

THE MORGAN GROUP OF BESTIARIES:

AN ANALYSIS

by

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ABSTRACT

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Trying to figure out where and when a medieval manuscript was made is one of the most contentious topics in book scholarship. Instead of limiting scholarship to textual contents, new work looks at manuscripts, including bestiaries, with a multifaceted and interdisciplinary approach, which leads to exciting new ideas. Bestiaries were among the most popular texts in medieval England and have consistently been viewed as only their textual contents. Starting in the 1980's, bestiary scholarship expanded beyond text, but a textually and iconographically similar group of bestiaries had not yet received the same holistic treatment. The Morgan Group is the British Library Royal C XIX, the Worksop Bestiary (Pierpont Morgan Library, M.81), the Northumberland Bestiary (J. Getty Museum and Library, MS.100) and the St. Petersburg Bestiary (National Library of Russia, Q.v.V.1). There has been no in-depth investigation of the group together and with image analysis privileged over textual recension.

I will look at the Morgan Group as a whole, then, after finding the differences and similarities, I will add to the conversation about dating and locating their production, I will discuss the textual traditions for context, and finally look at the manuscripts through analysis of individual style, composition, color, and *mise-en-page*. This research will provide evidence for why the bestiaries were so popular and how they were utilized in medieval English society.

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Chapter One

INTRODUCTION: THE MORGAN GROUP

Bestiary manuscripts are traditionally described as medieval natural histories. Current scholarship, however, holds that these compendia of animals and fantastic creatures are better understood as moralizing reference tools for sermons and monastic education in which the function of each beast, whether real or imagined, was to serve as proof of God's divine plan.¹ Bestiary texts have roots in the early Christian world but were adopted and amended by later medieval scholars. A bestiary manuscript typically contains miniatures of a variety of real and mythical creatures, small illuminated paintings, with texts that describe their behavior and meaning. Identification of animals is often made complicated by non-naturalistic depictions and fantastical attributes. Ever since modern scholarship first took notice of bestiaries, starting in the early twentieth century, the tendency has been to create and concentrate on taxonomies, groupings of manuscripts based almost entirely on their textual rather than pictorial content. For the most part, these groupings remain the starting point for inquiry. One of the groups that constitutes this larger taxonomy of bestiary manuscripts is the subject of this thesis. In keeping with the scholarly literature, the group of bestiary manuscripts studied will be referred to as the Morgan Group.²

The Morgan Group is made up of four illuminated Latin-text bestiary manuscripts, all of which were produced in England and have been dated to the late twelfth to early thirteenth centuries. First is British Library, MS. Royal 12 C XIX, the manuscript referred to here as the

¹ Willene B. Clark and Meradith T. McMunn, "Introduction," *Beasts and Birds of the Middle Ages: The Bestiary and Its Legacy*, eds. Clark and McMunn, Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), 6.

² As established most recently in Ron Baxter, *Bestiaries and Their Users in the Middle Ages* (Stroud: London; Sutton Pub; Courtauld Institute, 1998), 10.

Royal Bestiary, which has the least extant miniatures of the group, fifty-seven in total, and was possibly made in Durham c. 1200–1210.³ The next manuscript in the Morgan Group is known as the Worksop Bestiary (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. M. 81, with a complement of 106 miniatures). It is named after the Augustinian priory to which it was gifted in 1187, as proved by its colophon (Figure 1).⁴ These two manuscripts were first associated by famed manuscript scholar M.R. James.⁵ Later scholars detected textual and pictorial likenesses between the Royal and Worksop Bestiaries and two additional manuscripts, the Northumberland Bestiary (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS. 100, with 112 animal miniatures) and the St. Petersburg Bestiary (St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS. Q.v.V.1, 114 animal miniatures).⁶ That the second pair are related to the first is easily illustrated by a comparison of the miniatures for the lion in the Royal and Northumberland manuscripts (Figures 2.1, 2.2), which clearly reveals reliance on a similar pictorial model or source.

Beyond their similar texts, each member of the Morgan Group showcases the Gothic style of illumination as it was known in thirteenth-century England, with gold leaf backgrounds and full-color framed scenes. There are also strong pictorial similarities between these four manuscripts, as is evident, for example, in a comparison of the lively and charming miniatures

³ *Royal 12 C XIX*, (Illuminated Manuscripts, The British Library, London), Accessed December 20, 2019.

⁴ Baxter, *Bestiaries and Their Users in the Middle Ages*, 18.

See Figure 1 for an image of the inscription that dates the Worksop Bestiary, the three other bestiaries are dated after the Worksop and are given different dates, the earliest being c.1200.

⁵ M.R. James, Roxburghe Club, *The bestiary: being a reproduction in full of the manuscript li.4.26 in the University library*, ed. M.R. James (Oxford: University Press, 1928), 11.

⁶ The first scholarly attention to the *Northumberland Bestiary* and *St. Petersburg Bestiaries* of which I am aware is that of McCulloch. See Florence McCulloch, *Mediaeval Latin and French Bestiaries*, Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures; no. 33 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960), 34. Xenia Muratova, Vladimir Mikeshevish, and The National Library of Russia, *Srednevekovyi Bestiarii - The Medieval Bestiary*, trans. Inna Kitrosskaya, (Moscow: Izd-vo "Iskusstvo", 1984). *Northumberland Bestiary*, (Getty MS.100, Manuscripts, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles), Accessed July 14, 2020.

for the bee that all contain oversized bees flying in an uncoordinated manner from a single honeycomb hive to a nearby plant (Figures 3.1, 3.2, 3.3, 3.4).⁷

Despite the vibrancy of the Morgan Group's illustrations, it remains true that they have received less attention from art historians than they have from linguists and classicists. This thesis will therefore privilege visual aspects of the manuscripts, not only style, iconography, and image-text relationships, but also the aesthetics of page design or *mise-en-page*. Scholars have already shown the manuscripts' relationships through textual recension and philological methods but by bringing art-historical methodology into play by focusing on the Morgan Group, visual comparisons can be made between the members of the group and we can affirm the manuscripts' relationships through art-historical analysis of the miniatures.

The manuscripts of the Morgan Group contain abundant visual information that, so far, has not been part of the conversation about the relationships between the four books. This includes the stylistic analysis of text and image, the comparison of compositions, how miniatures are positioned within the text, and the functional purpose of the bestiary for its intended audience. Following other scholars, I argue that these elements collaborate to create Christological and dichotomous meanings in the Morgan Group, which were linked in creation around the turn of the twelfth century. In what follows, I will introduce the previous scholarship on the four manuscripts of the group. Next, I will undertake an in-depth investigation on how codicology and paleography indicate and affirm regional scribal styles. I will then analyze how the textual contents relate to iconography, and finally compare the four bestiaries using

⁷ In contrast, the same subject in the so-called Aberdeen Bestiary shows three honeycomb hives with the smaller bees flying single file out of the frame. See figure 4.

composition, style and *mise-en-page*. All of these aspects of investigation point to the purpose of the Morgan Group and its likely audience.

BESTIARY SCHOLARSHIP AND THE FORMULATION OF THE MORGAN GROUP

Until relatively recently bestiary manuscripts received little scholarly attention. The history of modern bestiary studies essentially began in 1928, when scholar M.R. James wrote his seminal work on the bestiary tradition. Relying primarily on the manuscripts' textual content, James separated the bestiary manuscripts available to him into distinct groups he called "families."⁸ This was James' great contribution to bestiary scholarship: a comprehensive statement about a bestiary "tradition" based on proposed textual recensions.⁹ Drawing on those bestiary manuscripts available to him in English collections, James grouped the corpus into four families. As he showed, the textual content of a typical bestiary is derived from the Christian Greek and Latin *Physiologus* texts (scholars argue over dates between the second and fifth centuries), the *Etymologie* of Isidore of Seville (c. 623), and on occasion the *Hexaameron* of Ambrose (c. 386-388).¹⁰ James paired the Royal Bestiary and the Worksop Bestiary because of "identical content" and fit them into his first "family."¹¹ In this case, these two manuscripts alone shared an unusual textual emphasis on Isidore that, along with a distinctive internal organization, James described as "anomalies."¹²

⁸ James, *The bestiary*.

⁹ James was certainly not the first modern scholar to study Bestiaries. He was fully aware of the work of iconographic studies like those of George Druce (for example Druce's "The Symbolism of the Crocodile in the Middle Ages," *Archaeological Journal* 66, no. 1 (1909): 311-38), but found them of little use for his philological project: "I have found little help in the writings of others, and have been obliged to formulate my conclusions from the examination of the whole mass of copies accessible to me in this country." James, *The Bestiary*, i, 26.

¹⁰ Richard W Barber, *Bestiary: Being an English Version of the Bodleian Library, Oxford M.S. Bodley 764* (Woodbridge, England: Boydell Press, 1993), 9. McCulloch, *Mediaeval Latin and French Bestiaries*, 17-20, 21, 28.

¹¹ James, *The bestiary*, 1.

¹² *Ibid.*, 1.

The next major contribution to bestiary studies was made by Florence McCulloch, whose work built on the foundation established by James. She expanded James' corpus to include bestiary manuscripts in continental Europe and the United States. Like James, McCulloch was mostly concerned with the textual relationships between the manuscripts. She added further subgroups and combined the Royal and Worksop Bestiaries with the Northumberland and St. Petersburg manuscripts under the heading "transitional family," since she perceived the group as a developmental link between two other "families."¹³ McCulloch was therefore the first to discuss all four manuscripts of this group together, although she did not undertake significant analysis of the miniatures.¹⁴

James and McCulloch both approached the textual and pictorial contents of the bestiary separately; for both, the miniatures were of lesser interest. It really was not until the 1980s that art historians began to look critically at the visual content of bestiary manuscripts, including the Morgan Group. As late as 1989, Willene Clark and Meradith McMunn, in their introduction to an anthology on bestiaries, emphasized how scholars had begun to take an interdisciplinary approach to the subject. The scholars made new connections to medieval French romance and other contemporary literature, or looked at each manuscript as an aesthetic whole.¹⁵ In the same anthology, for example, a chapter by Xenia Muratova titled, "Workshop Methods in English Late Twelfth-Century Illumination and the Production of Luxury Bestiaries" modelled an art-historical approach to the manuscripts known as the Ashmole and Aberdeen Bestiaries, one that highlighted *mise-en-page*, the aesthetics of script, miniature style, and iconography as important

¹³Ann Payne, *Medieval Beast* (New York: New Amsterdam Books, 1990), 13.

¹⁴McCulloch, *Mediaeval Latin and French Bestiaries*, 34.

¹⁵Clark and McMunn, "Introduction," 1.

elements of design and reader reception.¹⁶ Along with a facsimile of the St. Petersburg Bestiary Muratova published in 1984, her chapter laid significant groundwork for future studies of individual bestiary manuscripts or groups of bestiary manuscripts in which scholars explored how text and image collaborate to produce meaning. For example, this was the approach taken by Debra Hassig in her study *Medieval Bestiaries: Text, Image, Ideology*. “In bestiaries,” Hassig wrote, “texts and images are interrelated and interdependent. As such, their respective ideological contents at times correspond, but at other times they clash, further develop, or undermine each other.”¹⁷ Hassig detected in the bestiary a “dialectic” mode of thinking, one that allows for multiple and often contradictory arguments for the significance of a particular animal or beast. This was an intentional feature of the bestiary, she argued, one that accords with the often dichotomous nature of Christological instruction and preaching. Working in the same direction, Muratova explained why dichotomous teaching makes sense in Christian pedagogy: “The allegorical and literal meanings in [bestiaries] run parallel but never contradict since they lead to a single purpose of glorifying the Creator.”¹⁸ It explains why any individual animal or beast can signify both salvation and damnation, and thus points to the pedagogical function of bestiary manuscripts as a whole.

Somewhat related to the approach of Hassig is that of Ron Baxter in his 1998 book, *Bestiaries and Their Users in the Middle Ages*. Baxter drew on narratology to show how the bestiary functioned, and to some extent to date manuscripts, arguing that certain bestiaries demonstrate a “narrative cohesion” based upon the content and ordering of their chapters.¹⁹ So,

¹⁶ Xenia Muratova, “Workshop Methods in English Late Twelfth-Century Illumination and the Production of Luxury Bestiaries,” *Beasts and Birds of the Middle Ages: The Bestiary and Its Legacy*, ed. Clark, Willene B., and McMunn, Meredith T., Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), 54.

¹⁷ Debra Hassig, *Medieval bestiaries: text, image, ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1995), 18.

¹⁸ Muratova, Mikeshevish, and The National Library of Russia, *Srednevekovyi Bestiariĭ*, 21.

¹⁹ Baxter, *Bestiaries and Their Users in the Middle Ages*, 161-165.

for example, when Leo is the subject of the first entry in a bestiary, this signifies Christ, with the following chapters serving as metaphors for Christ's acts on earth.²⁰ Although useful for understanding the possible intentions behind a single bestiary manuscript and its reception, Baxter's approach, too, makes little use of images. Still, and for the purposes of the present study, Baxter not only deserves notice for his narratological approach to imagery in bestiary manuscripts but also for his naming of the Morgan Group, the designation followed here.

Baxter's argument for the Morgan Group and its chronology was strongly based on textual recension models and narratology. Baxter identified the St. Petersburg Bestiary as the earliest member, followed by the Worksop and Royal Bestiaries, which he believed were simultaneously produced, then the Northumberland Bestiary as the latest, which took the Royal Bestiary as its model (see Figure 5 for a diagram based on Baxter's proposal). Interestingly, the collective pictorial evidence for the four manuscripts does not necessarily support Baxter's conclusions, as discussed later in this thesis.²¹

One year after the publication of Baxter's book, the anthology *Mark of the Beast: The Medieval Bestiary in Art, Life and Literature*, edited by Debra Hassig was published. It shows an ever-growing interest in interdisciplinary bestiary research.²² The members of the Morgan Group figure in several of the chapters. For example, in a chapter titled "The Lion, Bloodline, and Kingship," Margaret Haist discussed a textual addition to the lion entry in the St. Petersburg Bestiary and connected it to the more nurturing miniatures of lions licking their young, who appear alive instead of dead.²³ Following Muratova and Hassig, Haist's work exemplifies a more

²⁰ Ibid., 37.

²¹ Carmen Brown, "Bestiary Lessons on Pride and Lust," *The Mark of the Beast: the Medieval Bestiary in Art, Life, and Literature*, ed. Debra Hassig, (New York: Garland Pub., 1999), 54.

²² Debra Hassig, "Sex in the Bestiaries," *The Mark of the Beast*, ed. Debra Hassig, (New York: Garland Pub., 1999), 71-98.

²³ Margaret Haist, "The Lion, Bloodline, and Kingship," *The Mark of the Beast*, ed. Debra Hassig, (New York: Garland Pub., 1999), 7.

holistic approach to bestiary manuscripts. In the same anthology, Carmen Brown's "Bestiary Lessons on Pride and Lust" discusses the tigress miniature in both the Royal and St. Petersburg Bestiaries.²⁴ Brown discussed the tigress scene in the St. Petersburg Bestiary, noting that the feminine dress style worn by the hunter was an allusion to pride and vanity. Here, the negative connotations of dress served to underscore the fact that the hunter is shown taking advantage of a powerless individual through trickery (Figure 6.1). Additionally, the head of the hunter does not fit within the frame of the miniature giving the human more power, and pride, than the animal through the use of scale hierarchy. A similarly coiffed, youthful male is also present in the Royal tigress miniature, although the focus is less on the bright blue stockings and more on the flowing robes (Figure 6.2). Brown's analysis of the design changes made to the miniatures support her argument and continue the expansion of interdisciplinary interest in bestiaries. These chapters are examples of brief interventions into the miniatures of the Morgan Group that do not foreground the manuscripts as a group, other than to briefly reference similarities. This suggests that there is more interest in the scope of generational change and development than in the yearly or decade changes between the bestiaries of the Morgan Group. In this collection of essays, the authors are more interested in the sex, gender and rulership arguments than in the taxonomical grouping of the Morgan Group bestiaries.

