

The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Bulletin
Summer 1986





A MEDIEVAL BESTIARY

by J. L. Schrader



THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

Director's Note

Animals both real and imagined have been prime subjects for art as far back as man first recorded them on the walls of cave dwellings. Not only artists but, later, writers and fabulists, naturalists and storytellers looked upon the animal kingdom as a source of study and instruction, of wonderment and fascination. Animals have been treated as natural phenomena to be objectively observed, but they also have been invested with extra significance as sacred symbols or as models for human behavior: few of us are unfamiliar with Aesop's dog in the manger and fox and grapes, or with La Fontaine's *Fables*.

During the Christian era, the expressive power of animals perhaps reached its height in the Latin bestiaries of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. These books, labored over by the monks who copied them over and over again, combined factual, realistic observations of animal life with legend and served as allegorical texts for teaching clergy and laymen alike. Animals in their amazing diversity yielded illustrations and promulgations of desired behavior as well as warnings against misbehavior or evil.

The collections of The Metropolitan Museum of Art abound in depictions of animals—chiseled in stone, woven into tapestries, painted on glass or wood, hammered in silver, and drawn and painted on the pages of manuscripts. The bestiary on the following pages has been assembled from this rich storehouse by J. L. Schrader, former Curator of The Cloisters, who has also provided the very informative and engaging introduction. Many of the animals are drawn from the art of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the medieval bestiary flourished. A few of them strike us as purely imaginative creations, altogether phantasmagorical, but to the medieval readers such beasts might actually have existed in a world far from their own. On the other hand, animals familiar to us today such as the whale and the ostrich were then as exotic and unknown as the unicorn, and their fanciful representations are a delight. The Metropolitan's collections are surely a source of inexhaustible wonder to be explored from unlimited vantage points. We hope that you will be entertained as well as educated by *A Medieval Bestiary*.

Philippe de Montebello
Director

Front cover: Lion trampling vipers, aquamanile. North German (probably Lübeck), about 1200. Inside covers: Details of the Unicorn at the Fountain, from the *Hunt of the Unicorn* tapestry series. French or Flemish, late 15th or early 16th century. Back cover: Dove holding a scroll in its beak. Spanish, 14th century

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To the medieval mind, the animal kingdom provided a means of gaining perspective on the human condition and on the individual's place in the universe. It served as a reminder of humanity's oneness with God and his creations. Animal life, it was thought, was a fertile source of lore and information that could be used for religious instruction. From such an attitude sprang an association of animal symbolism with theological speculation that gradually took the form of a book known as the Latin bestiary, which described the habits and peculiarities of animals and derived religious homilies from them.

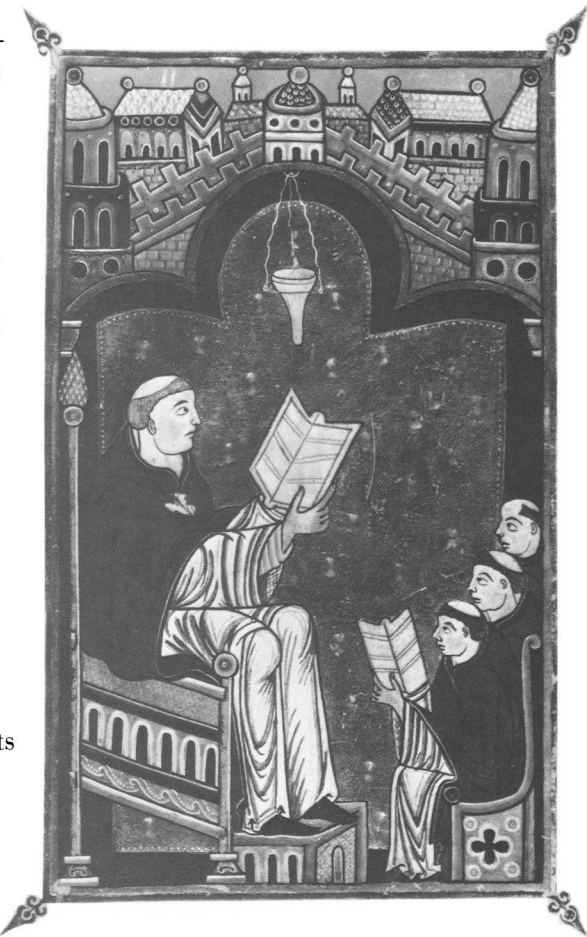
Latin bestiaries emerged in England at the beginning of the twelfth century. They had no common author but arose, like the monasteries in which they were written and illustrated, from the bricks and mortar of collective effort. The "bricks" were more or less accurate observations of animal life; the "mortar," often of great density, was religious allegorical thought directed at moralization; and the whole was scumbled with the paint of fable and fancy. The bestiaries were copied repeatedly, illustrated, and added to steadily for the next two centuries until about 1300, when they declined in use. Although England—and especially the north of England—remained first and foremost their home, bestiaries were imitated on the Continent and came to be among the most popular picture books of the Middle Ages.

The medieval writer was, of course, not the first to assign human traits to animals or to invest them with sacred symbolism. The origins of animal lore in the bestiaries can be traced back before ancient Greek times—even to the dawn of civilization in the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates, when animal husbandry was first practiced. From those prehistoric times, the lore, consisting of gradually accumulated facts and myths, descended in oral tradition until it was collected in written accounts of animal life by Herodotus in the fifth century B.C. and in the *Historia animalium* of Aristotle a century later. Plutarch, the famous Greek biographer and moralist who lived until about A.D. 120, was the first to write on animal symbolism in a theological context. He asserted that the Egyptians believed they could discover mystical truths about the gods through their experience of natural phenomena, and therefore, for example, they attributed the features and traits of the jackal, the cat, the hawk, and other animals to members of the Egyptian pantheon.

Pliny the Elder collected much of the earlier Greek written material in his first-century Latin opus, *Historia naturalis*, for its time a serious scientific work that was still regarded as such by medieval scholars a millennium later. Caius Julius Solinus, a third-century pagan compiler of learning, provided similar, though flagrantly irresponsible, animal descriptions and observations.

But the immediate prototype for the Latin bestiary was a moralized treatise about animals written by an author who is believed to have lived in Alexandria, Egypt, perhaps as early as A.D. 200 and who is known only as "the Physiologus" ("the Physiologist"). His book—also called the *Physiologus*—summarized and codified the knowledge and beliefs of the ancients concerning less than fifty of the earth's animals, birds, and reptiles; it also derived from their examples moral teachings for the Christian believer. A Latin translation of the *Physiologus* very possibly was in circulation by the mid-fourth century and was certainly known early in the sixth century, by which time the writer's identity was long lost.

Most twelfth- and thirteenth-century Latin bestiaries are primarily a repetition of the *Physiologus* text, almost verbatim, while interspersing new information and ideas extracted from Pliny's *Historia naturalis* and from more encyclopedic compendia, theological commentaries, and even the Scriptures. Among the authors drawn upon were Doctors of the Church, such as Saint Jerome and especially Saint Ambrose,



1. Miniature showing Hugh of Saint Victor, twelfth-century Canon Regular of the Abbey of Saint Victor, near Paris, teaching from a book before three monks. English, second half of the 12th century. Bodleian Library, Oxford, ms. laud. misc. 409, fol. 3 verso

2. Illustration for the salamander in a Carolingian copy of an early *Physiologus* manuscript, in which is written that a salamander placed in a fiery furnace or in an oven for baths will quench the fire. Here it cools a tub of hot water. Reims, second quarter of the 9th century. Burgerbibliothek, Bern, ms. cod. 318, fol. 17 verso (detail)



fourth-century bishop of Milan, whose *Hexaëmeron* of about A.D. 386–88 discussed animals within a larger discourse on nature. Isidore of Seville, a renowned seventh-century Spanish prelate and scholar whose widely read compendium of knowledge known as the *Etymologiae* or *Origines* includes a long section on animals, is the second most quoted author after “the *Physiologus*.” And in some versions of the bestiary, writings by Hrabanus Maurus, ninth-century archbishop of Mainz, are also paraphrased.

Not only did the compilers of Latin bestiaries rely upon several authorities, but their varying approaches to the use of sources also led to numerous versions. For as time went by, the monastics, working independently of one another, entered into their transcriptions of the text newly selected scholastic interpretations, further information about animal subjects based on recent hearsay or personal observation, and additional chapters on previously unrecorded animals. During those revisions, compilers also had the opportunity to omit anything they considered false or speculative. If the incidences of scribes’ errors and omissions are added to the preceding variables, one realizes that the textual recension of the total versions—that is, the special relationship of the redactions to one another historically—is decidedly complex.

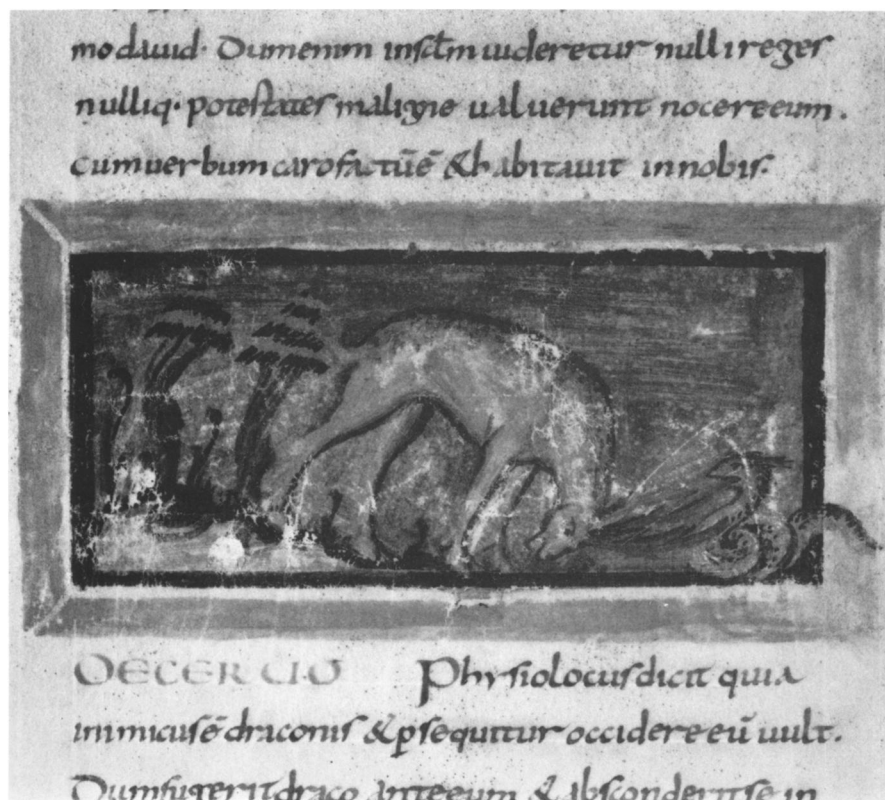
Although only about fifty manuscript Latin bestiaries survive today, they show enough variation to warrant division by scholars into four families. The most elementary bestiaries, like their model, the *Physiologus*, included about thirty-five or forty chapters and completely mixed together all kinds of beasts, fowl, and fish, but they always began with the lion, the king of beasts.

The vastly improved second family increased the number of chapters to more than one hundred by adding material from other sources like Isidore, Solinus, and Hrabanus Maurus. This family, and the later and even more greatly expanded third- and fourth-family manuscripts, follow the order of contents suggested by Isidore’s *Etymologiae*: beasts (wild animals preceding domestic animals), followed by birds, reptiles, and fish (ocean species preceding amphibians). The animal considered most impressive in its category introduced each division: lion, eagle, dragon, whale.

While adding new animals, compilers also attempted to correct classifications of species. The ostrich, for example, which had been placed among the beasts in twelfth-century manuscripts, was moved in the thirteenth to the section on birds. Still, uncertainty, even ambivalence, prevailed with respect to some examples: the ant remained with beasts, and the bat and bee with birds (the latter in deference to Saint Ambrose); the siren or mermaid was sometimes classified with birds (probably because she sings), sometimes with fish. Geographic distance precluded arriving at a decision about the Nilotic crocodile, known to be large and to have four legs, and so it was accommodated simultaneously among beasts and amphibians.

