The Bestiary in British Library, Royal MS. 2 C. XII and its Role in Medieval Education

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The Royal collection of manuscripts in the British Library contains two very important early thirteenth-century bestiaries, namely Royal 12 C. XIX, which belongs to the so-called Transitional Family, and Royal 12 F. XIII, which belongs to the Second Family.1 These bestiaries are famous both for their texts and their illuminations, which are masterpieces of thirteenth-century English art. Much less known is another early thirteenth-century bestiary in the Royal collection, this one unillustrated, namely Royal 2 C. XII, which is my subject here. The manuscript consists of 146 folios. The provenance of the book has not yet been traced, but an early fourteenth-century inscription at the top of the first folio indicates that it was once in the possession of the abbey of St Peter at Gloucester, which later became Gloucester Cathedral. Casley’s catalogue2 states that the binding contained a note (which now seems to have been cut off) that the manuscript belonged to Thomas de Bredone, an abbot of Gloucester between 1224 and 1228. So it is possible to suggest that the volume was made in or for the abbey of St Peter at Gloucester and that Thomas de Bredone was one of the first (if not the first) owners of the book. The manuscript came into the Royal Library before the year 1666. The book contains three treatises originally bound together: an anonymous commentary on the Song of Solomon, the Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum of Isidore of Seville, and the bestiary; the main texts and glosses of all three are written well in similar hands.

The genre of bestiaries itself probably needs a brief introduction. All medieval bestiaries ultimately derive from the book called the Physiologus, which was written by an anonymous Greek author in Alexandria in the second or third century A.D. The book contained (as far as we can tell now, as the archetype is lost) 47 chapters of stories on various mythical beasts, birds and precious stones. Each chapter begins with zoological or pseudo-zoological material and continues with a moralization of that material.3 The chapter on the lion can illustrate this point. The Physiologus says the lion has three characteristics (naturae). The first is that it walks in the mountains. If it happens that hunters pursue it, the lion picks up their smell and covers the traces behind it with its tail. The second is that when the lion sleeps, its eyes are open and watchful. The third is that when a lioness gives birth to a cub, it is born dead, but on the third day its father comes and by breathing into its face, the father lion revives it. These

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3 A good introduction to the history of the Physiologus can be found in McCulloch, pp. 16-28.
characteristics of the lion are compared with events in the life of Christ, for instance his descent from Heaven into the womb of the Virgin, the ostensible sleep of his body on the Cross while his divinity was watching, and his resurrection on the third day.\(^4\)

The aim of the *Physiologus* was to use curious examples from the natural world to teach young Christians the basics of Christian doctrine. The treatise became very popular, and by the fourth or fifth century had been translated into several languages, including Latin. In the course of the eighth and ninth centuries the *Physiologus* reached France, though very little is known about its popularity in this period; but already in the twelfth century its so-called B version appeared in England.\(^5\) In England most of the *Physiologus* chapters received supplements in the form of texts borrowed from the *Etymologiae*, the famous encyclopedia of the sixth- to seventh-century Spanish bishop Isidore of Seville. In this way a new genre was established, which acquired the name *bestiarium*, and this genre (thanks to the peculiarity of its text and to the curious illustrations of most manuscripts) became one of the most popular in medieval literature from the twelfth to the sixteenth century.

The main function of the genre was the same as that of the *Physiologus*, that is to teach young pupils, and as a result, bestiaries were used in monasteries and cathedral schools all over England. Between the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century, more and more species found their way into bestiaries, considerably enlarging the number of chapters. The texts describing these animals were taken from encyclopedias, sermons, theological treatises, and so on, and in this way the texts of bestiary manuscripts began to diverge dramatically from their *Physiologus* source. As a result, broadly speaking, we currently divide English bestiaries into five families, that is *BIs*, *Second*, *Transitional*, *Third*, and *Fourth*. The era of bestiaries ended in actuality only with the dissolution of the monasteries after 1534 under Henry VIII; following the dissolution, the manuscripts began to come into various public and private libraries. This seems to have been the fate of Royal 2 C. XII.

The Royal 2 C. XII bestiary belongs to the so-called *BIs Family*, that is, to the first and simplest group of medieval Latin bestiaries as they are now known to us. The family currently has twelve manuscripts produced from the twelfth to the fifteenth century.\(^6\) From a genealogical point of view, Royal 2 C. XII is a descendant, but not a direct one, of the earliest surviving English bestiary, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Laud. Misc. 247, made around 1120-1130.\(^7\) The text of the Royal bestiary was published by the German scholar Max Friedrich Mann in 1888,\(^8\) and this manuscript is one of the first among the still very few published bestiary texts. For a long time following Mann’s work, the manuscript did not attract scholarly attention,\(^9\) most probably because it is not illustrated (and was not intended to be illustrated, as space was not left for images), and so it could not compete with other richly illustrated representatives of the *BIs Family*.

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\(^4\) For the editions of the Greek text of the *Physiologus* see F. Lauchert, *Geschichte des Physiologus* (Strassburg, 1889); F. Sbordone, *Physiologus* (Milan, 1936); D. Offermanns, *Der Physiologus nach der Handschriften G und M* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1966); and D. Kaimakis, *Der Physiologus nach der ersten Redaktion* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1974).

\(^5\) An Anglo-Saxon *Physiologus* existed in England even in the tenth century, but this is not the tradition from which the bestiaries developed.


\(^7\) There is one small peculiarity that the Royal bestiary shares only with an early thirteenth-century *BIs* bestiary, namely Bodley 602. The index of chapters in this manuscript instead of *de caladri* has *de cheladru*, and analogously an index in the Royal bestiary has *de chelindron*, most probably confusing the serpent *chelydris* and the bird *caladrius*. The glossator of the Royal manuscript realized the mistake and wrote the correct name of the bird beside this entry.


