesto sanatur. *Phisiologus*. Leopardus est animal leoni simile in capite ac membrorum dispositione, licet non sit tam magnus nec tam robustus, hic ab homine ita domesticatur, ut eo sicut cane ad venandum utatur. Qui nequaquam predam capit currendo, sed saltum faciendo. Et si quidem vel in tercio saltu predam non ceperit, indignando sibi prorsus eam dimittit. Hic agrestis capree

sanguinem bibit et langorem evitat. Aristoteles. In animalibus masculi feminis forciores sunt exceptis urso et leopardo, in quibus opinantur, quod femine forciores sint et audaciores. Ambrosius. Pardus coloris varietate motus prodit anime sue. Unde Ieremias : si potest, inquit, pardus varietates suas mutare et cetera. Aviscenna in *IIIIo* [secundo] canone. Fel leopardi venenum est ex eo bibenti. Cui vomitus et tyriaca proprie subvenit. [Quarto canone] Leopardus etiam et leo isti rapaces et eis similes non sunt sicut canes salvi et homines, immo dentes eorum et ungues vacui non sunt a natura venenosa, quapropter oportet ut curentur morsus eorum et vulis unguium eorum in primis cum attractione, deinde cum consolidacione, si in eorum quidem attractione, sufficit res parva. Esculapius. Leopardus cum hominis craneum viderit, fugit. Razi. Pro herba quoque que leopardi herba dicitur, leopardus terretur. Et herba, que leopardum strangulans dicitur, interficitur.

De lince. Ysidorus. Lincis dictus est, quia in luporum genere numeratur bestia *masculis* [maculis] terga distincta, ut pardus, sed similis lupo, unde et ille lycos iste, lincis. Linces ait Plinius, extra unum non admittere. Algazel *super librum de sensu et sensato*. Maxime vero linx movetur secundum sensum visus. Nam visu suo res solidas penetrat, et si advenit ei res transparens, cito excecatur ab ea. Ex *libro de natura rerum*. Linx adeo perspicates oculos habet, ut subtilitate visus et solida corpora penetret. Constant enim quod oculus in humido situs est juxta philosophum. Tria vero sunt in aqua, scilicet aquea humiditas, diafoneitas lucis perspicuitas. Et hanc ultimam cum natura celesti communicat, que est ultima perspicatitas vel perspicuitas in corpore terminato, si ponitur aquea substantia in ultima sui depuratione, quantum ad perspicuitatem in oculo lincis, poterit penetrari corpus solidum et obscurum. Linx habet linguam serpentis similem, sed majorem, quam in longitudinem magnam

porrigit et collum circumagit. Ungues habet grandes, unicum fetum facit et urina ejus in gemmam durescit. Alexander. Linx acumi visus perspicui novem fertur parietes penetrare, adeo ut si quis novem interpositis parietibus carnem crudam deferat, incedens juxta parietem. Linx sequitur incedentem. Statque illa, ipso stante qui carnem defert. Nonnulli tamen in rerum naturis instructi potius ascribunt olfactus, quam visus virtuti. Plinius libro XXVIIIo [vicesimus octavus]. Peregrine sunt linces, que clarissime omnium animalium cernunt, ungues lincum omnes cum corio tradunt in carpato, efficacissime exuri eoque cinere poto precipue virorum libidines inhiberi. De urina lincis. Ysidorus. Lincis urinam in duritiam preciosi lapidis converti dicunt, qui ligurius appellatur, quod et linces ipsas sentire sic comprobatur. Nam egestum liquorem harenis contegunt, invidia quadam nature, ne talis egestio transeat in usum humanum. Plinius libro VIIIo. Lincum humor redditus ubi gingnitur glaciatur arescitve in gemmas carbunculis similes igneoque colore fulgentis ligurii nomine vocatas atque ob id sucinus etiam a plerisque linces, etiam invidentes urinam terra operiunt eoque celerius soldatur. Idem in libro XXVIIIo. Pruritus et corporum urine lincis stillicidio traditur inhiberi. Eademque prodesse monstratur et ungularum dolori. Solinus. Urinam lincis in duriciam preciosi calculi coire fatentur, qui ligurium dicitur. Huic lapidi ad sucinum color est pari spiritu attrahit appropinquancia. Dolores renum placat, regio medetur morbo. *Irach* [Iorath]. Linx habet formam, ut lupi. Lapisque ligurius ab ejus urina distillata septem dierum spacio generatur. Dyascorides. Locium lincis quem multi ligurium vocant, mox ubi minxerit lapis fit, dolores stomachi tollit et ventris abstinet reumatismum. Auctor. De hoc lapide videlicet ligurio, qui ex lincis urina congelata creatur et ejus virtute et efficacia, dictum est plenius supra in tractatu de lapidibus preciosis.

De pantera. Ysidorus. Panthera dictus est sive quod omnium animalium sit amicus, excepto dracone sive quia et sui generis societate gaudet et ad eandem similitudinem quicquid accipit reddit. Pan enim grece omne dicitur. Est autem bestia minutis orbiculis superpicta, ita ut oculans ex fulvo circulis, nigra vel alba varietate distinguatur. Glossa super Osee. *Nichil* [Nihil] leone forcius nihilque pantera velocius. Ideo per prophetam ait dominus : Ego quasi panthera Effraym, et quasi leo domui Juda. *Phisiologus*. Pantera est animal speciosum et mansuetum nimis, solum draconem habet inimicum. Hec cum cibis variis saciata fuerit, in spelunca sua se recondit et dormit post triduum exsurgens mox rugitum magnum emittit cum odore suavissimo quasi omnium aromatum, quem audientes omnes, bestie que longe et que prope sunt, ad odorem illum confluunt, et sequuntur pantheram quocunque ierit. Solus draco audiens et vim doloris non ferens in seipso timore contrahitur et in cavernis terraneis fugiens ob torpescit et manet immobilis. Plinius libro VIIIo. Panthera et tygris prope bestiarum sole spectantur macularum varietate. Pantheris tradunt in armo maculam esse lune similem, crescentem in orbes et cavantem pari modo cornua, nunc variantem. Mirum vero pantheras et leones ac similia, ut supra dictum, est condita in vaginas corporis unguium mucrone, ne refringantur et hebetentur incedere aversisque faculis currere, nec nisi in appetendo protendere. Idem in libro XIo. Habent panthere quatuor mammas in medio ventre. Mares autem in omni genere forciores sunt feminis, preterquam in pantheris et ursis. Idem in libro XVIIIo. Hyena, ut dictum est supra, terrorem infert panthere, ut nec ei conetur resistere. Et si quis de corio ejus secum habeat non appetitur a panthera. Mirumque dictum, si pelles utriusque contra sese dependeant pantere pili decident. Solinus. Pantere numerose sunt in Hyrcania. Tradunt earum odore et contemplatione armenta mire affici et nisi eas persentiscunt properato convenire nec terreri nisi sola

oris torvitate, quam ob causam pantere absconditis capitibus, que corporis reliqua sunt, spectanda prebent, ut greges stupidos in obtutum, secura vastatione populentur. Sed Hyrcani ut hominibus intemptatum *nichil* [nihil] est, frequencius eas veneno quam ferro necant. Ex libro de natura rerum. Panthera est animal varium ac speciosum nimis. Sunt qui tradunt huic in armo maculam esse lune similem et interdum crescere rotundam et ad lune mutationem variari. Avicenna. Panthera et pardus quando venenum comederint, stercus hominis querunt et comedunt. De generatione ac venatione pantere. Ysidorus. Panthera semel omnino parturit, cujus causae ratio manifesta est. Nam cum in utero matris coalvere catuli maturisque ad nascendum viribus pollent, odiunt temporum moras. Itaque oneratam fetibus vulvam tamquam obstantem partui unguibus lacerant et effundit illa partum seu potius dimittit dolore cogente. Ita postea corruptis et cicatricosis sedibus genitale semen infusum, non heret acceptum, sed irritum resilit. Nam et Plinius dicit animalia cum acutis unguibus, frequentur parrere non posse. Viciantur enim intrinsecus se moventibus catulis. *Phisiologus*. Pantheris venandis insistentes Hyrcani, veneno carnes illiniunt easque per compenta semitarum spargunt, ut illarum esu panthere seducantur. Sed ille dum excrementa humana devorant evadunt. Plinius. Panteras per carnes aconito fricatas veneno barbari venatur, scilicet per compita semitarum eas spargentes. Quas ubi ederint panthere, fauces earum illico occupat angor. At fera contra hec excrementis hominis sibi medetur et alias tam avida eorum, ut a posteribus ex industria in aliquo vase suspensa altius, quam ut queat saltu contingere : jaculando ea petendoque defigi : et postremo expirare. Alioquin vivacitatis est tam longe, ut ejectis intraneis diu pugnet. Tradit *Demetrius phisicus* jacentem in media via pantheram, hominis desiderio, repente apparuisse patri cujusdam philinis assectatoris sapientie. Illumque

pavore cepisse regredi : feram vero circumvolutari pie blandientem seseque merore conflutantem fera siquidem erat : a catulis procul in foveam delapsis. Sequrus itaque quam trahebat vestem unguium leni injectu, ut causam doloris intellexit : simulque salutis sue mercedem, catulos exemit eaque cum hiis prosequente usque extra solitudines deductus est leta atque gestiente, ut facile appareret gratiam referre, et *nichil* [nihil] in vicem imputare, quod etiam in hominem rarum est.

De pardo. Ysidorus. Pardus secundus post pantherem est genus varium ac velocissimum et preceps ad sanguinem. Saltu enim ad mortem ruit. Ex adulterio pardi et leene leopardus nascitur et terciam originem efficit. Ex *Liber de natura rerum*. Pardus est bestia torva, et acuta nimis in impetu corpusque motibus animi sui, conveniens habet et varium in colore. Saltu potius quam cursu predam insequitur. unde sepius accidit ut vehementi saltu ruat ad mortem. In Affrica propter inopiam aque congregantur diverse fere ad ampnes, ibique leene bestiis variis vel vi vel voluptate miscentur et inde procreari dicuntur. Solinus. Pardorum adulterinis coitibus. Leenarum partus degenerantur, et ab eis quidem leones, sed ignobiles generantur. Plinius libro VIIIo. Odore pardi coitum sentit in adultera leo. Pardi qui dicuntur mares in omni genere creberrimo sunt in Affrica et Syria. Quidam ab hiis panteras solo candore discernunt. Idem in libro Xo. in Affrica insidunt arbore condenpsa pardi, earumque ramis occultati in pretereuncia desiliunt et hee volucrum cede grassantur. Ambrosius. Pardus coloris varietate, prodit motus varios anime sue. Unde propheta Jeremias : si mutare potest inquit pardus varietates suas. Aristoteles. Pardus ut dictum est sicut et panthera quando venenum comedit, stercus hominis querit et comedit.

De tygride Ysidorus. Tygris vocata est propter volucrem fugam, sic enim nominant Perse et Medi sagittam. Est autem bestia variis distincta maculis, virtute et velocitate mirabilis, ex cujus nomine

fluvius tygris appellatur, eo quod rapidissimus sit omnium fluviorum. Has autem magis Hyrcania gignit. *Phisiologus*. Est autem tygris animal sevissimum et incomparabili rabie seviens, precipue quando raptis catulis insequitur venatores. Aristoteles. Natura tygribus sicut et ursis ac leonibus angustiora formavit colla, quia vivunt carne nec in terras cervicem et ora deiciunt pascendi gratia, sed aut cervum invadunt aut bovem ovemque discerpunt. *Nichilque* [Nihilque] tam ferum quam leones vel tygrides sunt et tamen hec homini plerumque serviunt suamque naturam humana deponunt institucione, sicut dictum est supra de leonis institutione. Tygridis ubi vacuum sue sobolis cubile invenerit, ilico raptoris vestigiis insistit. At ille quamvis equo verlus fugaci, videns velocitatem fere se non posse effugere, ubi se ei contiguum viderit, speram de vitro proicit. At illa ymagine sui illuditur et sobolem, putans impetum revocat, colligere fetum desiderant. Rursus vana spe retenta totis se viribus ad comprehendendum equitem fundit et iracundie stimulo velociter fugienti iminet. Ille iterum spere objectu sequentem retardat nec tamen sedulitatem matris memoria fraudis excludit. Cassam versat ymaginem et quasi lactatura fetum residet sicque pietatis sue studio decepta et vindictam amittit et prolem. Solinus. Tygres fulvo nitent et hoc fulvum nigricantibus segmentis interundant. Adverse coeunt, adeo veloces sunt, quod *nichil* [nihil] tam longum est, quid non in brevi penetrent, *nichil* [nihil] adeo antecedit, ut non illico assequantur. Maxime autem eorum potentia probatur, cum catulorum insistunt raptoribus. Succedat sibi equites licet et astu quantolibet amoliri predam velint, nisi in presidio maria fuerint, frustra est ausum omne. Notantur frequentissime, siquando latrones suos renavigantes vident, in littore irrita rabie ternuari velut propriam tarditatem ruina voluntaria castigantes. Plinius libro VIIIo. Tygris et panthera prope bestiarum sole macularum spectantur varietate. Nam ceteris unus ac suus unicuique generi color est. Tygrim

Hyrcani et Indi ferunt animal velocitatis tremende maximeque dum capitur cognite. Tygres totus fetus, qui semper numerosus est ab insidiatore rapitur. At ubi cubile vacuum feta repperit, maribus enim sobolis cura non est, fertur preceps odore vestigans, raptor appropinquante fremitu abicit unum ex catulis. Tollit illa morsu et pondere et ocior acta remeat. Itemque consequitur subinde, donec eo in navim regresso irrita feritas sevit in litore.

De uncia. Ex *Libro de natura rerum*. Uncia est animal sevissimum, non altius cane, sed longius corpore, canibus inimicum valde. Predam non comedit, nisi eam in altum portet, sed quando ad arborem venit, ad supremum eam ramum defert eamque pendendo comedit. Cum *ia* [autem] in calore coitus existens aliquem vulneraverit, mures super ipsum conveniunt ac super eum mingunt et moritur. Unde qui ab ea vulneratus se per brachia in mare portrait fecit et mures ad mare venerunt, ut ad eum accederent, sed propter mare non poterant. Hujus animal fel, venenum mortiferum est.