Progressive reclassification in the second and later manuscript families has misled many into viewing the Latin bestiary as a secular document, as an earnest though naïve scientific endeavor. But not even the *Physiologus*, the least allegory-laden, would have served a scientific purpose had that been the principal concern; for the needs of science, Pliny in both Latin and Greek was always available. To overemphasize the importance of natural-history elements in the bestiary is to ignore its fundamental affinity with contemporary philosophy, which searched the visible universe for order and harmony and interpreted everything allegorically in terms of a pattern for life and salvation through Christ. Such a desire to classify the things of this world and to discover the symbolic meanings within them—which had sprung up earlier in the writings of religious thinkers such as Boethius (d. about A.D. 524) and Gerbert (later Pope Sylvester II, d. 1003) and was recognized in the works of Isidore and Hrabanus—became cornerstones of twelfth-century thought.

These concerns are particularly evident in the twelfth-century writings of Hugh of Saint Victor (d. 1142), the learned Canon Regular of the prestigious Abbey of Saint Victor near Paris. Hugh composed discourses on the harmony of body and soul and expounded the symbolical essence of the very means of salvation—always maintaining that the Scriptures in their entirety are to be interpreted allegorically.



3. *Physiologus* illustration for the stag drawing out a snake from the cracks of the earth. From the same manuscript as figure 2, fol. 17 recto (detail)



4. Bestiary illustration representing the crocodile devouring a man. English, about 1185. The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, ms. m. 81, fol. 70 recto (detail)



5. Bestiary illustration for the serra, or sawfish, which was said to have enormous fins and to attempt outflying any ship it encountered at sea. From the same manuscript as figure 4, fol. 69 recto (detail)

It is therefore not surprising that Hugh was credited centuries later as the author of a cosmographical collection called *De bestiis et aliis rebus* (On Beasts and Other Things), of which the core is the influential second-family bestiary text. Since Hugh's authorship of the latter and of an accompanying book, conceived as a glossary, is universally doubted, these components of *De bestiis* are now called the Pseudo-Hugh of Saint Victor. However, the author of the collection's first half, an *Aviarium-bestiarius*, has been identified. These two books on birds and beasts, respectively—and almost certainly one treatise—were written about 1152 or later by Hugo de Folieto (Hugh of Fouilloi), the head of a priory near Amiens.

Hugo de Folieto dedicated his work to one Rainer, a convert, who is now thought to have been a lay brother who used the illustrated treatise to teach less-educated colleagues. (The lay brotherhood was an important institution of twelfth-century monastic reform.)

The enormous popularity of the birds section of Hugo's work is attested to by the frequency with which it is bound with other bestiary texts, including the Pseudo-Hugh of Saint Victor. These incidences have encouraged the strong speculation today that the bestiaries in general might have been introduced for teaching lay brothers. When one considers that a thirteen-chapter version of the *Physiologus*, known as the *Theobaldus-Physiologus*, which preceded the bestiaries in the eleventh century, had been used to teach schoolboys, one at least sees the possibility that later monastics drew inspiration from this feature of their early education when compiling the bestiaries. One thing seems certain: the Latin bestiary in its heyday was a book of the monastic tradition.

In accordance with that tradition, much of Pseudo-Hugh of Saint Victor's text is devoted to sermonizing. The reader is repeatedly warned against the Devil and his ways; and either the Devil's traits or the Devil himself are said to be recognized in many animals, especially the monkey, the fox, the wolf, the ass, the partridge, the dragon, and the whale. At times we find the author preaching against one of the Seven Deadly Sins. He makes an example of the crocodile for pride, of the viper for lust, and of the partridge for covetousness; and, more subtly, he goes at gluttony by emphasizing the lion's abstinence from overeating. Similarly, he improvises means of praising the Cardinal Virtues (justice, prudence, fortitude, and temperance), particularly underscoring the first with the dramatic tale of the mythological king Garamantes's dog. In discussions of the coot and the dove, he commends one of the Seven Acts of Mercy, that of adopting foundlings.

Lesser vices and virtues are also woven into this moral tapestry. We are made to loathe the hyena's hypocrisy and to shake our heads at both the tiger and the monkey for losing offspring through folly and prejudice, respectively. But we warm to the lion for his compassion, to the crane for its orderliness, to the swallow for its wisdom and ingenuity; and we have to admire the nightingale when told of her devotion to her young. When dogs are extolled for their fidelity and horses for their dependability, and when the author shows his disdain for the ibis because of its filthy habits, we begin to see that the bestiary is actually a book about human behavior—good and bad.

In the bestiary, good and evil are also treated on another level—as combatant forces—through animal subjects that have been described as “sympathetic” or “antipathetic.” The examples are derived, practically without exception, from the *Physiologus*. That the lion is killed by snake poison is antipathetic: no good is derived from the snake's bite. The sick lion seeking an ape to eat is a sympathetic theme, since the lion is able to be cured by the ape he finds in nature. However, the stag drawing snakes out of their holes in order to eat them as a cure is again antipathetic. For the stag's action there is the counteraction of the snakes' poison, which he

must first survive in order to regain health. Altogether, the recurring sympathetic and antipathetic themes are intended to persuade us that God has provided solutions to every threat or contingency.

Pseudo-Hugh of Saint Victor turns our attention to men like himself in the chapter on doves, which he compares in ten ways to those who preach. (Hugo de Folieto expanded these points to eleven chapters and set them at the head of his *Aviarium*.) Few of the observations in this chapter are so incisive as that about the dove's not mangling things with its beak. This is construed as a paradigm for preachers, who are supposed not to "falsify the Scriptures as the heretics do." The complaint of heresy was a common one among clerics in the Middle Ages. Pseudo-Hugh of Saint Victor launches another attack against heretics in the chapter on vultures, whose believed ability to breed without fertilization offers him the chance to reaffirm dogma about the Virgin Birth of Christ.

Thus, symbolism in the bestiary operates on several levels, from simple metaphors to elaborate allegories built on lore about the lion, the pelican, the phoenix, the panther, and the eagle. In the eagle story the sun, to which the bird flies, represents the light of Christ; and the triple plunge into the fountain, the *fons Christi*, is symbolic of the rite of baptism. Yet the theme also has overtones of the Resurrection, to which the author alludes on several occasions. He states explicitly that the lion's breathing life into its cubs on the third day after birth is symbolic of Christ's rising from the dead after three days of entombment.

Closely linked to the Resurrection is the idea of salvation, which nowhere has been more poignantly expressed in symbolic terms than in the allegory of the mother pelican who tears her breast on the third day of her infants' demise and covers the corpses with her blood for their renewal. Her blood is Christ's blood, and one of the central messages of Christianity is made clear: Christ died that men may live.

Number symbolism abounds in the bestiary. The lion's profile is sketched in a trinity of features; the number of months the female bear lies in after parturition is three for no apparent reason other than the author's need to regulate the visible world by numbers that have theological significance. So great was the concern for mystical numbers that Book Four of the combined Hugo de Folieto and Pseudo-Hugh of Saint Victor text is a sort of glossary that includes listings of selected natural phenomena under alphabetically arranged numbers.

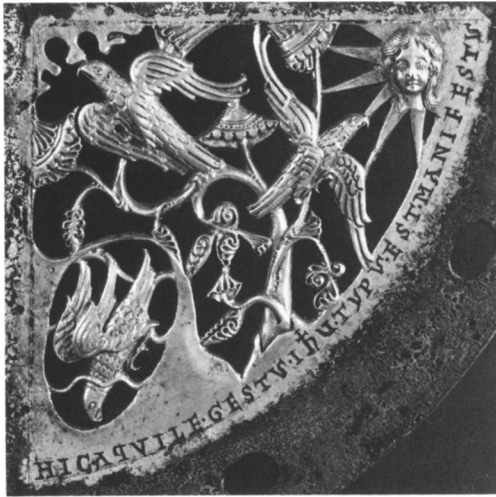
Pairs of horns on animals are discerned to be symbolic of the Testaments, Old and New. The single horn, the unicorn's, is said to be recognized in the Psalm passage, "He hath raised up a horn of salvation for us in the house of his son David"; and the unicorn itself is likened to Christ. The method of capturing the unicorn is filled with allegorical meaning. As Christ was born of a virgin's womb, so the unicorn embraces a virgin in the forest. When his subsequent betrayal is described and his death by the hunter's spear implied, we are to derive the notion of Christ's betrayal and crucifixion. It is perhaps the potency of this allegory alone that kept belief in the unicorn alive until at least the Age of Reason.

One might wonder how so many fictitious or imaginary subjects could have crept into the bestiary and could have been tolerated in a monastic environment. First, some of the lore—about the griffin, the siren, and the centaur, for example—derived from ancient writings that were considered quite reliable, even though Solinus, the supplier of much of this fabulous information, was actually the most unreliable and sensationalist classical author. Second, many of the entries resulted from etymological confusions. Nevertheless, there were obviously mythical creations of relatively recent origin that were valued for the stimulation they provided the reader attempting to imagine the extent of God's creation.

Acceptance of the more recent fables may be partly explained by



6. Bestiary illustrations, combined in one miniature, representing the lion: escaping from hunters while effacing its tracks with its tail; breathing life into its young; being attacked by a scorpion; sparing a helpless man; and eating an ape. English, early 14th century. Corpus Christi College Library, Cambridge, ms. 53, fol. 189 (detail)



7. Bestiary representations of the lion and eagle on the Kremsmünster cross can be securely attributed to the use of an illustrated manuscript model. In the cross's lower right quadrant is the Resurrection allegory of the aged eagle flying to the sun, singeing its wings, and returning to earth, where it plunges into water and renews itself.

The analogy to rebirth is at least as ancient as the Old Testament figure

David, one of whose sacred songs contains the phrase, "so that thy youth is renewed like the eagle's." Detail of a discolored cross. Austrian (Salzburg) or English, about 1160-80. Benedictine Abbey, Kremsmünster, Austria

an attitude formed in minds completely receptive to, and captivated by, the visions described in the *Revelation* of Saint John. The concept of "prodigy" is also a factor. In medieval thought, prodigious creatures were natural realities that man plainly was not meant to experience. According to this logic, the amphibiaena (a serpent with a head on either end) and the mantichore (a human-headed, scorpion-tailed lion), for example, might seem monstrous but not necessarily unreal; if they were admissible as prodigies, no denial of the laws of nature was confronted. At the same time, some of the hybrid animals of antiquity (Pegasus, the Hydra) were openly discredited, and subtle doubts were cast on some carried in the repertory; whenever Pseudo-Hugh of Saint Victor questions an animal's existence, he localizes it to Ethiopia.

The compilers of bestiaries were more careful and selective, on the whole, than the artists who illustrated them or who executed the sculptural decoration of churches. About 1125, Saint Bernard of Clairvaux registered vehement complaints about the "ridiculous monsters" he had seen sculpted on the faces of churches he had visited—from beasts with serpents' tails to horses' foreparts or hindquarters joined with other animal parts.

Illustrations in the bestiaries often betray the same uncertainty noticed at times in the system of classification. Whenever called upon to represent an animal with which he was unfamiliar, or which he misunderstood, the limner fell back on a stock repertory of fantastic beasts or else drew the wrong animal. In the beasts sections the crocodile came to be illustrated as a hyena-like creature supported on four long legs (fig. 4); in the amphibians section, as a two-legged serpent with ears. Worms and salamanders take the form of snakes, while snakes—practically without exception—take the form of eared serpents.

Some of the tales were so popular that they were illustrated by series of miniatures in narrative sequence. By the end of the fourteenth century, the cycle illustrating the lion was expanded to encompass a dozen or more scenes; the lion seeking an ape to eat was a particular favorite (fig. 6). Sympathetic and antipathetic themes were given special attention by the illuminators, as were sensational subjects, such as the serra, or sawfish (fig. 5), and the whale.

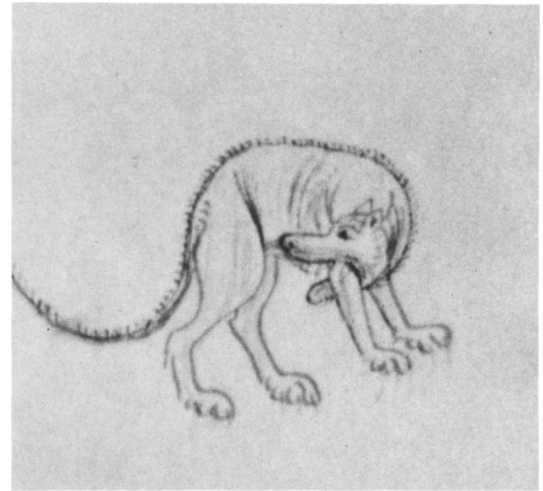
Contrary to common belief, the influence of illustrated bestiaries remained largely within the domain of book art; their representations served mostly in the production of other, derivative illuminated texts and book ornaments. Even then, in view of the lack of a comprehensive study of the bestiary miniatures themselves, it is difficult to assess the extent of their application in the decoration of the initials and margins of other manuscripts. But any claim to the bestiary's wide influence on sculpture and the decorative arts must meet with the objection that by the time the first bestiaries appeared, or before they had had time to exert any influence, bestiary subjects—especially the most fantastic ones—already adorned the jambs, lintels, voussairs, and capitals of churches in France, Italy, Germany, Spain, and England. Representations of elephants with castles on their backs, for example, parallel the bestiary rendition of that subject but may show familiarity only with the story in the *Physiologus* (see fig. 9).