\(^9\) The manuscript was briefly mentioned in James, *The Bestiary*, p. 9; and in McCulloch, p. 29.
The manuscript is large in format, with a folio size of 340 x 240 mm. It is one of the largest bestiary manuscripts, and unlike many others, not easily portable. The parchment is thick and of good quality. Except for the loss of the original binding, the volume is in excellent condition. The bestiary occupies the last two quires, ff. 133r-140v and 141r-146v of the manuscript. The text area is 245 x 155 mm, and thus the margins are wide; and the text is in two columns of 45 lines, 5 mm in height. The text itself is written in large, easy-to-read Gothic script, with minimum corrections throughout, and few contractions. The bestiary begins with a title: Incipit liber de natura quorundam animalium et lapidum et quid significetur per eam [Here begins a book about the nature of some animals and stones and what is signified by it]. Beneath the title on f. 133r there are various regular thirteenth-century teaching and reading aids, for instance, an index of chapters, with the entries marked by alternating red and blue capitals, rubrics, three-line blue and red initials, paragraph signs, and some glosses. In other words, the appearance of the folio is typical of late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century mise-en-page.11

Beginning on f. 133v the bestiary contains a very elaborate and well thought out apparatus of contemporary glosses, the most elaborate in any English bestiary, yet not previously noted (fig. 1).12 I have to specify what I mean by glosses here, as the meaning of the term ‘gloss’ is sometimes blurred in the scholarly literature. For the purposes of this article I will define as glosses all pieces of text which appear in the margins and between the lines of the main text. Most of the glosses in medieval bestiaries can be categorized in one of the following types: lexical, grammatical, syntactical, content, and interpretative. Of course there are subtypes and cases where a specific gloss can be attributed to more than one category.13 A detailed study of contemporary glosses in medieval bestiaries has yet to be written, but very briefly: most bestiaries have either none or just a handful.14 Glosses are extremely rare (especially if we exclude those of the first four types) in the bestiaries of the BIs Family, to which our manuscript belongs, and also in bestiaries of the other families produced before the second quarter of the thirteenth century.15 This fact suggests that the massive apparatus of glosses found in Royal 2 C. XII simply could not have been copied from the BIs manuscript that was used as its model.16 In other words, the introduction of glosses, this bestiary is the representative of its time rather than of its family.

The appendix to this article includes a list of all of the glosses in the Royal bestiary, so I confine myself here to analysis of the glosses on the two first chapters, those on the lion and the antelope.

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10 The manuscript currently has a typical eighteenth-century British Library binding.
12 I cannot claim that the number of glosses here is higher than in any other bestiary: so far I have consulted about one hundred French bestiaries and bestiaries of the so-called Dicta Chrysostomi and versio Theobaldi, but this is only about thirty per cent of the total number.
13 I follow the classification established by G. R. Wieland in his The Latin Glosses on Arator and Prudentius in Cambridge University Library, MS Gg.5.35 (Toronto, 1983).
14 The only source where a reader can read an introduction to the subject of glosses in medieval bestiaries is W. B. Clark, A Medieval Book of Beasts: The Second-Family Bestiary: Commentary, Art, Text and Translation (Woodbridge, 2006).
15 One of the most interesting is an unstudied and unmentioned set of about fifty late fifteenth-century glosses in a late thirteenth-century Second Family bestiary, Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College Library, MS. 372/621. Many of these glosses refer to the De naturis rerum of Alexander Neckam.
16 It is also seems unlikely that it was copied from the glosses in a bestiary of another family. Copying glosses from one bestiary to another, contrary to the copying between manuscripts of other genres, is extremely rare. Thus Clark, p. 106, states that no Second Family bestiaries have glosses in common. I am aware of only one case in which such copying between bestiary manuscripts occurred. Three bestiaries of the Third Family (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. 254; Cambridge, University Library, MS. Kk 4.25; and London, Westminster Abbey, MS. 22) have the same gloss in ch. 2 (Megacosmus): Hic loquitur de illis piscibus, qui vicissim de mari transeunt ad fluidos.
The first gloss on f. 133r is the sign for *Nota* [Notice]. This is the most common gloss in the bestiary (and of course the most common in all medieval manuscripts), occurring 25 times, and is used to indicate items of ‘zoological’ or moral interest. In the lion chapter it appears in the margin near the lines with the moralization of the first characteristic of the beast in terms of Christ: *factus est cum angelis angelus, cum arcangelis arcangelus, cum thronis thronus, cum potestatibus potestas, donec descendit in utero virginis, ut salvaret hoc quod erraverat humanum genus* [He became an Angel among Angels, an Archangel among Archangels, a Throne among Thrones, a Power among Powers, until he descended into the womb of the Virgin to save mankind which had strayed]. Then the rest of the *notae* glosses occur in the part of the chapter drawn from Isidore’s *Etymologiae*. The glossator placed the content glosses *Bestia* and *Ferae* in the margin adjacent to the Isidorian definitions of beasts and wild animals: *Bestiarum vocabulum proprie convenit leonibus, pardis, vulpis, tygribus [...] Bestiae autem dicuntur a vi, qua saeviunt. Ferae appellantur, eo quod naturali utuntur libertate et desiderio suo ferantur.* [The term ‘beasts’ applies properly to lions, panthers, foxes, tigers [...] ‘Beasts’ are so called from the power with which they rage. They are called ‘wild’ because by nature they use freedom and they are moved by their own desire] and supplies these passages with another gloss, *Nota*. On f. 133v (fig. 2) there is another content gloss: *a leone leaena, a dracone dracaena* [‘lioness’ is derived from ‘lion’, ‘she-dragon’ from ‘dragon’], which points the reader to the similar Isidorian text in the bestiary: *Leaena vero a leone, sicuit dicitur dracaena a dracone.*