The Book of Beasts: The Bestiary in the Medieval World is the most recent major publication on bestiaries. It appeared in 2019 as a companion catalogue for an exhibition of bestiary manuscripts that took place at the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles. The exhibit marked the first time that a large number of bestiaries from European and American collections were brought together in the same location for display. Three members of the Morgan Group

²⁴ Brown, "Bestiary Lessons on Pride and Lust," *The Mark of the Beast*, ed. Debra Hassig, (New York: Garland Pub., 1999), 56-57.

were included in the exhibition: the Worksop, the Royal and the Northumberland manuscripts. Each received a catalogue entry by Elizabeth Morrison, editor of the catalogue and curator of the exhibition. In addition to the individual catalogue entries, the exhibition publication includes full thematic chapters written by individual scholars in the field, including a contribution by Muratova. Because the scholars were asked to write their chapters for this particular exhibition, they mostly referenced the bestiaries assembled at the Getty, but there are also references to bestiaries not included in the exhibition, notably the St. Petersburg Bestiary. Interestingly, the chapters leaned towards more discussion of the textual recension while the catalogue entries are where painting styles were discussed. Morrison discusses all four manuscripts of the Morgan Group in each of the three catalogue entries but approaches them from different perspectives each time. Morrison's entry for the Worksop Bestiary contains a summary explanation of the manuscript's textual contents, focusing specifically on the important inscription that precedes the bestiary text, which scholars had not discussed at length before.²⁵ She additionally compared the style of the Worksop and St. Petersburg miniatures, positing that "the two manuscripts were not painted by the same artists, despite their general similarities."²⁶ Her entry on the Royal Bestiary changes focus to *mise-en-page* because "this manuscript seems to contain some of the best evidence for direct copying of text in the entire bestiary tradition."²⁷ Morrison supported this claim with a comparison of the Royal and Worksop Bestiaries. In her final entry, on the Northumberland Bestiary, she followed the Baxter proposal for the order of creation of the

²⁵ Elizabeth Morrison, and J. Paul Getty Museum, "6. Bestiary (Northumberland Bestiary)," *Book of Beasts: the Bestiary in the Medieval World*, ed. Elizabeth Morrison and Larisa Grollemond, (Los Angeles: Published by the J. Paul Getty Museum, 2019), 98-101.

²⁶ Elizabeth Morrison, and J. Paul Getty Museum, "4. Bestiary (Worksop Bestiary)," *Book of Beasts: the Bestiary in the Medieval World*, ed. Elizabeth Morrison and Larisa Grollemond, (Los Angeles: Published by the J. Paul Getty Museum, 2019), 95.

²⁷ Elizabeth Morrison, and J. Paul Getty Museum, "5. Bestiary," *Book of Beasts: the Bestiary in the Medieval World*, ed. Elizabeth Morrison and Larisa Grollemond, (Los Angeles: Published by the J. Paul Getty Museum, 2019), 96.

Morgan Group bestiaries, with the caveat that, instead of direct copying, an intermediary like a model book was consulted. For Morrison, the Northumberland Bestiary is the latest of the Morgan Group, a claim based on stylistic analysis.

In the next chapter, I will provide an overview of the physical, the paleographic, and the textual characteristics of the Morgan Group bestiaries. This discussion will discuss the manuscripts' production in a northern English setting, in the late twelfth century. It will set the stage for a subsequent consideration of audience and reception.

Chapter Two

The Morgan Group has been dated to the end of the twelfth century, based primarily on the provenance of one of the manuscripts, and has been hypothetically linked to all of the great English manuscript production centers, including Canterbury, Lincoln and Durham. A contemporary inscription in the Worksop Bestiary identifies the person who dedicated the manuscript, who was working at Lincoln Cathedral in 1187 (Figure 1). The inscription was translated and paraphrased in the nineteenth or early twentieth century on a flyleaf, but is often cited out of context (Figure 7) Does the inscription’s claim—that a Philip of the Apostles, a Canon of Lincoln Cathedral gave the Worksop Bestiary to the priory—necessarily mean that the manuscript was produced in or near the Cathedral? The inscription reads:

Anno M^o .C^o .Lxxxvii^o ab incarnatione domini In uigilia sancti Mathei apostoli Philippus apostolorum Can(on)icus Lincolniensis ecclesie donauit deo et ecclesie S. Marie et S. Cuthberti de Radeford ad edificationem fratrum ipsius ecclesie imperpetuum urum optimum psalterium glorsatum. et quatuor euangelista glosatos in uno uolumine elegantissimo. et Genesim glosatum. et Meditations beati Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi. et Bestiarium. et Mappu(m) mundi. et ad petitionem ipsius Philippi. consensu Anchet^t prioris et omnium fratrum excommunicati sunt candelis accensis et stolis ecceptis ab omnibus sacerdotibus et canonicis predicte ecclesie quicumque aluquem de predictic libris elongauerit extra septa cuire S. Cuthberti commodauerit uel commodatum acceperit, deposuerit uel depositum acceperit, pignori dederit uel acceperit, donauerit uel donatum acceperit, uel quocunq[ue] titulo alienationis alienauerit uel acceperit, uel ui uel clam abstulerit, uel precario cuiquam concesserit, nouerit proculdubio se iram et indignationem omnipotentis dei incursum.²⁸

This inscription is a treasury of information; it includes a date and location, a list of other manuscripts and objects including the bestiary, Philip’s intentions for the use of the manuscripts, and a curse on anyone that wishes to steal it. The later pencil inscription was written when the

²⁸ *Worksop Bestiary*, (Morgan Pierpont Library M.81, Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts, The Morgan Library & Museum, New York), Accessed July 14, 2020. The secondary inscription is transcribed as follows: “M81 / Bestiary, English, XII cent. (ca 1170) / Given in 1187, by Philip Canon of Lincoln to the Augustinian Priory of Radford, now called Worksop. / Formerly in the collection of the Duke of Hamilton, sold 1883 by him to the German government (in the Royal Museum of Berlin), returned to England and sold at auction in London, 23 May 1889. / Morgan (Bennet) Cat. MSS no.107.”

manuscript became a part of the Morgan collection in 1902 and is based on the original inscription. While the Worksop Bestiary has the most secure early provenance of the Morgan Group, the Royal Bestiary and the Northumberland Bestiary were only first recorded as part of collections in the sixteenth century.²⁹ The span of time between the manuscripts' production and earliest documentation suggests that the books could have been moved many times. It is therefore not likely that they were produced near where they were first recorded. However, the Worksop inscription is often used as the basis for dating and locating the place of origin for the Morgan Group bestiaries. What follows is a re-evaluation of those claims based on codicological and paleographical evidence.

CODICOLOGY

The codicological evidence for the Morgan Group helps to establish the date and geographic origins of the four manuscripts. Although the following observations are based on facsimiles and digital information, some important conclusions may be drawn. First, the four manuscripts of the Morgan Group are relatively small: the Royal Bestiary folios are 220 x 160 mm; the Northumberland manuscript's 210 x 157 mm; the Worksop folios are 215 x 155 mm; and the St. Petersburg folios are 200 x 145 mm.³⁰ These measurements indicate small, easily portable books. Although there is evidence of trimming in all of the manuscripts (surely due to

²⁹ The catalogue entry on the Getty website for the Northumberland Bestiary provides the known provenance, stating: "early 16th century, Probably Robert Turges, British, died 1504 Note: There are records of the family of Turges in Dorset and it is known that Robert Turges owned land there in 1461 and that the hamlet of Melcombe Bingham was called Melcombe Turges until at least 1523." *Northumberland Bestiary*, (Getty MS.100, Manuscripts, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles), Accessed July 14, 2020. Furthermore: The catalogue entry for the Royal Bestiary on the British Library website provides a provenance list for the object: "John Theyer (bap. 1598, d. 1673), antiquary: a note in his hand (f. 28); included in the catalogue of his library left to his grandson Charles Theyer (b. 1651)." *Royal 12 C XIX*, (Illuminated Manuscripts, The British Library, London), Accessed December 20, 2019.

³⁰ *Royal 12 C XIX*, (Illuminated Manuscripts, The British Library, London), Accessed December 20, 2019. *Northumberland Bestiary*, (Getty MS.100, Manuscripts, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles), Accessed July 14, 2020; *Worksop Bestiary*, (Morgan Pierpont Library M.81, Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts, The Morgan Library & Museum, New York), Accessed July 14, 2020. Muratova, Mikeshovich, and The National Library of Russia, *Srednevekovyi Bestiarii*, 55.

rebinding), they are not likely to have been much bigger originally because none of the text blocks were affected. Second, manuscripts of this size with only a single text block per page became very uncommon after the end of the twelfth century, when preferences developed for smaller scripts with more (usually two) text columns.³¹ Third, for all four members of the Morgan Group, it is possible to detect the pricks made in the parchment for the establishment of the margins and the text block. The lines for the text were drawn in lead (Figure 8), another feature that affirms a late-twelfth century date for the Morgan Group bestiaries, as lead ruling was not widespread before 1170.³² These general codicological clues align with the evidence of the inscription at the beginning of the Worksop Bestiary, which indicates that the book was at Lincoln Cathedral in 1187 and moved to Worksop Priory, previously called Radford. This date agrees perfectly with the codicological evidence, which points to the mid- to late twelfth century. By the year 1200 and after, it was generally more fashionable not only to use lead ruling for the text block but also to include two columns of text, even in manuscripts of a smaller size like those in the Morgan Group.

PALEOGRAPHY

In the future, further paleographical research may identify the specific scribes who wrote the Morgan Group manuscripts and provide additional evidence for dating. Suffice it to say here that the Morgan Group bestiaries, although remarkably similar paleographically, were surely written by different scribes whose work conforms to the appearance of English scripts in the middle of the twelfth century.

³¹ N.R. Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), 42.

³² *Ibid.*, 42.

Following the Norman Conquest, several English scriptoria began to employ scripts that mixed aspects of insular Anglo-Saxon miniscule and Norman miniscule. Over time, and despite the development of regionally-specific book hands, the English script became a “monumental set type of script” that is mostly characterized as “proto-gothic.”³³ By the mid-twelfth century, this hand had rounded curves drawn from insular minuscule and angled serifs drawn from Norman minuscule. Gradually, it assumed even sharper and more angular gothic letterforms (Figures 9.1 and 9.2; for examples of the book hand in dated manuscripts). The adoption of the so-called d-e ligature, where the d letterform “bites” into the e letterform, was an important step in the development of this script between 1180 and 1187.³⁴ Because this ligature is not present in the Morgan Group bestiaries, we might conclude that in each case an older scribe was involved or, alternatively, that there was a deliberate design choice to utilize an older style. Either is possible because the older book hand itself was still widespread. In any case, the absence of the d-e ligature belongs to an older generation of English book hand, one more common before 1180. It is perfectly reasonable that, for example, the scribe of the Worksop Bestiary might still employ the older script in 1187.

The most obvious difference between the scripts of the four Morgan Group bestiaries is in the appearance of hairlines, or the thin lines at the end of a letterform, which sometimes continue far beyond the other letterform descenders or ascenders. Hairlines first appeared before the development of the proto-gothic style, with some regional variations. Most notable are the numerous and long hairlines of the so-called Canterbury script.³⁵ The Northumberland Bestiary has the most extensive of these Canterbury script hairlines, so much so that there are “hairlines in

³³ Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest*, 34-35; *Royal 12 C XIX*, (Illuminated Manuscripts, The British Library, London), Accessed December 20, 2019.

³⁴ Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest*, 38.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 26-27.

places where one would not expect to find them,” evidence that could link the manuscript to a scribe trained in Canterbury (Figures 10.1, 10.2, 10.3, and 10.4).³⁶ The Worksop Bestiary has minimal hairlines and the Royal Bestiary has none (although it does appear to have later hairline-like punctuation notations). The St. Petersburg Bestiary has what appears to be the same amount of hairline use as the Worksop but the facsimile printing is not fine enough for a definitive observation. These differences between the hairlines in the four manuscripts of the Morgan Group are probably the result of the four scribes’ different regional origins. The variable appearance of the hairlines in the four different manuscripts means that the style of script was left up to the scribe, even if the manuscripts’ painters seem to have closely followed an exemplar.

A particular type of decorated initial, which has been described as the “arabesque initial,” also helps to date and localize the Morgan Group bestiaries, perhaps with even more precision than the book hand. Arabesque initials have scrollwork design and often flowing and delicate letterforms. They made their first appearance in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and were utilized into the incunabula period.³⁷ A defining feature of these initials is the relative standardization of letterform while the interstitial decoration and exterior scrollwork were individually improvised and were executed free hand.³⁸ The presence of arabesque initials is a particularly valuable tool for identifying the date and regional origins of the Morgan Group bestiaries. When comparing the arabesque initials in the Morgan Group there are particular similarities between the St. Petersburg, Royal and Worksop Bestiary initials (Figures 11.1, 11.2,

³⁶ Ibid., 27.

³⁷ J.J.G. Alexander, “Scribes as Artists: arabesque initial in twelfth-century English manuscripts,” *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts & Libraries: Essays Presented to N. R. Ker*. ed. Ker, N. R., Parkes, M. B., and Watson, Andrew G. (London: Scolar Press, 1978), 91. J.J.G. Alexander coined the term ‘arabesque’ initial.

³⁸ Alexander, “Scribes as Artists: arabesque initial in twelfth-century English manuscripts,” *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts & Libraries*, 103.

11.3). In these manuscripts, the initials have more variation in line quality in an almost painterly way. In contrast, the arabesque initials in the Northumberland Bestiary have more consistently thin linework (Figure 11.4). This suggests that the St. Petersburg, Worksop and Royal Bestiaries were produced much closer in time or had similarly trained scribes. It also distances the skills of the arabesque initial scribes from the script scribes, who maintained regional differences. As was the case with hairlines, the Northumberland Bestiary is distanced from the other three members of the Morgan Group by the arabesque initial style. As discussed below, this distance is also apparent in the painting style of the miniatures in the Northumberland manuscript.

Two comparable manuscripts that are dated to the late twelfth century and also attributed to northern England show the same type of arabesque initial that is present in the Morgan bestiaries (Figures 11.1 and 11.2). This stylistic similarity further implies the northern English origins of the Morgan Group manuscripts. The first is a composite manuscript with an Anglo-Norman *comput* and French bestiary likely produced at Holme Cultram Abbey in northern England and securely dated to the end of the twelfth century.³⁹ The second is a Bede manuscript of the *Life of St. Cuthbert* produced in Durham, with a pressmark for Durham priory, which was produced in the last quarter of the twelfth century (Figure 13).⁴⁰ Both of these books include the same style of red and blue arabesque initial that graces the pages of all four manuscripts of the

³⁹ A description of the contents of the contemporary bestiary and how the scholars at the British Library dated it: “The earliest named French author, Philippe de Thaon, was active in the first half of the 12th century. In this volume are two scientific works by him: the *Comput* (Computation), a verse summary of how to calculate the medieval calendar, and the *Bestiaire* (Bestiary), a medieval book of beasts with Christian allegories, based on the Latin *Physiologus*. The latter was dedicated to Adeliza of Louvain (b. c. 1103, d. 1151), second wife of King Henry I of England. This copy is from Holme Cultram Abbey, a Cistercian house in Cumbria, and it is copied in Anglo-Norman, the French dialect of England. In the *Bestiary*, the scribe has left spaces for illustrations, some with labels, but they remain blank apart from a few very faint sketches.” Hannah Morcos, and The British Library, “The French language before 1200,” in *Medieval England and France, 700–1200. Philippe de Thaon, Comput; Bestiarius; Elias of Evesham, Quadriologus de Vita Sancti Thome Cantuariensis*, (Cotton MS Nero A V, British Library, London), Accessed August 20, 2020.