There appear to be few instances of any direct connection between the bestiaries and other media. A twelfth-century octagonal pier in the church at Souvigny, France, has a vertical row of bestiary subjects, each accompanied by its inscribed name. The section of a twelfth-century English ivory staff or handle in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London exhibits a classification of birds and beasts—from ones in the upper register that fly in the air to ones below that crawl on their bellies. However, what may be the only surviving object with representations copied in their entirety from the miniatures of a bestiary is a pierced metalwork discoid

cross in the treasury of the Benedictine Abbey in Kremsmünster, Austria (fig. 7). In the segments defined by its cruciform design are delicately chased scenes of the lion breathing life into its young and of the eagle flying to the sun and back, subjects chosen to parallel the Resurrection and Ascension of Christ, which appear above them on the object.

Influence of the bestiary may be detected to a slight degree in the marginal decoration of an early fourteenth-century manuscript known as *The Cloisters Apocalypse*. Among the pen-drawn drolleries is a woman's torso attached awkwardly to the comparatively well-drawn body of a lion that appears to have been lifted from a bestiary. More important, however, is the presence of a female wolf biting her own foot—clearly, it seems, a bestiary derivation (fig. 8). Also in the Metropolitan Museum's collection is a thirteenth-century German painted box, presumably for game pieces, decorated with ten roundels that convey the spirit of contemporary bestiary miniatures but include the hare, an animal that did not enter the bestiary until the following century (see fig. 10).

The thirteenth century witnessed the appearance of several rhymed French bestiaries, all, with one exception, translated directly from the *Physiologus*. Usually the most carefully illustrated of these, and certainly the longest and most artistically composed, is the *Bestiaire divin* by Guillaume le Clerc. Written about 1210–11 and dedicated to a certain Raoul (was he perhaps also a lay brother?), it was copied in both France and England. Also in that century many chapters of Pseudo-Hugh of Saint Victor's bestiary were incorporated into a lengthy cosmographical treatise by the Florentine Brunetto Latini (d. 1295) and translated into French as *Li livres dou tresor*.



8. She-wolf biting her own leg, margin illustration from *The Cloisters Apocalypse*, fol. 25 recto (detail). French (probably Normandy), about 1320–30. The Cloisters Collection, 1968 (68.174)



9. Elephant with castle on its back, the lid of a carved wood box. German or Swiss, 15th century, L. 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. The Cloisters Collection, 1955 (55.28)

But these important works were outclassed by another French development. Richard Fournival's mid-thirteenth-century *Bestiaire d'amour* suddenly transferred the bestiary from the realm of theological speculation to the province of courtly love. In this rhymed secular work, a lover's petitions to his lady substitute for the familiar religious allegorical thought.

The *Bestiaire d'amour* should have served as an omen that the fashion for ponderous moralized bestiaries was coming to an end. The quintessential bestiary flourished only a few decades longer, perhaps because it had lost its original use or audience. Later bestiaries were often

larger but diminished their impact through smaller illustrations and through the advent of naturalism in the style of painting. Bestiary representations enjoyed an afterlife when taken over into the complicated program of illustration in the unique mid-fourteenth-century Austrian *Concordantiae caritatis* (Concordances of Charity) by Ulrich von Lilienfeld. And one of the most unusual events in publishing history was the printing of a thirteenth-century Latin bestiary in the small Piedmontese town of Mondovì between 1508 and 1512, with fifty-two woodcuts copied, no doubt, from manuscript illustrations.



10. Game box. German (Upper Rhenish), late 13th century, linden-wood, tempera on gesso, L. 10³/₁₆ in. Purchase, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, by exchange, 1976 (1976.327)

Opposite: *Christ Creating the Animals on the Sixth Day*, ivory plaque. South Italian (School of Amalfi), about 1085, H. 4¹/₄ in. Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.156)

NOTE: The present bestiary relates the figures of animals that may be seen in the medieval collections of The Metropolitan Museum of Art to translations of the Pseudo-Hugh of Saint Victor bestiary text in a Cambridge University Library manuscript (II.24.6). The translations, which have been edited and corrected especially for the present bestiary, are those of T. H. White in his *Book of Beasts*, London, 1954. Texts for the Owl and the Centaur are taken from other manuscripts as translated by Richard H. Randall, Jr., in *A Cloisters Bestiary*, New York, 1960. The more lengthy morals and parallels have been omitted as being not of sufficient interest to the modern reader, and in order to keep the text within modest means.

In keeping with the practice of illustration in many of the original manuscripts, a few of our figures are not the exact counterparts of the animals described in the texts. We have tried wherever possible to supply examples from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the period of the bestiary's greatest importance. Many, however, are from later periods.

The reader should note that some of the architectural sculpture used in the illustrations is from the Fuentidueña Apse, on permanent loan to The Cloisters from the Government of Spain, while three of the illustrations are of frescoes from San Baudelio de Berlanga on loan from The Cloisters to the Museo del Prado in Madrid.

For further reading

Florence McCulloch, *Mediaeval Latin and French Bestiaries*, Chapel Hill, 1960
Francis Klingender, *Animals in Art and Thought to the End of the Middle Ages*, London, 1971



And God said, Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, and fowl that may fly above the earth in the open firmament of heaven.

And God created great whales, and every living creature that moveth, which the waters brought forth abundantly; after their kind, and every winged fowl after his kind: and God saw that it was good.

And God blessed them, saying, Be fruitful, and multiply; and fill the waters in the seas, and let fowl multiply in the earth.

And the evening and the morning were the fifth day:

And God said, Let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind, cattle, and creeping thing, and beast of the earth after his kind: and it was so.

And God made the beasts of the earth after his kind, and cattle after their kind, and every thing that creepeth upon the earth after his kind: and God saw that it was good.

—Genesis 1.20-25

The word "BEASTS" should properly be used for lions, leopards, tigers, wolves, foxes, dogs, monkeys and others that rage about with tooth and claw. They are accustomed to freedom by nature, and they go wherever they want to go.

LEO the Lion, mightiest of beasts, will stand up to anybody. He is the Prince of All Animals. The courage of these creatures is seated in their hearts. Their brows and tail-tufts are an index to their disposition. Although they fear the creaking of wheels, they are frightened by fires even more so.

Scientists say that Leo has three principal characteristics: His first feature is, that he loves to rove on the tops of mountains. That way the smell of approaching hunters reaches up to him, and he disguises his spoor with his tail. The lion's second feature is, that when he sleeps, he seems to keep his eyes open. The third feature is, that when a lioness gives birth to her cubs, she brings them forth dead and lays them up lifeless for three days—until their father, coming on the third day, breathes in their faces and inspirits them. Just so did the Father Omnipotent raise Our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead on the third day.

It is said the litters of these creatures come in three. Short lions with curly manes are peaceful; tall ones with plain hair are fierce.

So far as their relations with men are concerned, the nature of lions is

that they do not get angry unless they are wounded. The compassion of lions, on the contrary, is clear from innumerable examples—for they spare the prostrate; they allow such captives as they come across to go back to their own country; they prey on men rather than on women, and they do not kill children except when they are very hungry.

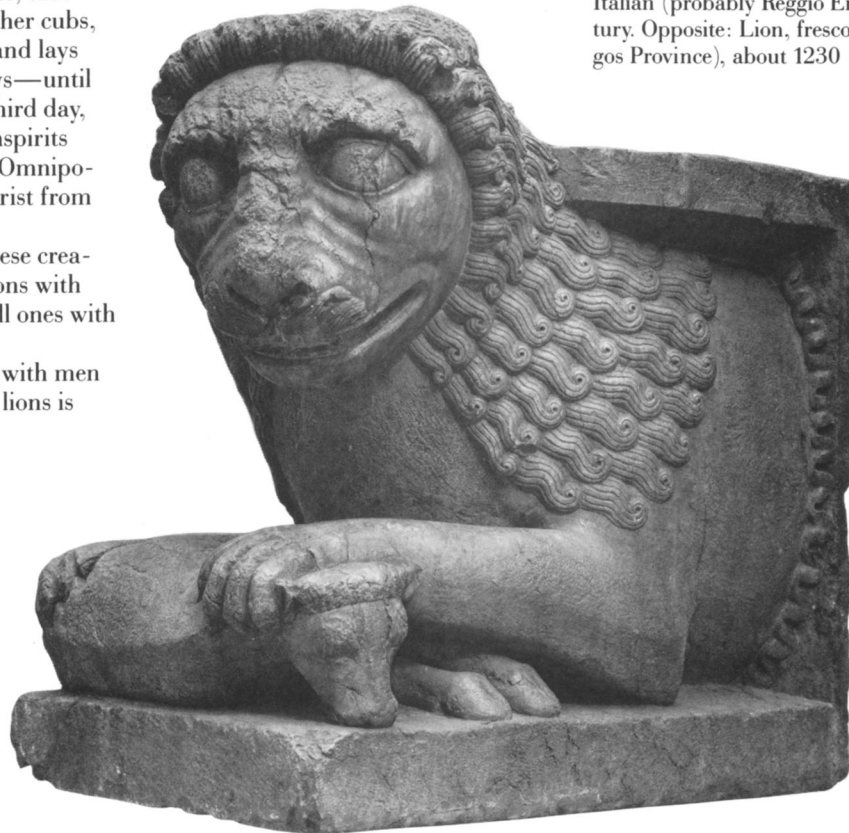
Furthermore, lions abstain from over-eating; they only take food and drink on alternate days and, when they have eaten too much, they pop their paws carefully into their mouths and of

their own accord extract the meat. A lion turns up its nose at yesterday's dinner and will go away hungry from food that has been left over.

In the roar of this beast is such natural terribleness that many animals, which could escape his charge by their speed, are paralyzed by the very sound of his voice. A sick lion searches for a monkey to eat, by which means he can be cured. A lion fears a cock, especially a white one. He is harassed by the tiny sting of a scorpion, and snake poison kills him.

A lion, like the king he is, disdains to have a lot of different wives.

Below: Lion grasping calf, column support. Italian (probably Reggio Emilia), 12th century. Opposite: Lion, fresco. Spanish (Burgos Province), about 1230







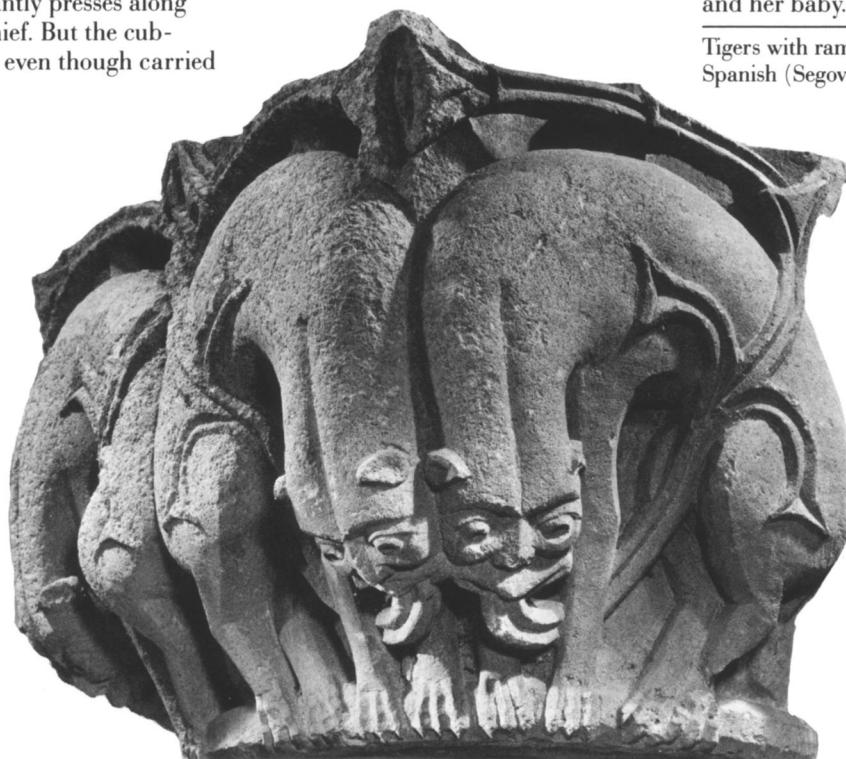
TIGRIS the Tiger gets his name from his rapid pace; for the Persians, Greeks and Medes used to call an arrow *tygris*. And from him the River Tigris is named, because it is the most rapid of all rivers. The beast can be distinguished by his manifold specklings, by his courage and by his wonderful speed.