Further on there is a syntactical gloss. Roman numerals (i, ii, iii) and diacritical signs are put above the sentence where three kinds of lions are discussed in order to remove its syntactical ambiguity: *e quibus breves sunt et ibia crispa, et sunt:* *imbelles longi, et coma.* [of which there are small ones and those having a curly mane, and these are peaceful; and those with straight hair are fierce.] Of course, it is also possible that the roman numerals were added not to guide the reader through the syntax, but to point out which group of lions is which. Above the word *venatoribus* in the following line *Saepti a venatoribus, venabulis terreantur*, which the bestiaries of the *BIs* Family adopted from Isidore (*Etymologiae XII.2.4*), but with a lacuna in the middle, there is a correction mark, and adjacent in the margin is the gloss: *(ter)ram contuentur, quo minus conspectis,* which supplies the words missing in the lacuna. Then a content gloss (fig. 3): *leo timet gallum album* [the lion is afraid of the white cock] appears near the bestiary line *gallum timent album*. At the same level with this gloss occurs another one, which reads: *Manducator in sermone 42.* [Manducator on sermon 42]. The last gloss of the chapter, which is *Nota*, appears near the text: *Cum parit catulum, tribus diebus et tribus noctibus fertur dormire, donec advenientis patris rugitu et fremitu tremefactus excitetur* [When a lioness gives birth to a cub, it is said that it sleeps three days and three nights, till it is awakened by the growl and snarl of the approaching father].

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17 Of course, it is also possible that the roman numerals were added not to guide the reader through the syntax, but to point out which group of lions is which.

18 It seems the mentioned source is *Sermo XXX* of Petrus Comestor (*PL*, cxcvii, 1789c–1790), where many different activities of lions are discussed.
Fig. 3. London, BL, Royal MS. 2 C. XII, f. 133v (detail).
The second chapter on 133v is on the antalops (fig. 4). The bestiary says that this is a very fierce creature with two sharp horns. No hunter can approach this animal. But when an antalops is thirsty, it comes to the shores of the river Euphrates and starts playing with the branches of the bush herecina in which it becomes entangled. The antalops cries and the hunter comes and kills it. The moralization says that the Christian, who tries to be sober and chaste and live spiritually, has two horns — Two Testaments — using which he can cut off all corporal sins including drunkenness and lust. The interpretative (or content) gloss next to the beginning of the chapter says: Contra ebrietatem et luxuriam [Against drunkenness and lust]. In this way, the essence of the chapter is revealed from the very beginning. This system of informing the reader of the chapter’s subject in advance (or for helping the reader find specific material) is employed by the glossator in many other chapters; it is very striking that in all of them, the gloss refers exclusively to the moralizing component, and never mentions the zoological material. The system is very rare and can be compared to the rubrication of the beginning of chapters in some abnormal late thirteenth-century Second Family bestiaries, namely Paris, BnF, MS. lat. 3630, and London, BL, Harley MS. 3244.

The next gloss, which reads Adaptatio, appears besides the beginning of the moralization. The marking of moralizations is extremely rare in bestiaries. Usually, there is no spatial distinction between the zoological and moralization sections of a chapter. I am aware of only two examples: the first occurs in the early fourteenth-century Second Family bestiary, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 53, where the moralizations are marked by the marginal gloss Spiritualiter. The second example occurs in the late thirteenth-century Third Family bestiary, London, Westminster Abbey, MS. 22, where many moralizations are preceded by the word Sermo. In Royal 2 C. XII, twenty chapters have the gloss Adaptatio and twelve have Moraliter. The last gloss in the chapter on antalops is the content gloss Duo cornua [two horns].

The cases just mentioned give a clue to the most important types of glosses used in the manuscript. There are only a few others that need to be mentioned. Four chapters, those on vulpis (fox), castor (beaver), hyena and hydra have a red gloss Figura instead of or in addition to Adaptatio or Moraliter (fig. 5). The chapter on the bird ibis (Ch. XIV) includes the phrase: Ibex, avis Nili fluminis, qui semetipsam purgat, figens rostrum suum in anum suum [...] [Ibex, the bird of the River Nile, which cleans itself by putting its beak into its anus ...]. In the margin adjacent to this text is a decorative border framing a lexical gloss on the word anus (fig. 6): Forma senilis anus, pars quaedam corporis anus [The form of an old person is hunched (anus); and anus is a part of the body]. The text of the gloss came from the famous book of riddles Versus de differentiis written by the grammarian and poet Serlo of Wilton (1105-1181). Serlo was a teacher in Oxford in the middle of the twelfth century and he wrote his poem to give his students an entertaining way to study Latin. Only two bestiary manuscripts, an early thirteenth-century Third Family manuscript, Cambridge, University Library, MS. Kk 4.25 (in its non-bestiary part) has two lines taken from Serlo; and a line which is very similar to those of Serlo occurs in the late Second Family

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20 The meaning of Sermo here is of course not the sermon, but rather discourse or lesson.
22 The borders appear also in Chs XXVII (De Mustela) and XXXV (De Elephante).
Fig. 4. London, BL., Royal MS. 2 C. XII, f. 133v (detail).
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Fig. 5. London, BL., Royal MS. 2 C. XII, f. 138r (detail).

Fig. 6. London, BL., Royal MS. 2 C. XII, f. 137r (detail).
bestiary, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 533. In Ch. XVI (De Monoceros) the quotation from Jeremiah 17.11, as happens in several places in the Bls Family, is given in the so-called Pre-Vulgate version, and at the bottom of the folio there is a gloss that quotes from the Vulgate. In Chs VII (De Nicticornate) and XXX (De Turtur) the glosses came from the unknown source and from Isidore’s Etymologiae, and were meant to be the continuations of the texts. In Ch. XXVIII (De Aspide) the verse of Lucan is glossed by versus.24

Altogether, Royal 2 C. XII has about 150 glosses in its 38 chapters, or about four in each on average. Most of the glosses are nota, adaptatio, moraliter, or fall into the categories of content and interpretation; glosses of other types are very rare. Chapters that have above-average numbers of glosses include those on mermecolon (ant lion), leo (lion), elephas (elephant), columba (dove), caladrius, aspis (asp) and monoceros (unicorn), and these have from six to thirteen. I was not able to find any correlation between the placement of the chapter, or its length, or the importance of the creature discussed in the light of Christian doctrine and the number of glosses in the chapter; nor can I explain why some chapters lack the interpretative glosses at the beginning, and glosses like Adaptatio and Moraliter, or why some content and interpretative glosses are written in red, while most of the others are in brown. I suggest that this inconsistency is another proof that the glosses are original and were not copied from another manuscript.