⁴⁰ Bede, *Prose Life of Cuthbert; extracts from the Historia Ecclesiastica (History of the English Church and People)*, (Yates Thompson 26, Illuminated Manuscripts, British Library, London), Accessed August 20, 2020.

Morgan Group. The similarities in style between the two manuscripts and the four bestiaries is clear; the letterforms are legible, retain some insular features, and the scrollwork is added to the interstices as opposed to the letterform itself.⁴¹ The defining shape of the scrollwork is the leaf-like form that is often deployed symmetrically across the letterform. This can be seen in the *comput*, the Cuthbert *vita*, and the four bestiary manuscripts of the Morgan Group, even though in the former the initials are sometimes smoother and more leaf-like than the jagged and pokey forms in the Northumberland initials. Both Durham and Holme Cultram are located further north than Lincoln, where the Morgan Group manuscripts are thought to have been made, based on the Worksop inscription (Figure 14). It is possible, based on the arabesque initials' similarities, that the painter was familiar with the northern regional style of initial decoration. It follows that the Morgan Group could also have been produced at a site in far northern England, because the Worksop inscription does not identify the exact location of its production, only the place to which it was given in 1187. The traditional attribution of the Morgan Group to Lincoln Cathedral or Worksop Priory based on the inscription in the Worksop Bestiary is not the only option. It is possible that Philip, Canon of Lincoln, purchased or acquired the manuscript in northern England. Although it remains most likely that the Morgan Group manuscripts were produced in Lincoln, the possibility remains that they could have been produced in York or as far north as Durham, or that their painters were trained in Durham and worked in Lincoln.

⁴¹ C. Nordenfalk, *Die spätantiken Zierbuchstaben*, in Alexander, "Scribes as Artists: arabesque initial in twelfth-century English manuscripts," *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts & Libraries*, 96.

Chapter Three

THE FOUR MANUSCRIPTS OF THE MORGAN GROUP: TEXTUAL CONTENTS AND SOURCES

The texts of a medieval manuscript can be traced like a genealogical tree, often because they directly borrow from earlier textual sources. Bestiaries, like those in the Morgan Group, are the descendants of pagan natural histories and scripture. Textual recension work by previous scholars led to the delineation of the Morgan Group of bestiaries. A review of the textual sources behind the Morgan Group is fundamental to understanding the creation and purpose of these bestiaries.

The legacy of the ancient pagan and early Christian texts that underlie the Morgan Group is clear from the iconography of the manuscripts. The following are just two examples of the pagan textual roots of animal imagery in the group. In his *Natural History*, Pliny the Elder described the elephants of Africa and the “serpents that keep up a continual feud and warfare with them, the serpents also being of so large a size that they easily encircle the elephants in their coils and fetter them with a twisted knot.”⁴² This ancient description of the elephant and the serpent is the foundation for the iconography of all four of the miniatures that accompany the entry for the dragon in the Morgan Group, which show a winged serpent strangling and sometimes biting the elephant (Figures 15.1, 15.2, 15.3, 15.4). Another creature that appears in three of the Morgan Group bestiaries is the ercinee, a mythical bird. In the case of Worksop and St. Petersburg manuscripts, the bird is completely gold (Figures 16.1, 16.2). The ercinee miniatures ultimately respond to ideas of the Roman poet Solinus, who in his *Collection of Remarkable Facts* described the creature as “[a bird] whose feathers shine and give light in the

⁴² Pliny the Elder in Joe Nigg, *The Book of Fabulous Beasts: a Treasury of Writings from Ancient Times to the Present*, trans. H. Rackham, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 61.

dark, though the night be ever so close and cloudy.”⁴³ The translated text of a contemporary bestiary, although not part of the Morgan Group family, provides insight into the text that pairs with the golden bird imagery and the ancient sources: “Their feathers shine in the darkness, so that, however dark the night, they shine brightly if they are thrown on the ground, and serve to light the way. With the help of their shining feathers the way is plain.”⁴⁴ The golden bird, the *ercinee*, is an example of pagan sources in Christian texts including the *Workshop Bestiary*, the *St. Petersburg Bestiary* and the *Northumberland Bestiary*.⁴⁵

The texts of a Latin bestiary understandably contain content derived from the Judeo-Christian scriptural tradition, and the Morgan Group bestiaries are no different. Beasts and fantastic creatures of every sort appear in the Hebrew and Latin Christian Bibles.⁴⁶ For example, in the Latin Vulgate Psalm 90:13, “Thou shalt walk upon the asp and the basilisk: and thou shalt trample underfoot the lion and the dragon.”⁴⁷ In just this line there are two fantastical creatures and two natural animals, all of which appear in bestiaries. Which Latin translation of the Bible was employed seems to have determined the frequency with which fantastic beasts appear. Dragons, for example, may be translated as a serpent or sea monster, while phoenixes instead could be translated as sand or a palm-tree.⁴⁸ The indifference towards differentiating between fantasy and reality in the Bible anticipates the bestiary. In Isaiah 43:20, the text tells us that it does not matter whether an animal is real as long as they are part of creation and glorifying God. “The beast of the field shall glorify me, the dragons and the ostriches: because I have given

⁴³ Solinus in Nigg, *The Book of Fabulous Beasts*, trans. Arthur Golding, 82.

⁴⁴ Barber, *Bestiary: Being an English Version of the Bodleian Library, Oxford M.S. Bodley 764* (Woodbridge, England: Boydell Press, 1993), 145.

⁴⁵ The *ercinee* miniature does not survive in the *Royal Bestiary*.

⁴⁶ Nigg, *The Book of Fabulous Beasts*, 93-94.

⁴⁷ DRBO.org, The Vulgate Bible: Douay-rheims Translation, 2001-2021, Psalm 90:13.

⁴⁸ Nigg, *The Book of Fabulous Beasts*, 97.

waters in the wilderness, rivers in the desert, to give drink to my people, to my chosen.”⁴⁹

Whether it was a misinterpretation by the translator or a deliberate choice, fantastical beasts, such as dragons, basilisks and phoenixes, are a part of the beauty of God’s creation. This creation is further glorified, and used for edification, in later texts such as the Morgan Group bestiaries.

The bestiary is considered a form of biblical commentary that uses visual references while other types of biblical commentaries are entirely textual and called glosses.⁵⁰ Bestiary texts sample these textual glosses just as often as they quote the Bible. Pope Gregory I mentioned, in his commentary *Moralia in Job (Morals on the Book of Job)*, the basilisk. He explained how the smoke the basilisk expels from its nostrils is more than it seems. Gregory likened the smoke to “lying wonders” that can “confuse the eyes of even good minds.”⁵¹ The basilisk is a common creature in bestiaries and is depicted in miniature form in all four manuscripts of the Morgan Group (Figures 17.1, 17.2 17.3, 17.4). Where Gregory chose to speak on the meaning of the smoke, the Morgan Group bestiaries focus instead on its appearance, with the addition of the basilisk turning away from its human victim in the St. Petersburg and Worksop Bestiaries. The dichotomous meanings applied to each animal inspired a range of designs across the history of manuscripts. Depending on which moral the focus was on, the miniature would mimic the commentary through visual representation.

Another early Christian source from which bestiary texts are descended is the ancient *Physiologus* tradition, which is frequently referenced by name in the individual entries of the Morgan Group bestiaries. *Physiologus* is the earliest sustained Christological animal gloss; along with the *Etymologie* of Isidore of Seville discussed below, it is the most important textual source

⁴⁹ DRBO.org, The Vulgate Bible: Douay-rheims Translation, 2001-2021, Isaiah 43:20.

⁵⁰ Laura Kendrick, “Visual texts in post-Conquest England,” *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Culture*, ed. Galloway, Andre, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 162.

⁵¹ Pope Gregory, *Moralis on the Book of Job* in Nigg, *The Book of Fabulous Beasts*, 111-112.

for the Morgan Group manuscripts. The earliest versions of the *Physiologus* text were indebted to pagan natural histories of Pliny the Elder (AD 24-79), Lucan (AD 39-65), and Solinus (mid-third century). They appear to originate in early Christian Egypt and were written in Greek. *Physiologus* compilers tailored these earlier texts to a Christian worldview using familiar animals. Eventually the *Physiologus* was translated from Greek into Latin. The Latin bestiary repeats verbatim selections of the content and organization of the Latin *Physiologus*, as shown by the philological analyses of M.R. James, Florence McCulloch and, with respect to the Morgan Group in particular, Ron Baxter. An important difference, however, is that the bestiary text adds or interpolates observations by medieval authors who, like the classical authors, are not acknowledged or credited by name. According to Ralph Hanna, the eleventh-century *Physiologus*, written by the monk Theobaldus, was “widely used as a school text.”⁵² Not surprisingly, the bestiary likewise served a pedagogical function, but here, too, it differed: the presence of images in bestiary manuscripts sets them apart from *Physiologus* manuscripts. There are a handful of extant *Physiologus* texts with imagery, but the extensive use of images in bestiaries suggests that they were understood as distinctly *visual* glosses for all of God’s creation. Possibly, the pictures signal that these heavily decorated bestiary manuscripts were intended for a younger or secular audience while the unilluminated bestiaries were for the educated sometimes for preparing sermons. Although not mutually exclusive the purposes indicate dual or multiple uses for bestiary manuscripts.

A final important textual source for the Latin bestiary was the *Etymologie* of Isidore of Seville. The *Etymologie*, an encyclopedic investigation into the origin of words that included the names of animals, is particularly important for the Morgan Group manuscripts. As James

⁵² Ralph Hanna, “Literacy, schooling, universities,” *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Culture*, ed. Galloway, Andrew, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 123.

showed, the texts of the four bestiaries of the Morgan Group manuscripts are distinctive for their particular reliance on the *Etymologie*. Isidore's analysis of animal names introduces each creature, which is a feature common to most bestiaries but not to the extent that it is used in the Morgan Group.⁵³ As we will see, this special feature of the Morgan Group's texts extended to the visual, and points to the pedagogical and devotional functions of the Morgan Group manuscripts.

⁵³ McCulloch, *Mediaeval Latin and French Bestiaries*; Baxter, *Bestiaries and Their Users in the Middle Ages*.

Chapter Four

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I build upon the context described in the last three chapters to compare visual aspects of the Morgan Group and discuss the purpose and intent behind the bestiaries. These comparisons affirm the family grouping that was decided initially through textual recension by James and McCulloch. I further affirm the grouping by analyzing the miniatures with respect to two contemporary bestiaries with differing styles, the Aberdeen Bestiary and the Cambridge Bestiary.⁵⁴ I will also consider miniature composition, style, and *mise-en-page* within the Morgan group to identify individual scribal influences, which will point us towards why they were made, how they were used and the type of people that used them. My approach differs from that of earlier scholars of the Morgan Group who mention the individual bestiaries as evidence without the context of their family grouping and stylistically distinct imagery. Instead I will analyze the group with the intent to investigate why bestiaries were the second most popular manuscript in the medieval era. That being said, the number of miniatures to be discussed will be limited so that each example can be focused on with greater detail.

The order of the group's production is the most common topic in bestiary scholarship because of the historically text-centered research on these objects, but here we will look at the Morgan group and what the order of production might mean about the people creating these bestiaries. The generally accepted order of their creation is based on the argument by Ron Baxter

⁵⁴ *Aberdeen Bestiary*, (MS 24. Special Collections, University of Aberdeen Library, Aberdeen, Scotland), Accessed August 20, 2020. T.H. White and Cambridge University Library, *The Bestiary: A Book of Beasts: Being a Translation from a Latin Bestiary of the Twelfth Century* (New York: Putnam, 1960). *MS Ii.4.26*, (Christian Works, University of Cambridge Digital Library, Cambridge University Library, Cambridge), Accessed August 20, 2020.

that he made through textual recension and chapter organization.⁵⁵ Baxter argues that the St. Petersburg Bestiary was created first and the Worksop Bestiary was directly based on it. He suggests the Royal Bestiary was a sister to the Worksop but not directly based on the St. Petersburg. Finally he argues that the Northumberland Bestiary was created much later with only the Royal Bestiary as a model.⁵⁶ Through case studies of selected miniatures I will show that, in fact, many possible production sequences are possible, that the visual evidence for the order of production often contradicts the textual evidence, and that no firm conclusion can be drawn with the extant evidence. It is more useful, I argue, to consider what the style of the Morgan miniatures reveals about the audience that consumed the bestiaries, and how they were used, than to privilege the textual contents.

ICONOGRAPHIC AND COMPOSITIONAL CONSISTENCIES: THE QUESTION OF SEMI-MECHANICAL COPYING OR REPRODUCTION

Clearly, the Morgan Group of bestiaries are either based on each other or another lost model, and visual analysis of the group's designs will fortify the strength of the grouping. Textual analysis is not the only way to identify the four bestiaries of the Morgan Group as a family; composition and iconography, style, and *mise-en-page* also reveal the relationship of each member to one another. A comparison to the iconography in other bestiary manuscripts helps to prove the distinctiveness of the Morgan group's imagery. For example, the Aberdeen Bestiary shows cats in various poses, but none the same as the Morgan Group cats (Figure 18.5). The Aberdeen cat miniature also lacks a mouse, a commonplace feature in the Morgan group miniatures (Figures 18.1, 18.2, 18.3, 18.4). Similarly, the Cambridge Bestiary shows three cats, but they overlap one another in a way not found in the Morgan group. A mouse appears, but it

⁵⁵ Baxter, *Bestiaries and Their Users in the Middle Ages*, 110.

⁵⁶ Baxter, *Bestiaries and Their Users in the Middle Ages*, 124. See figure 15 for diagram.

has been captured, unlike the Morgan miniatures (Figure 18.6). Finally, the frame of the Cambridge miniature is circular rather than of the typical rectangle of the Morgan group. By looking at the Morgan Group side by side with contemporary manuscripts the stylistic differentiation affirms the family grouping made by textual scholars.

The strong similarities between the four cat miniatures of the Morgan group raise the question of how these books were made. Was one copied from another? Was there some sort of common pictorial model or exemplar? Is it possible that the iconographic similarities described above were the result of a process of semi-mechanical reproduction? The answer to the last question, at least, has to be “no.” Disproving semi-mechanical copying within the Morgan Group emphasizes the importance of the individual skills and tastes of scribes and painters in the making of the manuscripts. The easiest way to see that there was no semi-mechanical copying is once again in the cat miniatures. The difference in space between the tail and hind leg of the running cats in each miniature of the group could not be the result of semi-mechanical copying. Moreover, the dimensions of the frames for each of the four cat miniatures are made with differently proportioned rectangles. Most importantly, the contours of the cats’ bodies are slightly different from manuscript to manuscript. At first glance, the figural outlines appear identical, but as you look closely there is a marked difference between all of them. The St. Petersburg cats are much stouter and more muscular, while the running cat in the Worksop Bestiary is slimmer than its sitting counterparts. The differences in scale and proximity of figures in the miniatures is another good indication that the Morgan Group of bestiaries was not copied using semi-mechanical methods that would replicate scale and composition, but was instead copied using visual reference, which leads me to conclude that stylistic and compositional differences were influenced by the painters’ personal choices.