Now the tigress, when she finds that one of her cubs has been stolen from her lair, instantly presses along the tracks of the thief. But the cub-stealer, seeing that even though carried

by a galloping horse he is on the point of being overcome by the speed of the tigress, and seeing that no safety can be expected from flight, cunningly invents the following ruse. He throws down a glass ball, and the tigress, fooled by her own reflection, assumes that the image in the glass is her little one. She pulls up, hoping to collect the infant. But only delayed by his hollow mockery,

she again throws herself with all her might into following the horseman and quickly threatens to catch up with the fugitive. Again he delays the pursuer by throwing down a second ball, nor does the memory of his former trick prevent the mother's tender care. She curls herself round the empty reflection and lies down as if to suckle the cub. And so, deceived by the zeal of her own dutifulness, she loses both her revenge and her baby.

Tigers with ramiform tongues, capital.
Spanish (Segovia Province), about 1160



The PANTHER has a truly variegated color and is most beautiful, and excessively kind. The only animal it considers an enemy is the dragon.

When a panther has dined and is satiated, it hides away in its den and goes to sleep. After three days it awakes and emits a loud belch, and a very sweet smell—like the smell of allspice—issues from its mouth. When the other animals have heard the noise, they follow the panther wherever it goes, because of the sweetness of this scent. Only the dragon, smitten with

fear, flees into the caves of the earth. There, unable to bear the smell, it becomes torpid and remains immobile as in death.

The true panther, Our Lord Jesus Christ, snatched us from the power of the dragon-devil on descending from the heavens. He associated us with himself as sons by his incarnation, accepting all, and gave gifts to men, leading captivity captive.

The panther is an animal with small spots daubed all over it; hence it can be distinguished by circled dots upon tawny and also by its black-and-

white variegation. It only has babies once, because when the cubs have struck root in the mother's womb and begin to wax with the strength of birth, they become impatient. So they tear the womb as being an obstacle to delivery. This discharges the litter, since it is spurred by pain. Thus, when the subsequent seed of generation is infused into it, it does not adhere to the damaged and scarred parts and is not accepted.

Spotted panther, detail from the *Unicorn* tapestry series (see inside covers)



The ANTALOPS [Antelope] is an animal of incomparable celerity, so much so that no hunter can ever get near it. It has long horns shaped like a saw, with the result that it can even cut down very big trees.

When it is thirsty, it goes to the great River Euphrates and drinks. Now there is in those parts a shrub called Herecine, which has subtle, long twigs. Coming therefore to the shrub, the

antelope begins to play with the Herecine with its horns, and, while doing so, entangles them in the twigs. When it cannot get free itself after a long struggle, it cries with a loud bellow. But the hunter, hearing its voice, comes and kills it.

Antelope on a shield surrounded by ivy leaves, ceramic dish. Spanish (Manises, Valencia Province), about 1430–70

UNICORNIS the Unicorn is a very small animal like a kid, exceedingly swift, with one horn in the middle of his forehead. No hunter can catch him. But he can be trapped by the following stratagem.

A virgin is led to where he lurks, and there she is sent off alone into the wood. He quickly leaps into her lap and embraces her, and hence he gets caught.

Our Lord Jesus Christ is also a unicorn spiritually. The fact that it has just one horn on its head means what He Himself said: "The Father and I are One."

He is very swift because neither principalities, nor powers, nor thrones, nor dominions could keep up with him, nor could Hell contain him, nor could the most subtle devil prevail to catch or contain him; but, by the sole will of the Father, he came down into the virgin womb for our salvation.

The unicorn often fights with elephants and conquers them by wounding them in the belly.

Unicorn with a dog on its back, aquamanile. German (Saxony), about 1400



A GRIFFIN is a winged quadruped. This kind of wild animal is born in Hyperborean parts, or in mountains. All its bodily members are like a lion's, but its wings and mask are like an eagle's. It is vehemently hostile

to horses. But it will also tear to pieces any human beings that it happens across.

Griffin within a Greek border, enameled medallion. French (Limoges), about 1100–50



T here is an animal called an ELEPHANT, which has no desire to copulate.

Its nose is called a proboscis (for the bushes), because it carries its leaf-food to its mouth with it, and this looks like a snake.

Elephants protect themselves with ivory tusks. No larger animals can be found. The Persians and the Indians, collected into wooden towers on them, sometimes fight each other with javelins as if from a castle. They possess vast intelligence and memory. They march about in herds. And they copulate back-to-back.

Elephants remain pregnant for two years, do not have babies more than once, and only have one at a time. They live three hundred years. If one of them wants to have a baby, he goes with his wife eastward toward Paradise, and there is a tree there called Mandragora. She first takes of the tree and then gives some to her spouse. When

they munch it up, it seduces them, and she immediately conceives.

Now the elephant and his wife represent Adam and Eve. For when they were pleasing to God, before their provocation in the flesh, they had no knowledge of sin. When, however, the wife ate of the Tree of Knowledge, which is what Mandragora means, and gave one of the fruits to her man, she was immediately made a wanderer and they had to clear out of Paradise on account of it.

When the proper time for being delivered arrives, the mother elephant walks out into a lake, and the water comes up to her udders. Meanwhile, the father elephant guards her while she is in labor, because there is a certain dragon that is inimical to elephants. Moreover, if a serpent happens by, the father tramples on it and kills it. He is also formidable to bulls—but he is frightened of mice, for all that.

If an elephant tumbles down he

cannot get up again. Hence he leans against a tree when he wants to go to sleep, for he has no joints in his knees. For this reason a hunter partly saws through a tree, so that the elephant may fall down when he leans against it.

It is a fact that elephants smash whatever they wind their noses round, and whatever they squash with their feet they blot out.

They never quarrel about their wives, for adultery is unknown to them. There is a mild gentleness about them, for, if they happen to come across a forwandered man in the deserts, they offer to lead him back into familiar paths. If by chance they do become involved in battles, they take care of the casualties, collecting the wounded and exhausted into the middle of the herd.

Elephant with a howdah, fresco. Spanish (Soria Province), about 1120–40



This is an animal called the YENA [Hyena], which is accustomed to living in the sepulchres of the dead and devouring their bodies. Its nature is that at one moment it is masculine and at another moment feminine, and hence it is a dirty brute.

It is unable to turn round, except by a complete reversal of its body, because its spine is rigid and is all in one piece. It frequents the sheepfolds of shepherds and walks round the houses

of a night and studies the tone of voice of those inside with careful ear, for it is able to do imitations of the human voice. In order that it may prey upon men called out at night by this ruse, it copies the sound of human vomiting.

Such dogs as it has called out like this, it gobbles up with hypocritical sobs. And if by chance sporting dogs should cross its shadow while they are hunting it, they lose their voices and cannot give tongue.

This beast has a stone in its eye, also called a yena, which is believed to make a person able to foresee the future if he keeps it under his tongue. It is true that if a yena walks round any animal three times, the animal cannot move. For this reason they affirm that it has some sort of magic skill.

Hyena, detail from the *Unicorn* tapestry series (see inside back cover)



STAGS are enemies to serpents. When they feel weighted down by illness, they suck snakes from their holes with a snort of the nostrils and, the danger of their venom having been survived, the stags are restored to health by a meal of them. After a dinner of snake, they shed their coats and all their old age with them.

Stags listen admiringly to the music of rustic pipes. With their ears pricked up, they hear acutely; with the ears lowered, not at all.

When they change their feeding grounds for love of a foreign pasture, if by any chance they have to cross huge rivers or seas, each rests his head on the haunches of the one in front; and, since the one behind does the same thing for him in turn, they suffer no trouble from the weight. Thusly supported, they

hurry across with the greatest possible speed.

When it is the stag's appointed season to rut, the males of this species bell with a fury of concupiscence. Although the females may be impregnated beforehand, they do not conceive until the time of the star Arcturus. Nor do they bring forth their babies just anywhere, but they hide them with tender care, and, having tucked them up in some deep shrubbery or undergrowth, they admonish them with a stamp of the foot to keep hidden. When the little ones have become strong enough for running, the mothers teach them to trot and accustom them to leaping over high places.

Upon hearing the cry of hounds, stags place themselves ahead of a wind, so that their scent may blow in the

opposite direction. All stand stock still, for which reason they make themselves an easy mark for archers.

It is known that stags never get feverish, so ointments made from their marrow will settle heats in sick men. We read that many people who have been accustomed to eating venison from their early days have been immortal, and immune to fevers, but it fails them in the end if they happen to get killed by a single wound. The rennet of a fawn killed in its mother's womb is capital against poisons.

Recumbent stag surrounded by a vine-scroll motif, brass plate. German, last quarter of the 15th century

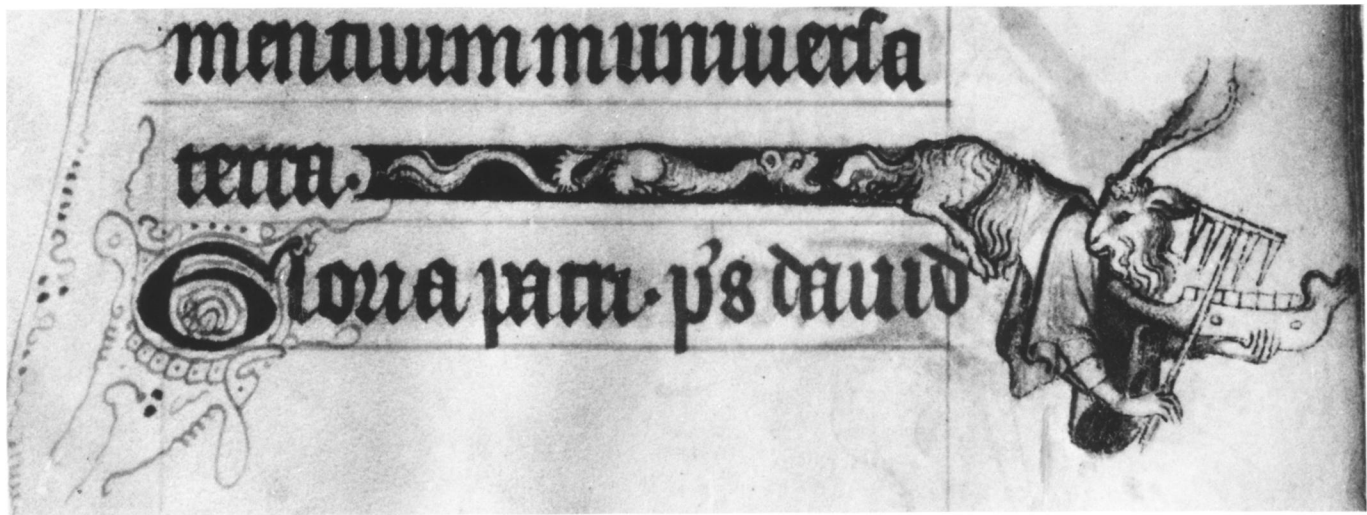
They are called MONKEYS (*Simia*) in the latin language because people notice a great *similitude* to human reason in them. Wise in the lore of the elements, these creatures grow merry at the time of the new moon. At half and full moon they are depressed. Such is the nature of the she-monkey that, when giving birth to twins, she esteems one of them highly but scorns the other. Hence, if it ever happens that she gets chased by a sportsman she clasps the one she likes in her arms in front of her, and carries the one she detests with its arms round her neck, pickaback. But for this very reason, when she is exhausted by run-

ning on her hind legs, she has to throw away the one she loves, and carries the one she hates, willy-nilly.

A monkey has no tail (*cauda*). The Devil resembles these beasts; for he has a head, but no scripture (*caudex*). Admittedly, the whole of a monkey is ignoble, but their bottoms really are excessively disgraceful and horrible. Monkeys have turned-up noses and a hideous countenance, with wrinkles lewdly puffing like bellows.

The Monkey Cup, showing tailless Barbary apes, enameled silver beaker. Flemish, about 1460





CAPER the Goat is an animal that gets called this because she strives to attain the mountain crags (*aspera captet*).