To sum up: the early thirteenth-century bestiary in Royal 2 C. XII has the largest known and still unpublished set of contemporary glosses in any bestiary manuscript. Since none of the glosses, particularly the long one- or two-line interpretative glosses, appear in other bestiaries, I cannot see any reason to suggest that they might have been copied, so it seems that they were written for this specific bestiary. If so, it allows us to pose questions regarding the owner and the use of the bestiary. The bestiary is not easily portable, which, together with its good quality, good condition, and absence of images, points to a teacher as the most plausible owner. The presence of a syntactical gloss certainly points in the direction of a teacher; a pupil would surely have trouble with the syntax of more sentences, and would have added glosses in many more places. The same conclusion might be deduced from the presence of the frivolous lexical gloss adopted from Serlo. Finally, the two other texts bound together with the bestiary – a commentary on the Song of Solomon and the Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum of Isidore of Seville – are primarily school texts, and the same is true of the text of Petrus Comestor, a reference to whom we have observed. The citations in Chs I (De Natura Leoii) and XXX (De Turtur) of the bestiary from Isidore’s Etymologiae, which is one of the most important school books, shows that the glossator not only had it at hand, but also knew it quite well, which is an additional argument in favour of his being a teacher. All the evidence suggests that the owner of the manuscript was a teacher in some monastic or cathedral school.

Having the glosses of this bestiary before us, we can think of several possible ways the owner could have used them in the process of teaching. He may have read the text aloud, using the Nota glosses to call his pupils’ attention to particular passages, and the content glosses to emphasize facts from the pseudo-zoological part of the chapter. Then, he probably asked what in their opinion was the moral lesson or adaptatio that one could get from the story, and after getting their answers, he read aloud the correct one.25 In other cases – when for instance the interpretative gloss appears at the beginning of a chapter – a teacher could have asked pupils to give him examples they knew on this subject, and then read them the text of that chapter. A teacher could also have used the numerous interpretative and content glosses as bookmarks to find needed material much faster; if so, this use of glosses might be compared to the statim invenire (to find immediately) method which was popular in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.26 The particular stress on glosses on

24 The gloss versus occurs also in some late thirteenth-century Second Family bestiaries, e.g. Cambridge, St John’s College, MS. C. 12
25 I imagine that some readers will suggest the writing of sermons as another possible way of use of glosses here, but it has to be kept in mind that so far, and despite many efforts, no strong connection between bestiaries and sermons has been established; in all cases where sermons and bestiaries used similar material, the direct source for sermons was the Physiologus and not bestiaries.
the names of colours in Ch. XXXIII (De Columbis), I suggest, reflects an interest in the teaching of relatively rare Latin words. The presence of the gloss versus perhaps indicates that the teacher wanted to see whether his pupils realized that the line contained the verse, and to check whether they knew how to read a hexameter properly. This same gloss also perhaps served as a reminder to tell them about Lucan.

The classroom seems to be the main venue for use of the bestiary. Nevertheless, there were probably other uses for the text as well: it seems unlikely that the book would have been produced with just one specific purpose in mind. The book, for instance, could have been read in the refectory at mealtimes, and could have been used in the library as a reference work on animals. The line between these usages might have been extremely thin, but there cannot be any doubt that the bestiary in manuscript Royal 2 C. XII played an important part in medieval education.

Appendix: The Glosses in London, British Library, Royal MS. 2 C. XII

f. 133r.

Cap. I. De Natura Leonis, bestiarum seu animalium regis (Morini, p. 10).

1. Beside: ...factus est cum angelis angelus, cum arcangelis arcangelus... (Morini, p. 12, par. 2).
Gloss: Nota.

2. Beside: Bestiarum vocabulum proprie convenit leonibus, pardis, vulpibus, tygribus...
(Morini, p. 12, par. 7).
Gloss: Bestia.

3. Beside: Bestiae autem dicuntur a vi, qua saeviunt. (Morini, p. 12, par. 7).
Gloss: Nota.

(Morini, p. 12, par. 8).
Gloss: Ferae.

f. 133v.

5. Beside: Leaena vero a leone, sicut dicitur dracaena a dracone. (Morini, p. 12, par. 9 - p. 14, par. 1).
Gloss: A leone leaena, a dracone dracaena.

Gloss: i, ii, iii.

Gloss: (ter)ram contuentur, quo minus conspectis. (Isidore, Etymologiae XII.2.4).

Gloss: Leo timet gallum album.
Gloss: Manducator in sermone 42.

All references to BI text are given according to L. Morini, Bestiarì medievàli (Turin, 1996).

**Gloss:** Nota.

**Cap. II. De Autalops** (Morini, p. 14).

1. Beside: Est animal acerrimum nimis, ita ut nec venator... (Morini, p. 14, par. 1).

**Gloss:** Contra ebrietatem et luxuriam.

2. Beside: Sic et tu, homo Dei, qui studes sobrius esse et castus... (Morini, p. 14, par. 2).

**Gloss:** Adaptatio.

3. Beside: ...cuius duo cornua sunt testamenta... (Morini, p. 14, par. 2).

**Gloss:** Duo cornua.

**Cap. III. De Lapidibus quos vocant terobolem** (Morini, p. 16).

1. Beside: Sunt lapides igniferi in quodam monte orientis, qui graece dicuntur terobolem, masculus et femina. (Morini, p. 16, par. 1).