COLOR AND FORM

An analysis of the use of color and form in the four members of the Morgan Group shows that both color and formal painting style were controlled by the painter and not replicated perfectly from a probable exemplar, in the same way the compositional choices were made by an individual. Looking again at the cat miniatures, the painter of the Worksop Bestiary used colors that fit into the limited color palette of the entire bestiary (the colors being gold, green, blue, red, pale tan and dark brown). The Royal Bestiary keeps the blue and beige color but limits the number of cats to two overall and makes their figures slimmer. Although the color is relatively consistent across all four bestiaries, there is significant differentiation in how the color is applied; solid color with slight tonal shading in the Royal miniature, pale stripes in the Northumberland miniature, and layers of color with dots in the Worksop Bestiary. It follows that not only was the composition artistically influenced but that color was also chosen in each case by the individual painter. Although the four bestiaries are so similar that when compared to other bestiary families they can be easily associated, there is a significant difference between the compositions and colors of the two Morgan Group pairs, the Worksop and St. Petersburg pair and the Royal and Northumberland pair. The dissimilarities, first between the pairings and second between all four books individually, supports the expected conclusion that they were not all created at once or in the same place. More significant differences mean either a larger time span between copying, which changes the stylistic choices, or there are missing links in the chain of copying, such as a miniature copy book or lost, unknown exemplar.

The Northumberland Bestiary is the stylistic outlier of the group; it is the only member not to include gold leaf decoration. Its distinct appearance, which includes flowing elegant lines and pale washes of color, is attributed to a generational change in the style of manuscript

illumination. Morrison describes the newer style of color washes and line art as “whimsical and very effective” in comparison to the heavy lines and jewel tones of the earlier Royal Bestiary.⁵⁷ The general stylistic trends in manuscript illumination are often used to formulate a line of development, but we need to set aside attempts to resolve the order of production and instead think about what these trends reveal about the individual people creating and using these bestiaries.

None of the Morgan Group bestiary painters use the same method to shape figural forms, and similarly there is variation in the way they situate figures in the miniature frame. The Northumberland painter’s style is characterized by a greater interest in naturalism, a change that signals a movement away from a more abstract Romanesque art to a more naturalistic Gothic. The Royal Bestiary has a similar interest in the depiction of naturalistic animals but also utilizes color, texture and shading to create the illusion of a naturalistic form. Meanwhile, the Worksop Bestiary has clear and defined border lines while the St. Petersburg borders are thick and wavy. Both of these types of lines, and how the painters used them to define their forms, emphasizes the abstracted nature of the Worksop and St. Petersburg miniatures. The contours of the cat bodies in the Worksop Bestiary are soft and blended while the St. Petersburg Bestiary cats are only line drawings, except for the cat in the far background which is a single-color wash instead of visibly textured with brushstrokes. The blending of the contours in the Worksop Bestiary is slightly more naturalistic than the unchanging color in the St. Petersburg Bestiary. Individual creators made the Morgan Group bestiaries separately, which changed each of the ways they depicted the natural world in miniatures.

⁵⁷ Baxter, *Bestiaries and Their Users in the Middle Ages*, 124. See figure 15 for diagram.

There is a visible trend within the Morgan Group from abstraction to naturalism, which reveals the changing of interests for the individual creators. The only bestiary of the group that does not employ a limited color palette is the Royal Bestiary, while the Northumberland, Worksop and St. Petersburg Bestiaries use less than ten colors each. The limited color palette is part of an older style of manuscript illumination that privileged abstraction, whereas the extensive natural colors of the Royal Bestiary show interest in visible reality. This trend is paralleled in the natural forms of the Royal Bestiary and varying levels of abstracted forms in the remaining three bestiaries. The natural colors are an aspect of the Royal Bestiary that do not align with the typical Gothic manuscript where bright jewel tones are more prevalent. The earth-tone colors do not extend to the backgrounds where the Royal Bestiary uses gold leaf. The gold background relates more to traditional, abstract notions of divine space than to a natural environment.

The most striking thing about the miniatures in the Worksop Bestiary is the vibrancy of the limited color palette used and the extensive fields of gold. Real and fantastic creatures alike are composed of gold, green, blue, red, pale tan and dark brown, and depicted with topographical contour layers giving the imagery a surreal appearance that readers of the time expected from depictions of divine and biblical creation. The gold is a background to every miniature except for the ercinee miniature where it is instead the color of the bird because, in the story of the ercinee, the bird is the holy light. The St. Petersburg Bestiary follows the Worksop Bestiary in almost the same colors for its limited palette, with more jewel tones instead of the bright, true colors of the Worksop, and its similar almost gawdy use of gold. The Royal Bestiary does not invoke the same unrelenting awe-inspiring vibrancy, despite the consistent use of gold, because the naturalistic colors ground the imagery. The Northumberland Bestiary takes a step closer to naturalism in a

different way than the Royal Bestiary because it has no gold at all. The limited color palette for the Northumberland Bestiary is also similar to the Worksop and St. Petersburg palettes, but where the latter uses the heavy jewel variant, the Northumberland uses washes for the color application. Washes were a part of the style changes that English manuscript production was going through in thirteenth century England and in the Northumberland Bestiary the colors look less expensive but also give it a texture that none of the other bestiaries in the group have.⁵⁸ The variation in use of color can be best seen in the satyr miniatures, the basilisk miniatures, the lizard miniatures and the leucrotia miniatures (Figures 17.1-17.4 and 19.1-21.4). Color and form were controlled by painters and scribes who were influenced by stylistic trends, and specifically the Morgan Group bestiaries reveal differing interests in naturalism.

The stylistic differences between the bestiaries becomes much clearer when instead we focus on the lizard miniatures. The St. Petersburg lizard has much more reliance on the lines to articulate the musculature of the lizard, while the Worksop Bestiary lizard has less lines and more color contrast (Figures 20.3 and 20.2). The Worksop lizard has layers of color blocks which create different depths and a sense of dimension in the body. This evolution towards naturalism shows that the St. Petersburg and the Worksop Bestiaries were produced before the Royal and the Northumberland, which supports the textual argument made by Baxter (Figures 20.1 and 20.4). But it is hardly a conclusive argument because the differences between the bestiaries could also be explained as the differences between patrons' preferences, workshop specializations, or an individual painter's artistic choices.

What the painters chose to embellish, for example humans and their clothing, reveals an interest in the visible world. For all the bestiaries in the Morgan Group the same can be said.

⁵⁸ Morrison, and J. Paul Getty Museum, "6. Bestiary (Northumberland Bestiary)," *Book of Beasts: the Bestiary in the Medieval World*, 98-101.

Although some of the animals are detailed enough to show feather, fur or spine textures they are never quite as detailed as the human figures. In the Royal Bestiary, the modeling of robes is sculptural, each fold and dip with shading to indicate the volume and form of the body. Both the curtains and bedding in the caladrius miniature, as well as the windblown robe and cloak on the rider in the beaver miniature, show the fabric wrapping around itself using deep colors for contour lines (Figures 22.1). In the same manuscript, human figures in the unicorn miniature wear a green and red plaid tunic, striped stockings, two pairs of dotted shoes and a striped pair of shoes. Two different blues are employed, one for the first and one for the third figure (See Figures 24.1). Even the scabbard and shield of the two hunters have detailed patterns. The faces of the figures in the caladrius, beaver and unicorn miniatures have the same stern brow, long straight nose, small pursed lips and bright red spots on all cheeks (Figure 23.1). Only the second hunter in the unicorn miniature appears to emote anger because of his bunched eyebrows while the rest look calm or mildly surprised. In the Royal Bestiary, the level of detail, use of shading, the natural coloring, the sculptural clothing, the individualized nature of that clothing all show a general interest in depicting the world as the scribes see it, even emotions.

Similarly, the human figures in the Northumberland Bestiary show a strong interest in depicting a variety of humans, perhaps in order to signal the richness of creation. Each human has an individual outfit with different colors, accessories and embellishments within which are an astonishing amount of details. In comparison the human faces are all the same with no details in the linework. The sea creature (sometimes identified as a whale) miniature has three men with the same facial features: bulbous protruding noses, downturned mouths with pouty lower-lips, high foreheads and simplistic eyes (Figure 25.1). The ape miniature has a human male hunting the ape with a bow and arrow (Figure 26.1). There are tiny dashes all along the length of the

string of the bow, likely indicating the twisted string. The man's knee-length tunic has folds in the draping of the fabric, but instead of shading to indicate depth, the pattern of staggered lines and dots follows the folds. The figure even has red shoes with an ankle strap. Not all the draped cloth executed with color wash looks patchy in a faded or messy way, for example the bedding on the bedridden figure in the *caladrius* miniature has a pale tan wash that seems to get lighter on the ripples of the fabric (Figure 22.4). When painted, the *Northumberland Bestiary* displays three distinct approaches to the decoration of clothing: solid color, articulated with a wash of color that is textured, or decorated with a pattern in one or more colors. The variety of styles of clothes and fabrics shows an interest in depicting observable human reality, while also indicating who read the Morgan Group bestiaries—the wealthy clergy and nobility who could afford multiple decorated outfits.

Depicting an animal that a most English people could easily see every day and also showing a variety of clothing would have been a way to attract and sustain the interest of wealthy patrons of the manuscripts. The trend towards naturalism in forming figures and use of color suggests that painters were concerned to persuade their audiences of the reality of the contents they depicted. Wealthy families supplied the men and women for religious service, and so these wealthy clergy wanted god's creation to look more like their visible reality, exemplified by the richly varied clothing.

FRAME

The Morgan Group bestiaries, with their painters' varying interest in naturalism, depict the space within the picture frame very differently. In the *Royal Bestiary* the animals often float on the plane, but there are some attempts to create a groundline or to use the frame as a ground line. In the *hedgehog* miniature the central plant emerges from the frame, but it does not seem to

act as a ground line because the hedgehogs hover above the frame without any other depiction of ground (Figure 27.1). The addition of landscape to depict the natural world is also seen in the Northumberland hedgehogs which are standing on little mounds of land instead of floating within the frame (Figure 27.2). The hedgehogs in the St. Petersburg and Worksop Bestiaries all stand along the frame itself, giving them an abstract ground (Figures 27.3, 27.4). In the Royal bee miniature where the hive and plants are all resting on the frame, the understanding of the frame as ground holds because the bees are meant to look like they are flying, and the same can be said about the other three bestiaries, even when there is the addition of a beekeeper figure in the St. Petersburg and Worksop Bestiaries (Figures 3.1, 3.2, 3.3, 3.4). The compositional choices to use the frame as the groundline or as the miniature's landscape shows that the painters of the Morgan Group bestiaries were grappling with how to illustrate depth of field, once again a stylistic movement towards naturalism.

The relative size of the figures to each other and to the frame creates a hierarchy of importance within the microcosm of the miniature. An important aspect of the frames is how they often do not contain the figures; feet, branches, horns and other appendages tend to extend beyond or break the border of the frame. The beaver miniatures of all four bestiaries in the Morgan Group have figures extending beyond the frame. In the Royal Bestiary the rider's head just barely breaches the frame, but the sense of monumentality for the horse and rider compared to the curled up beaver shows which creatures are higher in the hierarchy of importance.⁵⁹ But in the Worksop Bestiary the rider in the beaver miniature pushes almost the whole top of their head outside the frame. The difference between the two designs for the same miniature is accentuated by the scale of the figures within the frame itself. All the Worksop miniatures look full because

⁵⁹ Brown, "Bestiary Lessons on Pride and Lust," *The Mark of the Beast*, ed. Debra Hassig, (New York: Garland Pub., 1999), 56-57.

there is a very limited amount of negative space, whereas in the Royal Bestiary the figures of the miniatures are proportional to the frame, with more negative space for the gold background. The difference is that the monumental appearance of the disproportionate figures were more important to the creator of the Worksop Bestiary because it depicts the theological idea of human supremacy over animals. Instead the Royal Bestiary privileges proportional figures naturalistically depicted because that image would be more relatable to the reader. The monumentality of the Worksop figures is again an example of abstraction prioritized over naturalism, whereas the Royal Bestiary is an example of increasing interest in an accurate depiction of reality.

MISE-EN-PAGE

The decorated ‘B’ initials of the Morgan Group of bestiaries start the main text of the bestiary within each codex, making this feature extremely important for the reading experience. Every manuscript begins with a large decorated ‘B’ initial for the word *bestius* at the beginning of the bestiary section (Figures 28.1, 28.2, 28.3, 28.4). In both the Worksop and St. Petersburg Bestiaries there is a robed male figure within the space of the letterform. Xenia Muratova identifies this figure as the Creator, since in both manuscripts the initial is followed by an explanation of the creation of the world and its animals, even before the expected first animal entry, on lions. Furthermore, in both cases the robed figure appears with a cross scepter, halo, and makes a gesture of blessing.⁶⁰ Between the two manuscripts, these two initials are so similar in color and style that one must be based on the other, or a lost exemplar, whether or not they were directly copied from one another. Both are framed by a red rectangle with triangular dot

⁶⁰ Muratova, Mikeshevish, and The National Library of Russia, *Srednevekoviĭ Bestiariĭ*, 74. Further research into identifying the figure in the ‘B’ initials of the St. Petersburg Bestiary and the Worksop Bestiary could add to an understanding of how these bestiaries were utilized. Perhaps instead of the Creator in the initials it is the Logos?

patterns. In each case the letterform is blue, embellished with a wave design, and gold leaf is applied in the interstices, which creates a shining background for the figure. The 'B' initial in the Royal Bestiary has interlacing vines with lobed leaves that make up the letterform, which recalls insular interlace designs, but it also has a frame and gold leaf background that still firmly places it in the early Gothic period. Finally, the Northumberland Bestiary 'B' is done in only blue and red ink with no gold background. The letterform is made of two puzzle-like pieces of red and blue fitting together and the entire interior of the form is filled with scrollwork design. Similarly the 'B' is surrounded by an explosion of scrollwork that creeps into the body of the text and reaches more than halfway down the left margin, much like the arabesque initials discussed in the paleography section. The painters focused on this single initial at the beginning of every bestiary in the group and that emphasizes how important it was to the painter and the reader, at once changing the way they start the reading experience, but also connecting that experience to another strong Christian reading tradition: the Psalter.

A look into the similar approach to *mise-en-page* among the four members of the group will affirm once more that the four bestiaries share a common source, while the dissimilarities will provide insight into the copying process and why maintaining the folio order was important. Because manuscripts were written and decorated in their unbound states, there needed to be a plan to make sure the pages ended up in the right order. The chapters were not contained to a single folio, so the order was extremely important for the text and images to make sense. Baxter also argues that the order of the animals had an important narratological framework. The order of folios and chapters is tricky and inconclusive though, because entire folios have been lost from some of the Morgan Group manuscripts. The importance of order for the purpose of *mise-en-page* is that the opening is viewed as a fully designed space with intentional placement. Patterns

of text and miniature, when mirrored across an opening, creates a repetitive visual experience that helps to structure memorization.⁶¹ Similarly the larger space of an opening allows for more miniatures to be viewed side by side and grouping similar animals together creates a striking and memorable visual. For example, the space between the boas miniature and the stellio miniature, in the Royal Bestiary (Figure 29.1), creates an opening with the text-miniature pattern. All of the animals on the opening are a type of serpent creature stretched out along the folio in long thin rectangles. The size of the miniatures is almost the same size as the text block between them, which makes the pattern more visually arresting, and that same pattern is in the remaining three bestiaries (Figures 29.2, 29.3, 29.4). The Morgan Bestiaries followed the same design program for the text and miniature placement, which can be seen despite the many missing folios.