Others call her Caprea, because of the rattling (of the dry droppings entangled in the pelt—or of her hooves?). But the latter are wild goats, which the Greeks used to call Dorcas because they can see so very acutely. These linger on the highest mountains and can recognize approaching people from far away, distinguishing the way-farer from the sportsman.

Goat performing music, margin illustration from the *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*, Queen of France. French (Ile-de-France), 1325-38

URSUS the Bear, it is said, produces a formless foetus, giving birth to something like a bit of pulp, and this the mother bear arranges into proper legs and arms by licking it. She pups on the thirtieth day, from whence it comes that a hasty, unformed creation is brought forth.

A bear's head is feeble; the greatest strength is in the arms and loins, for which reason they sometimes stand upright. If bears are afflicted with a serious injury, they know how to doctor themselves by stroking their sores with a herb, so that they are cured by the mere touch.

They do not make love like other quadrupeds, but being joined in

mutual embraces, they copulate in the human way. The winter season provokes their inclination to lust. The males respect the pregnant females with the decency of a private room, and, though in the same lairs for their lying-in, these are divided by earth-works into separate beds. They bring forth very tiny pulps of white color, with no eyes. They gradually sculpture these by licking; and meanwhile they cherish them to their bosoms so as to draw up the animal spirit, being warmed by this careful incubation. During this time, with absolutely no food for the first fourteen days, the sleepless she-bears get so deeply drowsy that they cannot be woken up,

even by wounds; and after bearing, they lie hid for three months. Then, coming out into the free daylight, they suffer so much from being unaccustomed to the light that you would take them to be struck blind.

Bears look out for the hives of bees and long for honeycombs very much. They grab nothing more greedily than honey. When they have eaten mandrake they die—unless, for fear that the poison should grow strong enough to destroy them, they hurry off and eat ants to recuperate.

Bear, fresco. Spanish (Soria Province), about 1120–40



A beast called a MANTICORA is born in the Indies. It has three rows of teeth that meet alternately; the face of a man, with gleaming, blood-red eyes; a lion's body; a tail like a scorpion's stinger; and a shrill voice that is so sibilant that it resembles the notes of flutes. It hankers after human flesh most ravenously. It is so strong in the foot, so powerful with its leaps, that neither the most extensive space nor the most lofty obstacle can contain it.

Manticore, voussoir of an arch. French (Languedoc), 12th century



VULPIS the Fox never runs straight but goes on his way with tortuous windings. He is a fraudulent and ingenious animal. When he is hungry and nothing turns up for him to devour, he rolls himself in red mud so that he looks as if he were stained with blood. Then he throws himself on the ground and holds his breath. The birds, seeing that he is not breathing, think he is dead and come down to sit on him. As you can guess, he grabs them and gobbles them up.

The Devil has this same nature.

Fox seizing a cock, margin illustration from the *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*

The word LUPUS, a Wolf, is derived from the Greek, *Licus*. They are called that in Greek on account of their bites.

The wolf's strength is seated in his chest and jaws; in his loins there is really very little of it. His neck is never able to turn backward.

Wolves only copulate on twelve days in the whole year. They can suffer hunger for a long time, and after much fasting they eat a lot.

The female wolf goes to the fold like a tame dog, at a foot's pace, and, lest the sheepdog notice the smell of her

breath or the shepherds wake up, she goes upwind. And if a twig or anything else should make a noise when her foot presses it, she bites her own foot.

A wolf's eyes shine at night like lamps, and its nature is that, if it sees a man first, it strikes him dumb and triumphs over him like a victor over the voiceless. But also, if it feels itself to have been seen first, it loses its own ferocity and cannot run.

It is reported that on the backside of this animal there is a small patch of aphrodisiac hair, which it plucks off with its teeth if it happens to be afraid

of being caught. Nor is this hair, for which people are always trying to catch it, of any use unless taken off alive.

The devil bears the similitude of a wolf: he who is always looking over the human race with his evil eye, and darkly prowling round the sheepfolds of the faithful so that he may afflict and ruin their souls.

Rampant wolf on a shield surrounded by briony leaves, ceramic dish. Spanish (Valencia), about 1450-1500





No animal is more sagacious than CANIS the Dog; for he has more perception than other animals, for he alone recognizes his own name. He esteems his master highly.

There are numerous breeds of dogs. Some track down the wild creatures of the wood. Others guard the flocks of sheep vigilantly against infestations of wolves. Others, the house dogs, look after the palisade of their masters, lest it should be robbed in the night by thieves; and these will stand up for their owners to the death. They gladly dash out hunting with master, and will even guard his body when dead, and not leave it. In sum, it is a part of their nature that they cannot live without men.

So much do dogs adore their owners, that one can read how, when King Garamantes was captured by his enemies and sold into slavery, two hundred of his hounds, having made up a party, rescued him from exile out of the middle of the whole battle line of his foes, and fought those who resisted. When Jason was killed in a quarrel, his

dog refused food and died of hunger. The hound of King Lisimachus threw itself into the flames when its master's funeral pyre had been lighted and was burnt up by the fire in company with him.

When a dog comes across the track of a hare or a stag, and reaches the branching of the trail, or the criss-cross of the trail because it has split into more parts, then the dog puzzles silently with himself, seeking along the beginnings of each different track. He

shows his sagacity in following the scent, as if enunciating a syllogism. By rejecting error, the dog finds truth.

Dogs, moreover, have often produced evidence to convict culprits with proofs of murder done—to such an extent that their mute testimony has frequently been believed.

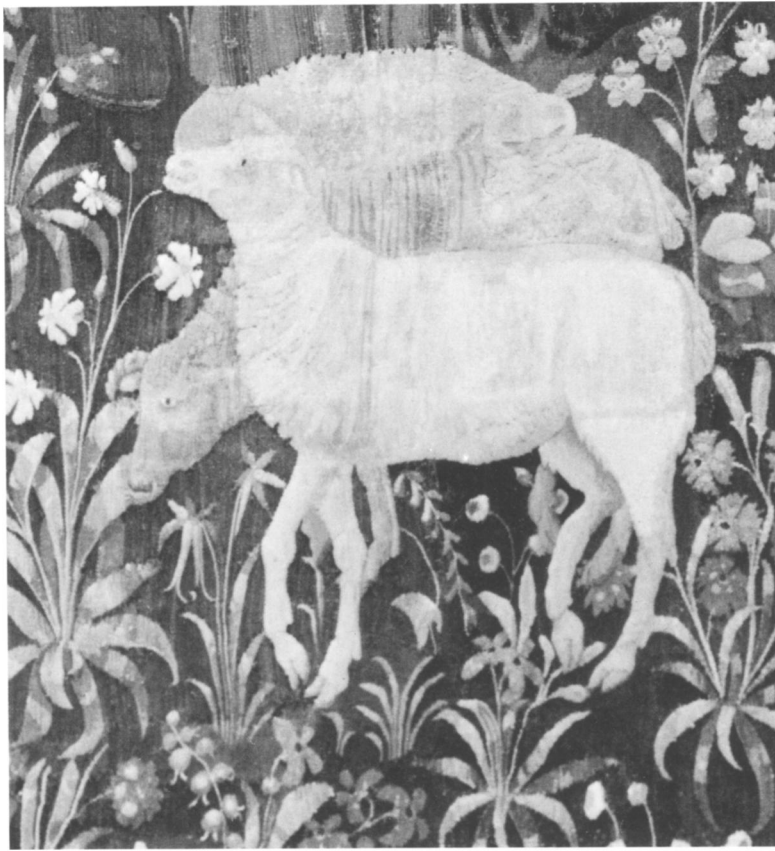
Its way of life is reported to be perfectly temperate. What is more, the tongue of a puppy makes a salve for men's intestines, if they are wounded.

In licking a wound, the tongue of a dog heals the same.

The dog's nature is that it returns to its own vomit and gobbles it up again. And if it happens to cross a river carrying some meat or anything of that sort, when it sees its reflection it opens its mouth and, while it hastens to pick up the other bit of meat, it loses the one it had.



Above: Dog at the feet of his deceased master, detail of a sarcophagus lid. Spanish (School of Lérida), 1299–1314. Below: Recumbent dog, heraldic badge inscribed (in Spanish) “loyal.” Spanish, 15th century



The gentle flock of Ovis the Sheep, woolly, defenseless in body and placid in mind, gets its name *ab oblatione*—from the burnt sacrifice—because in the old days among the ancients it was not bulls but sheep that were offered up.

They call some of them bi-dents, and these are the ones that have two longer teeth among the eight.

On the approach of winter a sheep gets hungry at pasture and roots up the grass insatiably—because it foresees the severity of the winter ahead and hopes to stuff itself with green fodder before all herbage shall fail it under the nipping frost.

Sheep, detail of a *millefleurs* tapestry. Franco-Flemish, late 15th or early 16th century

ARIES the Ram perhaps gets his name from Ares, the God of War—and hence, the males among the flocks are sometimes called in Latin *Mares* (Mars), or else the beast may get its name because it was originally immolated on altars—from whence “Aries” because he was sacrificed *aris* (with altars)—and thus we get that ram in scripture who was offered up at the altar (*ad aram*).

Ram representing the zodiac sign Aries, detail from the *Belles Heures* of Jean, Duke of Berry. Franco-Netherlandish, about 1406–09



We get the name of APER the Wild Boar from its savagery (*a feritate*), by leaving out the letter F and putting P instead. In the same way, among the Greeks, it is called *suagros*, the boorish or country pig. For everything that is wild and rude we loosely call “boorish.”

Boar treading on oak leaves and acorns, carved escutcheon. French (Hérault), last third of the 12th to early 13th century

The Greeks call BOS the Ox by the name of *boaen* and the Latins call these creatures *triones* because they tread the earth underfoot

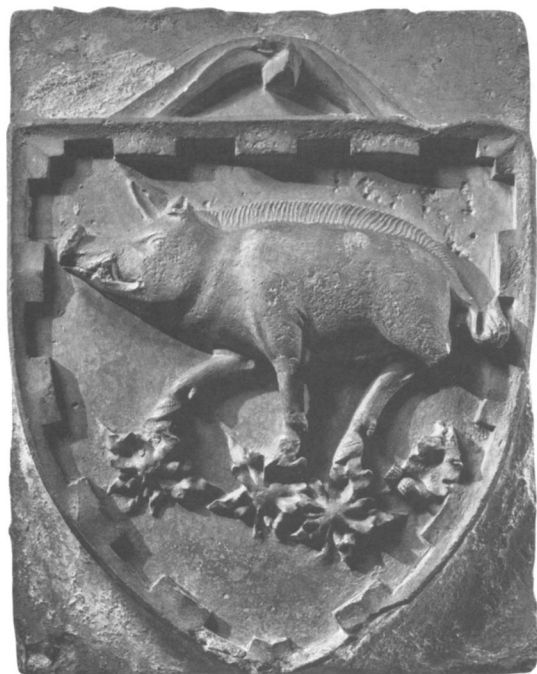
like the stars of that name [Ursus Major and Ursus Minor, constellations that were thought to resemble a wagon drawn by oxen]. The kindness of oxen for their comrades is extraordinary, for each of them demands the company of that other one with whom he has been accustomed to draw the plough by the neck—and, if by any chance the second one is absent, then the first one’s kindly disposition is testified by frequent mooing.

When rain is impending, oxen know that they ought to keep themselves at home in their stables. Moreover, when they foresee by natural

instinct a change for the better in the sky, they look out carefully and stick their necks from the stalls, all gazing out at once, in order to show themselves willing to go forth.

There are fierce bulls of the wild ox in Germany, which have such immense horns that, at the royal tables, which have a notable capacity for booze, the people make the receptacles for drink out of them.

Ox on a shield, detail of a ceramic dish with the arms of the Babau family. Spanish (Manises, Valencia Province), about 1450–70



Adam gave CAMELS their name with good reason, for when they are being loaded up they kneel down and make themselves lower or humbler—and the Greek for low or humble is *cam*. Or else it is because the creature is humped on the back and the word *camur* means “curved” in Greek.

The Bactrians breed the strongest camels, but Arabia breeds the largest number. The two kinds differ in this, that the Arabians have humps on the back.

These Bactrians never wear away their hooves. They have fleshy soles with concertina-like pads, and from

these there is a cushioning counteraction for the walkers, with no hard impediment to putting down the foot.

They are kept for two purposes. Some are accommodated for carrying a burden. Others are more speedy, but cannot be given loads beyond what is fitting; nor are the latter willing to do more than the accustomed distances.