**Gloss:** Ut professorum castitatis vitet consortia mulierum.

2. Beside: Unde et vos, homines Dei, qui istam vitam geritis... (Morini, p. 16, par. 2).

**Gloss:** Adaptatio.

3. Beside: Denique Samson et Ioseph ambo per mulieres temptati sunt. (Morini, p. 16, par. 2).

**Gloss:** Nota.

**Cap. IV. De Serra** (Morini, p. 16).

1. Beside: Est belua in mari, quae dicitur serra, pennas habens immanes. (Morini, p. 16, par. 3).

**Gloss:** De his, qui bene incipiunt et male consummant.

**Cap. V. De Caladrio** (Morini, p. 18).

1. Beside: De hoc scriptum est in Deuteronomio: *Non manducandum*. (Morini, p. 18, par. 1).

**Gloss:** Quomodo Christus reprobavit Iudaeos, et gentilium aegritudinem sanans in cruce portavit, ascendendo in caelum.

2. Beside: Siquis autem est in aegritudine constitutus, per hunc caladrium cognoscitur si vivet an morietur. (Morini, p. 18, par. 1).

**Gloss:** Nota.

3-4. Beside: Caladrius igitur personam accipit nostri Salvatoris. (Morini, p. 18, par. 2).

**Gloss:** Adaptatio.

**Gloss:** Caladrius – Christus.
5. *Beside:* ... convertit se ad nos gentes, tollens infirmitates nostras, et peccata nostra portans exaltatus est in ligno crucis. (Morini, p. 18, par. 2).
   **Gloss:** Crux et ascensio Christi.

6. *Beside:* Similiter et leo et aquila immunda sunt, sed ille ferarum rex est et ille volatilium. (Morini, p. 18, par. 3).
   **Gloss:** Immunda animalia quomodo assimilantur Christo, quomodo diabolo.

f. 134v.

**Cap. VI. De Pelicano** (Morini, p. 20).

1. *Beside:* Dicit David in Psalmo centesimo primo: *Similis factus sum pelicano solitudinis.* (Morini, p. 20, par. 1).
   **Gloss:** Quod Christus in cruce suscitavit nos a morte sancto cruore.

2. *Beside:* Ita et Dominus noster Iesus Christus per Isaiam prophetam dicit... (Morini, p. 20, par. 2).
   **Gloss:** Adaptatio.

**Cap. VII. De Nicticorace quae et Noctua dicitur** (Morini, p. 20).

1. *Beside:* Hic figuram gerit populi Iudaeorum, qui advenientem Dominum... (Morini, p. 20, par. 1).
   **Gloss:** De reprobatione Iudaeorum et assumptione gentium; et [...] de virtutibus et vitiosis.

At bottom of folio, **Gloss:** Bubo [...] noctis corvus dictus. Est avis in Asia, quantitate et colore similis.

**Cap. VIII. De Aquila** (Morini, p. 22).

1. *Beside:* De aquila dicit David in Psalmo centesimo secundo: *Renovabitur ut aquilae iuventus tua.* (Morini, p. 22, par. 1).
   **Gloss:** De effectu baptismi et penitentiae.

f. 135r.

2. *Beside:* Ergo et tu, homo, sive Iudaeus sive gentilis... (Morini, p. 22, par. 2).
   **Gloss:** Adaptatio.

3. *Beside:* Et quos viderit flectere oculos, quasi degeneres abicit. (Morini, p. 24, par. 2.).
   **Gloss:** Ita prelatus.

**Cap. IX. De Fenice** (Morini, p. 24).

1. *Beside:* Huius figuram gerit Dominus noster Iesus Christus, qui dicit in Evangelio suo... (Morini, p. 24, par. 1).
   **Gloss:** De adventu Christi in carne, et duobus testamentis, et quod potum se ipsum resuscitare.

2. *Beside:* Et quibusdam indiciis significatur sacerdoti civitatis Eliopolis mense novo... (Morini, p. 24, par. 2).
   **Gloss:** Nota.
3. *Beside:* Si vero volatile hoc potestatem habet mortificandi se... (Morini, p. 24, par. 3).
   *Gloss:* Adaptatio.

4. *Beside:* ...personam accipit Salvatoris nostri, qui de caelo descendens alas suas replevit...
   (Morini, p. 26, par. 1).
   *Gloss:* Alae Christi.

f. 135v.

**Cap. X. De Huppupa** (Morini, p. 26).

1. *Beside:* Et iterum: *Qui maledixerit patri et matri, morte moriatur.* (Morini, p. 26, par. 1).
   *Gloss:* Exemplum quod filii honorent parentes.

2. *Beside:* Si hoc irrationabiles invicem sibi faciunt... (Morini, p. 26, par. 2).
   *Gloss:* Adaptatio.

**Cap. XI. De Tribus naturis formicae** (Morini, p. 28).

1. *Beside:* Quanto magis ille quinque virgines rationabiles... (Morini, p. 28, par. 3).
   *Gloss:* De v fatuis virginibus.

2. *Beside:* Et tu, homo Dei, scripturam V eteris T estamenti divide in duas partes... (Morini, p. 28, par. 5).
   *Gloss:* Pluvia.

f. 136r.

   *Gloss:* Moraliter.

4. *Dicuntur et in Aethiopia esse formicae ad formam canis.* (Morini, p. 30, par. 4).
   *Gloss:* Formicae ad formam canis.

5. *Beside:* Est et aliud animal, quod formicaleon dicitur... (Morini, p. 30, par. 6).
   *Gloss:* Formicaleon.

f. 136v.

**Cap. XII. De Sirenis** (Morini, p. 32).

1. *Beside:* Sic et illi, qui deliciis huius saeculi et pompis et theatralibus voluptatibus delectantur... (Morini, p. 32, par. 2).
   *Gloss:* Moraliter.