Translation

Concerning the leopardus. Isidore. The *leopardus* is born from the adultery of the lioness and the pard, or of the lion and the female pard, and yields a third origin. Just as Pliny states, from their coupling bastard offspring are created, like mules. [Ambrose] When it is sick, it drinks the blood of the wild she-goat and escapes the force of the sickness. It flees garlic. Finally, if anywhere someone has rubbed garlic, it leaps away from there and does not resist, because it cannot bear its scent. From the Book on the Nature of Things. The *leopardus* is an animal generated from the lion and the pard, reddish in colour, having black spots all over. The female is stronger than the male. Although the pard is an exceedingly cruel beast, sometimes indeed it is tamed, but never such that it forgets its cruelty. Moreover, it is tamed for hunting. Therefore, when it is led to the prey in the hunt, it is released; if it cannot catch it in the fourth or fifth leap, it stops, fiercely angered. And unless the hunter immediately offers some other beast to the raging animal, it rushes upon the hunter himself or anyone in its path. For it is impossible for it to be appeased, except in blood. But hunters are provident in this, that they always have lambs or other animals with them, with which they appease them when angry; moreover, whoever wishes to resist it when raging should rub garlic between his hands, and it will immediately leap back, as it is unable to bear the scent of garlic. When it has eaten something poisonous, it seeks human excrement and by eating it is healed. The *Physiologus*. The *leopardus* is an animal similar to the lion in its head and the disposition of its limbs, although it is not as large nor as robust; this is so tamed by man that he uses it for hunting like a dog. It by no means catches its prey by running, but by making a leap. And if indeed it does not catch the prey even in the third leap, becoming indignant with

itself, it lets it go entirely. It drinks the blood of the wild she-goat and escapes sickness. Aristotle. Among animals, the males are stronger than the females, except for the bear and the *leopardus*, in which it is thought that the females are stronger and bolder. Ambrose. The pard betrays the emotions of its soul by the variety of its colour. Whence Jeremiah says: 'if the pard can change its varieties', and so forth. Avicenna in the second canon. The gall of the *leopardus* is poison to the one drinking from it. For which vomiting and theriac properly provide aid. [Fourth canon] The *leopardus* also and the lion, these rapacious animals and those similar to them are not safe like dogs and men, nay rather their teeth and claws are not empty of a poisonous nature, wherefore it is necessary that their bites and the wounds of their claws be treated first with attraction, then with consolidation; if indeed in drawing them out, a small thing suffices. Aesculapius. The *leopardus*, when it sees a human skull, flees. Rhazes. By the herb which is called the herb of the *leopardus*, the *leopardus* is terrified. And by the herb which is called the strangling of the *leopardus*, it is killed.

Concerning the lynx. Isidore. The lynx is named because it is numbered among the wolf species, a beast with its back distinguished by spots, like the pard, but similar to the wolf; whence the former is *lycos*, the latter *lincis*. Lynxes, Pliny states, do not admit offspring beyond one. Algazel upon the book on Sense and the Sensible. But the lynx is most moved according to the sense of sight. For by its sight it penetrates solid things, and if a transparent thing comes to it, it is quickly blinded by it. From the Book on the Nature of Things. The lynx has such piercing eyes that by the subtlety of its sight it penetrates even solid bodies. For it is established that the eye is situated in moisture, according to the philosopher. But there are three things in water, namely aqueous humidity, diaphaneity of light, and perspicuity. And it shares this last with the celestial nature, which is

the ultimate perspicacity or perspicuity in a bounded body; if the aqueous substance is placed in its ultimate depuration, as regards perspicuity in the eye of the lynx, a solid and obscure body will be able to be penetrated. The lynx has a tongue similar to a serpent, but larger, which it extends to a great length and moves around its neck. It has large claws, it produces a single offspring, and its urine hardens into a gem. Alexander. The lynx is said to penetrate nine walls with the sharpness of its piercing sight, so much so that if someone, with nine walls interposed, should carry raw meat, walking next to the wall, the lynx follows the one walking. And it stands still when he who carries the meat stands still. Yet some instructed in the natures of things ascribe this rather to the virtue of smell than of sight. Pliny in the twenty-eighth book. Lynxes are foreign beasts, which see the most clearly of all animals. They report to hand over all the claws of lynxes with the hide to be burned, and by drinking that ash especially the lusts of men are inhibited.

Concerning the urine of the lynx. Isidore. They say that the urine of the lynx is converted into the hardness of a precious stone, which is called *ligurius*, which is thus proved that the lynxes themselves perceive this. For they cover the emitted liquid with sand, out of a certain natural jealousy, lest such an emission should pass into human use. Pliny in the eighth book. The discharged fluid of lynxes, where it is generated, freezes or dries into gems similar to carbuncles and shining with a fiery colour, called by the name of *ligurius*, and on account of this it is also amber to most; lynxes, also feeling jealous, cover their urine with earth, and it solidifies more quickly there. The same in the twenty-eighth book. It is reported that itching of bodies is inhibited by the dripping of the urine of the lynx. And the same is shown to be beneficial for pain of the hooves. Solinus. They confess that the urine of the lynx congeals into the hardness of a precious

stone, which is called *ligurius*. This stone has a colour akin to amber; it attracts approaching things by a similar spirit. It appeases pains of the kidneys, it cures jaundice. Iorath. The lynx has a form like that of a wolf. And the stone *ligurius* is generated from its distilled urine in the space of seven days. Dioscorides. The urine of the lynx, which many call *ligurius*, soon after it has urinated becomes a stone; it removes pains of the stomach and stays rheumatism of the belly. The Author. Concerning this stone, namely the *ligurius*, which is created from the congealed urine of the lynx, and its virtue and efficacy, it has been spoken more fully above in the treatise on precious stones.

Concerning the panther. Isidore. The panther is so called either because it is a friend of all animals, except the dragon, or because it rejoices in the society of its own kind and returns whatever it receives to the same similitude. For *Pan* in Greek means 'all'. Moreover, it is a beast painted over with minute orbs, such that it is distinguished by black or white variety with ocelli upon a tawny ground. Gloss upon Hosea. Nothing is stronger than the lion and nothing swifter than the panther. Therefore the Lord says through the prophet: 'I am as a panther to Ephraim, and as a lion to the house of Judah.' The *Physiologus*. The panther is an exceedingly beautiful and gentle animal; it has only the dragon as an enemy. When it has been satiated with diverse foods, it hides itself in its cave and sleeps; rising after three days, it presently emits a great roar with the sweetest scent as if of all spices, which all the beasts that are far and near hearing, flock together to that scent, and follow the panther wherever it goes. Only the dragon hearing it and not bearing the force of the scent is contracted by fear within itself and fleeing into the subterranean caverns grows torpid and remains immobile. Pliny in the eighth book. The panther and the tiger are almost the only beasts looked at for the variety of their spots. They report that in the panther there is a spot on the shoulder similar

to the moon, growing into orbs and hollowing its horns in a similar manner, now varying. But it is wondrous that panthers and lions and similar beasts, as was said above, walk with the point of their claws hidden in the sheaths of the body, lest they be broken and blunted, and run with averted claws, and do not extend them except in grasping. The same in the eleventh book. Panthers have four breasts in the middle of the belly. Moreover, males are stronger than females in every species, except in panthers and bears. The same in the eighteenth book. The hyena, as was said above, brings terror to the panther, so that it does not even attempt to resist it. And if someone has some of its hide with him, he is not attacked by a panther. And a wondrous thing to say, if the pelts of both are hung opposite each other, the hair of the panther will fall out. Solinus. Panthers are numerous in Hyrcania. They report that herds are wondrously affected by their scent and contemplation, and unless they perceive them, they gather hastily and are not terrified except only by the grimness of their face, for which reason panthers, with their heads hidden, offer the rest of their body to be looked at, so that they may ravage the stupefied herds into gazing, with secure devastation. But the Hyrcanians, since nothing is untried by men, kill them more frequently with poison than with iron. From the Book on the Nature of Things. The panther is a varied and exceedingly beautiful animal. There are those who report that it has a spot on its shoulder similar to the moon, and sometimes it grows round and varies according to the mutation of the moon. Avicenna. The panther and the pard, when they have eaten poison, seek human excrement and eat it.

Concerning the generation and hunting of the panther. Isidore. The panther gives birth only once in total, the reason for which cause is clear. For when the cubs have coalesced in the mother's womb and are strong with mature powers for being born, they hate

the delays of time. Therefore, they tear with their claws the womb burdened with offspring as if it were an obstacle to birth, and she pours forth the litter or rather discharges it compelled by pain. Thus afterwards, the seats being damaged and covered with scars, the infused generative seed does not remain accepted, but leaps back uselessly. For Pliny also states that animals with sharp claws cannot give birth frequently. For they are injured inwardly by the cubs moving about. The *Physiologus*. The Hyrcanians intent on hunting panthers smear meats with poison and scatter them through the crossroads of paths, so that the panthers may be seduced by eating them. But they, while they devour human excrements, escape. Pliny. The barbarians hunt panthers by means of meats rubbed with aconite poison, namely scattering them through the crossroads of paths. Which when the panthers have eaten, anguish immediately seizes their throats. But the wild beast against this cures itself with the excrements of man, and otherwise is so avid for them, that being suspended on purpose by shepherds in some vessel higher than it can reach with a leap: by jumping and seeking them it exhausts itself: and finally expires. Otherwise it is of such long vitality that it fights for a long time with its entrails cast out. Demetrius the natural philosopher reports that a panther lying in the middle of the road, by desire for a man, suddenly appeared to the father of a certain Philinus, a follower of wisdom. And that he, seized by fear, began to retreat: but the wild beast rolled around him, fawning piously and compounding itself with sorrow, for it was indeed a wild beast: its cubs having slipped away into a pit afar off. And so, secure, he was led by the gentle touch of its claws on the garment he was dragging, as he understood the cause of the sorrow: and at the same time the reward of his safety, he took out the cubs and was led by it accompanying with them even outside

the wilderness, joyful and exulting, so that it easily appeared to return the favour, and to impute nothing in turn, which is rare even in man.

Concerning the pard. Isidore. The pard comes second after the panther; it is a variegated and exceedingly swift kind and headlong for blood. For it rushes to the kill with a leap. The *leopardus* is born from the adultery of the pard and the lioness, and yields a third origin. From the Book on the Nature of Things. The pard is a grim beast, and exceedingly sharp in its attack, and it has a body fitting the motions of its soul, and varied in colour. It pursues its prey by leaping rather than by running, whence it often happens that it rushes headlong to its death by a violent leap. In Africa, because of the scarcity of water, diverse wild beasts are gathered at the rivers, and there lionesses mix with varied beasts either by force or by pleasure, and from thence they are said to be procreated. Solinus. By the adulterous couplings of pards, the offspring of lionesses are degenerated, and from them indeed lions, but ignoble ones, are generated. Pliny in the eighth book. By the scent of the pard, the lion perceives the coupling in the adulteress. Pards which are called males in every kind are very frequent in Africa and Syria. Some distinguish panthers from these solely by the whiteness. The same in the tenth book. In Africa pards sit in a dense tree, and hidden by their branches they leap down upon passers-by, and they act aggressively with the slaughter of birds. Ambrose. The pard betrays the varied motions of its soul by the variety of its colour. Whence the prophet Jeremiah: 'if the pard can change its varieties', he says. Aristotle. The pard, as has been said, just like the panther, when it eats poison, seeks human excrement and eats it.

Concerning the tiger. Isidore. The tiger is named for the swiftness of its flight, for thus the Persians and Medes name the arrow. Moreover, it is a beast distinguished by varied spots, wondrous in courage and swiftness, from whose name the river Tigris is called,

because it is the swiftest of all rivers. Moreover, Hyrcania produces these in greater numbers. The *Physiologus*. Moreover, the tiger is an exceedingly fierce animal, and raging with incomparable madness, especially when, its cubs having been stolen, it pursues the hunters. Aristotle. Nature has formed narrower necks for tigers, just as for bears and lions, because they live on meat and do not cast their neck and mouth to the earth for the sake of grazing, but they either attack a stag or tear apart an ox and a sheep. And nothing is as fierce as lions or tigers, and yet these mostly serve man and lay aside their nature by human training, as was said above concerning the training of the lion. The tiger, when it has found the den of its offspring empty, immediately presses upon the tracks of the thief. But he, although riding a swift horse, seeing that he cannot escape the swiftness of the wild beast, when he sees it drawing near him, casts forth a sphere of glass. But she is mocked by her image, and thinking it her offspring, recalls her charge, desiring to gather her cub. Again, delayed by the empty hope, she pours herself forth with all her strength to catch the horseman and spurred by anger threatens the one fleeing swiftly. He again, by the throwing of a sphere, delays the pursuer, and yet the memory of the fraud does not shut out the zeal of the mother. She turns over the hollow image and settles down as if to nurse her cub, and thus deceived by the zeal of her devotion, she loses both her revenge and her offspring. Solinus. Tigers shine with tawny colour, and they inter-wave this tawny colour with blackish stripes. They mate face to face, they are so swift that nothing is so long that they do not penetrate it in a short time, nothing precedes them so far that they do not immediately catch up to it. Moreover, their power is most proved when they press upon the thieves of their cubs. Though the horsemen may succeed one another, and wish to carry away the prey by whatever cunning, unless they are at sea for protection, all their daring is in vain.

They are most frequently noted, if ever they see their robbers sailing back, to torment themselves on the shore with vain madness, as if punishing their own slowness with voluntary ruin. Pliny in the eighth book. The tiger and the panther are almost the only beasts looked at for the variety of their spots. For in the rest there is one and its own colour for each kind. The Hyrcanians and Indians report the tiger to be an animal of tremendous swiftness, and mostly known when it is captured. The entire litter of the tigers, which is always numerous, is stolen by the ambusher. But when the mother finds the den empty—for the males indeed take no care of the offspring—she rushes headlong tracking by scent; the thief, as the roar approaches, throws down one of the cubs. She takes it up by the bite and the weight, and returns driven swifter. And likewise she pursues immediately, until, he having returned into the ship, her vain fierceness rages upon the shore.

Concerning the ounce. [From the] *Liber de natura rerum*. The ounce is a very fierce animal, no taller than a dog, but longer in body, a great enemy of dogs. It does not eat its prey unless it carries it to a height; but when it reaches a tree, it carries it to the highest branch and eats it while suspending it. Now, when it is in heat, if it has wounded someone, mice [or rats] gather upon him and urinate upon him, and he dies from it. This is why one who was wounded by it carried himself into the sea by his arms, and the mice came to the sea to approach him, but because of the sea, they could not. The gall of this animal is a deadly poison.

Oxford, Exeter College Library, MS. 15 (Vincent de Beauvais, Speculum naturale, end of thirteenth century)

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut.84.18 (Albertus Magnus, *De animalibus*, c. 1291-1300)

Original Text

Alphec arabice est animal quod multi Ytalicorum et Alemanorum et Gallicorum linzam vocant, natum autem ex leone et leopardo, et est ferox nimis et nocivum. Aliquando autem domesticatum cum ducitur ad venandum, nisi multum blandiatur ei venator, retrocedit et occidit homines et canes : lupos etiam interficit.

Cama bestia est alio nomine rufinus dicta in Ethiopia sub estivo habens generationem, est autem ad lupi in figura maculis albis per totum respersa ludis apta, eo quod discipline multum est perceptibilis et in hoc convenit cum natura canis.

Leopardum quidam eandem specie bestiam vocant cum pardo, licet diversa sit et consimilis : quia leopardus componitur ex leena et pardo, ruffus autem ejus nigris maculis interpositis. Est autem animal fortis ire, et cum egrotat sanguine capre silucaris pasci querit, et stercus hominis querit in medicinam : et quod mirabile est, camphora delectatur, et custodit arborem ejus ne accipiatur. Quando domesticatur, si in saltu tercio vel quarto predam non accipit, indignatur ita quod nisi sanguine placetur, aliquando in venatorem insilit. Caro autem hujus animalis est calida et sicca : pinguedo autem grossa cum acuitate, et utilis est paraliticis, et pulsum cordis patientibus exceptis revolutionem, quando assatur et patiens ejus recipit odorem, valet. Sepum etiam ejus cum oleo lauri mixtum curat scabiosum, cujus scabies cutem incidit. Sanguis ejus confert tumori venarum si locus cum eo calido fricetur. Fel enim cum parvo pondere cum aqua sumptum abscidit generationem, et inducit sterilitatem. Fel recenter sumptum est venenum letiferum, nec habet aliquam

desiccationem : unde si ex uno sumatur pondus aurei, necat ipsa die : unde quidam potans de ipso ad pondus uncie, incurrit mortem sequenti die cum dormiet. Testiculus dexter comestus a muliere cujus abscisa sunt menstrua, restaurantur : si autem assuescat esum ejus, crebro fient menstrua ipsius. Leopardus diligit vinum, ita quod inebriatus capitur. Cerebrum leopardi cum succo eruce mixtum, corroborat coitum si cum eo virgri viri ungatur. Medulla ejus potata affert vulve dolores.