The fact that *mise-en-page* was repeated in the Morgan Group manuscripts suggests that page design was itself important. The careful attention to placement of information and the richly painted miniatures suggest that the manuscripts were intended for pedagogical use, and that the repeated page design was thought optimal for memorization. The reception of integrated text and image could support learning because it stimulates interest for the novice in the Morgan Group content visually. For example, the opening from the text before the manticore miniature to the yale miniature on the bottom of the following folio looks extremely similar (for copying without mechanical methods) spanning across all four bestiary (Figures 30.1, 30.2, 30.3, 30.4) This example shows that not only were the miniature compositions copied, and the text copied, but also that the design layout was copied as well. In all four manuscripts the three animals are in the same order and in the same opening: manticore, parandrus and yale. The manticore is always on

⁶¹ Beryl Rowland, "The Art of Memory and the Bestiary," *Beasts and Birds of the Middle Ages: The Bestiary and Its Legacy*, ed. Clark, Willene B., and McMunn, Meradith T. and Middle Ages Series, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), 18; Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 126.

the verso and sandwiched between text blocks. The parandrus horns always curve up and out of the miniature into the top margin of the recto and then curve back into the miniature. The yale always has one straight forward horn that extends into the right margin, and one diagonal horn going into the text block above it. The parandrus horns have no placement issues because all four of the parandrus miniatures are always the first element on the opening's recto, however the yale horn needed to be planned ahead for because of the text surrounding it. The text wrapped around the horn is done in various different ways, and the text has either too much or too little space. Traditionally text was written before the painters worked on the miniatures and the yale horns that overlap the text in all the manuscripts shows that all four of the Morgan Group bestiaries followed that trend. The Northumberland yale miniature is the only one that has a text block after it; the other three have only margin beneath the bottom of the yale frame. The Northumberland opening is also different because the frames of the miniatures are placed oddly on the page. On the left side of the opening there is a large gap of undecorated space between the end of the first text block and the top edge of the manticore miniature frame. Then the text underneath the same miniature ends up looking a bit cramped because the frame cuts into the space where letterform ascenders would be, if that line of text happened to have any letters with ascenders. As a result, when comparing the four openings side by side, the Northumberland Bestiary looks like a failure to execute the plan the painters were all working from. Deviations from the integrated composition of text and image would disrupt the flow of the eye and influence memorization negatively.

The integration of text and image creates a seamless reading experience that can be interrupted, which occurs when the folio design departs from the putative model or exemplar. In the Morgan Group bestiaries, there are often minor shifts in placement of text blocks and

miniature frames, but the truly visually disruptive placement comes from large gaps of undecorated space. This comes in several forms: in places where the text was meant to wrap around the image but does not and in places where a miniature was either too small, misplaced or forgotten. When looking at the satyr miniature in the St. Petersburg Bestiary compared with the other three satyr miniatures it is an oddity that the entire text on the folio starts below the miniature (Figures 19.1, 19.2, 19.3, 19.4). The other three miniatures are completely surrounded by text, although in the Northumberland Bestiary there is awkward empty space around the quatrefoil-like decorated staff that extends beyond the circular frame. Similar to the satyr miniatures the elephant miniatures are all executed differently (Figures 31.1, 31.2, 31.3, this miniature does not survive in the Royal Bestiary). The general design that remains the same across all three miniatures is a single elephant with three human figures riding in a litter atop the animal. In the St. Petersburg Bestiary, their heads extend beyond the frame and are wrapped in text, but in the Worksop Bestiary, while their heads still extend beyond the frame's border, the text block ends above their heads and only negative space surrounds them. In the Northumberland Bestiary the heads look squished into the frame because the painters extended the frame with another rectangular shape beyond the rectangular frame used in the bestiaries. Of these three designs for the elephant miniatures the most visually effective is the St. Petersburg elephant miniature.

Two examples of drastically changed miniature placement in the Northumberland Bestiary, as compared to the other three bestiaries of the Morgan Group, is in the mole miniature and the dog miniature (Figures 32.1, 33.1). The design in the other three bestiaries, for the single folio with the mole miniature, has the mole and mouse in individual round frames with text wrapped slightly around them (Figures 32.2, 32.3, 32.4). In the Northumberland Bestiary the

mole is on an entirely different page and overlaps the frame of the leucrotia miniature. This changes the impact of the miniature because, instead of a planned proximity of similar animals, the mole is awkwardly placed (literally) on the leucrotia, not at all a similar animal to the mole. The mole miniature overlapping the leucrotia miniature is not only inelegant, but it likely disrupted the learning experience for the reader, who might remember the entries better with the two rodents nearer to each other than a rodent with a fantastical horse-crocodile animal. The second example of miniature placement in the Northumberland Bestiary that differed from the other three is the dog miniature. The dog was a popular enough animal that it merited up to four miniatures across several folios in three of the four Morgan Group bestiaries, including the Northumberland Bestiary. All the dog miniatures of the Morgan Group show a number of different design choices but the difference that most changes the *mise-en-page* can be found in the way the Northumberland's second dog miniature is placed. It is a long thin miniature that sits awkwardly in a space left empty by the scribes because it does not take up all the space. The negative space below it is further emphasized by an unknown stamp (Figures 33.2, 33.3). Likely this stamp was added much later but it now accentuates the previously entirely negative space below the dog miniature. Based on the *mise-en-page* of the entire Morgan Group, the Northumberland Bestiary is least effective in creating a design with integrated text and image. It follows that the text was harder to learn, and the content harder to memorize, because the eye would be drawn to the irregularities and negative spaces, instead of the repetitive or paired images that could facilitate meditation and memorization. The problems in the *mise-en-page* of the Northumberland Bestiary, not only disrupt learning processes, but also draw the reader's attention to human error, which counteracts the divinity of God's creation. This error likely prevented the reader from immersing themselves in the content for devotional purposes.

The four bestiaries that make up the Morgan Group have miniature designs that stand out from the other contemporary bestiaries as a visual grouping. My analysis incorporates the visual evidence of miniatures, individual designs, colors, forms, frames, and *mise-en-page* to compare each of the four bestiaries to each other. No conclusive order of production was proven using this methodology because style development is fluid and there is not enough extant evidence to say otherwise, except for the already confirmed later production date for the Northumberland Bestiary. However, the visual evidence does affirm the grouping as stylistically distinct from other bestiary families, as well as the two bestiary pairs within the Morgan Group. The Royal and Northumberland Bestiaries are conclusively a pair, and the same goes for the Worksop and St. Petersburg Bestiaries. The choices of the individual painters betray changing interests, possibly conforming to the scholarly idea of artistic development, but definitively showing a trend of abstraction to naturalism. Using variations on abstraction and naturalism also change the way the reader receives the information and uses the object, whether pedagogically or devotionally. The way medieval books are utilized transcends the type of content and we can learn about medieval book tradition in general from the way the Morgan Group bestiaries were used and created.

Chapter Five

PURPOSE, INTENT AND AUDIENCE

This investigation into the Morgan Group brought to light several possibilities for how they were utilized and by whom. One such purpose was as an object to read, study, and contemplate. In order to think about who read the manuscripts we must look to the cultural context of medieval England. Medieval literacy was flexible because it extended to the visual. There is evidence that English laity had higher literacy, in Latin and the vernacular, than earlier supposed, which suggests a thorough knowledge of the Theobaldus *Physiologus* text, and its allegorical imagery, based on its use as a school text.⁶² Despite some evidence that the laity could read Latin there were still significant numbers that could not, because Latin was limited to the higher classes. It is more likely that lower classes were excluded from Latin education and instead spoke and perhaps read the vernacular.⁶³ This is where the regular inclusion of miniatures in bestiary manuscripts begins to make sense. The *Physiologus* text itself is an act of Christological interpretation of the natural world that acts as an educational gloss, but it was only in Latin and often did not contain miniatures. While the *Physiologus* was limited to upper class Latin teaching, the purpose of the illuminated bestiary was to teach a larger audience of people to see the world through a Christian lens. The role of the visual in bestiary allegorical teachings was just as important as the textual because the iconographic imagery was abundant in the most

⁶² Ralph Hanna, "Literacy, schooling, universities," *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Culture*, ed. Galloway, Andrew, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 172-194.

⁶³ On Pope Gregory in Laura Kendrick, "Visual texts in post-Conquest England," *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Culture*, ed. Galloway, Andrew, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 162. Kendrick provides an explanation of the famous quote by Pope Gregory and how might be misinterpreted: "Those who can read letters themselves can follow along with an oral reading by another person; those who cannot read letters can follow the pictures. That is why "la peinture est pur leceun as genz" ("painting serves as a reading for lay folk"). There was no difference between the Old French leceun and Latin lectio, for a lectio was not usually an uninterrupted reading of an authoritative text, but also an explanation of it, what we call a lesson."

available Christian space: churches. As Laura Kendrick explains, “extensive pictorial glosses, like extensive verbal ones, tend to become texts in themselves, replacing what they were intended to explain, especially when they are separated from the original text and placed in a new visual field or context.”⁶⁴ Learning about Christian theology through images happened across medieval artistic creations because it was a celebration of belief but also provided a feedback loop for reinforcing moral and religious lessons.

In the creation context of medieval bestiaries, like those of the Morgan Group, they were used visually to understand the visual culture of cathedrals, scripture and the Christian world. Previously, Hanna and Kendrick concluded that bestiaries were used as learning tools for the laity, because Latin could be read by more people than only the clergy. But there are certain clues with the Morgan Group bestiaries that suggest the bestiary was not meant for the lay public, even if limited to the wealthy classes. The small size of the bestiaries is the first clue. In order to read the text and look at the many details of the miniatures, the reader would need to be very close to the page, unlike with the monumental bibles that could be viewed by a large audience. These miniature codices were not meant to be shared across a large group at the same time, like for a mass or sermon. The size of the Morgan Group bestiaries indicates that they were intended for individual use. Based on the inscription at the beginning of the *Workshop Bestiary* we can conclude that at least that bestiary was used in an ecclesiastical setting. One might assume that other bestiaries in the Morgan family were used as devotional objects monastically as well. The rich decorations, and its use as a devotional and educational object by an individual, could also suggest that they were owned and used by the rich patrons that funded their creation.

⁶⁴ Kendrick, “Visual texts in post-Conquest England,” 157-8.

Both of these groups, wealthy laity and funded clergy, are the most likely people to have access to use these objects.

The nature of the short chapters, small page size and the large ‘B’ initial calls to mind two other popular manuscripts made at the time, the Psalter and the Book of Hours. Both the Psalter and Book of Hours were written as small manuscripts with visually engaging decorations, which were made to incite individual prayer, and it follows that the intent would be the same for bestiaries. The last clue that indicates individual use is the large decorated ‘B’ initial that starts the main body of chapters for the bestiary. The ‘B’ letter visually recalls the same initial starting the text Latin Psalter. In Psalter I the text starts with “Beatus Vir” which translates as “Blessed be the Man,” and traditionally the ‘B’ is the most decorated initial in the whole Psalter manuscript. In the bestiary the ‘B’ is part of the word “Bestiarum” which starts the first sentence in the lion chapter and is the most decorated initial in the whole manuscript. Similar to Books of Hours, Psalters were often small for individual devotional use. The ornamentation and decoration of the ‘B’ at the beginning of the Morgan Group of bestiaries would have immediately reminded the reader of the experience of reading a Psalter and it must have been an intentional memory device utilized by the manuscript creators. Each of these clues, the size, the ‘B’ decoration, and comparative texts with the same features, lead me to conclude that the bestiary was a manuscript for private prayer and, to quote Peter of the Apostles, “edification.”

CONCLUSION

The Morgan Group bestiaries are a piece in the puzzle of medieval image and literacy. This thesis identifies a gap in bestiary scholarship due to a long scholarly history that privileges the textual over the visual. Although the textual recension research is extensive and compelling, no conclusion about any bestiaries should be finalized without a holistic approach to the codex.

Within the Morgan Group, the text, images, and decorations are intertwined revealing clues about their creation, use, purpose and audience.

An investigation of the individual scripts and arabesque initials of the Morgan Group, through comparison to dated manuscripts provided insight into the regional scripts of medieval England, as developmental and regional, which strengthened the possibility northern influence. Itinerant scribes and illuminators were common enough across England that the northern influences in the Morgan Group could be explained by a traveling model book or a traveling scribe. Further research into the scribal hand could add more information about the individual scribes and possibly the locations of where the individual manuscripts of the Morgan Group were created. A similar approach to codicological investigation of the Morgan Group as physical objects was one way to affirm the dating of previous scholars. Identification of the use of lead ruling for the layout of the folios was the evidence for the earliest possible date of creation, because the ruling method used in all four of the Morgan Group bestiaries was not in common use across England until after 1170.

As a whole, the Morgan Group represent disparate, and sometimes competing, features. Traditionally the “proto-bestiary,” the *Physiologus*, was used as a pedagogical tool in ecclesiastical teaching but the Morgan Group bestiaries, as its descendants, had far more iconographic images, which indicated a possible change in how they were utilized. The small size indicates private and individual use, while the extensive use of miniatures could indicate its intent to be used as a pedagogical tool for laity without Latin reading skills. Previously scholars agreed that bestiaries were used in pedagogical environments to teach a Christological worldview, but their size leads to questions about who was learning from them and in what context. How can we say that the imagery supported a rich environment of visual literacy that

allowed lay people and the clergy alike to understand the minutiae when realizing the physical size alone suggests individual use? A large group of people would be very unlikely to learn something simultaneously from miniatures in small codices. Although the Morgan Group, and other bestiaries, were still used pedagogically they were not used to educate groups of people but instead to promote private devotion and learning in a single individual, or possibly in a tutor-student exchange.

The specific people who would read and learn from the content of the Morgan Group bestiaries reveal themselves through their interests. Miniatures had a changing ratio of abstracted form and natural depictions. Perhaps this was a trend towards depicting the human experience in the miniatures and could be early evidence of revived classical ideals of humanism. But what we come away with is that there is more intention to making a version of God's creation that is closer to visible reality than divine abstraction. The interests revealed from the trend towards naturalism and possible relation to classical ideas shows us that the people who read and learnt from the Morgan Group bestiaries were extremely educated, likely with a theological and/or a classical background.

An aspect of interest in naturalism is the focus on the human figure in the miniature and the way that the clothing of humans is detailed. The people who would see patterns and fabric embellishments on clothing, and expect to see a variety of clothes, would be the people who could afford those things for themselves. Knowing that the readers were likely educated and wealthy, paired with the contemporary inscription of the Worksop Bestiary, tells us that the people surrounding bestiary production and use were wealthy, educated, and clergy. The audience used the bestiary as a private devotional tool for their edification. The design of the bestiary was created with the purpose of helping teach and provide memorization tools for the

reader to learn and utilize that information for their sermons. Knowing that the audience was already very educated suggests that the bestiary transcended just pedagogical use but instead became a devotional object, truly for edification. When pairing the audience with the bestiaries similarities to other devotional books, like the Psalter and Book of Hours, it becomes clear that the Morgan Group bestiaries were created for pedagogy as well as devotion, which is the definition of edification.

The Royal Bestiary, the Northumberland Bestiary, the Worksop Bestiary and the St. Petersburg Bestiary are part of a centuries long tradition of creating written commentaries on the creation of God couched in Christian dogma. The bestiary tradition is further a part of medieval English book-making tradition. A close look at the Morgan Group creates an image of twelfth and thirteenth century English pedagogy and furthers the scholarly understanding of medieval life. Objects, especially those containing religious knowledge, cannot be created in a bubble. Nothing can be created without the influence of everything around it.