**Cap. XIII. De Herinatio** (Morini, p. 34).

1. *Beside:* Tu, homo Dei, custodi diligenter vineam tuam et omnes fructus eius... (Morini, p. 34, par. 2).
   *Gloss:* Moraliter.
f. 137r.

Cap. XIV. De Ibice (Morini, p. 34).

1. Beside: Tu vero Christiane homo, qui ex aqua et spiritu sancto iam renatus es.... (Morini, p. 36, par. 2).
   Gloss: Moraliter.

2. Ibex avis Nili fluminis, quae semetipsam purgat, figens rostrum suum in anum suum... (Morini, p. 36, par. 2).
   Gloss: Forma senilis anus, pars quaedam corporis anus. (has a border).

f. 137v.

Cap. XV. De Vulpe (Morini, p. 36).

1-2. Beside: Vulpis vero figuram habet diaboli. (Morini, p. 38, par. 2).
   Gloss: Figura.
   Gloss: Moraliter.

3. Beside: ...quae sunt adulteria, fornicationes, idolatriae, veneficia, homicidia, furta... (Morini, p. 38, par. 2).
   Gloss: Carnes diaboli.

   Gloss: Herodes.

Cap. XVI. De Monoceros, quomodo capitur (Morini, p. 38).

1. Beside: Puellam virginem ducunt in illum locum ubi moratur... (Morini, p. 40, par. 1).
   Gloss: De virgine per quam captus unicornis.

2. Beside: Sic et Dominus noster Iesus Christus, spiritualis unicornis, descendens in uterum virginis... (Morini, p. 40, par. 2).
   Gloss: De virgine Mariae.

3. Beside: ...captus a Iudaeis, morte crucis damnatur... (Morini, p. 40, par. 2).
   Gloss: Paulus captus est a gratia Dei.

4-5. Beside: Quod autem unum cornu habet in capite... (Morini, p. 40, par. 2).
   Gloss: Unum cornu.
   Gloss: Unitas filii cum patre.

f. 138r.

6. Beside: ...virgo puella proponitur... (Morini, p. 40, par. 4).
   Gloss: Virgo puella.

7. Beside: ...sicque soporatus velut inermis capitur. (Morini, p. 40, par. 4).
   Gloss: [vii ei ?] coloris omne describitur.

Cap. XVII. De Castore (Morini, p. 42).
The Bestiary in British Library, Royal MS. 2 C. XII and its Role in Medieval Education

1. Beside: Sic et omnes, qui secundum mandatum Dei conversatur et caste vult vivere abscidat a se omnia vitia... (Morini, p. 42, par. 2).
   Gloss: Figura est castratis.

f. 138v.

2. Beside: Et Iuvenalis... (Morini, p. 42, par. 3).
   Gloss: Iuvenalis.

Cap. XVIII. De Hyena (Morini, p. 44).

1. Beside: Cui similes sunt filii Israel... (Morini, p. 44, par. 2).
   Gloss: Moraliter.

2. Beside: Sed et quicumque inter nos circa voluptatem et avaritiam studium habentes...
   (Morini, p. 44, par. 2).
   Gloss: Figura.

3. Beside: ...ait Salomon. (Morini, p. 44, par. 2).
   Gloss: Salomon.

4. Beside: Hyena lapidem in oculis habet nomine hyenam... (Morini, p. 44, par. 3).
   Gloss: Nota.

Cap. XIX. De Hydro (Morini, p. 44).

1. Beside: Aliud est animal in Nilo fluvio, quod dicitur hydrus. (Morini, p. 44, par. 1).
   Gloss: De hydro.

2. Beside: Sic ergo mors et infernus figuram habent cocodrilli... (Morini, p. 44, par. 2).
   Gloss: Figura.

3. Beside: Haec latie exedra dicitur, quod uno ceso tria capita resurgebant. (Morini, p. 44, par. 3).
   Gloss: Nota.

4. Beside: Nam constat hydram locum fuisse evomentem aquas... (Morini, p. 44, par. 3).
   Gloss: Nota.

5. Beside: Cocodrillus a croceo colore dicitur. (Morini, p. 44, par. 4).
   Gloss: Cocodrillus.

f. 139r.

6. Beside: Solus autem prae omnibus animalibus superiora oris movet... (Morini, p. 44, par. 6).
   Gloss: Nota.

Cap. XX. De Caprea (Morini, p. 48).

1. Beside: Sicut et Dominus noster Jesus Christus amat excelsos montes... (Morini, p. 48, par. 2).
   Gloss: Adaptatio.
2. **Beside**: Morantur enim in excelsis montibus... (Morini, p. 48, par. 4).
   **Gloss**: Nota.

   **Cap. XXI. De Onagro** (Morini, p. 50).

   1. **Beside**: ...duodecies in nocte rugit, similiter et in die... (Morini, p. 50, par. 1).
      **Gloss**: Quomodo cognoscitur aequinoctium.

   f. 139v.

   2. **Beside**: Onager igitur figuram habet diaboli... (Morini, p. 50, par. 2).
      **Gloss**: Moraliter.

   **Cap. XXII. De Simia** (Morini, p. 50).

   1. **Beside**: Fetus, quos amant, ante se gestant. (Morini, p. 52, par. 2).
      **Gloss**: Nota.

   2. **Beside**: Horum genra quinque... (Morini, p. 52, par. 2).
      **Gloss**: Quae sunt genera simiarum.

   **Cap. XXIII. De Fulica et ubi conversatur** (Morini, p. 52).

   1. **Beside**: Sic ergo omnis homo fidelis secundum Dei... (Morini, p. 52, par. 2).
      **Gloss**: Moraliter.

   f. 140r.

   **Cap. XXIV. De Panthera** (Morini, p. 54).

   1. **Beside**: Solus autem draco, cum audierit vocem eius, timore contrahitur.... (Morini, p. 54, par. 1).
      **Gloss**: Draco.