Linx est animal notum perspicax oculis, ita ut secundum poeticas fabulas corpora solida penetret, linguam habet serpentinam, quam ultra modum extendit, et occulos habet prominentes, ungues magnos. Lupo longior est, sed crura habet breviora : velox est saltu, et venatu vivit, innocuum est homini, in collo varium fere omnis coloris, hieme hyrsutum, et estate, quasi nudum. De urina ejus dicitur nasci lapis *liuguirus*, sed invidere dicitur homini et urinam sub arenis abscondit.

Pardi ad similitudinem panthere propter varietatem quasi pantheri dicuntur : et, sicut quidam dicunt, in pantheris aliquotiens et canibus procreantur. Pardus autem in Affrica abundat, nisi propter deffectum aque multa animalia conveniunt ad amnes, et ibi leene a pardis adulterate generant leones, sed ignobiles. Cum autem animal pardus preceps in sanguinem saltibus potius quam cursibus insequensa, aliquotiens inter frondes et fruteta latens in aves grassatur, sue velocitatis confidens.

Panthera est animal totum varietate distinctum, et maculositas ejus orbiculata ad modum oculorum ex fulvo colore interdum ad album et interdum ad ceruleum terminatorum. Dicunt autem hoc animal facile mansuesibile, et parvi esse partus, et pauci et difficilis propter suorum unguium longitudinem, et acumen, quibus frequent matricem ledit matris. Hoc animal in cibo aliquotiens

supersaciatur sicut et alia acutorum unguium propter famis caliditatem, et tunc intra antrum se coligens diu dormit : et cum evigilat, boni odoris fumus ab ipso egreditur, quem odorem, ut dicit Plinius, animalia cetera gregatim insequntur. Sed hoc falsum esse per hoc scimus, quod sicut in scientia de *Sensu et sensato* ostendimus cetera animalia preter hominem odoribus nec gaudent nec tristantur. Est autem animal vocativum frequentis vocationis propter desiderium coitus, et ad hoc que sui generis, vel sibi vicini generis animalia congregantur ad ipsum. Dicitur etiam hoc animal infestum esse draconi, et drachonem ab ipso fugere in latibula antrorum. Quidam etiam dicunt, quod in armo dextro figuram lune habet incrementa lune imitantem tam crescendo quam descendendo cum luna.

Tygris animal est in Hyrcanorum regionibus generatum mire velocitatis et ferocitatis, ad quantitatem leporarii canis et amplius excrecsens. Est autem varium nigri coloris, fulvis virguliis quasi undatim intercepti, et est unicorum unguium, et acutorum dentium, et in multa fissi pedis, et multorum partuum, quos cum aliquando venator acceperit, non nisi presidio navis effugere poterit : et si longe navis destisterit, et eum mater tygris insequta fuerit, unum catulum de multis prope existenti matri, cum quo dum ad antrum referendo occupantur, venatore procedit longius : et si secundo rediens iterum venatorem insecuta fuerit, iterum unum de pluribus matri reddit, et tandem in toto recedens aliquos retinet de filiis. Aliqui etiam venatores speras vitreas secum habentes matri objciunt, in quibus natorum similitudines apparent sicut in speculo cum mater ad speram post speram abjcientes deludunt matrem, que spere motu filium movere putat : sed cum speram constringens pedibus filium Jactare querit, delusam se deprehendit, et multociens sic delusa, venator ad civitates vel ad naves evadit, et illa natos perdit.

Translation

Alphec in Arabic is an animal which many Italians, Germans, and French call the *linza* (lynx?), moreover born from the lion and the *leopardus*, and it is exceedingly fierce and harmful. Sometimes, however, when tamed it is led to hunt, unless the hunter flatters it much, it turns back and kills men and dogs: it even kills wolves.

The *cama* is a beast called by another name *rufinus*, having its generation in Ethiopia under the summer heat, moreover it is similar to the wolf in figure, sprinkled all over with white spots, suited for games, because it is very perceptible of discipline and in this it agrees with the nature of the dog.

Some call the *leopardus* the same species of beast as the pard, although it is diverse and very similar: because the *leopardus* is composed of the lioness and the pard, but its redness is interspersed with black spots. It is moreover an animal of strong anger, and when it is sick it seeks to be fed with the blood of the wild she-goat, and it seeks human excrement as medicine: and what is wondrous, it delights in camphor, and guards its tree lest it be taken. When it is tamed, if in the third or fourth leap it does not catch the prey, it becomes indignant such that unless it is appeased with blood, sometimes it leaps upon the hunter. The flesh of this animal, moreover, is hot and dry: the fat, however, is gross with sharpness, and is useful for paralytics, and for those suffering from the pulse of the heart, excluding a revolution, when it is roasted and the patient receives its scent, it is effective. Its suet also mixed with oil of laurel cures a scabby person, whose scab cuts the skin. Its blood is beneficial for the swelling of the veins if the place is rubbed with it while hot. For the gall taken with water in a small weight cuts off generation, and induces sterility. The recently taken gall is a deadly poison, nor does it have any desiccation: whence

if the weight of a gold coin is taken from it, it kills on that very day: whence someone drinking of it to the weight of an ounce, incurs death on the following day when he shall sleep. The right testicle eaten by a woman whose menses are cut off, they are restored: if, however, she becomes accustomed to eating it, her menses will become frequent. The *leopardus* loves wine, such that intoxicated it is captured. The brain of the *leopardus* mixed with the juice of rocket corroborates coitus if the virile member is anointed with it. Its marrow drunk brings pains to the womb).

The lynx is a known animal, piercing in its eyes, so that according to poetic fables it penetrates solid bodies, it has a serpentine tongue, which it extends beyond measure, and it has prominent eyes, large claws. It is longer than a wolf, but it has shorter legs: it is swift in its leap, and lives by hunting, it is harmless to man, varied in the neck of almost every colour, shaggy in winter, and in summer, as if bare. From its urine the stone *ligurius* is said to be born, but it is said to envy man and hides its urine under the sand.

Pards, to the similitude of the panther, are called as if panthers because of their variety: and, as some say, they are sometimes procreated among panthers and dogs. The pard moreover abounds in Africa, except because of the lack of water many animals gather at the rivers, and there lionesses adulterated by pards generate lions, but ignoble ones. Since, moreover, the animal pard is headlong for blood, pursuing by leaps rather than by running, sometimes hiding among leaves and thickets it attacks birds, trusting in its swiftness.

The panther is an animal entirely distinguished by variety, and its spotty nature is orbicular in the manner of eyes, from a tawny colour sometimes terminated to white and sometimes to blue. They say moreover this animal is easily tameable, and is of small offspring, and few, and difficult because of the length and sharpness of its claws,

with which it frequently injures the mother's womb. This animal is sometimes over-satiated in food just as other animals of sharp claws because of the heat of hunger, and then gathering itself inside a cave it sleeps for a long time: and when it awakens, a smoke of good scent goes forth from it, which scent, as Pliny says, the other animals follow in flocks. But we know this to be false by this, that as we showed in the science *Sensu et sensato*, the other animals besides man are neither gladdened nor saddened by scents. It is moreover a vocal animal of frequent calling because of the desire for coitus, and for this reason animals of its own kind, or of a kind neighbouring to it, are gathered to it. It is also said that this animal is hostile to the dragon, and the dragon flees from it into the hiding places of caves. Some also say that on its right shoulder it has the figure of the moon, imitating the increments of the moon as much in growing as in waning with the moon.

The tiger is an animal generated in the regions of the Hyrcanians of wondrous swiftness and fierceness, growing to the size of a greyhound dog and larger. It is moreover varied of a black colour, intercepted by tawny stripes as if in waves, and it is of unique claws, and sharp teeth, and much cleft of foot, and of many offspring, which when sometimes a hunter has taken, he will not be able to escape except by the protection of a ship: and if the ship stands far off, and the mother tiger has pursued him, he throws one cub of the many to the mother existing near, with which while she is occupied in carrying it back to the cave, the hunter proceeds further: and if returning a second time she has again pursued the hunter, again he returns one of the many to the mother, and finally receding entirely she retains some of the sons. Some hunters also having glass spheres with them throw them to the mother, in which the similitudes of the children appear just as in a mirror; when throwing sphere after sphere to the mother

they mock the mother, who by the movement of the sphere thinks the son is moving: but when, grasping the sphere with her feet she seeks to nurse the son, she discovers herself mocked, and many times thus mocked, the hunter escapes to the cities or to the ships, and she loses her sons.

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut.84.18 (Albertus Magnus, De animalibus, c. 1291-1300)

Paris, BNF, MS. Français 12469, (Richard de Fournival, *Bestiaire d'Amour*, c. 1300)

Original Text

M'aida dont la veue a perdre ? Oill : miex fui ge pris par mon veoir que tygres n'est au mireoir, qui ja ne sera tant courouchié de ses faons, son li a embles, ke s'ele encontre un mireoir, k'il ne li coviegne ses ex aerdre et se delite tant au mirer la grant biauté de sa bone taille que ele oublye acacier chiaus ki li emportent ses faons et s'areste illuec come prise. Quar li sage, venour i metent le mireoir, tout a ensient pour aus delivrer. Dont di ge que je sui pris a oir et a veoir : ke ce ne fu pas merveille se jou i perdi mon sens et ma memoire. Quar oirs et veirs sont les deus portes de memoire si com il a este devant dit. Et si sont deus des plus nobles sens de lome. Quar li hom a V sens : veir, oir, gouster, flairier, touchier si com il a este devant dit, et par le flairier meesmes sui ge pris. [...]

En tel maniere s'est Amors vengie de moi : j'avoie esté li plus orgillous hom vers Amours ki fust de mon aage, et me sambloit que je n'avoie onques veu feme que je vaussise mie avoir toute a ma volenté. Par si ke jamaisse aussi durement com je ooie dire con amoit. Et Amours, qui est sages venerres me mist en mon chemin une poucele a cui doucour jou me sui endormis, et mors de tel mort come Amours apartient, c'est desesperanche sans attente de merchi. Pour cou di jou que jou fui pris au flairier ; et ai me volenté laissie pour le sieue sievir, ausi come les bestes, ke puis qu'eles ont une fois senti au flairier le pantere ja puis ne le lairont ains le sieurront dusques a la mort. Pour chou di jou que ge sui pris a ces III sens, a oir et a veoir, et au flairier. Et se ge suisse pris en autres II sens, au goster en baisant, et au touchier en acolant, dont parfuisse jou a droit en dormis : quar adont dort le hom quant il ne sent nul de ses V sens. De l'endormir d'amours vienent

tout li perill, quar a tous les endormis sieut amours et a licorne qui sendort en l'escoure a la pucelle et a l'ome qui sendort a la seraine. [...]

Translation

Did my sight then help to ruin me? Yes: I was better caught by my seeing than the tiger is at the mirror, who will never be so angered for her cubs, if they have been stolen from her, that if she encounters a mirror, she is not compelled to fix her eyes upon it, and delights so much in looking at the great beauty of her good form that she forgets to chase those who carry off her cubs and stops there as if caught. For the wise hunters place the mirror there entirely on purpose to deliver themselves. Therefore I say that I am caught by hearing and seeing: for it was no marvel if I lost my sense and my memory therein. For hearing and seeing are the two doors of memory, as it has been said before. And thus they are two of the noblest senses of man. For man has five senses: seeing, hearing, tasting, smelling, touching, as it has been said before, and by smelling itself am I caught. [...]

In such a manner has Love avenged himself upon me: I had been the proudest man towards Love that was of my age, and it seemed to me that I had never seen a woman that I would wish to have entirely at my will. So much so that I would never love as fiercely as I heard tell that one loved. And Love, who is a wise hunter, placed in my path a maiden to whose sweetness I have fallen asleep, and died of such a death as pertains to Love, that is despair without expectation of mercy. For this I say that I was caught by smelling; and I have left my will to follow hers, just like the beasts, who since they have once perceived by smelling the panther, will never thereafter leave it but will follow it unto death. For this I say that I am caught by these three senses: by hearing and seeing, and by smelling. And if I were caught in the other two senses, by tasting in kissing, and by touching in embracing, then I would be perfectly asleep by right: for then man sleeps when he feels none of his five senses. From the sleep of love come all perils, for Love

pursues all those who fall asleep, both the unicorn that falls asleep in the lap of the maiden, and the man who falls asleep to the siren. [...]

Lilienfeld, Stift Archiv, Codex Campililiensis 154 (Barthélemy l'Anglais, *De proprietatibus rerum*, c. 1300-1325)

Original Text

Linx lincis est dictus, quod in luporum genere et numero numeratur. Est autem bestia similis lupo, dorsum hujus maculis distinctum sicut pardus, urina ejus convertitur in gemmam preciosam que *ligurus* [ligurius] appellatur, et hoc presentit linx sive lincis, et hoc invidens ac dolens que transire debebat in humanum usum ; urinam egestam abscondit ab humo, sed ibi cicius in lapidem solidatur, ut dicit Plinius, liber VIII, capitulum, XXXIX (39) et Ysidorus XII (12).

De leopardo et ejus proprietate. Leopardus est bestia sevissima ex leene et pardi adulterio generata, ut dicit Ysidorus liber XII (12). Nam ut dicit Plinius : Leone cum parda aut pardo cum leena concumbente, ex tali coitu degeneres *pardi* [partus] procreantur : sicut ex equo et asina gignitur mulus sive burdo, ut dicit Ysidorus. Est animal valde preceps et sitit sanguinem, et est femina major et crudelior quam sit masculus, ut dicit Aristoteles. Colorem habet varium sicut pardus. Saliendo non currendo insequitur predam et si in tercio saltu predam non capit vel in quarto, per indignacionem sistit et quasi victus retroredit. Corpus cum cauda et pedibus leoni assimilatur, sed in capite forma pardi imitatur. Leone autem corpore est minor et leoni masculo mirabiliter est exosus. Unde timens leonem facit foveam subterraneam duplex orificium habentem, unum per quod intrat, aliud per quod exit. Est autem fovea illa in utroque orificia valde ampla, et in medio magis stricta. Veniente itaque leone subito in foveam se mergit, quem persequens leo foveam cum impetu subintrat, ubi triumphare putat de leopardo. Sed propter magnitudinem corporis per in medium fovee ubi strictior est, libere transire nequit,

quem sciens leopardus ibi in strictura impeditum, illico foveam egreditur, et iterum in parte opposita foveam intrans, leonem a tergo morsibus et unguibus agreditur, et sic sepe arte non viribus de leone victoriam obtinet leopardus. Et sic bestia de forciori si per astuciam in antro victoriam obtinet, quem per potentiam in publico invadere non audet, sicut narrat Homerus liber de pugnis et astuciis bestiarum. Aristoteles autem, liber VIII (8), dicit de bestia que dicitur *ferculeo*, quem *avice* [avide], dicit esse leopardum, « Animal, » inquit « quod dicitur *ferculeo*, quanque comedit aliquod venenosum, et tunc quarit stercus hominis et comedit ipsum. Et ideo venatores illum simum in vase aliquo suspendunt super arborem » saltat ut accipiat stercus, et interim ipsum interficiunt venatores. Idem facit pantera et pardus ut dicitur ibidem. De leopardo etiam dicit Plinius : quoniam egrotat, sanguinem capre agrestis bibit, et sic inde languores evadit.