When they come into season, they are so unbridled by the matter that they run mad for the want of love. They detest horses. They are good at putting up with the weariness of thirst, and indeed, when the opportunity to drink is given them, they fill up with enough

both for the past want and for whatever lack may come in the future for a long time. They go for dirty waters and avoid clean ones. In fact, unless there should be fouler drink available, they themselves stir up the slime with busy trampling, in order that it should be muddied. They live for a hundred years.

If they happen to be sold to a stranger they grow ill, disgusted at the price.

Single-humped camel, or dromedary, fresco. Spanish (Soria Province), about 1120–40







The spiritedness of HORSES is great. They exult in battlefields: they sniff the combat; they are excited to the fight by the sound of a trumpet. They recognize their enemies in battle to such an extent that they go for their adversaries with a bite. Some will let nobody on their back except their master.

The horse of Alexander the Great, called Bucephalus, would never deign to carry anybody except his master. There are many stories of him in battles, in which he brought Alexander safely out of the most terrible scrimmages.

The horse of Caius Caesar would have nobody but Caesar on his back. When a victorious adversary was trying to plunder the King of the Scythians after being engaged in single combat, he was cut to pieces with kicks and bites by the king's mount. When King Nicomedes had been killed, his steed rid itself of life by fasting. When their master is dead or dying, horses shed tears—for they say that only the horse can weep for man and feel the emotion of sorrow.

In this particular kind of animal, the length of life is greater in the male. Indeed, we read of a horse having lived to be seventy years of age. We also find it noted that a horse went on copulating to the age of forty.

At birth, a love charm is delivered with the foal, which they carry on their foreheads when they are dropped. And if this were taken away, the mother would not on any account give her udders to the foal to be suckled.

It is a common belief that four things are necessary in well-bred horses. These are: figure, beauty, merit and color. Figure: the body powerful and solid in strength, the height convenient to it, the flank long and narrow, the haunches very large and round, the chest spreading widely, the whole knotted with a mass of muscles, and the hoof dry and firmed with an arched horn. Beauty: that the head be small and sound with the skin holding close to the bone, the ears short and lively, the eyes big, the nostrils wide, the neck erect, the mane and tail dense, and a firm curve on the hooves. Merit: that it should be audacious in spirit, swift of

foot, and trembling in its limbs. The latter is an indication of courage, because then it is easily excited from a state of deepest repose and, once speed has been got up, it can be maintained without difficulty. Color to be looked for principally in these animals: bay, golden, ruddy, chestnut, deer-colored, pale yellow, grey, roan, hoary, silver, white, flea-bitten, black. Next in order there comes a mixed color on a ground of black or bay; lastly, a piebald or a stripe is the worst.

The pace of a horse is judged from the twitching of the ears, its spirit from the twitching of the limbs. The deeper a horse dips his nostrils when drinking, the better his prospects as a sire. The virility of horses is extinguished when their manes are cut.

Opposite: Bridled horse, aquamanile. North German, late 14th or early 15th century. Above: Hunter on horseback and three dogs, detail of a fresco. Spanish (Soria Province), about 1120–40

She is called Mouser because she is fatal to mice. The vulgar call her CATUS the Cat because she catches things (*a captura*) while others say that it is because she lies in wait (*captat*), i.e., because she “watches.” So acutely does she glare that her eye penetrates the shades of darkness with a gleam of light.

Cat playing with a spindle, margin illustration from the *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*



She is called a WEASEL (*Mustela*) as if she were an elongated mouse. When she lives in a house, she moves from place to place with subtle cunning after she has had her babies, and lies each night in a different lair. She pursues snakes and mice.

There are two kinds. One keeps far off in the forest, and the other wanders about in houses. Some say that they conceive through the ear and give birth through the mouth, while, on the other hand, others declare that they conceive by mouth and give birth by ear.

Weasels are said to be so skilled in medicine that, if by any chance their babies are killed, they can make them come alive again if they can get at them.

Weasel, detail from the *Unicorn* tapestry series (see inside covers)

The CENTAUR is a lustful animal that lives deep in the forests and is seldom seen by men. Its body is formed like that of a horse, but from the belly upwards it is like a man. Centaurs combine the swiftness and sureness of foot of the horse with the heart and head of a man. They can cry for sorrow and use their intelligence to fashion weapons like a man, but they have the passions and lusts of an animal.

Saint Jerome tells us that when Saint Anthony went to visit Saint Paul in the desert, he met a centaur along the way. And though most centaurs are wild and vicious to men, this one pointed in the direction of the hermit's den to help Saint Anthony. It could not speak, of course, because from the mouths of centaurs come only the sounds of an animal.

Sword-bearing centaur with dragons, aquamanile, German (Hildesheim), 13th century



Now all BIRDS are called birds, but there are a lot of them—for, just as they differ from one another in species, so do they in diversity of nature. There are so many sorts of birds that it is not possible to learn every one, nor indeed is there anybody who can penetrate the deserts of Scythia and India and Ethiopia, to know their species according to their differences.

They are called birds (*a-ves*) because they do not follow straight

roads (*vias*), but stray through any by-way. They are called the Winged Ones (*Alites*) because they mount with wings (*alis*) to the high places and reach the heavens with a rowing of plumes.

The “wings” are the things in which the feathers allow exercise of flight. Moreover, they are called wings

(*alae*) because the birds nourish (*alant*) and foster their chicks with them, by folding them up in these.

It is known that the names of many birds are invented from the sound of their voices. The particular kind of song they have suggests what men should call them.

An odd thing is that the offspring of all birds are born twice: first when the eggs are laid, then when they are formed and hatched by the heat of the mother's body.



AQUILA the Eagle is said to have such wonderful eyesight that, when poised above the seas on motionless plume—even out of human sight—he can see the little fishes swimming and, coming down like a thunderbolt, can carry off his captured prey to the shore.

And it is a true fact that when the eagle grows old and his wings become heavy and his eyes become darkened with a mist, he goes in search of a fountain, and, over against it, he flies up to the height of heaven, even unto the circle of the sun, and there he sings his wings and at the same time evaporates the fog of his eyes, in a ray of the sun. Then at length, taking a

header down into the fountain, he dips himself three times in it, and instantly he is renewed with a great vigor of plumage and splendor of vision.

It is claimed that an eagle presents his young to the sunbeams and holds the children up to them in mid-air with his talon. And if one of them, when stricken with the sun's light, uses a fearless gaze of his eyes in staring at it, that one is made much of, because it has proved the truth of its nature. But the one that turns away its eyes from

the sunbeam is rejected as being degenerate. Nor is it considered worth educating such a molly-coddle.

The mercy of a certain mere plebeian bird softens this spartan behavior in the royal fowl. A bird whose name is coot picks the baby up, whether it has been thrown out or just not recognized, and adopts the eagle's child and feeds and nourishes it with the very same maternal zeal she shows for her own offspring.

Above: Eagle with outstretched wings, lectern from a pulpit. Italian (School of Pisa), 14th century. Opposite: Eagle amid acacia blossoms, underside of a ceramic dish. Spanish (Manises, Valencia Province), about 1430–65



GRUS the Crane takes its name from its peculiar note. For it is with such a cry (*grus*) that they make a low, continual muttering sound to each other.

Cranes go about in proper military formations. And, lest there be a high wind that might prevent their light bodies from going straight ahead to their destination, they eat sand and pick up small stones to give themselves ballast. Then they rise quickly to the heights, so they can see the territory they want to reach.

Cranes keep a watchful guard at night. You can see sentries placed in an orderly way, and, while the remainder of the comrade-army is sleeping, these march round and round to investigate whether any ambushes are being attempted.

They keep themselves awake for their guard duty by holding stones in their claws and share the night watches equally, taking over in turn. If there is an emergency, the sentries shout.

You can tell a crane's age by its color, for in old age it becomes black.

Crane, detail of a ceramic dish. Spanish (Manises, Valencia Province), about 1450–1500



The VULTURE does not make rapid flights on account of the size of its body.

Now vultures, like eagles, notice cadavers even when they are beyond the seas. They see from a height, while flying, many things that are hidden from us by the mountains in between.

Vultures are said not to mingle in a conjugal manner by way of nuptial intercourse. The females conceive without any assistance from the males and generate without conjunction. The children thus born continue to a great age, so that their life is prolonged even to a hundred years.

The bird can breed without a male, and nobody disproves it. Yet when the betrothed Virgin Mary herself so produces, people question her modesty!

Vultures are accustomed to foretelling the death of men by certain signs. The augurs are warned whenever two lines of battle are drawn up against each other in lamentable war—for the birds follow in a long column, and they show by the length of this column how many soldiers are to die in the struggle.

Vultures, capital. Spanish (Segovia Province), about 1160



Only from India can one get a PSITIACUS or Parrot, which is a green bird with a red collar and a large tongue. The tongue is broader than in other birds, and it makes distinct sounds with it. If you did not see it, you would think it was a man talking. It greets people of its own accord, saying “What-cheer?” or “Toodle-oo!”

It learns other words by rote.

A parrot’s beak is so hard that if you hurl the bird onto a rock from a height, it saves itself by landing on its beak with its mouth shut tight, using the beak to absorb the shock. Actually, its skull is so thick that, if it has to be taught anything, it wants an occasional crack with an iron bar. Up to two years

old, it learns what you point out to it quickly enough and retains it tenaciously, but after that it begins to be distraight and unteachable.

Parrots, detail of a brocaded cloth. Italian (Sicily), 13th century



The OWL thrives on darkness and flies about in the night. It sees nothing in the sunlight. In the day it acts as though it were blind.

The crow is the owl's enemy. When a crow finds an owl during the day, he calls his companions who join together to mob the owl.

The owl is a symbol of darkness and hence of the Jews who rejected Christ, the light of the world, as their king; for they said, "We have no King but Caesar."

Owl on a shield with the motto (in German) "Though I am hated by all birds, I nevertheless enjoy that." Hungarian, about 1499-1502

FENIX [Phoenix], the bird of Arabia, is unparalleled in the whole world. It lives beyond five hundred years.

When it notices that it is growing old, it builds itself a funeral pyre after collecting some spice branches; and on this, turning its body toward the rays of the sun and flapping its wings, it sets fire to itself and is consumed. Then verily, on the ninth day afterward, it rises from its own ashes!

It makes a coffin for itself of frankincense and myrrh and other spices, into which, its life being over, it enters and dies. From the liquid of its body a worm now emerges, and this gradually grows to maturity until, at the appointed time, the phoenix assumes the oarage of its wings, and there it is again in its previous species and form!

The symbolism of this bird therefore teaches us to believe in the Resurrection.

Rising phoenixes among floral sprays, detail of a brocaded cloth. Italian (probably Lucca), 14th century



PELICANUS the Pelican is a bird that lives in the solitude of the River Nile, whence it takes its name. The pelican is excessively devoted to its children. But when these have been born and begin to grow up, they flap their parents in the face with their wings, and the parents, striking back, kill them. Three days afterward the mother pierces her breast, opens her side, and lays herself across her young, pouring out her blood over the dead bodies. This brings them to life again.

In the same way, Our Lord Jesus Christ calls us into being out of nothing. We, on the contrary, strike him in the face.

That was why He ascended to the height of the cross and, His side having been pierced, there came from it blood and water for our salvation and eternal life.

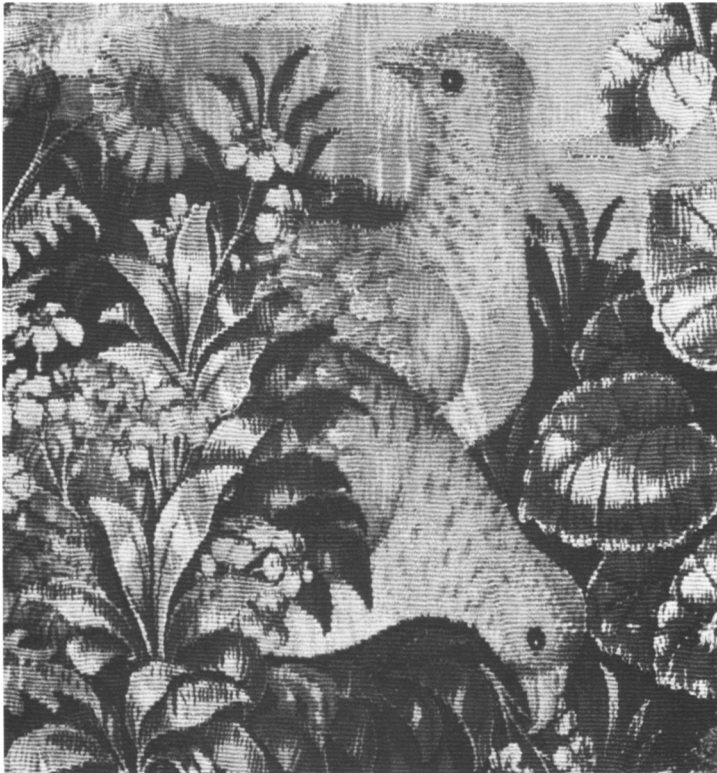
The Pelican in Her Piety, surrounded by a vine-scroll motif, brass plate. South Netherlandish (Dinant or Malines), 15th century



The SIRENAE [Sirens], or Harpies, so Physiologus says, are deadly creatures made like human females from the head to the navel, while their lower parts down to the feet are winged. They give forth melodious songs that are very lovely, and thus they charm the ears of sailors and allure them. They entice these poor chaps by a wonderful sweetness of rhythm and put them to sleep. At last, when they see that the sailors are deeply slumbering, they pounce upon them and tear them to bits.