   2. **Beside**: Sic et Dominus noster Iesus Christus, verus pantera... (Morini, p. 54, par. 2).
      **Gloss**: Moraliter.

   3. **Beside**: Panthera enim ‘omnia capiens’ interpretatur. (Morini, p. 54, par. 2).
      **Gloss**: Nota.

   4. **Beside**: ...et leo domui Iudae idolis servienti. (Morini, p. 54, par. 2).
      **Gloss**: Propheta.

   5. **Beside**: ...dicit David de Christo: Spetiosus forma prae filiis hominum. (Morini, p. 56, par. 1).
      **Gloss**: Nota.

   f. 141r.

   6. **Beside**: Draco maior est omnium serpentium super terram. (Morini, p. 56, par. 1).
      **Gloss**: De dracone.

   **Cap. XXV. Cetus et quomodo decipiuntur naves ab eo** (Morini, p. 64).

   1. **Beside**: Haec in medio pelagi elevat dorsum suum... (Morini, p. 60, par. 1).
      **Gloss**: Prima natura ceti.
2. Beside: Sic paciuntur omnes, qui increduli sunt... (Morini, p. 60, par. 2).
   Gloss: Moraliter.

3. Beside: Secunda eius beluae natura haec est. (Morini, p. 60, par. 3).
   Gloss: Secunda natura ceti.

4. Beside: Sic patiuntur omnes, qui sunt modicae fidei... (Morini, p. 60, par. 4).
   Gloss: Moraliter.

Cap. XXVI. De Perdice (Morini, p. 62).

f. 141v.

1-2. Beside: ...sicut dicit sanctus Ieremias prophetae de eo: Clamavit perdix et congregavit, quae
   non peperit, faciens sibi divitias... (Morini, p. 62, par. 1).
   Gloss: Ieremias.

At bottom of folio, Gloss: Perdix fovet, quae non peperit, faciens divitias non cum iudicio.
   (Ier. 17.11)

3. Beside: Huius exemplum imitatus est diabolus... (Morini, p. 62, par. 2).
   Gloss: Adaptatio.

Cap. XXVII. De Mustela, et quia per os concipit, per aures vero generat (Morini, p. 64).

1. Beside: Physiologus dicit, quoniam mustela semen masculi per os accipit... (Morini, p. 64, par. 1).
   Gloss: Nota.

2. Beside: Sic aliquanti fidelium libenter quidem accipiunt verbi divini semen... (Morini, p. 64, par. 2).
   Gloss: Adaptatio.

3. Beside: Physiologus dicit quoniam aspis hanc habet naturam... (Morini, p. 64, par. 3).
   Gloss: De Aspide. (has a border).

4. Beside: Tales sunt istius mundi homines divites... (Morini, p. 64, par. 4).
   Gloss: Adaptatio.

5. Beside: Istit vero et oculos excecant terrenis cupiditatibus et rapinis... (Morini, p. 64, par. 4).
   Gloss: Nota.

f. 142r.

6. Beside: False autem oppinantur, qui dicunt mustelam ore concipere... (Morini, p. 64, par. 5).
   Gloss: Nota.

Cap. XXVIII. De Aspide, et quare sic vocatur (Morini, p. 66).

1-7. Beside: Dipsa genus aspidis, qui latine stala dicitur (Morini, p. 66, par. 2-6).
   Gloss: Setula.
   Gloss: Aspis.
   Gloss: Dipsas.
   Gloss: Priales.
   Gloss: Et Hypnalis.
   Gloss: Haemorois.
   Gloss: Prester.
8. Beside: Oraque distendens avidus fumantia prester. (Lucan, Pharsalia, IX. 722; Morini, p. 66, par. 5).
   Gloss: Versus.

Cap. XXIX. [De Assida et Strutione] (Morini, p. 66).

1. Beside: De qua stella dicit Iob... (Morini, p. 66, par. 1).
   Gloss: Stella virgilia.

2. Beside: Si ergo assida agnoscit tempus suum et elevat oculos suos in caelum... (Morini, p. 68, par. 2).
   Gloss: Adaptatio.

f. 142v.

Cap. XXX. De Turture (Morini, p. 68).

1. Beside: Audite itaque, omnes animae fidelium... (Morini, p. 68, par. 2).
   Gloss: Adaptatio.

2. Beside: ...quicumque tamen personam turturis in vultu animae tenitis... (Morini, p. 70, par. 1).
   Gloss: Genae tuae sicut turturis. Non solum de sponsa Christi ecclesia, sed de qualibet sponsa debet esse verum.

3. Beside: Cuius e contrario columba hospicia hominum diligit... (Morini, p. 70, par. 2).
   Gloss: Etiam hieme deplumata in truncis arborum concavis habitare dicitur. (Isidore, Etymologiae XII.7.60).

Cap. XXXI. Cervus et quomodo de foramine extrahit serpentem (Morini, p. 70).

1. Beside: Ita et Dominus noster Iesus Christus videns inimicum diabolum... (Morini, p. 70, par. 2).
   Gloss: Adaptatio.

2-3. Beside: Demones autem rogabant eum dicentes... introierunt in porcos. (Morini, p. 70, par. 2).
   Gloss: Nota.
   Porcus.

f. 143r.

1. Beside: Diptamnum herbam ipsi prodiderunt (Morini, p. 72, par. 2).
   Gloss: Nota.

Cap. XXXII. De Salamandra (Morini, p. 72).

1. Beside: Isti sunt iusti et mirabiles homines Dei. (Morini, p. 72, par. 2).
   Gloss: Adaptatio.

Cap. XXXIII. De Columbis et de diversis coloribus earum (Morini, p. 74).

1. Beside: Ipse est ergo primus, qui nos pretioso sanguine suo redemit... (Morini, p. 74, par. 1).
   Gloss: Nota.
f. 143v.