Pantera, ut dicit Ysidorus, liber XII (12), sic est dictus, sive quod omnium animalium est amicus, excepto dracone quem valde odit, sive quod societate sui generis gaudet et ad eandem quicquid accipit reddit, pantera enim grece « totum » de latine. Est autem bestia minutis orbiculis superpicta ut ex macularum nigrarum et albarum et flavarum varietate tota ejus pellis oculata exterius videatur, ut dicit idem. Hec bestia ut dicit Ysidorus, semel *tamtom* [tantum] parturit ejus cause ratio est aperta. Nam cum in utero matris convaluerint catuli et ad nascendum iam receperit vires, odiunt matres, lacerantque unguibus matris alvum, tamquam suo partui resistentem. Unum et mater partum dimittit dolore uteri. Et ideo dicit Plinius animalia cum acutis unguibus frequenter parere non posse. Nam moventibus catulis viciate intrinsecus matrices. Hucusque Ysidorus liber XII (12). De pantera autem dicit *Phisiologus*. Pantera odit draconem, et draco ipsum fugit. Cum autem comederit et saturata fuerit, se recondit in spelunca ; et dormit continue se per tres dies. Post triduum vero de

sompno surgens emittit vocem, et ab ore ejus exit odor aromaticus supra modum suavis, propter cujus suavitatem ipsum omnia animalia secuntur. Solus autem draco, audiens vocem ejus, timore perterritus fugit in cavernam, neque ferens odorem in semet ipso deficit et torpescit, odorem enim ejus reputat pro veneno. De panteris autem dicit Plinius liber VIII (8), capitulum XVIII (18), pantera sicut et tigris maxima colorum et macularum varietate decoratur, alia animalia proprio gaudent, sunt tamen leones nigri in *Suria* [Syria], qui panteris in candidis maculis sunt similes. In colore autem vario pantere et tigris omnia animalia quadrupedia sollicitantur videre eos, sed cornicate capitis terrentur. Quam ob rem caput occultant et pulchritudine relique partis corporis bestias invitant ad se, et sic invitatas ad se accipiunt et manducant. Et quamvis sit bestia valde seva, cum illis qui sibi aut aliquo subveniunt, nullatenus est ingrata, ut ibi exemplificat ibidem Plinius de quodam qui libaverit catulos pantere collapsos in quandam foveam, quem pantera eduxit extra solitudinem leta et blandiens ut sibi gratias referre facile apparerent.

Pardus, ut dicit Ysidorus, est bestia velocissima colore vario orbiculata ut pantera, preceps ad sanguinem. Etiam habet talem dispositionem sicut pantera. Nec habet ab eo aliquam differentiam, nisi quod pantera habet maculas albiores, ita dicit Plinius, Liber VIII. De pardo autem dicit Aristoteles, Liber VIII : quoniam pardus infirmatur, comedit humanum fimum gratia medicine. Et ideo venatores suspendunt stercus super arborem, ad quod ductus ascendit, a venatoribus interficitur. Est autem animal libidinosum et coit cum leena, ex cujus adulterio generatur leopardus ; quare supra de leena. Pardus raptis catulis est nimis sevus, ut dicit Glosa super Osee XII (12).

De tygri. Tigris est bestia ad fugam velocissima, ad modum sagitte volat, ut dicit Ysidorus, Liber XII (12). Est enim bestia variis

distincta maculis, virtute et velocitate mirabilis, ex cujus nomine fluvius tigris appellatur, eo quod rapidissimus sit omnium fluviorum. Tigrides enim magis Hircania gignit, hucusque Ysidorus. Dicitur autem hic tigris, hujus tigridis, pro bestia, pro fluvio vero hic tigris. Aristoteles vero supra de fluminibus. De tigride autem dicit Plinius. Tigrides vel tigres *Archani* [Hircania] undique ferunt animalia tremende velocitatis, et maxime cognoscitur dicitur capitur totus, enim fetus qui semper viscosus est ab insidiante venatore rapitur. Et in equo velocissimo deducitur. At ubi fera spoliatis catulis vacuum cubile reperit, fertur preceps odore ferentis catulos investigans, venator autem audiens fremitum insequentis, *abunt* [abiicit] unum catulum, quem illa tollit ad suum latibulum, morsu ducit, quo reposito in cubili concito cursu iterum redit. Interim venator cum residuis navem scandit, et illa irritata, frustrata feritate pro nullo ultra sevit, ut dicit Plinius, Liber VIII, capitulum XIX. Masculus autem de fetu penitus non curat, ut dicit idem. Qui autem omnes catulos deferre cupit, specula magna in itinere derelinquit, que mater insequens unica invenit. In eis se intuens de sua ymagine filios esse credit, circa autem suam umbram illic detenta, et circa filiorum extractionem de vitro occupata, dat raptori spacium fugiendi, et sic per umbram decipitur ne raptorem pro filiorum liberacione ulterius prosequatur.

Translation

The lynx is named *lincis*, because it is numbered in the kind and number of wolves. It is a beast similar to the wolf, its back distinguished by spots like the pard; its urine is converted into a precious gem which is called *ligurius*, and the lynx itself perceives this, and envying and grieving that it should pass into human use, it hides the discharged urine under the ground, but there it is more quickly solidified into stone, as Pliny says, book 8, chapter 39, and Isidore 12.

Concerning the *leopardus* and its property. The *leopardus* is a most fierce beast generated from the adultery of the lioness and the pard, as Isidore says, book 12. For as Pliny says: the lion mating with the female pard, or the pard with the lioness, from such a coupling bastard offspring are procreated: just as from the horse and the ass the mule or hinny is generated, as Isidore says. It is a very headlong animal and thirsts for blood, and the female is larger and crueler than the male, as Aristotle says. It has a varied colour like the pard. It pursues its prey by leaping, not by running, and if it does not catch its prey in the third or fourth leap, it stops out of indignation and turns back as if defeated. Its body with tail and feet is assimilated to the lion, but in the head it imitates the form of the pard. However, it is smaller in body than the lion, and is wondrously hated by the male lion. Whence, fearing the lion, it makes a subterranean pit having a double opening, one by which it enters, another by which it exits. This pit is very wide at both openings, and narrower in the middle. Therefore, when the lion comes, it suddenly plunges into the pit, and the lion pursuing it enters the pit with an attack, where it thinks to triumph over the *leopardus*. But because of the size of its body, it cannot pass freely through the middle of the pit where it is narrower; the *leopardus*, knowing it is impeded there in the narrowness, immediately exits the pit, and again

entering the pit on the opposite side, attacks the lion from behind with bites and claws, and thus often the *leopardus* obtains victory over the lion by art, not by strength. And thus the beast obtains victory in the cave over the stronger one by cunning, whom it does not dare to attack in public by power, as Homer narrates in the book on the fights and cunning of beasts. Aristotle, however, book 8, says of the beast which is called *ferculeo*, which he avidly says is the *leopardus*, 'The animal,' he says, 'which is called *ferculeo*, when it eats something poisonous, then it seeks human excrement and eats it. And therefore hunters suspend that dung in some vessel upon a tree' it leaps to catch the dung, and meanwhile the hunters kill it. The panther and the pard do the same, as is said in the same place. Concerning the *leopardus* Pliny also says: when it is sick, it drinks the blood of the wild she-goat, and thus escapes sicknesses from it.

The panther, as Isidore says, book 12, is so called, either because it is a friend of all animals, except the dragon which it hates greatly, or because it rejoices in the society of its own kind and returns whatever it receives to the same similitude, for *pan* in Greek means 'all' in Latin. Moreover, it is a beast painted over with minute orbs, so that by the variety of black and white and tawny spots its whole skin appears eyed on the outside, as the same says. This beast, as Isidore says, gives birth only once in total, the reason for which cause is clear. For when the cubs have coalesced in the mother's womb and have already received strength for being born, they hate their mothers, and tear with their claws the mother's womb, as if resisting their birth. And the mother discharges the single litter through the pain of the womb. And therefore Pliny says that animals with sharp claws cannot give birth frequently. For the wombs are injured inwardly by the cubs moving about. Thus far Isidore book 12. Concerning the panther, however, the *Physiologus* says: The panther hates the dragon, and the dragon

flees it. When, moreover, it has eaten and been satiated, it hides itself in a cave; and sleeps continuously for three days. But rising from sleep after three days, it emits a voice, and from its mouth goes forth an aromatic scent sweet beyond measure, because of the sweetness of which all animals follow it. Only the dragon, however, hearing its voice, terrified by fear, flees into a cavern, and unable to bear the scent, fails within itself and grows torpid, for it considers its scent as poison. Concerning panthers, moreover, Pliny says, book 8, chapter 18, the panther just like the tiger is decorated with the greatest variety of colours and spots, other animals rejoice in their own, yet there are black lions in Syria, which are similar to panthers in white spots. In the varied colour of the panther and the tiger, however, all four-footed animals are attracted to see them, but are terrified by the horn-like appearance of the head. For which reason they hide their head and by the beauty of the rest of their body invite the beasts to them, and thus invited they catch and eat them. And although it is an exceedingly fierce beast, with those who come to its aid or in any way help, it is by no means ungrateful, as Pliny gives an example in the same place concerning a certain one who freed the cubs of a panther that had fallen into a certain pit, whom the panther led outside the wilderness, joyful and fawning, so that it easily appeared to return thanks to him.

The pard, as Isidore says, is an exceedingly swift beast, orbiculated with varied colour like the panther, headlong for blood. It also has such a disposition as the panther. Nor does it have any difference from it, except that the panther has whiter spots, so says Pliny, Book 8. Concerning the pard, however, Aristotle says, Book 8: when the pard is sick, it eats human dung for the sake of medicine. And therefore hunters suspend dung upon a tree, to which being led it ascends, and is killed by the hunters. It is, moreover, a lustful animal and mates with the lioness, from whose adultery the *leopardus* is

generated; wherefore see above concerning the lioness. The pard, its cubs being stolen, is exceedingly fierce, as the Gloss upon Hosea 12 says.

Concerning the tiger. The tiger is a beast most swift to flight, it flies in the manner of an arrow, as Isidore says, Book 12. For it is a beast distinguished by varied spots, wondrous in courage and swiftness, from whose name the river Tigris is called, because it is the swiftest of all rivers. For Hyrcania produces tigers in greater numbers, thus far Isidore. Moreover, this tiger, of this tiger, is said for the beast, but for the river this Tigris. Aristotle indeed above concerning rivers. Concerning the tiger, moreover, Pliny says. The Hyrcanians report tigers or tigresses everywhere to be animals of tremendous swiftness, and mostly known when it is captured; for the entire litter, which is always numerous, is stolen by the ambushing hunter. And it is carried away on a very swift horse. But when the wild beast finds the den empty, stripped of its cubs, it rushes headlong tracking by scent the one carrying the cubs; the hunter, however, hearing the roar of the pursuing one, throws down one cub, which she takes to her hiding place, carries by the bite, and having deposited it in the den returns again with a rapid run. Meanwhile the hunter with the remaining ones boards a ship, and she, irritated, her fierceness frustrated, rages for naught further, as Pliny says, Book 8, chapter 19. The male, moreover, cares nothing at all for the offspring, as the same says. However, he who wishes to carry away all the cubs, leaves large mirrors in the path, which the pursuing mother uniquely finds. Looking at herself in them, she believes from her image that they are her sons, but detained there around her shadow, and occupied around the extraction of her sons from the glass, she gives the thief time to flee, and thus she is deceived by the shadow lest she pursue the thief further for the liberation of her sons.

Paris, BNF, MS. Français 574 (Gossuin de Metz, *Image du monde*, c.1320)

Original Text

En Ynde ra unes autres bestes granz et fieres qui ont couleur ynde, et ont cleres taches parmi le cors. Si sont si forz et si males que nus ne ose aprochier. Et les apele l'en en cest pays tygres. Et courent de si grant randon que, quant li veneeur i vont pour prendre autres bestes qui i sont, il neschaperoient jamais de illuec, se il ne getoient par la voie, la ou il vont, mireoirs de voirre. Et quant il voient leur ymages, si cuident que ce soient leur faons. Si vont tout entour, et tant, qu'il brisent les mireoirs as piez, tant vont entour. Lors ne truevent riens illec. Et ainsi s'en eschapent ceuls qui la sont. Et aucunes foiz est avenu de ces bestes que des pensent tant a leur figures remirer, et en sont aucunes foiz si esprises que l'en les porroit bien prendre toutes vives.

Une autre beste converse et repaire cele part, qui est de diverses coleurs par taches blanches et noires et verz et yndes et jaunes, ausi comme s'ele feust painte. Et est cointe et gente ; et est apelée panthere. Et naist si grant douceur de sa bouche quant ele alaine, que les bestes vont apres li pour la douceur qui ist de son cors, fors le serpent a cui cele douceur grieve si qu'il en meurt sovent. Et quant cele beste est aucune foie saoulée de sa venoison qu'ele a trouvée, si se dort III jours touz entiers. Et quant ele s'esveille, si rent une odeur si douce, qui ist de sa bouche hors, que les bestes y courent tantost comme il la sentent. Cele beste na c'une foiz faons. Et quant ele doit faonner, si a tele destrece et tele angoisse qu'ele ront et despiece ses marriz as ongles, tant que les faons en sont hors. Mais jamais n'auront plus de faons quant eles sont ainsi descirées.

Translation

In India there are other beasts, great and fierce, which have an indigo colour, and have bright spots across their body. They are so strong and so wicked that no one dares to approach. And they are called tigers in this country. And they run with such great swiftness that, when the hunters go there to catch other beasts which are there, they would never escape from there, if they did not throw in the path, there where they go, mirrors of glass. And when they see their images, they believe that these are their cubs. They go all around, and so much so, that they break the mirrors with their feet, so much do they go around. Then they find nothing there. And thus those who are there escape. And sometimes it has happened to these beasts that they concentrate so much on looking at their figures, and are sometimes so captivated by them that one could well catch them entirely alive.

Another beast dwells and frequents that place, which is of diverse colours by white and black and green and indigo and yellow spots, just as if it were painted. And it is elegant and noble; and it is called the panther. And there is born such great sweetness from its mouth when it breathes, that the beasts go after it for the sweetness which issues from its body, except the serpent to whom this sweetness brings such grief that it often dies from it. And when this beast is at any time satiated with its venison which it has found, it sleeps for three entirely whole days. And when it awakens, it yields an odour so sweet, which issues forth from its mouth, that the beasts run to it as soon as they smell it. This beast has cubs only once. And when it must give birth, it has such distress and such anguish that it tears and rips its womb to pieces with its claws, until the cubs are out of it. But they will never have more cubs when they are thus torn apart.