That is the way ignorant and incautious human beings get tricked by pretty voices, when they are charmed by indelicacies, ostentations and pleasures, or when they become licentious with comedies, tragedies, and various ditties.

Harpies, capital. Spanish (Segovia Province), about 1160



PERDIX the Partridge is a cunning, disgusting bird. It is such a perverted creature that the female will steal the eggs of another female. But when the young are hatched and hear the call of their real mother, they instinctively run away from the one that is brooding them and return to the one that laid them.

Partridges cover their setts with thorny shrubs, so that animals that might attack them are kept off by the twigs. The females mostly carry away their young to foil their husbands, because the latter often attack the young ones when they are fawning on them impatiently.

Desire torments the females so much that even if a wind blows toward them from the males they may become pregnant by the smell.

When partridges notice that they have been spied out, they turn over on their backs, lift clods of earth with their feet, and spread these so skillfully over themselves that they lie hidden from detection.

Partridges among flowers. detail from the Unicorn Tries to Escape. from the *Unicorn* tapestry series



ACCIPITER the Hawk is even better equipped in its spirit than in its talons, for it shows very great courage in a very small body. It is avid at seizing upon others, whence it is called the ravisher, the thief.

People say that the hawk is unnaturally spartan toward his offspring, for when he sees that the youngsters are fit to try flying, he offers them no food in the nest but beats them with his wings and drives them from the nursery, so that they shall not turn into sluggish adults.

He gives up feeding them to make them audacious in the art of robbery.

Hawks, ornamental brasses (probably from a chandelier). South Netherlandish, 15th century

COLUMBA the Dove is a simple fowl free from gall, and it asks for love with its eye. It has a groan instead of a song. This bird does not mangle things with its beak, but picks out the better grains. It brings up the young of others.

The dove nests in a hole in the rock and sits near streams, so that on seeing a hawk, it can dive in and escape; it defends itself with its wings.

In India is a tree called Peridexion (Perindeus). Its fruit is very sweet and exceedingly agreeable. Doves delight in

the produce of this tree and live in it, feeding on its fruits.

Now the dragon is an enemy to doves, but it fears the tree they live in, and its shade, too. Indeed, if the shadow of the tree falls to the west, he betakes himself to the east, and if the shadow comes to the east, he flees to the west. If, however, a dove happens to be found outside the tree-shade, then the dragon kills it.

Dove, copper-gilt and enamel ciborium.
French (Limoges), 13th century



That old bird CORNIX the Crow is called by its Greek name among the Latins. Soothsayers declare that it deals with the troubles of men through omens, that it discloses the paths of treachery, and that it predicts the future.

It is very wrong to believe that God entrusts his secrets to crows.

Among the many omens attributed to this bird, they specially mention the foretelling of rain by its voice.

Let men learn to love their children from the example and from the sense of duty of crows. They diligently follow their sons as an escort when they fly, and fearing that the babies might pine away, they lay food in and do not neglect the chore of feeding for a long time.

Crows attacking an owl. capital. Spanish (Segovia Province), last quarter of the 12th century



BEES (*Apes*) are born without feet, for they only grow their feet and wings later on.

They are skilled in the art of making honey. They live in definite houses. They build their homes with indescribable dexterity, making them out of various flowers and filling countless cells with spun wax. They have kings, armies—they go to war.

Many people have proven that these creatures are born from the corpses of cows. The flesh of dead calves is beaten in order to bring them forth, so that out of the rotting blood maggots may be created that finally turn into bees. One ought more accurately say that bees are born from oxen, hornets from horses, drones from mules, and wasps from donkeys.

Alone among every species of the living, bees have children that are common to all. All inhabit the same dwelling, all are enclosed behind the threshold of one fatherland. Work is mutual to all, food is communal, labor and the habit and enjoyment of flight are all held equally.

Bees arrange for their own king. They create a popular state, and, although they are placed under a king, they are free. A king bee is formed with clear natural signs, so that he can be distinguished by the size of his body and by his appearance.

Such bees as are disobedient to the laws of the king punish themselves on being condemned to penance, so that they die by the wounds of their own stings.

Bees have stings and can produce

poison as well as honey, if provoked. In their thirst for revenge, they lay down their own lives in the wounds which they make.

The moisture of honey-dew is poured into the mid-most recesses of the hives and little by little, it is refined into honey. Although it was originally liquid, it begins to take on the sweet, mellifluous smell through the thickening of the wax and the scent of the flowers.

Not only is honey delightful, but it is healthy. It mollifies the throat, it heals wounds, it is administered as a medicine for internal ulcers.

While their king is safe, bees never alter decisions or change their minds. But if the king is lost, they abandon the trust of preserving his kingdom and tear themselves away from his honey-store, because he who held the office of chief is destroyed.

Bees flee from smoke and are irritated by noise.



Bee, detail of an intaglio-carved game piece. North German, about 1200–50



DRACO the Dragon is the largest of all serpents, in fact of all living things on earth. The Greeks call it *draconta* and hence it has been turned into Latin under the name *draco*.

When the dragon has come out of its cave, it is often carried into the sky, and the air near it becomes ardent. It has a crest, a small mouth and a narrow gullet through which it draws breath or puts out its tongue. Its strength is not in its teeth but in its tail, and it inflicts injury by blows rather than by stinging. So it is harmless as regards poison. But they point out that poisons are not necessary to it for killing, since if it winds round anyone it kills him straightaway. Even the elephant is not protected from it by the size of its body; for the dragon, lying in wait near the paths along which elephants usually saunter, lassoes their legs in a knot with its tail and destroys them by suffocation.

Dragons are bred in Ethiopia and India, in places where there is perpetual heat.

The Devil is like this dragon. He is often borne into the air from his den, and the air round him blazes, for the Devil in raising himself from the lower regions translates himself into an angel of light and misleads the foolish with false hopes of glory and worldly bliss.

Above: Dragon being speared by a boy, candlestick. Mosan, late 12th century. Opposite: Feathered two-footed dragon or wyvern, aquamanile. German, late 12th to early 13th century

ANGUIS the Snake is the origin of all serpents, because snakes can be folded and bent and are never straight.

COLUBER (another name for snake) is called this because it glides with serpentine coils (*colubrosus*) into slippery courses. It is known as “the slippery one” because it slips away crawling, and like a fish, the tighter it is held, the more it crawls.

SERPENS gets its name because it creeps (*serpit*) by secret approaches and not by open steps. It moves along



by very small pressures of its scales.

The ones that have four legs like lizards and newts are not called serpents but reptiles. Serpents are reptiles that crawl on their belly and breast.

Of these creatures, how many poisons there are, how many species, how many calamities, how many griefs, and what a lot of different colors they have got!

Crozier with a serpent volute and Saint Michael slaying the dragon. French, late 12th to early 13th century





The BASILISK is the king of serpents—so much so, that people who see it run for their lives, because it can kill them merely by its smell. It destroys a man even if it looks at him. At the mere sight of a basilisk, any bird that is flying past cannot get across unhurt, rather—although it may be far from the creature’s mouth—it gets frizzled up and is devoured.

Nevertheless, basilisks are conquered by weasels. Men put these into the lairs in which they lie hid, and thus, on seeing the weasel, the basilisk runs away. The weasel follows and kills it—God never makes anything without a remedy.

The basilisk, like the scorpion, also frequents desert places, and before people can get to the rivers it gives

them hydrophobia and drives them mad. It can kill with its noise and burn people up, as it were, before it bites them.

Finally, a basilisk is striped lengthwise with white marks six inches in width.

Basilisk, voussoir of an arch. French (Languedoc), 12th century



The ASP gets its name because it injects and spreads poison with its bite. Indeed, it always runs about with its mouth wide open and steaming, the effect of which is to injure other species of animals.

Now it is said that when an asp realizes it is being enchanted by a musical snake-charmer, who summons it with his own particular incantations to get it out of its hole, the asp, unwilling to come out, presses one ear to the ground and closes the other ear by sticking its tail in it. Thus, not hearing the magical noises, it does not go forth to the chanting.

Such indeed are the men of this world, who press down one ear to worldly desires, and truly by stuffing up the other one they do not hear the voice of the Lord.

Asp being trampled by a lion, carved relief. Spanish, about 1250





This is called an AMPHIVENA (*Amphisbaena*) because it has two heads. One head is in the right place and the other is in its tail. With one head holding the other, it can bowl along in either direction like a hoop. This is the only snake that stands the cold well, and it is the first to come out of hibernation.

Two-headed creature, perhaps an amphisbaena, voussoir of an arch. French (Languedoc), 12th century

The snake SCITALIS gets that name because it is so splendid in the variegation of its skin that a man stops dead on seeing its beautiful markings. Owing to the fact that it is a sluggish crawler and has not the power to overtake people by chasing them, it captures them as they stand stupefied by its splendor. Moreover, it glows so much that even in winter time it displays the blazing skin of its body.

Opposite: Scitalia, or scitalislike creatures, detail of a brocaded cloth. Italian (Sicily), 13th century

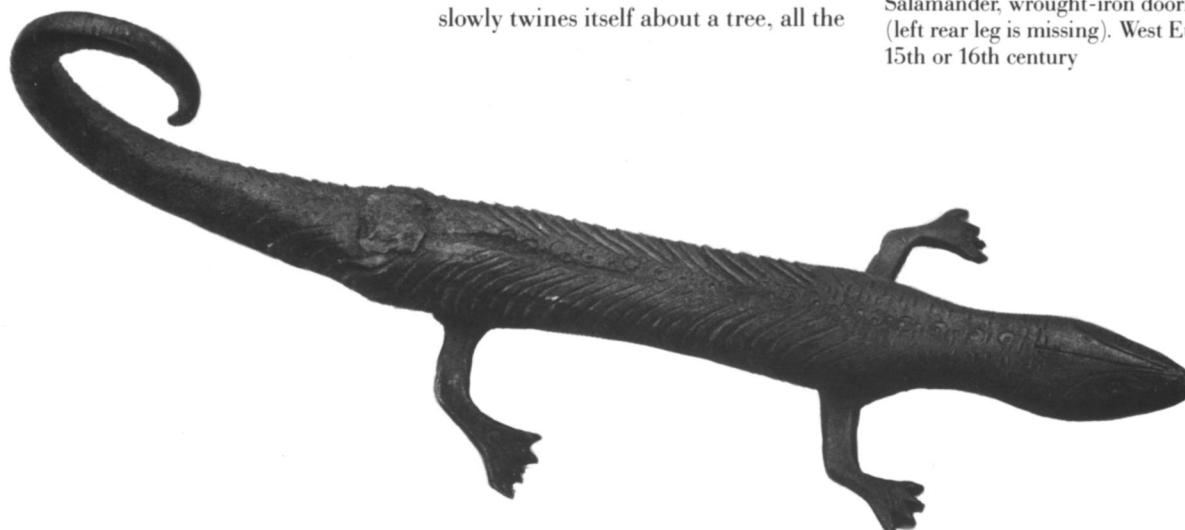
The SALAMANDRA has its name because it prevails against fire. Indeed, it lives in the middle of the blaze without being hurt or burnt—and not only because the fire

does not consume it, but because it actually puts out the fire itself.

Of all poisonous creatures its strength is the greatest, for, although others may kill things one at a time, the salamander kills most at one blow. If it slowly twines itself about a tree, all the

fruits get infected with venom, and thus it kills the people who eat them. Even if it falls into a well the power of its toxin slays those who drink the water.