2-8. Beside: Aurosus color... Meleneus vero color... Albus autem est beatus... Stephanitus... Rubeus... Candidus... Rubricundus... (Morini, p. 74, par. 2 – p. 76, par. 1).
*Gloss*: Aurosus color.
*Gloss*: Meleneus color.
*Gloss*: Albus color.
*Gloss*: Stephanitus.
*Gloss*: Rubeus.
*Gloss*: Candidus – Christus.
*Gloss*: Rubricundus.

Cap. XXXIV. *De Columbis, et de Dracone, et umbra arboris* (Morini, p. 78).

f. 144r.

1. Beside: Nos ergo, Christiani, scientes arborem... (Morini, p. 78, par. 2).
*Gloss*: Adaptatio.

2-3. Beside: Estote simplices, ne cuiquam machinemini dolos, et astuti... (Morini, p. 78, par. 2).
*Gloss*: Prudens.
*Gloss*: Simplex.

Cap. XXXV. *De Elephante* (Morini, p. 78).

1. Beside: ...et ibi est arbor, quae dicitur mandragora. (Morini, p. 80, par. 1).
*Gloss*: Mandragora. (has a border).

2. Beside: Isti ergo duo elephantes, masculus et femina figaram habent ... (Morini, p. 80, par. 2).
*Gloss*: Adaptatio.

3. Beside: ... tanquam in stagnum aquarum multarum. (Morini, p. 80, par. 2).
*Gloss*: Mundus est stagnum aquarum.

4. Beside: ... Tunc cognovit Adam uxorem suam et generavit Caim in luto fecis. (Morini, p. 80, par. 2).
*Gloss*: Genuit Caim.

5. Beside: ... id est cum docuit nos orare ... (Morini, p. 80, par. 2).
*Gloss*: Oratio dominica.

f. 144v.

6. Beside: Nam et ossa et pellis de elephante, in quocumque loco fuerint ... (Morini, p. 82, par. 1).
*Gloss*: Nota.

7-9. Beside: Unde et vox eius varritus est et dentes ebur. Rostrum autem promuscida dicitur. (Morini, p. 82, par. 2).
*Gloss*: Barritus — vox elefantis.
*Gloss*: Ebur — dentes.
*Gloss*: Promucida — rostrum.
10. **Beside**: Mandragora dicta ... (Morini, p. 82, par. 5).
**Gloss**: Mandragora.

11. **Beside**: ... masculus, foliis betae similibus. (Morini, p. 84, par. 1).
**Gloss**: Betae.

**f. 145r.**

**Cap. XXXVII. De Adamante** (Morini, p. 84).

1. **Beside**: Creatori autem creatura prevalere non potest ... (Morini, p. 84, par. 1).
**Gloss**: Adaptatio.

2. **Beside**: ... id est filius Dei et filius hominis ... (Morini, p. 86, par. 1).
**Gloss**: Adamas Christus.

3. **Beside**: Baldin enim lineum interpretatur ... (Morini, p. 86, par. 1).
**Gloss**: Baldin.

4. **Beside**: Ergo mons, quem dicit Physiologus orientalis, in quo lapis adamas invenitur, Deum patrem in genitum significat ... (Morini, p. 86, par. 1).
**Gloss**: Mons pater.

5. **Beside**: ...significat Christum celasse descensionem suam caelestibus virtutibus et dominationibus et potestatibus ... (Morini, p. 86, par. 1).
**Gloss**: Nota.

6. **Beside**: Non ergo scierunt iustum caeleste portantem ministerium ... (Morini, p. 86, par. 1).
**Gloss**: Quod quidam angeli ignoraverunt incarnationem Christi usque ad ascensionem eiusdem.

**f. 145v.**

**Cap. XXXVIII. De Mermecolion et de naturis eius** (Morini, p. 84).

De Sancta Maria et filio eius Iesu Christo

1. **Beside**: Item lapis est in mare, qui dicitur latine mermecolion ... (Morini, p. 90, par. 1).
**Gloss**: De contemptoribus huius mundi et eorum renumeratio.

2. **Beside**: Lapis ergo iste, qui dicitur conchus, figuram gerit sanctae Mariae ... (Morini, p. 90, par. 1).
**Gloss**: Lapis Christi sanctam Mariam significat.

3. **Beside**: Ecce hi sermones sunt ros caelestis ... (Morini, p. 90, par. 1).
**Gloss**: Ros caeli.

4. **Beside**: Det tibi Deus de rore caeli ... (Morini, p. 90, par. 1).
**Gloss**: Nota.

5. **Beside**: Quod autem aperit os suum conchus ... (Morini, p. 90, par. 1).
**Gloss**: Aperit conchus os suum.
f. 146r.

6. *Beside:* De ista igitur margarita legitur ... (Morini, p. 90, par. 1).
   *Gloss:* Margarita.

7. *Beside:* Iste autem negotiator est utique chorus apostolorum. (Morini, p. 92, par. 1).
   *Gloss:* Negotiator est chorus apostolorum.

8. *Beside:* Isto sunt lapides sancti, qui volvuntur super terram. (Morini, p. 92, par. 1).
   *Gloss:* Nota.

9. *Beside:* ... illam pretiosam margaritam, id est Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum ... (Morini, p. 92, par. 1).
   *Gloss:* Margarita Christus est.

10. *Beside:* ... sicut ait beatus Petrus ad illum claudum stipem petentem ... (Morini, p. 92, par. 1).
    *Gloss:* Nota.

11. *Beside:* ... et crediderit posse se per unam margaritam adquirere ... (Morini, p. 92, par. 1).
    *Gloss:* De certitudine fidei et praemii sanctorum.

12. *Beside:* ... ille negotiator possidet, qui est apostolorum chorus. (Morini, p. 92, par. 1).
    *Gloss:* Negotiator, id est chorus apostolorum.

13. *Beside:* Videte nunc quam inaestimabilis sit ista margarita sanctis martiribus ... (Morini, p. 92, par. 1).
    *Gloss:* De miraculis sanctorum post mortem.