FIGURES

Anno. m. c. lxxxvii. Ab incarnatione domini. In gloria sancti
marthi apostoli. Philippus apostolorum comes. In nomine ecclesie. donavit deo
et ecclesie sancte marie et sancti cuthberti de Radeford. ad edificationem
fratrum ipsius ecclesie impetuit. unum optimum psalterium glosa-
tum. et quatuor euangelistas glosatos in uno volumine ele-
gantissimo. Genesim glosatam. et meditationes beati Anselmi
cantuariensis archiepiscopi. et Bestiarium. et Topographiam mundi. et ad petitionem
ipsius philippi. consensu archiepiscopi. pontificis et omnium fratrum. et
nuntiorum. et audientium. et stolis acceptis ab omnibus sa-
cerdotibus et canonicis. predicte ecclesie. quecumque aliquis de pre-
dictis libris elongaverit extra septem curiam sancti cuthberti. ex quacumque
causa. Quisquis ergo aliquem de predictis libris extra curiam
sancti cuthberti commodaverit. vel commodatum accepit. de-
posuerit. vel depositum accepit. pignori dedit vel acce-
perit. donavit vel donatum accepit. vel quocumque titulo
alienationis alienavit. vel accepit. vel vi. vel clam
abstulerit. vel precario cuiquam concesserit. noverit pro-
culdubio se iram et indignationem omnipotentis
dei. incursurum.

Figure 1: Worksop Colophon text, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. M. 81, fol. 1v, England (possibly Lincoln), ca. 1187. Image from *Worksop Bestiary*. Morgan Pierpont Library M.81. Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts. The Morgan Library & Museum. New York. Accessed July 14, 2020. <https://www.themorgan.org/collection/workshop-bestiary/thumbs>



Figure 2.1: Lion, *Royal Bestiary*, London, British Library, MS. Royal 12 C XIX, fol. 6r, England, ca. 1200-1210. Image from *Royal 12 C XIX*. Illuminated Manuscripts. The British Library. London. Accessed December 20, 2019. <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8813&CollID=16&NStart=120319>



Figure 2.2: Lion, *Northumberland Bestiary*, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS. 100, fol. 8, England, ca. 1250-1260. Images from *Northumberland Bestiary*. Getty MS.100. Manuscripts. The J. Paul Getty Museum. Los Angeles. Accessed July 14, 2020. <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/240115/unknown-maker-northumberland-bestuary-english-about-1250-1260/>



Figure 3.1: Bee, *Royal Bestiary*, London, British Library, MS. Royal 12 C XIX, fol. 45r, England, ca. 1200-1210. Image from *Royal 12 C XIX*. Illuminated Manuscripts. The British Library. London. Accessed December 20, 2019. <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8813&CollID=16&NStart=120319>



Figure 3.2: Bee, *Northumberland Bestiary*, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS. 100, fol. 38vr, England, ca. 1250-1260. Images from *Northumberland Bestiary*. Getty MS.100. Manuscripts. The J. Paul Getty Museum. Los Angeles. Accessed July 14, 2020. <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/240115/unknown-maker-northumberland-bestiary-english-about-1250-1260/>



Figure 3.3: Bee, *Worksop Bestiary*, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. M. 81, fol. 58r, England (possibly Lincoln), ca. 1187. Image from *Worksop Bestiary*. Morgan Pierpont Library M.81. Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts. The Morgan Library & Museum. New York. Accessed July 14, 2020. <https://www.themorgan.org/collection/workshop-bestiary/thumbs>



Figure 3.4: Bee, *St. Petersburg Bestiary*, St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS. Q.v.V.1, fol. 57r, England, ca. 1180-1185. Image from Muratova, Xenia, Mikeshevisch, Vladimir and The National Library of Russia. *Srednevekoviĭ Bestiariĭ - The Medieval Bestiary*. Translated by Inna Kitrosskaya. Moscow: Izd-vo. 1984, 158.



Figure 4: Bee, *Aberdeen Bestiary*, Aberdeen, Aberdeen University Library, Ms. 24, fol. 63r, England, ca. 1200. Image from *Aberdeen Bestiary*. MS 24. Special Collections. University of Aberdeen Library. Aberdeen, Scotland. Accessed August 20, 2020. <https://www.abdn.ac.uk/bestiary/ms24/flr>

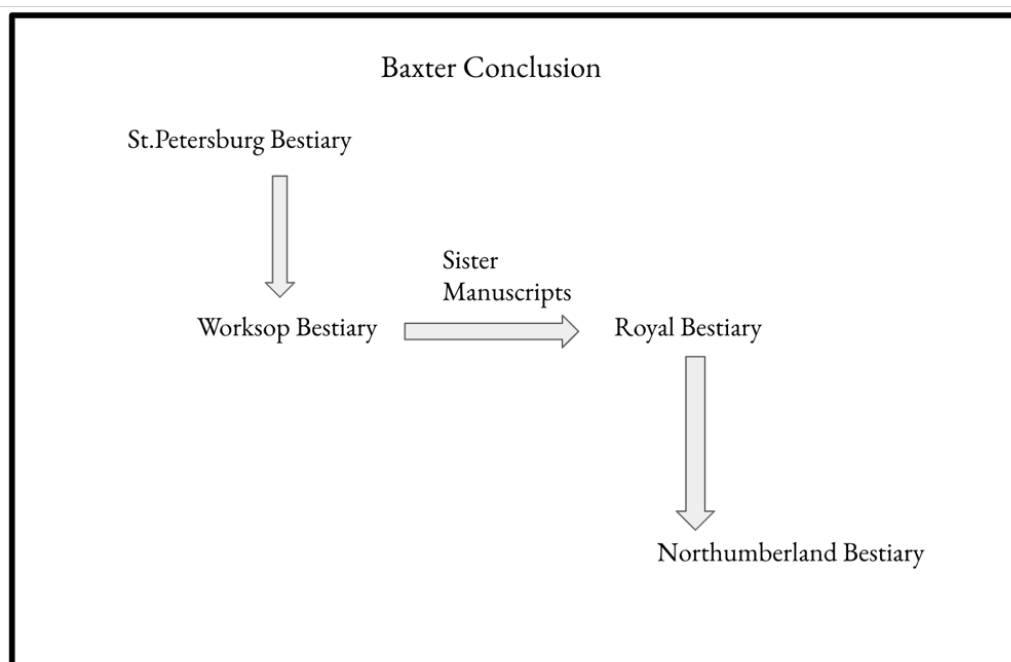


Figure 5: Diagram of Baxter's argument



Figure 6.1: Tigress, *St. Petersburg Bestiary*, St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS. Q.v.V.1, fol. 36r, England, ca. 1180-1185. Image from Muratova, Xenia, Mikeshevish, Vladimir and The National Library of Russia. *Srednevekoyi Bestiarii - The Medieval Bestiary*. Translated by Inna Kitrosskaya. Moscow: Izd-vo. 1984, 118.



Figure 6.2: Tigris, *Royal Bestiary*, London, British Library, MS. Royal 12 C XIX, fol. 28r, England, ca. 1200-1210. Image from *Royal 12 C XIX*. Illuminated Manuscripts. The British Library. London. Accessed December 20, 2019. <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8813&CollID=16&NStart=120319>

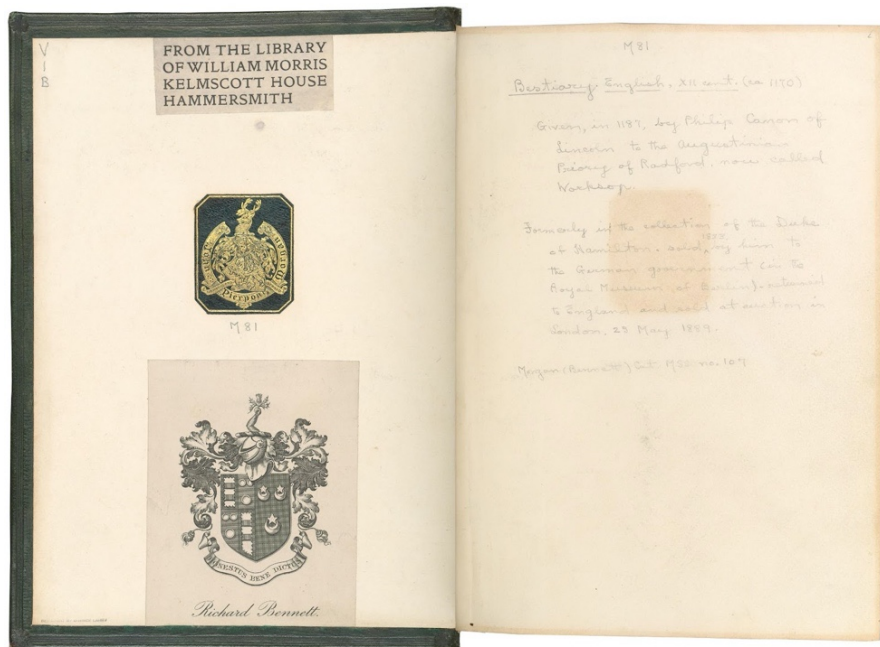


Figure 7: Transcription text, *Worksop Bestiary*, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. M. 81, fol. [i]r, England (possibly Lincoln), ca. 1187. Image from *Worksop Bestiary*. Morgan Pierpont Library M.81. Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts. The Morgan Library & Museum. New York. Accessed July 14, 2020. <https://www.themorgan.org/collection/workshop-bestary/thumbs>

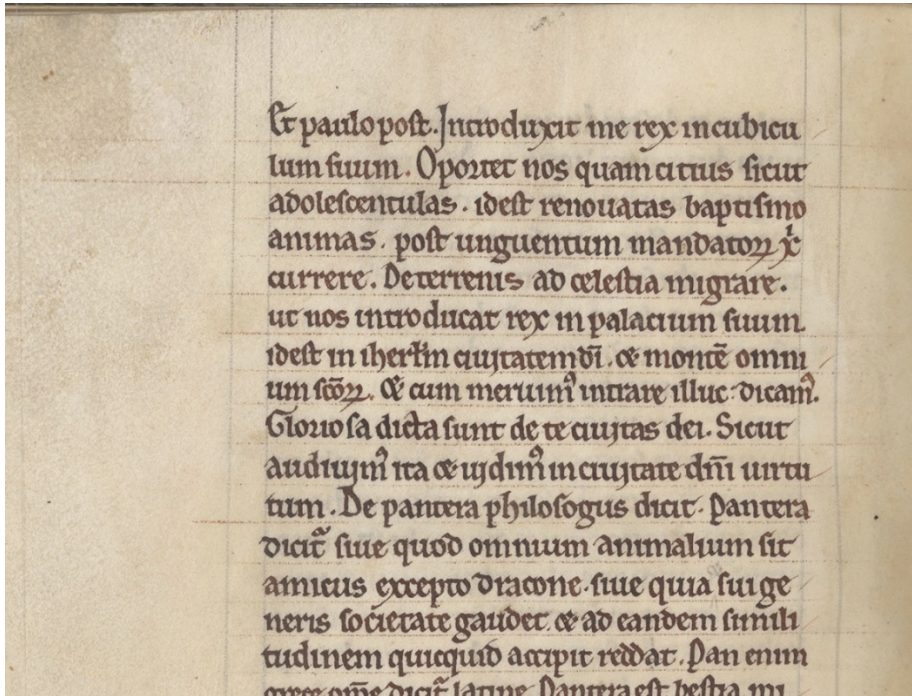


Figure 8: Example Image of lead ruling

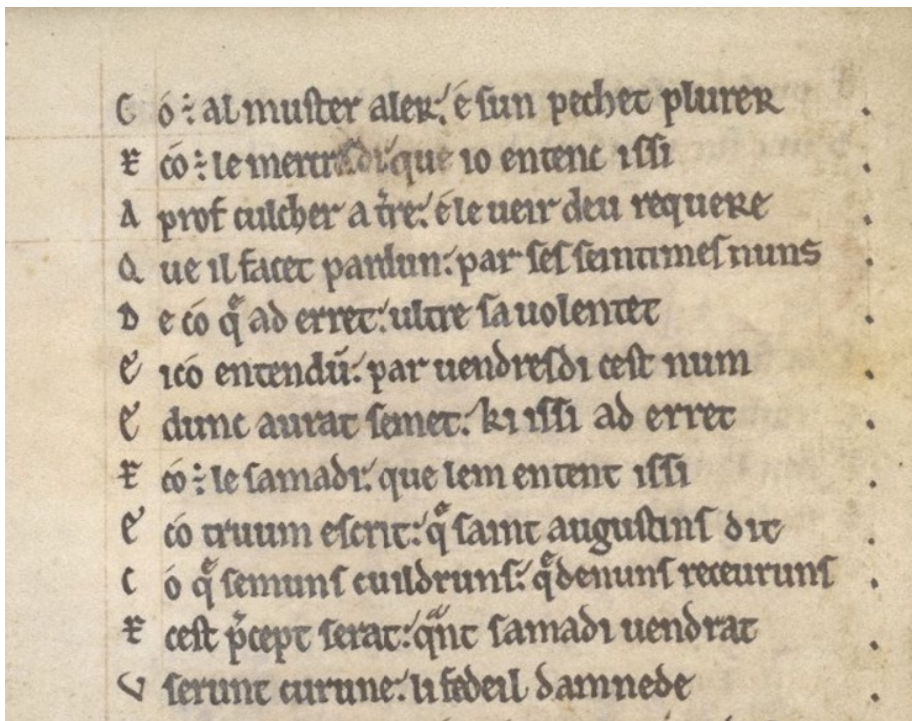
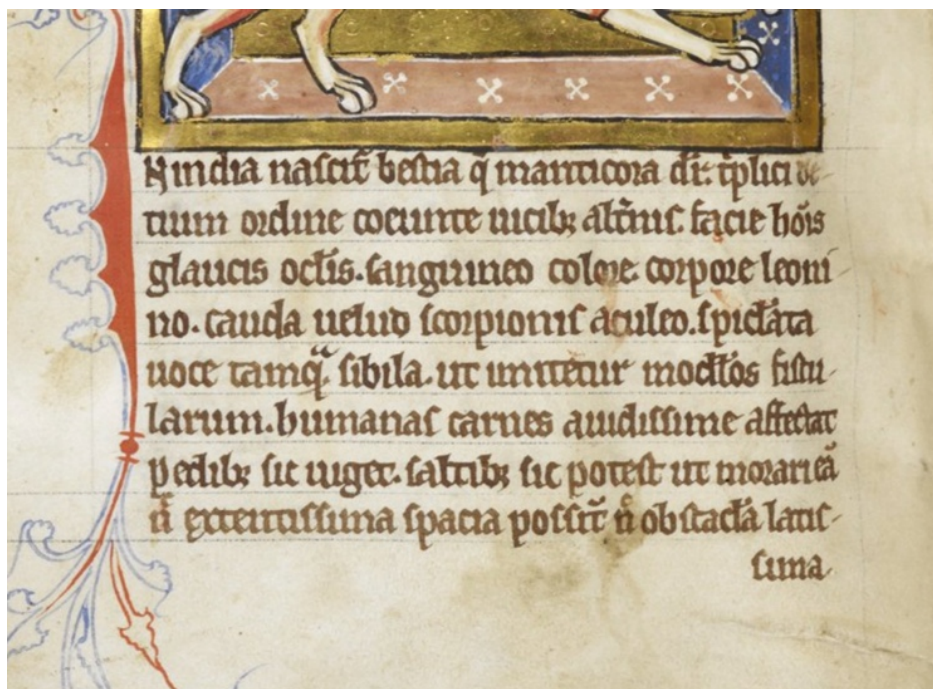


Figure 9.1: Book hand, British Library Cotton MS Nero A V (Bestiarium, Philippe de Thaon), Holme Cultram Abbey, second half of 12th c. Image from *Philippe de Thaon, Comput; Bestiarium; Elias of Evesham, Quadrilogus de Vita Sancti Thome Cantuariensis*. Cotton MS Nero A V. British Library. London. Accessed August 20, 2020. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100062419814.0x000001

pultas nos. 7c. Hec mora crens un greis accen-
 dit duas candelas. 7 utq; tenens manu ascendit
 eminentiorem locum ad ostendū fr̄ibz qui
 in Lindisfarnensi monastio manebant. q; sc̄a
 illa aīa iam migrasset ad dñm. Tale namq;
 ut se signū sc̄issimi eius obtulit condixerant.
 Quod cum uidet fr̄ qui in specula Lindisfar-
 nensis insule longe deorū euenit eidē pingu