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ORIGINAL TEXT

De pantherae natura. Est animal, quod dicitur panthera, vario quidem colore, sed speciosum nimis, et mansuetum valde. Physiologus dicit quod inimicum est solis draconibus. Cum ergo comederit et satiaverit se de universis venationibus, revertitur in speluncam suam, ponensque se dormit per triduum. Surgens autem a somno, statim emittit rugitum per altum, simulque odorem nimiae suavitatis cum rugitu, ita ut odor hujus praecellat omnia aromata et pigmenta. Cum ergo audierint vocem ejus omnes bestiae, quae longe vel prope sunt, congregantes se, nimiam suavitatem ejus sequuntur. Solus autem draco cum audierit vocem ejus, timore perterritus abscondit se sub terrenis speluncis. Ibi autem non ferens vim odoris ejus, in semetipso contractus obstupescit et torpescit, et manet immobilis exanimusque velut mortuus; caetera autem animalia sequuntur eam quocunque vadit. Sic et Dominus noster Jesus Christus verus panther omne genus humanum, quod a diabolo captum fuerat, et morti erat obnoxium, per incarnationem suam ad se trahens eripuit, et captivam ducens captivitatem, dedit dona hominibus. Panthera enim omnis fera, quasi omne animal odore capiens interpretatur. Sic et Deus, ut diximus, videns omne genus humanum daemonibus captum idolisque mancipatum, omneque simul praedam diaboli factum, descendit de coelo cum nimio incarnationis suae odore, et eripuit nos, sequimurque Dominum et Agnum quoquo ierit, impleturque prophetia: Factus sum, inquit, huic panthera [tinea] Ephraim, et sicut leo [putredo] domui Juda. Ac per hoc significabatur jam tunc, quia Ephraim idolis serviebat, quod

vocatio gentium, et plebis Judaeorum debuerat per adventum Christi impleri. Et quia panthera varium est animal, significat Christum, qui est incomprehensibilis sapientia, totus simplex, bonus, clemens, firmus, et stabilis, et diversa sapientia fulgens. Et etiam quia speciosum est animal panthera, sic enim est Christus, veluti David dicit in spiritu: Speciosus forma prae filiis hominum. Item quia mansuetum est animal, sicut dicit Isaias de Christo: Gaude et laetare, filia Sion, quia rex tuus venit tibi mansuetus salvans. Etiam quia sicut panthera cum satiata fuerit, statim quiescit et dormit, ita et Dominus noster Jesus Christus, postquam satiatus est Judaicis illusionibus, et flagellis, alapis, injuriis, contumeliis, spinis, sputaminibus, ad ultimum in cruce suspensus, clavis affixus, felle et aceto potatus, lancea perforatus, his, inquam, violentiis Judaeorum satiatus Christus dormivit et quievit in sepulchro, descendensque in infernum, religavit illic draconem magnum, generis humani maximum inimicum, antiquum videlicet serpentem. Quod autem tertia die istud animal post satietatem et somnum surgit, et rugitum magnum emittit, et fragrat odor suavitatis ex ore ejus, significat quod Dominus noster Jesus Christus tertia die surgens a mortuis, implevit prophetiam de eo David dicentis: Excitatus est tanquam dormiens Dominus tanquam potens crapulatus a vino. Statim exclamavit, ita ut in omnem terram exaudiretur vox ejus, et in fines orbis terrae verba ejus dicendo: Gaudete jam, et confidite, et nolite timere: Ego vici mundum. Et iterum: Pater, quos dedisti mihi, custodivi. Vado ad Patrem meum, et Patrem vestrum, Deum meum, et Deum vestrum. Iterum veniam ad vos, et non dimittam vos orphanos. Item in fine Evangelii sic dicebat Ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem saeculi. Et quid suavius aut dulcius esse potest odore Domini nostri Jesu Christi? Ita enim suavis est, ut omnes qui prope per fidem et per opera sunt, et qui adhuc fragilitate gravati longe sunt, audiant vocem ejus. Repleti enim et

recreati suavissimo odore mandatorum ejus requirimus eum, semper sequentes eum, clamando cum Propheta. Quam dulcia faucibus meis eloquia tua, Domine! super mel ori meo. Et cum sapiente in Canticis canticorum: In odore unguentorum tuorum currimus. Et paulo post. Introduxit me rex in cubiculum suum, exsultabimus et laetabimur cum eo. Oportet itaque nos quanto citius detur, sicut adolescentulas in Christo renatas animas, et per baptismum ad novitatem vitae venientes, post unguenta mandatorum Christi currere, et de terrenis ad coelestia transmigrare, ut nos introducat rex in palatium suum, Hierusalem civitatem Domini virtutum, et montem sanctorum omnium. Ibique exsultantes dicamus: Gloriosa dicta sunt de te civitas Dei. Sicut audivimus, sic et vidimus in civitate Domini virtutum.

Panthera est bestia minutis orbiculis superpicta, ita ut oculatis ex fulvo circulis nigra vel alba distinguatur varietate. Haec semel omnino parturit, cujus causae ratio manifesta est. Nam cum in utero matris concreti catuli maturis viribus ad nascendum pervenerint, oneratam matrem tanquam partui obstantem, unguibus lacorant, et effundit illa partum, seu potius dimittit, dolore cogente. Ita corruptis matris finibus et loculis, genitale postea semen infusum non haeret acceptum, sed irritum resilit foras. Unde Plinius dicit animalia acutis unguibus frequenter parere non posse. Vitiantur enim intrinsecus se moventibus catulis. Isidorus autem sic: « Panther dictus est sive quod omnium animalium sit amicus, excepto dracone, quem valde odit; sive eo quod ea sui generis societate gaudet, quod ad eamdem similitudinem quidquid accipit reddit. » Pan [πᾶν] Graece omne dicitur Latine, et ther [θηρα] fera. Item Isidorus de aromatibus: « Aromata, inquit, sunt quaecunque fragrantis odoris, quae India vel Arabia mittit, sive alia quaevis regio. » Nomen autem aromata traxisse videntur, sive quod aris imposita divinis invocationibus apta videantur, sive quod sese aeri inserere ac miscere probentur. Nam quid

est odor nisi aer naribus attractus postquam ab re odorifera fuerit imbutus ?

De tigride. Tigris vocata est propter volucrem fugam; ita enim nominant Persae et Medi sagittam. Est autem bestia variis distinctis maculis, virtute et velocitate mirabili, ex cujus nomine flumen Tigris vocatur, quod is rapidissimus sit omnium fluviorum. Has magis Hircania gignit. Tigris vero ubi vacuum raptae sobolis reperit cubile, illico vestigiis raptoris insistit, atque ille, quamvis equo vectus fugaci, videns tamen velocitate ferae se posse praeverti, nec ullum evadendi suppetere sibi posse subsidium, tigrim hujusmodi fraude amollitur: ubi se contiguum viderit, sphaeram de vitro, id est speculum rotundum projicit; at illa imagine sui luditur, et sobolem putat, revocatque impetum, colligere fetum desiderans. Rursus inani specie detecta, totis se ad comprehendendum equitem viribus fundit, et iracundiae stimulo velociter fugienti imminet. Iterumque ille appropinquantem sphaerae objectu retardat, nec tamen sedulitatem matris, memoria fraudis excludit. Cassam versat imaginem, et quasi lactatura fetum residet. Sicque pietatis sui studio decepta et vindictam amittit et prolem.

De pardo, et leopardo. Pardus est ferarum genus varium, ac velocissimum, et praeceps ad sanguinem. Saltu enim ad mortem ruit. Leopardus ex adulterio leaenae et pardi nascitur, et tertiam originem efficit, sicut et Plinius in naturali historia dicit leonem cum parda, aut pardum cum leaena concumbere, et ex utroque coitu degeneres partus creari, quales sunt ex diversis speciebus progeniti mulus et burdo.

De lynce. Lynx dicitur, quia in luporum genere numeratur, bestia maculis tergo distincta ut pardus, sed similis lupo. Hujus urinam converti in duritiam pretiosi lapidis dicunt, qui lygurius seu lycurius ut a Plinio et Solino appellatur; quod et ipsas lynces hoc modo probatur sentire, nam egestum liquorem arenis quantum possunt

contegunt, invidia quadam naturae, ne talis egestio transeat in usum humanum. Lynces dicit Plinius extra fetum unum non admittere secundum.

Translation

Concerning the nature of the panther. There is an animal which is called the panther, having indeed a varied colour, but exceedingly beautiful, and very gentle. The *Physiologus* says that it is an enemy only to dragons. When, therefore, it has eaten and satiated itself with all sorts of prey, it returns into its cave, and laying itself down it sleeps for three days. Rising, moreover, from sleep, it immediately emits a loud roar, and at the same time a scent of exceeding sweetness with the roar, such that this scent excels all spices and ointments. When, therefore, all the beasts which are far or near have heard its voice, gathering themselves together, they follow its exceeding sweetness. Only the dragon, however, when it has heard its voice, terrified by fear, hides itself in subterranean caves. There, moreover, unable to bear the force of its scent, contracted within itself it grows senseless and torpid, and remains immobile and lifeless as if dead; but the other animals follow it wherever it goes. Thus also our Lord Jesus Christ, the true panther, drawing to Himself through His incarnation the whole human race, which had been captured by the devil and was subject to death, snatched it away, and leading captivity captive, gave gifts to men. For *panther* is interpreted as 'every wild beast' or 'catching every animal by scent'. Thus also God, as we have said, seeing the whole human race captured by demons and enslaved to idols, and all at once made the prey of the devil, descended from heaven with the exceeding scent of His incarnation, and snatched us away, and we follow the Lord and the Lamb wherever He goes, and the prophecy is fulfilled: 'I am become', he says, 'to this Ephraim a panther [a moth], and as a lion [rot] to the house of Judah.' And by this it was signified even then, because Ephraim was serving idols, that the calling of the Gentiles and of the people of the Jews ought to be

fulfilled through the coming of Christ. And because the panther is a varied animal, it signifies Christ, who is the incomprehensible wisdom, entirely simple, good, clement, firm, and stable, and shining with diverse wisdom. And also because the panther is a beautiful animal, for thus is Christ, as David says in the spirit: 'Beautiful of form above the sons of men.' Likewise because it is a gentle animal, as Isaiah says of Christ: 'Rejoice and be glad, O daughter of Zion, because thy king cometh unto thee gentle, saving.' Also because just as the panther when it has been satiated, immediately rests and sleeps, thus also our Lord Jesus Christ, after He was satiated with Jewish mockeries, and scourges, blows, injuries, insults, thorns, spittings, and lastly suspended on the cross, affixed with nails, given gall and vinegar to drink, pierced with a lance; satiated, I say, by these violences of the Jews, Christ slept and rested in the sepulchre, and descending into hell, bound the great dragon there, the greatest enemy of the human race, namely the ancient serpent. That, moreover, on the third day that animal after satiation and sleep rises, and emits a great roar, and the scent of sweetness is fragrant from its mouth, signifies that our Lord Jesus Christ, rising from the dead on the third day, fulfilled the prophecy of David saying of Him: 'The Lord was awakened as one sleeping, as a mighty man drunken with wine.' Immediately He cried out, so that His voice was heard in all the earth, and His words unto the ends of the round world, saying: 'Rejoice now, and trust, and do not fear: I have vanquished the world.' And again: 'Father, those whom Thou gavest Me I have guarded. I go to My Father, and your Father, to My God, and your God. Again I will come to you, and I will not leave you orphans.' Likewise at the end of the Gospel He spoke thus: 'Behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world.' And what can be sweeter or more pleasant than the scent of our Lord Jesus Christ? For He is so sweet that all who are near through

faith and through works, and who, weighed down by fragility, are still far off, may hear His voice. For fulfilled and recreated by the sweetest scent of His commandments we seek Him, always following Him, crying out with the Prophet: 'How sweet are Thy words to my palate, O Lord! more than honey to my mouth.' And with the wise man in the Canticles of Canticles: 'We run to the odour of thy ointments.' And a little after: 'The king hath brought me into his bedchamber, we will exult and rejoice with him.' It behooves us therefore, as quickly as it may be granted, like souls reborn in Christ as young maidens, and coming through baptism to the newness of life, to run after the ointments of Christ's commandments, and to cross over from earthly things to heavenly things, so that the king may bring us into His palace, Jerusalem the city of the Lord of Hosts, and the mountain of all the saints. And there exulting let us say: 'Glorious things are said of thee, O city of God'. As we have heard, so have we seen in the city of the Lord of Hosts.

The panther is a beast painted over with minute orbs, such that it is distinguished by black or white variety with ocelli upon a tawny ground. This gives birth only once in total, the reason for which cause is clear. For when the cubs concreted in the mother's womb have reached mature powers for being born, they tear with their claws the burdened mother as if she were an obstacle to birth, and she pours forth the litter, or rather discharges it, compelled by pain. Thus, the boundaries and receptacles of the mother being damaged, the infused generative seed does not remain accepted afterwards, but leaps back out uselessly. Whence Pliny states that animals with sharp claws cannot give birth frequently. For they are injured inwardly by the cubs moving about. Isidore, however, says thus: 'The panther is so called either because it is a friend of all animals, except the dragon, which it hates greatly; or because it rejoices in the society of its own kind,

because it returns whatever it receives to the same similitude.' *Pan* [*πᾶν*] in Greek is called 'all' in Latin, and *ther* [*θηρα*] 'beast'. Likewise Isidore concerning spices: 'Spices,' he says, 'are whatever things of fragrant scent India or Arabia sends, or any other region.' Moreover, they seem to have taken the name 'spices' [*aromata*], either because being placed on altars [*aris*] they seem fitting for divine invocations, or because they are proved to insert and mix themselves with the air [*aeri*]. For what is scent except air drawn into the nostrils after it has been imbued by an odoriferous thing?.

Concerning the tiger. The tiger is named for the swiftness of its flight; for thus the Persians and Medes name the arrow. Moreover, it is a beast distinguished by varied spots, of wondrous courage and swiftness, from whose name the river Tigris is called, because it is the swiftest of all rivers. Hyrcania produces these in greater numbers. The tiger, indeed, when it finds the den empty of its stolen offspring, immediately presses upon the tracks of the thief, and he, although riding a swift horse, seeing nevertheless that he can be outstripped by the swiftness of the wild beast, and that no aid of escape can be available to him, appeases the tiger with a trick of this kind: when he sees it drawing near, he casts forth a sphere of glass, that is, a round mirror; but she is mocked by her image, and thinks it is her offspring, and recalls her charge, desiring to gather her cub. Again, the empty image being uncovered, she pours herself forth with all her strength to catch the horseman, and spurred by anger threatens the one fleeing swiftly. And again he delays the approaching one by the throwing of a sphere, and yet the memory of the fraud does not shut out the zeal of the mother. She turns over the hollow image, and settles down as if to nurse her cub. And thus deceived by the zeal of her devotion, she loses both her revenge and her offspring.

Concerning the pard, and the *leopardus*. The pard is a variegated and exceedingly swift kind of wild beast, and headlong for blood. For it rushes to the kill with a leap. The *leopardus* is born from the adultery of the lioness and the pard, and yields a third origin, just as Pliny states in the *Naturalis historia* that the lion mates with the female pard, or the pard with the lioness, and from both couplings bastard offspring are created, of the kind generated from diverse species such as the mule and the hinny.

Concerning the lynx. The lynx is so named because it is numbered among the wolf species, a beast with its back distinguished by spots like the pard, but similar to the wolf. Its urine, they say, is converted into the hardness of a precious stone, which is called *ligurius* or *lycurius* as it is called by Pliny and Solinus; and that the lynxes themselves perceive this is proved in this manner, for they cover the emitted liquid with sand as much as they can, out of a certain natural jealousy, lest such an emission should pass into human use. Lynxes, Pliny states, do not admit a second offspring beyond one.

Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, R 174 (Thomas of Cantimpré, *Liber de natura rerum*, c. 1450-1500)

Original Text

De chama. Chama bestia est ut scribit Plinius quam ut idem dicit Galli rufium dicunt. Hoc animal effigiem habet lupi, respersumque est per totum pardorum maculis. In Ethiopia harum bestiarum copia est, licet peregrinis terris ad hominibus insecte sint. Hanc bestiam magnus Pompeius Romanis ludis primum intulic.

Sequitur de leopardo. Leopardus, ut Solinus dicit, animal est generatum ex leone et pardo. Horum femine sunt audaciores et fortiores maribus. Plinius. Aliquis volens resistere leopardo furenti fricet allium inter manus ; nec mora leopardus *resiliec* [resiliet] nec resistec, quia odorem allii sustinere non potest. Ambrosius. Leopardus egritudine interna detentus capre silvestris sa[n]guinem bibit et vim languoris evitat. Leopardus subrufum colorem habet, maculas per totum nigras multo minores quam leones. Leopardus quando comed[er]it venenosum aliquid, querit stercus hominis, quod comed[er]it et sanatur. Credunt aliqui eandem esse bestiam leopardum et pardum sed diversa nomina. Ambrosius. Hee bestie crudelissime sunt naturaliter. Unde dicitur. Si mutare potest Ethyops pellem suam, et pardus varietatem suam, id mutabilitatem animi. Domesticantur aliquando, sed nunquam sic, ut sue crudelitatis obliviscantur ; domesticantur tamen ad venandum. Igitur cum in venacione ducuntur, relaxantur ad predam. Quam si quarto aut quinto saltu capere non potest, subsistit iratus ferociter et nisi statim venator bestiam furenti offerat, cujus sa[n]guine placetur, irruit in venatorem vel quoscumque obvios, quia *inpossibile* est placari eum nisi in sa[n]guine. Sed in hoc providi sunt illi, qui venari volunt hiis

bestiis quod semper penes se agnos vel alia animalia habent, quibus placant iratos.

De lince. Linx, ut dicunt Plinius [et] Jacobus, et lapidarius, bestia est que ita perspicaces habet oculos, quod solida *corpa* [corpora] subtilitate visus penetrare dicatur. Questio autem non modica est quomodo hoc possit. Constat secundum Philosophum quod oculus situs est in humido. Tria autem in aqua sunt : aquea humiditas, dyafanitas, et perspicacias lucis. Et hanc ultimam communicat cum natura celesti, et hec ultima depuracione a materia in natura lucis. Et quia lux est ultima perspicacitas in *corpe* [corpore] terminato, ideo si ponatur aquea substantia in ultima sua depuracione quantum ad perspicacitatem in oculo lincis, poterit penetrare corpus solidum et obscurum. Hoc quoque in natura ejus mirabile reperitur, quod quicquid viderit, statim cum oculos avertit, obliviscitur. Ut Plinius dicit nisi tantum unum fetum facit. Linx linguam habet serpentum similem licet majorem, quam in magnam longitudinem porrigit. Collum circumagit, unguesque grandes habet. Qui autem hujus animalis naturam plenius cognoverunt, ejus urinam in duriciam preciosi calculi coire dixerunt. Hic lapis ligurius appellatur. Sed invidia quadam naturali liquorem emissum harenis in quantum possunt abscondunt, ne talis egestio in nostros usus transiant. [Hic lapis dolores renum placat et medetur morbo regio].

De pardis sequitur. Pardi, ut dicit Jacobus, bestie sunt secundum genus a pantheris, que notate sunt varietate macularum. Horum adulterinis coitibus generatur leenarum et leones quidem ab eis procreantur, sed ignobiles. Solinus : In Affrica propter inopiam aque diverse fere congregantur ad amnes, ubi leene miscent se variis bestiis vel vi vel voluptate, et inde pardi procreari dicuntur, ut dicit *Experimentator*. Pardus saltu pocius quam cursu insequitur predam et est valde preceps ad sanguinem. Accidit ergo multociens ut vehementi

saltu ruat ad mortem. Ut dicit Magnus Basilius, torvus est pardus et acutus nimis in impetu convenienscque animi sui motibus habet corpus, id varium in colore. In eadem Affrica pardi sunt qui condense arboris occultati ramis in pretereuncia dissiliunt, atque ut Plinius dicit, de volucrum cede grassantur. Hii signant hereticos, qui per presumpcionis fastum, doctrinis variis et peregrinis fallaciter abducuntur, et adulterinis erroribus maculati, in occulto ecclesiastice fidei detrahunt, et de ejus filiis venenata peste grassantur, et hoc de illis frequencius qui Cherubin, id est plenitudinis scientie, pennis in sublimibus elevati super se curiosius extolluntur.

De panthera sequitur. Panthera, ut dicit Solinus, est animal colore varium, speciosum nimis, minutis orbiculis superpictum, ita ut oculis ex fulvo circulis reluceat et in ceruleum, vel album varietas distinguatur. Est autem hoc animal admodum mansuetum, inimicum solum habet draconem. Dum comederit saciatumque fuerit diversis cibis, recondit se ut *Phisilogus* [*Phisiologus*] dicit, in spelunca sua, et dormit. Inde post triduum exurgens sompno, rugitum emittit ; cetere vero bestie cum vocem ejus audierint congregantur, et sequuntur ejus suavitatem, que egreditur de ore ipsius, sed capitis sui torvitate terrentur. Quam ob rem occultato eo reliqua dulcedine corripit imitatos. Sunt qui tradunt in armo hiis similem lune maculam esse, et crescere interdum rotundam, et ad lune mutacionem variari. Solus draco cum ejus vocem audierit, timore contrahitur et fulcit se in cavernis terre. Hec bestia, ut Ysidorus dicit, nisi semel parit. Nam fetus debiti temporis horam non expectantes, matricem unguibus laniant ; unde matrem seminecem reddunt inutilem. Nam, ut Plinius dicit, animalia cum acutis unguibus frequenter non possunt parere ; viciantur intrinsecus enim se moventibus catulis. Panthera pernicitate nimia ferox occidit zubronem qui est maximus ac fortissimus. Insiliens enim dorso ejus discerpit eum unguibus, et ejus carnibus saciatur.

De tigridibus. Tygrides, ut dicit Solinus, sunt notate maculis, fulvo nitent velut interundante varietate nigra. Incredibilis ferocitatis sunt. Tanta velocitate vigent, ut volare putentur, nilque tam longum, quod non in brevi penetrent, vel adeo antecedit, quod non ilico consequantur. Et hoc maxime probatur, cum catulis eorum raptores insistunt : nisi in presidio maria fuerint, frustra est hominis movere ausum, ut illarum catulos rapiat. Sed decipiuntur hoc modo, sicut dicit Plinius : Quippe cum raptor vacuum catulis cubile reppererit, raptorem in momento consequitur. Mox appropinquante matre raptor unum e catulis abicit, suo solo solata mater defert ad solita ; revertensque acrior est cum iterum raptori insistit, recipit quoque alterum vel aliquando tercium, si non interim raptor navim attingat et irritata feritas seviat in littore. Aliud beatus Ambrosius refert : Tollunt raptores pilas vitreas, in quibus depicte sunt species catulorum, [sublatisque catulis, cum ingruere sibi post tergum tigrides catulorum] parentes viderint, picturas jactant. Tigrides vero rotatu species vivere estimantes sistunt. Tandem vero tygrides pedibus species vitreas constringendo frangentes nichil reperiunt. Delusam ergo se videns, totis se ad conprehendendum viribus fundit, et iracundie stimulo velocior *in minet* [imminet] fugienti. Iterum ille speciei objectu sequentem retardat, nec tamen sedulitatem matris memoria fraudis excludit : cassam versat ymaginem, et quasi lactatura fetus residet. Sic pietatis studio decepta, et vindictam amittit et prolem. Ab hujus animalis nomine fluvius tygris dicitur, eo quod rapidissimo cursu a monte Caucaso omnium moncium altissimo prorumpit. Hiis bestiis Hyrcanorum regio maxime habundat. Tigris animam *singnat* [signat] secundum quod consuevit, vel ad malum, vel ad bonum velox esse, secundum quod dicitur : In manibus tuis vita et mors : quodcumque vis elige, fetus hujus sunt opera bona. Insidiator dyabolus. Jactus pile representacio vanitatis. Decepcioni intenta anima perdit bona opera.

Ac sic astucia dyaboli deridetur. Accidit aliquando, ut insidiator unum matri catulum reddat, ut sic a ceteris desistat. Sed attende simplex anima ; qui offenderit in uno, factus est omnium reus. Sic qui unam virtutem perdit, perdit omnes, quia qui unam habet, habet omnes.

Translation

Concerning the *chama.* The *chama* is a beast, as Pliny writes, which as the same says the Gauls call the *rufius* [lynx]. This animal has the figure of a wolf, and is sprinkled all over with spots of pards. In Ethiopia there is an abundance of these beasts, although in foreign lands they are pursued by men. Pompey the Great first introduced this beast to the Roman games.

It follows concerning the *leopardus.* The *leopardus*, as Solinus says, is an animal generated from the lion and the pard. The females of these are bolder and stronger than the males. Pliny. Anyone wishing to resist a raging *leopardus* should rub garlic between his hands; without delay the *leopardus* will leap back and will not resist, because it cannot bear the scent of garlic. Ambrose. The *leopardus*, when held by internal sickness, drinks the blood of the wild she-goat and escapes the force of the illness. The *leopardus* has a reddish colour, black spots all over much smaller than lions. When the *leopardus* eats something poisonous, it seeks human excrement, which it eats and is healed. Some believe the *leopardus* and the pard to be the same beast but with diverse names. Ambrose. These beasts are naturally most cruel. Whence it is said: 'If the Ethiopian can change his skin, and the pard his variety', that is the mutability of the mind. They are sometimes tamed, but never so that they forget their cruelty; yet they are tamed for hunting. Therefore when they are led in the hunt, they are released for the prey. If it cannot catch it in the fourth or fifth leap, it stops, fiercely angered, and unless the hunter immediately offers a beast to the raging one, with whose blood it may be appeased, it rushes upon the hunter or whomever it meets, because it is impossible for it to be appeased except in blood. But in this those who wish to hunt with these beasts are

provident, in that they always have lambs or other animals with them, with which they appease them when angered.

Concerning the lynx. The lynx, as Pliny [and] James and the lapidary say, is a beast which has such piercing eyes that by the subtlety of its sight it is said to penetrate solid bodies. Moreover, it is no small question how this can be. It is established according to the Philosopher that the eye is situated in moisture. But there are three things in water: aqueous humidity, diaphaneity, and perspicuity of light. And it shares this last with the celestial nature, and this in its ultimate depuration from matter in the nature of light. And because light is the ultimate perspicuity in a bounded body, therefore if the aqueous substance is placed in its ultimate depuration as regards perspicuity in the eye of the lynx, it will be able to penetrate a solid and obscure body. This also is found wondrous in its nature, that whatever it sees, as soon as it turns its eyes away, it forgets. As Pliny says, it produces only one offspring. The lynx has a tongue similar to that of serpents, although larger, which it extends to a great length. It turns its neck around, and has large claws. Moreover, those who have known the nature of this animal more fully have said that its urine congeals into the hardness of a precious stone. This stone is called *ligurius*. But out of a certain natural jealousy they hide the emitted liquid in the sand as much as they can, lest such an emission should pass into our use. [This stone appeases pains of the kidneys and cures jaundice)].

It follows concerning pards. Pards, as James [of Vitry] says, are beasts second in kind after panthers, which are marked with a variety of spots. By their adulterous couplings with lionesses lions indeed are procreated from them, but ignoble ones. Solinus: In Africa because of the scarcity of water diverse wild beasts gather at the rivers, where lionesses mix with varied beasts either by force or by pleasure, and from thence pards are said to be procreated, as the *Experimentator*

says. The pard pursues its prey by leaping rather than by running and is exceedingly headlong for blood. Therefore it often happens that it rushes headlong to death by a violent leap. As Basil the Great says, the pard is grim and exceedingly sharp in its attack and has a body fitting the motions of its soul, that is varied in colour. In the same Africa there are pards which, hidden by the branches of a dense tree, leap down upon passers-by, and as Pliny says, act aggressively with the slaughter of birds. These signify heretics, who through the pride of presumption are deceitfully led away by varied and foreign doctrines, and polluted by adulterous errors, in secret detract from the ecclesiastical faith, and act aggressively with poisonous pestilence upon its children, and this most frequently concerning those who, elevated on high upon the wings of Cherubim—that is, the fullness of knowledge—exalt themselves with excessive curiosity.

It follows concerning the panther. The panther, as Solinus says, is an animal varied in colour, exceedingly beautiful, painted over with minute orbs, so that it shines with ocelli upon a tawny ground and its variety is distinguished into blue or white. Moreover this animal is exceedingly gentle, it has only the dragon as an enemy. When it has eaten and been satiated with diverse foods, it hides itself, as the *Physiologus* says, in its cave, and sleeps. Then rising from sleep after three days, it emits a roar; but the other beasts when they have heard its voice gather together and follow its sweetness, which goes forth from its mouth, but are terrified by the grimness of its head. For which reason, with its head hidden, it seizes those drawn by the rest of its sweetness. There are those who report that there is a spot on the shoulder of these similar to the moon, and that it sometimes grows round and varies according to the mutation of the moon. Only the dragon when it has heard its voice is contracted by fear and buries itself in the caverns of the earth. This beast, as Isidore says, gives birth only

once. For the cubs, not awaiting the hour of the due time, tear the womb with their claws; whence they render the mother half-dead [and] useless. For, as Pliny says, animals with sharp claws cannot give birth frequently; for they are injured inwardly by the cubs moving about. The panther, fierce with excessive swiftness, kills the *zubron*, which is greatest and strongest. For leaping upon its back it tears it apart with its claws, and is satiated with its flesh.

Concerning tigers. Tigers, as Solinus says, are marked with spots, shining with tawny colour as if with inter-waving black variety. They are of incredible fierceness. They thrive with such swiftness that they are thought to fly, and nothing is so long that they do not penetrate it in a short time, or precedes them so far that they do not immediately catch up to it. And this is most proved when thieves press upon their cubs: unless they are in the protection of the sea, it is in vain for a man to attempt the daring deed to steal their cubs. But they are deceived in this manner, as Pliny says: for when the thief finds the den empty of cubs, she pursues the thief in a moment. Soon, as the mother approaches, the thief throws away one of the cubs; the mother, comforted by her own alone, carries it to her usual place; and returning she is fiercer when she again presses upon the thief, and receives also a second or sometimes a third, if the thief does not meanwhile reach a ship and her irritated fierceness rages on the shore. Blessed Ambrose reports another thing: thieves take glass balls in which images of cubs are depicted, [and having taken the cubs, when they see the parent tigers of the cubs pressing upon them from behind], they throw down the pictures. Tigers indeed, estimating the images to be alive by their rolling, stop. At length, however, the tigers breaking the glass images by grasping them with their feet find nothing. Seeing herself therefore mocked, she pours herself forth with all her strength to catch the horseman, and spurred by anger, swifter, threatens the one fleeing. He

again delays the pursuing one by the throwing of an image, and yet the memory of the fraud does not shut out the zeal of the mother: she turns over the hollow image, and settles down as if to nurse her cubs. Thus deceived by the zeal of her devotion, she loses both her revenge and her offspring. From the name of this animal the river Tigris is named, because it bursts forth with a most rapid course from Mount Caucasus, the highest of all mountains. The region of the Hyrcanians abounds most in these beasts. The tiger signifies the soul according as it is accustomed to be swift either to evil or to good, according to what is said: 'In thy hands are life and death: choose whichever thou wilt'; the cubs of this are good works. The ambusher is the devil. The throwing of the ball is the representation of vanity. The soul intent upon deception loses good works. And thus the cunning of the devil is mocked. It happens sometimes that the ambusher returns one cub to the mother, so that she may thus desist from the rest. But attend, simple soul; he who offends in one point is made guilty of all. Thus he who loses one virtue loses all, because he who has one has all.