Salamander, wrought-iron doorknocker (left rear leg is missing). West European, 15th or 16th century



The SCORPION is a land worm which we classify with worms rather than with snakes. It is a stinging creature, and is called the Archer in the Greek language because it plunges in its tail and injects its poisons with a curving wound (*aculeus: arcuatus*). The oddest thing about a scorpion is that it will not bite you in the palm of your hand.

Scorpion, from a *bas-de-page* of the calendar from the *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*





SAURA the Lizard is a *Lacertus* that goes blind when it gets old. Then it goes into a hole in the wall facing east, stretches itself toward the rising sun, and its sight is restored.

Lizards entwined in foliage, mirror case.
English or French (Channel School),
probably late 12th century

FISH (*Pisces*) are known as reptiles because they have the same shape and natural disposition for swimming about. However deeply they plunge into the abyss, in swimming they are slow movers.

AMPHIVIA are a kind of fish that have the habit of walking about on dry land or swimming about in the sea; i.e., they live in the water or on the shore, like seals, crocodiles, and hippos.

Among all the kinds of animals living in the sea, we have knowledge of one hundred and forty-four.

Fish representing the zodiac sign Pisces, detail from the *Belles Heures* of Jean, Duke of Berry



There is an ocean monster called a WHALE (*Cetus*) because of the frightfulness of its body and because it was this animal that swallowed Jonah; and its belly was so great that people took it to be Hell.

This animal lifts its back out of the open sea and then anchors in one place; and on its back, what with the shingle of the ocean drawn there by gales, a level lawn is produced and

bushes begin to grow there. Sailing ships that happen to be going that way take it to be an island and land on it. Then they build themselves a fire. But the whale, feeling the hotness of the fire, suddenly plunges downward and pulls the anchored ship with it into the depths.

Whenever this monster feels hungry it opens its mouth and exudes a pleasant-smelling breath; and when

the smaller fishes notice the odor, they crowd together in the mouth. Naturally, when the monster feels his mouth to be full, he shuts it at once. Thus he swallows them down.

Fanciful whale, from the border of a stained glass window. French (Ile-de-France), about 1320





MULLUS, the Red Mullet, is called that because it is soft (*mollis*) and very tender. They say that lust can be cooled by eating it, and they also dull the eyesight. People who frequently consume mullet smell of fish. If a mullus is drowned in wine, those who drink the stuff afterwards get a loathing for wine-drinking.

Fish, detail of a ceramic dish. Spanish (Manises, Valencia Province), about 1430–70

DELFINES the Dolphins have that particular name either as a description, because they follow the human voice, or else because they will assemble together in schools for a symphony concert.

Nothing in the sea is faster than they are, for they often outrun ships, leaping out of the water. When they are sporting in the waves and smashing into the masses of combers with a headlong leap, they are thought to portend storms.

There is a species of dolphin in the River Nile, with a saw-shaped dorsal fin, that destroys crocodiles by slicing up the soft parts of the belly.

Dolphins dancing atop waves, detail of a fresco. Spanish (Burgos Province), early 13th century



CANCER the Crab adopts a cunning stratagem, due to his greed. He is very fond of oysters and likes to get himself a banquet of their flesh. Although eager for dinner, he understands the pursuit is as difficult as it is hazardous. It is difficult because the flesh of the oyster is contained within very strong shells. Nothing can open the closed oyster by force, and thus it is dangerous for the crab to insert his claw. Betaking himself to artfulness, therefore, the crab lays an ambush with a plot of his own.

Because all species delight in

relaxing, the crab investigates to find out whether at any time the oyster opens that double shell of his in places



remote from all wind and safe from the rays of the sun. Then the crab, secretly casting in a pebble, prevents the closing of the oyster, and thus, finding the lock forced, inserts his claws safely and feeds on the flesh.

Some people relate that if ten crabs are compounded with a handful of basil, all scorpions in the neighborhood will be gathered to that place. There are two kinds of crab, river ones and sea ones.

Crab, from a *bas-de-page* of the calendar from the *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*

Notes

Cover and p. 1: Bronze, H. 8¼ in. Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.1410)

Inside covers: Silk, wool, and metal thread. Gift of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 1937 (37.80.2)

Back cover: Copper, gilt and enamel, Diam. 2¼ in. Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.326)

P. 12: One of a pair from a church portal, red marble, H. 26 in. The Cloisters Collection, 1953 (53.64.1)

P. 13: From the Sala Capitular (Chapter House) of the Monastery of San Pedro de Arlanza, near Hortigüela, transferred to canvas, H. 89 in. The Cloisters Collection, 1931 (31.38.1)

P. 14: Silk, wool, and metal thread. Gift of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 1937 (37.80.2)

P. 15: From the apse of Church of San Martín de Fuentidueña, limestone, H. 19½ in. On loan to The Cloisters from the Spanish Government (L 58.86)

P. 16: Copper luster, tin-enameled earthenware, Diam. 17¾ in. The Cloisters Collection, 1956 (56.171.137)

P. 17: Brass, H. 15¼ in. Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 (64.101.1493)

P. 18: Part of decoration from reliquary casket in Church of Saint Foy at Conques, copper-gilt and champlevé enamel, Diam. 3½ in. Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.692)

P. 19: From Church of San Baudel de Berlanga, transferred to canvas, 80¾ x 53¼ in. (sight). The Cloisters Collection, 1957 (57.97.5). On loan to the Museo del Prado, Madrid

P. 20 (left): Silk, wool, and metal thread. Gift of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 1937 (37.80.2)

P. 20 (right): Brass, Diam. 15½ in. Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 (64.101.1506)

P. 21: Silver, partly gilt, and enamel, H. 7¾ in. The Cloisters Collection, 1952 (52.50)

P. 22: By Jean Pucelle. Fol. 22 recto, detail (greatly enlarged), grisaille on vellum. The Cloisters Collection, 1954 (54.1.2)

P. 23: From Church of San Baudel de Berlanga, transferred to canvas, 78½ x 44¼ in. (sight). The Cloisters Collection, 1957 (57.97.4). On loan to the Museo del Prado, Madrid

P. 24 (top): One of seven voussiors of an arch, probably from former Church of Saint Cosmus at Narbonne, marble, L. 12¾ in. John Stewart Kennedy Fund, 1922 (22.58.1)

P. 24 (bottom): By Jean Pucelle. Fol. 46 recto, detail (greatly enlarged), grisaille on vellum. The Cloisters Collection, 1954 (54.1.2)

P. 25: Gold luster and dark blue, tin-enameled earthenware, Diam. 18 in. The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931 (32.100.387)

P. 26 (top): Detail of the tomb of Don Alvaró de Cabrera, Count of Urgel, Viscount of Ager (d. 1299), from Monastery of Santa María de Bellpuig de las Avellanas, near Lérida, limestone, Depth 25 in. The Cloisters Collection, 1948 (48.140.2)

P. 26 (bottom): Copper-gilt and champlevé enamel, Diam. 1½ in. Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.429)

P. 27 (top): *Country Life: Shepherd and Shepherdess*, wool. Gift of George Blumenthal, 1941 (41.100.196)

P. 27 (bottom): By Pol, Jean, and Herman de Limbourg. Fol. 4 recto, detail (enlarged), ink, tempera, and gold leaf on parchment. The Cloisters Collection, 1954 (54.1.1)

P. 28 (left): From Abbey of Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert, stone, 15¾ x 12 in. The Cloisters Collection, 1925 (25.120.128)

P. 28 (right): Detail of dish with arms of the Babau family. Blue and copper luster, tin-enameled earthenware. The Cloisters Collection, 1956 (56.171.125)

P. 29: From Church of San Baudel de Berlanga, transferred to canvas, H. 96 in. The Cloisters Collection, 1961 (61.219)

P. 30: Bronze, H. 11¾ in. Gift of Mrs. Leo S. Bing, 1952 (52.24.2)

P. 31: From Church of San Baudel de Berlanga, transferred to canvas, H. 71¾ in. The Cloisters Collection, 1957 (57.97.1). On loan to the Museo del Prado, Madrid

P. 32 (top): By Jean Pucelle. Fol. 51 recto, detail (greatly enlarged), grisaille on vellum. The Cloisters Collection, 1954 (54.1.2)

P. 32 (bottom): Silk, wool, and metal thread. Gift of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 1937 (37.80.2)

P. 33: Bronze, H. 12¼ in. Rogers Fund, 1910 (10.37.2)

P. 34: Lectern in form of eagle (symbol of Saint John the Evangelist), marble (head restored), H. 28 in. Rogers Fund, 1918 (18.70.28)

P. 35: Blue and copper luster, tin-enameled earthenware, Diam. 18½ in. The Cloisters Collection, 1956 (56.171.118)

P. 36 (top): From apse of Church of San Martín de Fuentidueña, limestone, H. 20 in. On loan to The Cloisters from the Spanish Government (L 58.86)

P. 36 (bottom): Blue and copper luster, tin-enameled earthenware, Diam. 15½ in. The Cloisters Collection, 1956 (56.171.120)

P. 37: Silk and metal thread. Fletcher Fund, 1946 (46.156.30)

P. 38: Targe with arms of Tänzle von Tratzberg quartered with those of Rindscheit. Wood, pigskin, burlap, gesso, and paint, H. 26½ in. Bashford Dean Memorial Collection, Bashford Dean Memorial Fund, 1969 (69.196)

P. 39 (bottom): Silk and linen thread. Rogers Fund, 1912 (12.55.1)

P. 39 (top): Brass, Diam. 20 in. Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 (64.101.1498)

P. 40 (top): From apse of Church of San Martín de Fuentidueña, limestone, H. 22 in. On loan to The Cloisters from the Spanish Government (L 58.86)

P. 40 (bottom): Silk, wool, and metal thread. Gift of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 1937 (37.80.3)

P. 41: Brass, H. 6½ in. Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 (64.101.1528, 29)

P. 42: Copper-gilt and champlevé enamel, H. 7 in. The Cloisters Collection, 1947 (47.101.34)

P. 43 (top): From apse of Church of San Martín de Fuentidueña, limestone, H. 18½ in. On loan to The Cloisters from the Spanish Government (L 58.86)

P. 43 (bottom): Underside of game piece, statuette of enthroned king, viscous paste, H. 1¾ in. Rogers Fund, 1978 (1978.494)

P. 44 (left): Gilt-bronze, molded and chased, H. 7¾ in. Gift of George Blumenthal, 1941 (41.100.131)

P. 44 (right): Copper-gilt and champlevé enamel, H. 12¾ in. The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931 (32.100.289)

P. 45: Bronze, H. 8¾ in. The Cloisters Collection, 1947 (47.101.51)

P. 46: Probably from former Church of Saint Cosmus at Narbonne, marble, L. 14½ in. John Stewart Kennedy Fund, 1922 (22.58.1)

P. 47: The Lion of the Tribe of Judah, relief from Church of Saint Leonard at Zamora. H. 86 in. Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1916 (16.142)

P. 48: Silk and metal thread. Fletcher Fund, 1946 (46.156.26)

P. 49: Probably from former Church of Saint Cosmus at Narbonne, marble, L. 16¾ in. John Stewart Kennedy Fund, 1922 (22.58.1)

P. 50 (top): L. 9½ in. The Cloisters Collection, 1952 (52.121.12)

P. 50 (bottom): By Jean Pucelle. Fol. 11 recto, detail (greatly enlarged), grisaille on vellum. The Cloisters Collection, 1954 (54.1.2)

P. 51: Bronze, Diam. 4¾ in. The Cloisters Collection, 1947 (47.101.47)

P. 52: By Pol, Jean, and Herman de Limbourg. Fol. 3 recto, detail (enlarged), ink, tempera, and gold leaf on parchment. The Cloisters Collection, 1954 (54.1.1)

P. 53: Detail of border of grisaille glass window panel. Pot metal, silver stain. The Cloisters Collection, 1982 (1982.433.4)

P. 54: Blue and copper luster, tin-enameled earthenware. The Cloisters Collection, 1956 (56.171.153)

P. 55 (top): From Sala Capitular (Chapter House) of the Monastery of San Pedro de Arlanza, near Hortigüela, transferred to canvas. The Cloisters Collection, 1931 (31.33.1b)

P. 55 (bottom): By Jean Pucelle. Fol. 7 recto, detail (greatly enlarged), grisaille on vellum. The Cloisters Collection, 1954 (54.1.2)

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Back cover: Dove holding a scroll in its beak, badge, probably part of a horse harness. Spanish, 14th century