Figure 9.2: “Protogothic script” book hand, British Library Yates Thompson 26 (Life of St. Cuthbert, Bede), Durham, last quarter of 12th c. Images from Bede. *Prose Life of Cuthbert; extracts from the Historia Ecclesiastica (History of the English Church and People)*. Yates Thompson 26. Illuminated Manuscripts. British Library. London. Accessed August 20, 2020. <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=6441>



Hindia nascit bestia q̄ manticoia dī: iplū de-
 tum ordine coeunte uicib; altius. facie hoīs
 glaucis oculis. sanguineo colore corpore leoni-
 no. cauda uelut scorpionis aculeo. spicāta
 uoce tamq; sibila. ut uniretur moctos fistu-
 larum. humanas carnes auulissime affectat
 pedib; sic uiget. saltib; sic potest ut morari cā
 ā exterrissima spacia possit n̄ obstacūa lanc-
 tuma

Figure 10.1: Scribal hand detail, *Royal Bestiary*, London, British Library, MS. Royal 12 C XIX, England, ca. 1200-1210. Image from *Royal 12 C XIX*. Illuminated Manuscripts. The British Library. London. Accessed December 20, 2019. <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8813&CollID=16&NStart=120319>

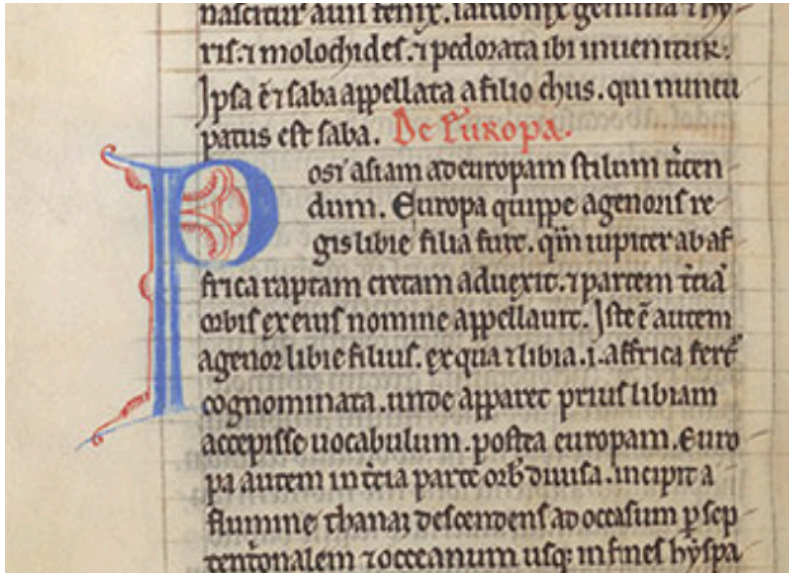


Figure 10.2: Scribal hand detail, *Workshop Bestiary*, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. M. 81, England (possibly Lincoln), ca. 1187. Image from *Workshop Bestiary*. Morgan Pierpont Library M.81. Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts. The Morgan Library & Museum. New York. Accessed July 14, 2020. <https://www.themorgan.org/collection/workshop-bestiary/thumbs>

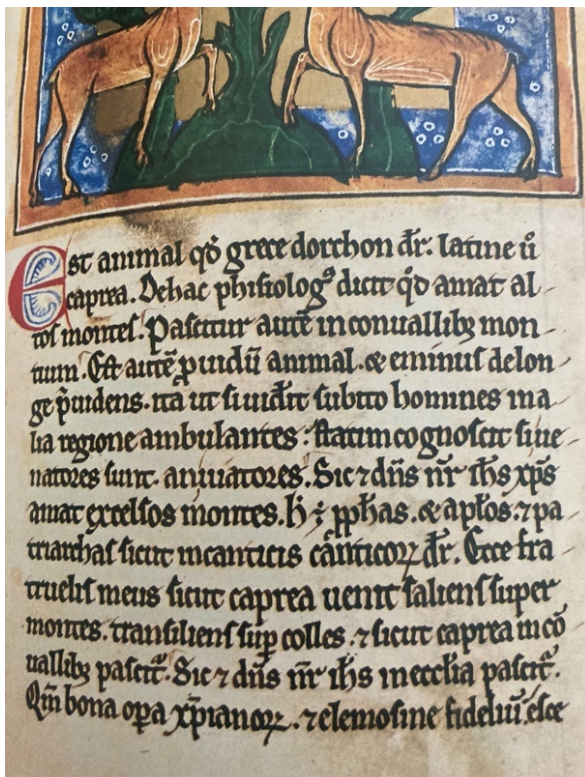


Figure 10.3: Scribal hand detail, *St. Petersburg Bestiary*, St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS. Q.v.V.1, fol. 19r England, ca. 1180-1185. Image from Muratova, Xenia, Mikeshevish, Vladimir and The National Library of Russia. *Srednevekovi Bestiarii - The Medieval Bestiary*. Translated by Inna Kitrosskaya. Moscow: Izd-vo. 1984, 94.

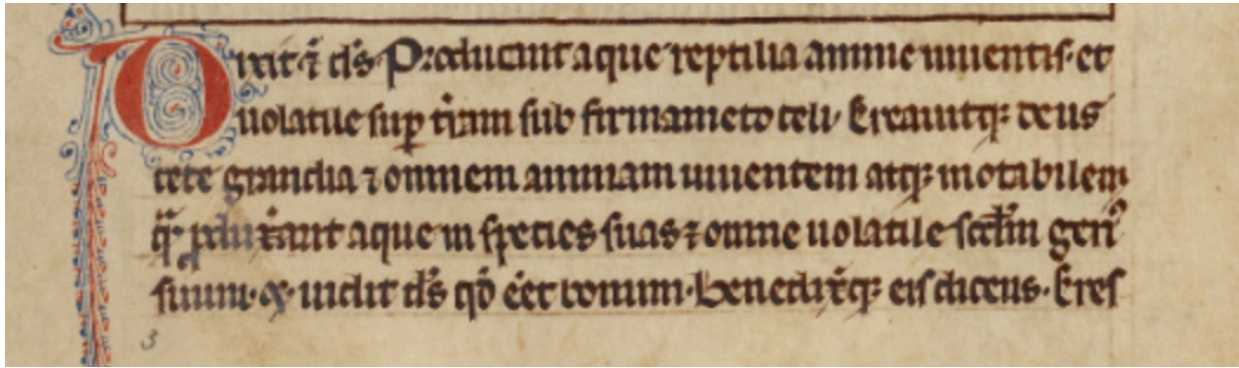


Figure 10.4: Scribal hand closeups, *Northumberland Bestiary*, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS. 100, England, ca. 1250-1260. Images from *Northumberland Bestiary*. Getty MS.100. Manuscripts. The J. Paul Getty Museum. Los Angeles. Accessed July 14, 2020. <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/240115/unknown-maker-northumberland-bestiary-english-about-1250-1260/>



Figure 11.1: Arabesque letterforms, *Worksop Bestiary*, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. M. 81, England (possibly Lincoln), ca. 1187. Image from *Worksop Bestiary*. Morgan Pierpont Library M.81. Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts. The Morgan Library & Museum. New York. Accessed July 14, 2020. <https://www.themorgan.org/collection/workshop-bestiary/thumbs>



Figure 11.2: Arabesque letterforms, *Royal Bestiary*, London, British Library, MS. Royal 12 C XIX, England, ca. 1200-1210. Image from *Royal 12 C XIX*. Illuminated Manuscripts. The British Library. London. Accessed December 20, 2019. <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8813&CollID=16&NStart=120319>



Figure 11.3: Arabesque letterforms, *St. Petersburg Bestiary*, St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS. Q.v.V.1, England, ca. 1180-1185. Image from Muratova, Xenia, Mikeshevish, Vladimir and The National Library of Russia. *Srednevekoviĭ Bestiariĭ - The Medieval Bestiary*. Translated by Inna Kitrosskaya. Moscow: Izd-vo. 1984.



Figure 11.4: Arabesque letterforms, *Northumberland Bestiary*, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS. 100, England, ca. 1250-1260. Images from *Northumberland Bestiary*. Getty MS.100. Manuscripts. The J. Paul Getty Museum. Los Angeles. Accessed July 14, 2020. <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/240115/unknown-maker-northumberland-bestiary-english-about-1250-1260/>



Figure 12.1: Arabesque Initials, British Library Cotton MS Nero A V (Bestiary, Philippe de Thaon), Holme Cultram Abbey, second half of 12th c. Image from *Philippe de Thaon, Comput; Bestiarius; Elias of Evesham, Quadrilogus de Vita Sancti Thome Cantuariensis*. Cotton MS Nero A V. British Library. London. Accessed August 20, 2020. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100062419814.0x000001

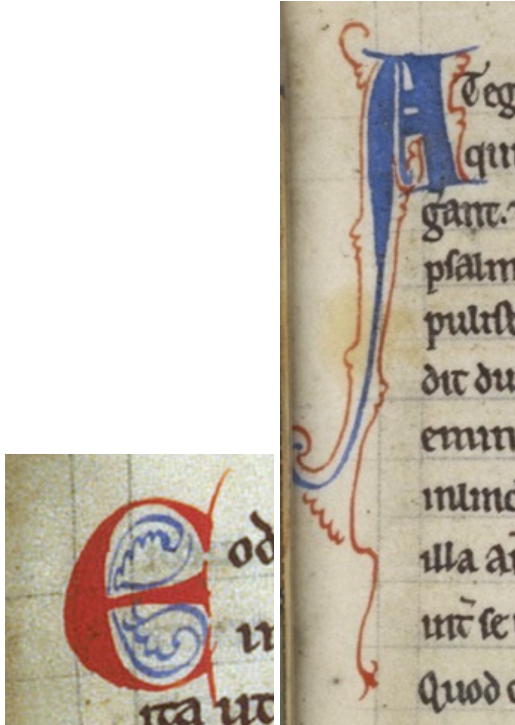


Figure 12.2: Arabesque Initials, British Library Yates Thompson 26 (Life of St. Cuthbert, Bede), Durham, last quarter of 12th c. Images from Bede. *Prose Life of Cuthbert; extracts from the Historia Ecclesiastica (History of the English Church and People)*. Yates Thompson 26. Illuminated Manuscripts. British Library. London. Accessed August 20, 2020. <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=6441>



Figure 13: Pressmark, British Library Yates Thompson 26 (Life of St. Cuthbert, Bede), Durham, last quarter of 12th c. Images from Bede. *Prose Life of Cuthbert; extracts from the Historia Ecclesiastica (History of the English Church and People)*. Yates Thompson 26. Illuminated Manuscripts. British Library. London. Accessed August 20, 2020. <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=6441>



Figure 14: Manuscript production center map



Figure 15.1: Elephant with dragon, *Royal Bestiary*, London, British Library, MS. Royal 12 C XIX, fol. 62r, England, ca. 1200-1210. Image from *Royal 12 C XIX*. Illuminated Manuscripts. The British Library. London. Accessed December 20, 2019. <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8813&CollID=16&NStart=120319>



Figure 15.2: Elephant with dragon, *Workshop Bestiary*, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. M. 81, fol. 78r, England (possibly Lincoln), ca. 1187. Image from *Workshop Bestiary*. Morgan Pierpont Library M.81. Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts. The Morgan Library & Museum. New York. Accessed July 14, 2020. <https://www.themorgan.org/collection/workshop-bestuary/thumbs>



Figure 15.3: Elephant with dragon, *St. Petersburg Bestiary*, St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS. Q.v.V.1, fol. 79r, England, ca. 1180-1185. Image from Muratova, Xenia, Mikeshevish, Vladimir and The National Library of Russia. *Srednevekovyi Bestiarii - The Medieval Bestiary*. Translated by Inna Kitrosskaya. Moscow: Izdvo. 1984, 190.



Figure 15.4: Elephant with dragon, *Northumberland Bestiary*, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS. 100, fol. 54r, England, ca. 1250-1260. Images from *Northumberland Bestiary*. Getty MS.100. Manuscripts. The J. Paul Getty Museum. Los Angeles. Accessed July 14, 2020. <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/240115/unknown-maker-northumberland-bestiary-english-about-1250-1260/>



Figure 16.1: Ercinee, *Workshop Bestiary*, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. M. 81, fol. 52v, England (possibly Lincoln), ca. 1187. Image from *Workshop Bestiary*. Morgan Pierpont Library M.81. Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts. The Morgan Library & Museum. New York. Accessed July 14, 2020. <https://www.themorgan.org/collection/workshop-bestiary/thumbs>



Figure 16.2: Ercinee, *St. Petersburg Bestiary*, St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS. Q.v.V.1, fol. 51v, England, ca. 1180-1185. Image from Muratova, Xenia, Mikeshevish, Vladimir and The National Library of Russia. *Srednevekoviĭ Bestiariĭ - The Medieval Bestiary*. Translated by Inna Kitrosskaya. Moscow: Izd-vo. 1984, 147.



Figure 16.3: *Ercinee*, *Northumberland Bestiary*, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS. 100, fol. 36r, England, ca. 1250-1260. Images from *Northumberland Bestiary*. Getty MS.100. Manuscripts. The J. Paul Getty Museum. Los Angeles. Accessed July 14, 2020. <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/240115/unknown-maker-northumberland-bestiary-english-about-1250-1260/>



Figure 17.1: *Basilisk*, *Royal Bestiary*, London, British Library, MS. Royal 12 C XIX, fol. 63r, England, ca. 1200-1210. Image from *Royal 12 C XIX*. Illuminated Manuscripts. The British Library. London. Accessed December 20, 2019. <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8813&CollID=16&NStart=120319>



Figure 17.2: Basilisk, *Workshop Bestiary*, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. M. 81, fol. 78v, England (possibly Lincoln), ca. 1187. Image from *Workshop Bestiary*. Morgan Pierpont Library M.81. Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts. The Morgan Library & Museum. New York. Accessed July 14, 2020. <https://www.themorgan.org/collection/workshop-bestiary/thumbs>



Figure 17.3: Basilisk, *St. Petersburg Bestiary*, St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS. Q.v.V.1, fol. 80r, England, ca. 1180-1185. Image from Muratova, Xenia, Mikeshevish, Vladimir and The National Library of Russia. *Srednevekoviĭ Bestiariĭ - The Medieval Bestiary*. Translated by Inna Kitrosskaya. Moscow: Izd-vo. 1984, 192.



Figure 17.4: Basilisk, *Northumberland Bestiary*, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS. 100, fol. 54v, England, ca. 1250-1260. Images from *Northumberland Bestiary*. Getty MS.100. Manuscripts. The J. Paul Getty Museum. Los Angeles. Accessed July 14, 2020. <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/240115/unknown-maker-northumberland-bestiary-english-about-1250-1260/>



Figure 18.1: Cat, *Royal Bestiary*, London, British Library, MS. Royal 12 C XIX, fol. 36v, England, ca. 1200-1210. Image from *Royal 12 C XIX*. Illuminated Manuscripts. The British Library. London. Accessed December 20, 2019. <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8813&CollID=16&NStart=120319>



Figure 18.2: Cat, *Workshop Bestiary*, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. M. 81, fol. 46v, England (possibly Lincoln), ca. 1187. Image from *Workshop Bestiary*. Morgan Pierpont Library M.81. Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts. The Morgan Library & Museum. New York. Accessed July 14, 2020. <https://www.themorgan.org/collection/workshop-bestiary/thumbs>



Figure 18.3: Cat, *St. Petersburg Bestiary*, St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS. Q.v.V.1, fol. 45v, England, ca. 1180-1185. Image from Muratova, Xenia, Mikeshevish, Vladimir and The National Library of Russia. *Srednevekoviĭ Bestiariĭ - The Medieval Bestiary*. Translated by Inna Kitrosskaya. Moscow: Izd-vo. 1984, 135.