Iconographic Corpus

Panther



Fig. 1. *Physiologus* (C). Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 318, fol. 15r, c. 830



Fig. 2. *First Family Bestiary (B-Is).* London, British Library, Stowe MS 1067, fol. 4r, c. 1120-1140



Fig. 3. *Seconde Family Bestiary*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.4.26, fol. 4v, c. 1200-1210



Fig. 4. Philippe de Thaon, *Bestiaire*. Oxford, Merton College MS 249, fol. 3r, c. 1200-1250



Fig. 5. Guillaume le Clerc, *Bestiaire divin*. Paris, BNF, Français 14969, fol. 38r, c. 1265-1270



Fig. 6. Pierre de Beauvais, *Bestiaire*. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS-3516, fol. 207r, end of thirteenth century (1267-1268?)



Fig. 7. *Third Family* Bestiary (*De natura animalium*). Douai, B.M., MS 711, fol. 2v, c. 1270-1275



Fig. 8. *Transitional Bestiary*. Cambridge, Trinity College Library, R.14.9, fol. 92r, c. 1275-1300



Fig. 9. *First Family Bestiary (H)*. Chalon-sur-Saône, B.M., MS 14, fol. 88v, c. 1280



Fig. 10. Thomas of Cantimpré, *Liber de natura rerum*. Valenciennes, B.M., MS 320, fol. 76r, c. 1290



Fig. 11. Gervaise, *Bestiaire*. London, British Library, Additional MS 28260, fol. 87r, c. 1250-1300



Fig. 12. Richard de Fournival, *Bestiaire d'Amour*. Paris, BNF, MS Français 12469, fol. 9v, c. 1300



Fig. 13. Cecco d'Ascoli, *Acerba*. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut..40.52, fol. 50v, c. 1350-1375



Fig. 14. Thomas of Cantimpré, *Liber de natura rerum*. Granada, Biblioteca Universitaria, C-67, fol. 26r, c. 1440-1445



Fig. 15. *Tuscan Bestiary*. London, Wellcome Collection, MS 132, fol. 10r, c. 1450



Fig. 16. Thomas of Cantimpré, *Liber de natura rerum*. Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, R 174, fol. 77v, c. 1450-1500

Tiger



Fig.17. *Second Family Bestiary*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.4.26, fol. 3v, c. 1200-1210



Fig. 18. Pierre de Beauvais, *Bestiaire*. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS-3516, fol. 200r, end of thirteenth century (1267-1268?)

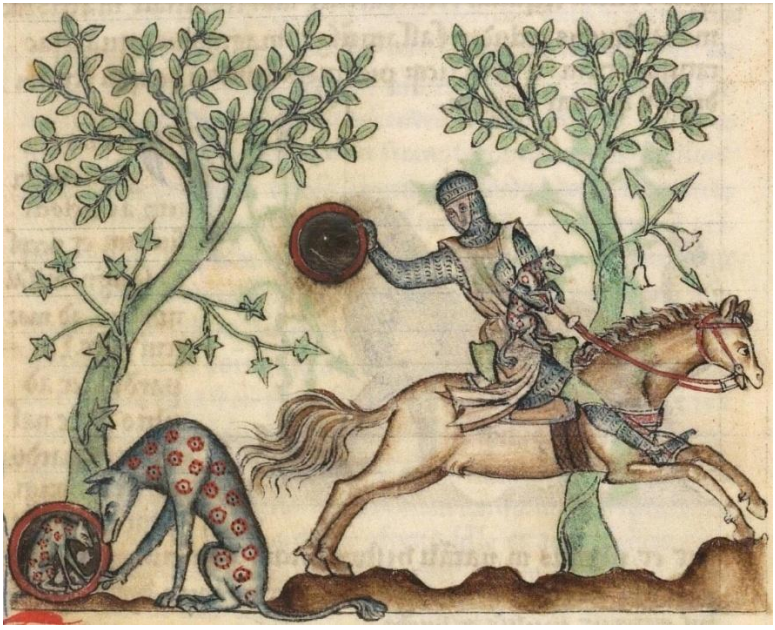

Fig. 19. *Third Family Bestiary (De natura animalium)*. Douai, B.M., MS 711, fol. 2r, c. 1270-1275



Fig. 20. *Transitional Bestiary*. Cambridge, Trinity College Library, R.14.9, fol. 96r, c. 1275-1300



Fig. 21. Richard de Fournival, *Bestiaire d'Amour*. Paris, BNF, MS. Français 12469, fol. 9r, c. 1300



Fig. 22. Cecco d'Ascoli, *Acerba*. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut..40.52, fol. 51r, c. 1350-1375



Fig. 23. Thomas of Cantimpré, *Liber de natura rerum*. Granada, Biblioteca Universitaria, C-67, fol. 28r, c. 1440-1445



Fig. 24. Thomas of Cantimpré, *Liber de natura rerum*. Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, R 174, fol. 77v, c. 1450-1500

Lynx



Fig. 25. *Second Family Bestiary*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.4.26, fol. 6r, c. 1200-1210



Fig. 26. Second Family Bestiary. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 764, fol. 11r, c. 1225-1250



Fig. 27. *Third Family Bestiary (De natura animalium)*. Douai, B.M., MS 711, fol. 2r, c. 1270-1275



Fig. 28. *Transitional Bestiary*. Cambridge, Trinity College Library, R.14.9, fol. 96r, c. 1275-1300



Fig. 29. Thomas of Cantimpré, *Liber de natura rerum*. Valenciennes, B.M., MS 320, fol. 67v, c. 1290



Fig. 30. Thomas of Cantimpré, *Liber de natura rerum*. Granada, Biblioteca Universitaria, C-67, fol. 19v, c. 1440-1445



Fig. 31. Thomas of Cantimpré, *Liber de natura rerum*. Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, R 174, fol. 68v, c. 1450-1500

Pard



Fig. 32. *Second Family Bestiary*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.4.26, fol. 4r, c. 1200-1210



Fig. 33. *Third Family Bestiary (De natura animalium)*. Douai, B.M., MS 711, fol. 2v, c. 1270-1275



Fig. 34. *Transitional Bestiary*. Cambridge, Trinity College Library, R.14.9, fol. 96r, c. 1275-1300



Fig. 35. Thomas of Cantimpré, *Liber de natura rerum*. Valenciennes, B.M., MS 320, fol. 67v, c. 1290



Fig. 36. *The Peterborough Psalter and Bestiary*. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Parker Library, MS 53, fol. 189v, c. 1304-1321



Fig. 37. Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *Elucidari de las proprietaz de totas res naturals* (translation of the *De proprietatibus rerum* in provençal dialect). Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 1029, fol. 256r, c. 1350



Fig. 38. Thomas of Cantimpré, *Liber de natura rerum*. Granada, Biblioteca Universitaria, C-67, fol. 26r, c. 1440-1445



Fig. 39. Thomas of Cantimpré, *Liber de natura rerum*. Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, R 174, fol. 68v, c. 1450-1500

Leopardus



Fig. 40. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*. London, British Library, Additional MS 15603, fol. 113v, c. 850-900



Fig. 41. Thomas of Cantimpré, *Liber de natura rerum*. Valenciennes, B.M., MS 320, fol. 67r, c. 1290



Fig. 42. Cecco d'Ascoli, *Acerba*. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut.40.52, fol. 50r, c. 1350-1375



Fig. 43. Thomas of Cantimpré, *Liber de natura rerum*. Granada, Biblioteca Universitaria, C-67, fol. 19r, c. 1440-1445



Fig. 44 *Tuscan Bestiary*. London, Wellcome Collection, MS 132, fol. 26v, c. 1450



Fig. 45. Thomas of Cantimpré, *Liber de natura rerum*. Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, R 174, fol. 67v, c. 1450-1500

Chama



Fig. 46. Thomas of Cantimpré, *Liber de natura rerum*. Valenciennes, B.M., MS 320, fol. 55r, c. 1290



Fig. 47. Thomas of Cantimpré, *Liber de natura rerum*. Granada, Biblioteca Universitaria, C-67, fol. 9v, c. 1440-1445



Fig. 48. Thomas of Cantimpré, *Liber de natura rerum*. Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, R 174, fol. 54v, c. 1450-1500

Lion



Fig. 49. Lambert de Saint-Omer, *Liber Floridus*. Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 92, fol. 56v, 1121

TEXTS

PASTOUREAU, M. (2014) : « UNI, RAYÉ, SEMÉ, TACHETÉ », IN : *L'ÉTOFFE DU DIABLE: UNE HISTOIRE DES RAYURES ET DES TISSUS RAYÉS*, POINTS H386, PARIS, 23-26

The eye of the men of the Middle Ages is particularly attentive to the materiality and the structure of surfaces. This structure notably serves them to locate places and objects, to distinguish zones and planes, to establish rhythms and sequences, to associate, to oppose, to distribute, to classify, to hierarchise. Whether it concerns walls and floors, fabrics and clothing, instruments of daily life, the leaves of trees, the coats of animals or the human body itself, every surface, whether it is natural or manufactured, is always the support of classificatory signs. Texts and images give us innumerable examples of this. Their study leads to grouping surface structures into three great categories of signs: the plain, the *semé*, and the striped, the latter two being able to express themselves through numerous variants (the chequerboard, for example, is for medieval sensibility only a superlative form of the striped). Let us look for a moment at these three structures and the way in which they take their place in images and on objects.

The truly plain is rare and all the more remarkable. On the one hand, on a good number of materials, medieval techniques hardly allow for perfectly plain, smooth, clean, monochrome surfaces (this is the case with fabrics, for example). On the other, artists and craftsmen hesitate to leave excessively large expanses empty and often yield to the temptation to fill them or to 'dress' them with weaves, hatchings, diapering, and thus to play with the resulting contrasts of texture, density, luminosity or matter. In painted images, fully and uniformly

plain surfaces are far from being in the majority; rather, they constitute an exception and respond to precise intentions, linked to the enhancement of this or that element of the image. The plain, indeed, when it is employed alone, is relatively neutral. But, when it is opposed to the striped, the spotted, the compartmentalised, indeed to any woven or worked surface, it always expresses an enhancement, positive or negative.

The *semé*, on the contrary, is always taken in good part; it is a densified and enhanced plain. It consists of a monochrome surface upon which are placed at regular intervals small figures, either geometrical or borrowed from the heraldic repertoire: dots, bezants, stars, annulets, crosslets, trefoils, fleurs-de-lis. Most often, the figures thus disposed are of a lighter colour than that of the surface which serves as their background. The *semé* almost always expresses something solemn, majestic, indeed sacred. Hence its use on certain royal insignia, on coronation mantles, on many liturgical objects and on numerous images where the divine is staged. The Virgin notably maintains privileged relationships with *semé* decorations. As for the arms of the kings of France, *azure semé with fleurs-de-lis or*, which one encounters on their shield and on their banner but also on many other supports, they constitute the most perfect example of the medieval *semé*. It is at once a sign of power, a cosmic decoration, a Marian attribute, a symbol of sovereignty and of fecundity. Iconographically, every *semé* represents moreover a static and frontal image, anchored on its support, facing the spectator. It is not narrated; it is not described; it is there.

The spotted is an irregular *semé*. Not only are the small figures disposed in a disorderly manner but they themselves have an irregular form: no longer stars, bezants, crosslets, but misshapen motifs or simple spots. In doing so, they translate an

idea of disorder, of confusion, of transgression. Visually, the border differentiating the *semé* from the spotted is not always clear; but, symbolically, they are two worlds situated at opposite ends from one another. On one side the sacred, on the other the diabolical. On the body of men and animals, the spotted serves indeed to translate the idea of hairiness, impurity or disease. That which is spotted often has to do with the pustular, with the scrofulous, with the bubonic. In a society where skin diseases are at once the most serious, the most frequent and the most dreaded – let us think here of the fate reserved for 'lepers' –, the spotted represents degradation, banishment from the social order, the antechamber of death and of hell. In fact, in images, demons and satanic creatures are often spotted.

These creatures can also be striped, which in a certain way is less grave but more ambiguous. The striped, indeed, is the opposite of both the plain and the spotted, to which it is often opposed. But it is also something else: a rhythmic, dynamic, narrative surface, which indicates an action, the passage from one state into another. Lucifer and the rebel angels frequently have, in thirteenth-century miniatures, a body covered in horizontal stripes, an animated sign of their degradation. These stripes are also an accent: the eye of the spectator cannot fail to be attracted by a striped surface. In any image, the striped element is the one that is seen first. Flemish painting of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries sometimes uses a process which consists in placing, in a place either central or focal of the painting or panel, a character in striped clothes, upon which the gaze of the spectator catches as soon as contact is made with the work. Sometimes, this striped character functions as a true *trompe-l'œil*. Memling, Bosch, Bruegel and a few others are particularly skilled at thus highlighting not one of the principal actors of the scene or the story, but a third-

rate extra whose only role is to momentarily divert our gaze from a more essential area of the painting which demands to be unveiled slowly. In his famous *Carrying of the Cross* (1563), for example, a painting of very large dimensions comprising more than five hundred figures, Bruegel placed almost at the centre of the composition an anonymous and perfectly harmless peasant, walking with a hurried step, covered with a cap and dressed in a robe with white and red oblique stripes. Because these stripes form a strong visual contrast with what surrounds them, it is first towards this peasant that the eye of the spectator is directed, and not towards the foreground of the painting where John and the holy women attempt to support the weeping Virgin, and even less towards the background of the scene where Christ, fallen under the weight of his cross, is lost, as if forgotten in the midst of an indifferent crowd.

It is permissible to question this 'visual priority' of the striped in relation to other surface structures. That which is striped is seen before that which is plain, before that which is *semé* and even before that which is spotted. Is this a perceptual phenomenon specific to Western man? Or is it something common to all cultures, indeed to man and to certain animals? In such a phenomenon, does a border exist between the biological and the cultural and, if so, where is it situated? I shall attempt to answer these difficult questions at the end of this book.

What can already be insisted upon is the link which in the Middle Ages unites the stripe and the idea of diversity, of *varietas*, as medieval Latin says. Striped (*virgulatus*, *lineatus*, *fasciatus*, etc.) and varied (*varius*) are sometimes synonymous, and this synonymy immediately draws the stripe towards the pejorative. For medieval culture, indeed, that which is *varius* always expresses something impure, aggressive, immoral or deceitful. A man qualified as *varius* is

either a cunning or lying being, or a cruel individual, or a sick person, especially when it concerns a mental illness or a skin disease. Moreover, the very substantive of *varietas* serves to designate all at once deceit, wickedness and leprosy. And, quite naturally in images, as we have seen, felonious characters (Cain, Judas), cruel ones (the executioner), those struck by 'madness' (the court jester, the fool of the book of Psalms), or the infirm (lepers, cagots), are frequently endowed with striped clothing. The gap is great here between our contemporary sensibility – which rather makes 'variety' a positive value, connoting youth, gaiety, tolerance, curiosity of mind – and the sensibility of the men of the Middle Ages, who invest mostly pejorative values into this notion. A good Christian, an honest man, cannot be *varius*. *Varietas* has to do with sin and hell.

This is equally true of animals. Those whose coat is either striped (*tigridus*) or spotted (*maculosus*) are creatures which must be dreaded. They can be cruel and bloodthirsty like the tiger, the hyena and the leopard – the medieval leopard, which has but little relation to the true feline of the same name, always symbolically represents a bad lion –, thieving like the trout or the magpie, cunning like the serpent or the wasp, diabolical like the cat or the dragon. Even the zebra, upon which Renaissance zoologists love to discourse, passes at the end of the Middle Ages for a dangerous animal. Certainly, authors have never seen it and know it very poorly (they take it for a sort of ass or onager); but, because they know it to be striped, they make it a cruel and diabolical creature and include it in the bestiary of Satan. We shall see further on how this misunderstood animal will be revalued in the Age of Enlightenment.

Moreover, without calling upon the exotic bestiary, all horses whose coat is not uniformly monochrome are mounts which devalue those who ride them. In literary texts, and notably in chivalric romances, a *topos* often opposes the hero, mounted on a white horse, and the traitor, the bastard or the foreigner, mounted on a horse of *deus colours*: *vairé* (variegated), dapple, tiger-spotted, bay, piebald, roan, etc. A similar system of values, although situated in a completely different context, is found in the *Roman de Renart*. Animals with a striped coat (Grimbert the badger) or a spotted one (Tibert the cat) range themselves on the side of animals with a russet coat (Renart the fox, Rousseau the squirrel) and constitute the clan of liars, thieves, the lecherous or the greedy. For animal society as for that of men, to be russet, striped or spotted is roughly equivalent.

This mistrust, this very fear of spotted or striped animals has left long-lasting traces in the Western imaginary. Even in the eighteenth century, the famous beast of Gévaudan, which, in 1764-1767, sowed terror on the borders of Auvergne and Vivarais, is described by all those who saw it, or believed they saw it, as a gigantic wolf having a back zebra-striped with broad stripes. A diabolical creature, this 'beast' of Gévaudan could not fail to be striped. Following it, each of the other 'beasts of Gévaudan' which, for several decades, sometimes right up to the middle of the nineteenth century, troubled the minds and the countryside of most provinces of France, was equally seen as striped. Let us observe moreover that even today the tiger, which is only seen at the zoological garden and whose coat we admire, remains in our contemporary mythology the very symbol of fascinating cruelty.

From a semiological point of view, this assimilation which medieval culture operates between that which is striped and that which is spotted invites reflection upon the very notion of surface

structure. For us, a structure only begins from a ternary distribution. For the man of the Middle Ages, on the contrary, that which is binary differs in no way from that which is ternary, quaternary, decanary, etc. On one side, there is the plain – Old French and the language of heraldry say the *plain* –, on the other, there is everything which is not the plain: the spotted, the striped, the compartmentalised, all structures which end up expressing the same values. This equivalence is found in the domain of colours, where the notions of bichromy and polychromy, they too, are hardly different. The prostitute, whose dress is striped red and yellow, and the juggler or the jester – the future Harlequin –, whose costume is made of checks or lozenges of three, ten, twenty, a hundred different colours, all three carry upon their clothing the same idea of trouble, of disorder, of noise and of impurity. Two colours are worth ten colours; two stripes are worth ten checks or a hundred lozenges. Striped, spotted, varied, motley differ perhaps visually – notably by posing the problem of planes, as we are going to see in connection with heraldry –, but not conceptually nor socially. They translate only the diverse degrees of a single state: that of transgression.

THE HOLY BIBLE (1899), 'DANIEL 4, IN: *THE HOLY BIBLE: TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN VULGATE (DOUAY-RHEIMS)*, JOHN MURPHY, BALTIMORE

1 I, Nabuchodonosor, was at rest in my house, and flourishing in my palace: **2** I saw a dream that affrighted me: and my thoughts in my bed, and the visions of my head troubled me. **3** Then I set forth a decree, that all the wise men of Babylon should be brought in before me, and that they should shew me the interpretation of the dream. **4** Then came in the diviners, the wise men, the Chaldeans, and the soothsayers, and I told the dream before them: but they did not shew me the interpretation thereof: **5** Till their colleague Daniel came in before me, whose name is Baltassar, according to the name of my god, who hath in him the spirit of the holy gods: and I told the dream before him. **6** Baltassar, prince of the diviners, because I know that thou hast in thee the spirit of the holy gods, and that no secret is impossible to thee: tell me the visions of my dreams that I have seen, and the interpretation of them. **7** This was the vision of my head in my bed: I saw, and behold a tree in the midst of the earth, and the height thereof was exceeding great. **8** The tree was great, and strong: and the height thereof reached unto heaven: the sight thereof was even to the ends of all the earth. **9** Its leaves were most beautiful, and its fruit exceeding much: and in it was food for all: under it dwelt cattle, and beasts, and in the branches thereof the fowls of the air had their abode: and all flesh did eat of it. **10** I saw in the vision of my head upon my bed, and behold a watcher, and a holy one came down from heaven. **11** He cried aloud, and said thus: Cut down the tree, and chop off the branches thereof: shake off its leaves, and scatter its fruits: let the beasts fly away that are under it, and the birds from its branches. **12** Nevertheless leave the stump of its

roots in the earth, and let it be tied with a band of iron, and of brass, among the grass, that is without, and let it be wet with the dew of heaven, and let its portion be with the wild beasts in the grass of the earth. **13** Let his heart be changed from man's, and let a beast's heart be given him; and let seven times pass over him. **14** This is the decree by the sentence of the watchers, and the word and demand of the holy ones; till the living know that the most High ruleth in the kingdom of men; and he will give it to whomsoever it shall please him, and he will appoint the basest man over it. **15** I king Nabuchodonosor saw this dream: thou, therefore, O Baltassar, tell me quickly the interpretation: for all the wise men of my kingdom are not able to declare the meaning of it to me: but thou art able, because the spirit of the holy gods is in thee. **16** Then Daniel, whose name was Baltassar, began silently to think within himself for about one hour: and his thoughts troubled him. But the king answering, said: Baltassar, let not the dream and the interpretation thereof trouble thee. Baltassar answered, and said: My lord, the dream be to them that hate thee, and the interpretation thereof to thy enemies. **17** The tree which thou sawest which was high and strong, whose height reached to the skies, and the sight thereof into all the earth: **18** And the branches thereof were most beautiful, and its fruit exceeding much, and in it was food for all, under which the beasts of the field dwelt, and the birds of the air had their abode in its branches. **19** It is thou, O king, who art grown great and become mighty: for thy greatness hath grown, and hath reached to heaven, and thy power unto the ends of the earth. **20** And whereas the king saw a watcher, and a holy one come down from heaven, and say: Cut down the tree and destroy it, but leave the stump of the roots thereof in the earth, and let it be bound with iron and brass among the grass without, and let it be sprinkled with the dew of heaven, and let his feeding be with the wild beasts, till seven times pass over him. **21** This is the

interpretation of the sentence of the most High, which is come upon my lord the king. **22** They shall cast thee out from among men, and thy dwelling shall be with cattle and with wild beasts, and thou shalt eat grass as an ox, and shalt be wet with the dew of heaven: and seven times shall pass over thee, till thou know that the most High ruleth over the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will. **23** But whereas he commanded, that the stump of the roots thereof, that is, of the tree, should be left: thy kingdom shall remain to thee after thou shalt have known that power is from heaven. **24** Wherefore, O king, let my counsel be acceptable to thee, and redeem thou thy sins with alms, and thy iniquities with works of mercy to the poor: perhaps he will forgive thy offences. **25** All these things came upon king Nabuchodonosor. **26** At the end of twelve months he was walking in the palace of Babylon. **27** And the king answered, and said: Is not this the great Babylon, which I have built to be the seat of the kingdom, by the strength of my power, and in the glory of my excellence? **28** And while the word was yet in the king's mouth, a voice came down from heaven: To thee, O king Nabuchodonosor, it is said: Thy kingdom shall pass from thee, **29** And they shall cast thee out from among men, and thy dwelling shall be with cattle and wild beasts: thou shalt eat grass like an ox, and seven times shall pass over thee, till thou know that the most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will. **30** The same hour the word was fulfilled upon Nabuchodonosor, and he was driven away from among men, and did eat grass like an ox, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven: till his hairs grew like the feathers of eagles, and his nails like birds' claws. **31** Now at the end of the days, I Nabuchodonosor lifted up my eyes to heaven, and my sense was restored to me: and I blessed the most High, and I praised and glorified him that liveth for ever: for his power is an everlasting power, and his kingdom is to all generations. **32** And

all the inhabitants of the earth are reputed as nothing before him: for he doth according to his will, as well with the powers of heaven, as among the inhabitants of the earth: and there is none that can resist his hand, and say to him: Why hast thou done it? **33** At the same time my sense returned to me, and I came to the honour and glory of my kingdom: and my shape returned to me: and my nobles, and my magistrates sought for me, and I was restored to my kingdom: and greater majesty was added to me. **34** Therefore I Nabuchodonosor do now praise, and magnify, and glorify the King of heaven: because all his works are true, and his ways judgments, and them that walk in pride he is able to abase.

THE HOLY BIBLE (1899), 'JOSUE 7', IN: *THE HOLY BIBLE: TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN VULGATE (DOUAY-RHEIMS)*, JOHN MURPHY, BALTIMORE

1 But the children of Israel transgressed the commandment, and took to their own use of the anathema. For Achan the son of Charmi, the son of Zabdi, the son of Zare of the tribe of Juda, took something of the anathema: and the Lord was angry against the children of Israel. **2** And when Josue sent men from Jericho against Hai, which is beside Bethaven, on the east side of the town of Bethel, he said to them: Go up, and view the country: and they fulfilled his command, and viewed Hai. **3** And returning they said to him: Let not all the people go up, but let two or three thousand men go and destroy the city: why should all the people be troubled in vain against enemies that are very few? **4** There went up therefore three thousand fighting men: who immediately turned their backs, **5** And were defeated by the men of the city of Hai, and there fell of them six and thirty men: and the enemies pursued them from the gate as far as Sabarim, and they slew them as they fled by the descent: and the heart of the people was struck with fear, and melted like water. **6** But Josue rent his garments, and fell flat on the ground before the ark of the Lord until the evening, both he and all the ancients of Israel: and they put dust upon their heads. **7** And Josue said: Alas, O Lord God, why wouldst thou bring this people over the river Jordan, to deliver us into the hand of the Amorrhite, and to destroy us? would God, we had stayed beyond the Jordan as we began. **8** My Lord God, what shall I say, seeing Israel turning their backs to their enemies? **9** The Chanaanites, and all the inhabitants of the land will hear of it, and being gathered together will surround us and cut off our name from the earth: and what wilt thou

do to thy great name? **10** And the Lord said to Josue: Arise, why liest thou flat on the ground? **11** Israel hath sinned, and transgressed my covenant: and they have taken of the anathema, and have stolen and lied, and have hidden it among their goods. **12** Neither can Israel stand before his enemies, but he shall flee from them: because he is defiled with the anathema. I will be no more with you, till you destroy him that is guilty of this wickedness. **13** Arise, sanctify the people, and say to them: Be ye sanctified against to morrow: for thus saith the Lord God of Israel: The anathema is in the midst of thee, O Israel: thou canst not stand before thy enemies, till he be destroyed out of thee that is defiled with this wickedness. **14** And you shall come in the morning every one by your tribes: and what tribe soever the lot shall find, it shall come by its kindreds and the kindred by its houses, and the house by the men. **15** And whosoever he be that shall be found guilty of this fact, he shall be burnt with fire with all his substance, because he hath transgressed the covenant of the Lord, and hath done wickedness in Israel. **16** Josue, therefore, when he rose in the morning, made Israel to come by their tribes, and the tribe of Juda was found, **17** Which being brought by its families, it was found to be the family of Zare. Bringing that also by the houses, he found it to be Zabdi. **18** And bringing his house man by man, he found Achan the son of Charmi, the son of Zabdi, the son of Zare of the tribe of Juda. **19** And Josue said to Achan: My son, give glory to the Lord God of Israel, and confess, and tell me what thou hast done, hide it not. **20** And Achan answered Josue, and said to him: Indeed I have sinned against the Lord the God of Israel, and thus and thus have I done. **21** For I saw among the spoils a scarlet garment exceeding good, and two hundred sides of silver, and a golden rule of fifty sides: and I coveted them, and I took them away, and hid them in the ground is the midst of my tent, and the silver I covered with the earth that I dug up. **22** Josue therefore

sent ministers: who running to his tent, found all hidden in the same place, together with the silver. **23** And taking them away out of the tent, they brought them to Josue, and to all the children of Israel, and threw them down before the Lord. **24** Then Josue and all Israel with him took Achan the son of Zare, and the silver and the garments, and the golden rule, his sons also and his daughters, his oxen and asses and sheep, the tent also, and all the goods: and brought them to the valley of Achor: **25** Where Josue said: Because thou hast troubled us, the Lord trouble thee this day. And all Israel stoned him: and all things that were his, were consumed with fire. **26** And they gathered together upon him a great heap of stones, which remaineth until this present day. And the wrath of the Lord was turned away from them. And the name of that place was called the Valley of Achor, until this day.

THE HOLY BIBLE (1899), 'AMOS 6', IN: *THE HOLY BIBLE: TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN VULGATE (DOUAY-RHEIMS)*, JOHN MURPHY, BALTIMORE

1 Woe to you that are wealthy in Sion, and to you that have confidence in the mountain of Samaria: ye great men, heads of the people, that go in with state into the house of Israel. **2** Pass ye over to Chalane, and see, and go from thence into Emath the great: and go down into Geth of the Philistines, and to all the best kingdoms of these: if their border be larger than your border. **3** You that are separated unto the evil day: and that approach to the throne of iniquity; **4** You that sleep upon beds of ivory, and are wanton on your couches: that eat the lambs out of the flock, and the calves out of the midst of the herd; **5** You that sing to the sound of the psaltery: they have thought themselves to have instruments of music like David; **6** That drink wine in bowls, and anoint themselves with the best ointments: and they are not concerned for the affliction of Joseph. **7** Wherefore now they shall go captive at the head of them that go into captivity: and the faction of the luxurious ones shall be taken away. **8** The Lord God hath sworn by his own soul, saith the Lord the God of hosts: I detest the pride of Jacob, and I hate his houses, and I will deliver up the city with the inhabitants thereof. **9** And if there remain ten men in one house, they also shall die. **10** And a man's kinsman shall take him up, and shall burn him, that he may carry the bones out of the house; and he shall say to him that is in the inner rooms of the house: Is there yet any with thee? **11** And he shall answer: There is an end. And he shall say to him: Hold thy peace, and mention not the name of the Lord. **12** For behold the Lord hath commanded, and he will strike the greater house with breaches, and the lesser house with clefts. **13** Can horses run upon the

rocks, or can any one plough with buffles? for you have turned judgment into bitterness, and the fruit of justice into wormwood. **14** You that rejoice in a thing of nought: you that say: Have we not taken unto us horns by our own strength? **15** But behold, I will raise up a nation against you, O house of Israel, saith the Lord the God of hosts; and they shall destroy you from the entrance of Emath, even to the torrent of the desert.