Figure 18.4: Cat, *Northumberland Bestiary*, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS. 100, fol. 33, England, ca. 1250-1260. Images from *Northumberland Bestiary*. Getty MS.100. Manuscripts. The J. Paul Getty Museum. Los Angeles. Accessed July 14, 2020. <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/240115/unknown-maker-northumberland-bestiary-english-about-1250-1260/>



Figure 18.5: Cat, *Aberdeen Bestiary*, Aberdeen, Aberdeen University Library, Ms. 24, fol. 23v, England, ca. 1200. Image from *Aberdeen Bestiary*. MS 24. Special Collections. University of Aberdeen Library. Aberdeen, Scotland. Accessed August 20, 2020. <https://www.abdn.ac.uk/bestiary/ms24/flr>



Figure 18.6: Cat, *Cambridge Bestiary*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS li.4.26, fol. 28r, England (Lincolnshire or Yorkshire), ca. 1200-1220. Image from *MS li.4.26*. Christian Works. University of Cambridge Digital Library. Cambridge University Library. Cambridge. Accessed August 20, 2020. <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-II-00004-00026/11>



Figure 19.3: Satyr, *St. Petersburg Bestiary*, St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS. Q.v.V.1, fol. 21v, England, ca. 1180-1185. Image from Muratova, Xenia, Mikeshevish, Vladimir and The National Library of Russia. *Srednevekovyi Bestiarii - The Medieval Bestiary*. Translated by Inna Kitrosskaya. Moscow: Izd-vo. 1984, 99.



Figure 19.4: Satyr, *Northumberland Bestiary*, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS. 100, fol. 16r, England, ca. 1250-1260. Images from *Northumberland Bestiary*. Getty MS.100. Manuscripts. The J. Paul Getty Museum. Los Angeles. Accessed July 14, 2020. <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/240115/unknown-maker-northumberland-bestiary-english-about-1250-1260/>



Figure 20.1: Lizard, *Royal Bestiary*, London, British Library, MS. Royal 12 C XIX, fol. 68v, England, ca. 1200-1210. Image from *Royal 12 C XIX*. Illuminated Manuscripts. The British Library. London. Accessed December 20, 2019. <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8813&CollID=16&NStart=120319>



Figure 20.2: Lizard, *Workshop Bestiary*, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. M. 81, fol. 84v, England (possibly Lincoln), ca. 1187. Image from *Workshop Bestiary*. Morgan Pierpont Library M.81. Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts. The Morgan Library & Museum. New York. Accessed July 14, 2020. <https://www.themorgan.org/collection/workshop-bestiary/thumbs>



Figure 20.3: Lizard, *St. Petersburg Bestiary*, St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS. Q.v.V.1, fol. 85v, England, ca. 1180-1185. Image from Muratova, Xenia, Mikeshevish, Vladimir and The National Library of Russia. *Srednevekovyi Bestiarii - The Medieval Bestiary*. Translated by Inna Kitrosskaya. Moscow: Izd-vo. 1984, 201.



Figure 20.4: Lizard, *Northumberland Bestiary*, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS. 100, fol. 58r. England, ca. 1250-1260. Images from *Northumberland Bestiary*. Getty MS.100. Manuscripts. The J. Paul Getty Museum. Los Angeles. Accessed July 14, 2020. <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/240115/unknown-maker-northumberland-bestiary-english-about-1250-1260/>



Figure 21.1: Leucrotia, *Royal Bestiary*, London, British Library, MS. Royal 12 C XIX, fol. 37v, England, ca. 1200-1210. Image from *Royal 12 C XIX*. Illuminated Manuscripts. The British Library. London. Accessed December 20, 2019. <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8813&CollID=16&NStart=120319>



Figure 21.2: Leucrotia, *Workshop Bestiary*, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. M. 81, fol. 47v, England (possibly Lincoln), ca. 1187. Image from *Workshop Bestiary*. Morgan Pierpont Library M.81. Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts. The Morgan Library & Museum. New York. Accessed July 14, 2020. <https://www.themorgan.org/collection/workshop-bestiary/thumbs>



Figure 21.3: Leucrotia, *St. Petersburg Bestiary*, St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS. Q.v.V.1, fol. 46v, England, ca. 1180-1185. Image from Muratova, Xenia, Mikeshevisch, Vladimir and The National Library of Russia. *Srednevekoviĭ Bestiariĭ - The Medieval Bestiary*. Translated by Inna Kitrosskaya. Moscow: Izd-vo. 1984, 137.



Figure 21.4: Leucrotia, *Northumberland Bestiary*, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS. 100, fol. 33v, England, ca. 1250-1260. Images from *Northumberland Bestiary*. Getty MS.100. Manuscripts. The J. Paul Getty Museum. Los Angeles. Accessed July 14, 2020. <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/240115/unknown-maker-northumberland-bestuary-english-about-1250-1260/>



Figure 22.1: Caladrius, *Royal Bestiary*, London, British Library, MS. Royal 12 C XIX, fol. 47v, England, ca. 1200-1210. Image from *Royal 12 C XIX*. Illuminated Manuscripts. The British Library. London. Accessed December 20, 2019. <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8813&CollID=16&NStart=120319>



Figure 22.2: Caladrius, *Worksop Bestiary*, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. M. 81, fol. 60v, England (possibly Lincoln), ca. 1187. Image from *Worksop Bestiary*. Morgan Pierpont Library M.81. Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts. The Morgan Library & Museum. New York. Accessed July 14, 2020. <https://www.themorgan.org/collection/workshop-bestiary/thumbs>



Figure 22.3: Caladrius, *St. Petersburg Bestiary*, St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS. Q.v.V.1, fol. 59v, England, ca. 1180-1185. Image from Muratova, Xenia, Mikeshevish, Vladimir and The National Library of Russia. *Srednevekovyi Bestiarii - The Medieval Bestiary*. Translated by Inna Kitrosskaya. Moscow: Izd-vo. 1984, 161.



Figure 22.4: Caladrius, *Northumberland Bestiary*, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS. 100, fol. 40r, England, ca. 1250-1260. Images from *Northumberland Bestiary*. Getty MS.100. Manuscripts. The J. Paul Getty Museum. Los Angeles. Accessed July 14, 2020. <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/240115/unknown-maker-northumberland-bestiary-english-about-1250-1260/>



Figure 23.1: Beaver, *Royal Bestiary*, London, British Library, MS. Royal 12 C XIX, fol. 10v, England, ca. 1200-1210. Image from *Royal 12 C XIX*. Illuminated Manuscripts. The British Library. London. Accessed December 20, 2019. <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8813&CollID=16&NStart=120319>



Figure 23.2: Beaver, *Workshop Bestiary*, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. M. 81, fol. 13v, England (possibly Lincoln), ca. 1187. Image from *Workshop Bestiary*. Morgan Pierpont Library M.81. Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts. The Morgan Library & Museum. New York. Accessed July 14, 2020. <https://www.themorgan.org/collection/workshop-bestuary/thumbs>



Figure 23.3: Beaver, *St. Petersburg Bestiary*, St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS. Q.v.V.1, fol. 14v, England, ca. 1180-1185. Image from Muratova, Xenia, Mikeshevish, Vladimir and The National Library of Russia. *Srednevekoviĭ Bestiariĭ - The Medieval Bestiary*. Translated by Inna Kitrosskaya. Moscow: Izd-vo. 1984, 85.



Figure 23.4: Beaver, *Northumberland Bestiary*, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS. 100, fol. 11v, England, ca. 1250-1260. Images from *Northumberland Bestiary*. Getty MS.100. Manuscripts. The J. Paul Getty Museum. Los Angeles. Accessed July 14, 2020. <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/240115/unknown-maker-northumberland-bestiary-english-about-1250-1260/>



Figure 24.1: Unicorn, *Royal Bestiary*, London, British Library, MS. Royal 12 C XIX, fol. 9v, England, ca. 1200-1210. Image from *Royal 12 C XIX*. Illuminated Manuscripts. The British Library. London. Accessed December 20, 2019. <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8813&CollID=16&NStart=120319>



Figure 24.2: Unicorn, *Worksop Bestiary*, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. M. 81, fol. 12v, England (possibly Lincoln), ca. 1187. Image from *Worksop Bestiary*. Morgan Pierpont Library M.81. Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts. The Morgan Library & Museum. New York. Accessed July 14, 2020. <https://www.themorgan.org/collection/worksop-bestiary/thumbs>



Figure 24.3: Unicorn, *St. Petersburg Bestiary*, St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS. Q.v.V.1, fol. 13v, England, ca. 1180-1185. Image from Muratova, Xenia, Mikeshevish, Vladimir and The National Library of Russia. *Srednevekovyi Bestiarii - The Medieval Bestiary*. Translated by Inna Kitrosskaya. Moscow: Izd-vo. 1984, 83.



Figure 24.4: Unicorn, *Northumberland Bestiary*, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS. 100, fol. 11r, England, ca. 1250-1260. Images from *Northumberland Bestiary*. Getty MS.100. Manuscripts. The J. Paul Getty Museum. Los Angeles. Accessed July 14, 2020. <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/240115/unknown-maker-northumberland-bestiary-english-about-1250-1260/>



Figure 25.1: Whale, *Northumberland Bestiary*, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS. 100, fol. 47r, England, ca. 1250-1260. Images from *Northumberland Bestiary*. Getty MS.100. Manuscripts. The J. Paul Getty Museum. Los Angeles. Accessed July 14, 2020. <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/240115/unknown-maker-northumberland-bestiary-english-about-1250-1260/>



Figure 25.2: Whale, *St. Petersburg Bestiary*, St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS. Q.v.V.1, fol. 71r, England, ca. 1180-1185. Image from Muratova, Xenia, Mikeshevish, Vladimir and The National Library of Russia. *Srednevekoviĭ Bestiariĭ - The Medieval Bestiary*. Translated by Inna Kitrosskaya. Moscow: Izd-vo. 1984, 182.



Figure 26.1: Ape, *Northumberland Bestiary*, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS. 100, fol. 15v, England, ca. 1250-1260. Images from *Northumberland Bestiary*. Getty MS.100. Manuscripts. The J. Paul Getty Museum. Los Angeles. Accessed July 14, 2020. <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/240115/unknown-maker-northumberland-bestiary-english-about-1250-1260/>



Figure 26.2: Ape, *Worksop Bestiary*, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. M. 81, fol. 19v, England (possibly Lincoln), ca. 1187. Image from *Worksop Bestiary*. Morgan Pierpont Library M.81. Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts. The Morgan Library & Museum. New York. Accessed July 14, 2020. <https://www.themorgan.org/collection/workshop-bestiary/thumbs>



Figure 26.3: Ape, *St. Petersburg Bestiary*, St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS. Q.v.V.1, fol. 20v, England, ca. 1180-1185. Image from Muratova, Xenia, Mikeshevish, Vladimir and The National Library of Russia. *Srednevekoviĭ Bestiariĭ - The Medieval Bestiary*. Translated by Inna Kitrosskaya. Moscow: Izd-vo. 1984, 97.



Figure 27.1: Hedgehog, *Royal Bestiary*, London, British Library, MS. Royal 12 C XIX, fol. 8v, England, ca. 1200-1210. Image from *Royal 12 C XIX*. Illuminated Manuscripts. The British Library. London. Accessed December 20, 2019. <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8813&CollID=16&NStart=120319>



Figure 27.2: Hedgehog, *Northumberland Bestiary*, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS. 100, fol. 10, England, ca. 1250-1260. Images from *Northumberland Bestiary*. Getty MS.100. Manuscripts. The J. Paul Getty Museum. Los Angeles. Accessed July 14, 2020. <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/240115/unknown-maker-northumberland-bestiary-english-about-1250-1260/>



Figure 27.3: Hedgehog, *St. Petersburg Bestiary*, St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS. Q.v.V.1, fol. 11v, England, ca. 1180-1185. Image from Muratova, Xenia, Mikeshevish, Vladimir and The National Library of Russia. *Srednevekoviĭ Bestiariĭ - The Medieval Bestiary*. Translated by Inna Kitrosskaya. Moscow: Izd-vo. 1984, 79.



Figure 27.4: Hedgehog, *Workshop Bestiary*, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. M. 81, fol. 10v, England (possibly Lincoln), ca. 1187. Image from *Workshop Bestiary*. Morgan Pierpont Library M.81. Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts. The Morgan Library & Museum. New York. Accessed July 14, 2020. <https://www.themorgan.org/collection/workshop-bestary/thumbs>



Figure 28.1: 'B' decorated letterform, *Workshop Bestiary*, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. M. 81, fol. 8r, England (possibly Lincoln), ca. 1187. Image from *Workshop Bestiary*. Morgan Pierpont Library M.81. Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts. The Morgan Library & Museum. New York. Accessed July 14, 2020. <https://www.themorgan.org/collection/workshop-bestiary/thumbs>



Figure 28.2: 'B' decorated letterform, *Royal Bestiary*, London, British Library, MS. Royal 12 C XIX, fol. 6r, England, ca. 1200-1210. Image from *Royal 12 C XIX*. Illuminated Manuscripts. The British Library. London. Accessed December 20, 2019. <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8813&CollID=16&NStart=120319>



Figure 28.3: ‘B’ decorated letterform, *St. Petersburg Bestiary*, St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS. Q.v.V.1, fol. 9r, England, ca. 1180-1185. Image from Muratova, Xenia, Mikeshovich, Vladimir and The National Library of Russia. *Srednevekovyi Bestiariĭ - The Medieval Bestiary*. Translated by Inna Kitrosskaya. Moscow: Izd-vo. 1984, 74.



Figure 28.4: ‘B’ decorated letterform, *Northumberland Bestiary*, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS. 100, fol. 8r, England, ca. 1250-1260. Images from *Northumberland Bestiary*. Getty MS.100. Manuscripts. The J. Paul Getty Museum. Los Angeles. Accessed July 14, 2020. <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/240115/unknown-maker-northumberland-bestary-english-about-1250-1260/>



Figure 29.1: Openings between lizard and snake, *Royal Bestiary*, London, British Library, MS. Royal 12 C XIX, fol.69v-70r, England, ca. 1200-1210. Image from *Royal 12 C XIX*. Illuminated Manuscripts. The British Library. London. Accessed December 20, 2019. <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8813&CollID=16&NStart=120319>

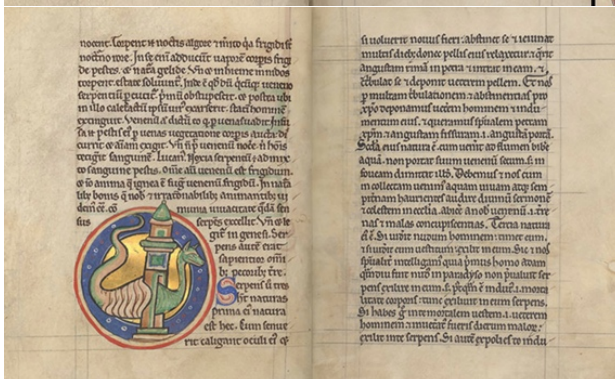


Figure 29.2: Openings between lizard and snake, *Workshop Bestiary*, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. M. 81, fol. 84v-88r, England (possibly Lincoln), ca. 1187. Image from *Workshop Bestiary*. Morgan Pierpont Library M.81. Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts. The Morgan Library & Museum. New York. Accessed July 14, 2020. <https://www.themorgan.org/collection/workshop-bestuary/thumbs>



Figure 29.3: Openings between lizard and snake, *St. Petersburg Bestiary*, St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS. Q.v.V.1, fol. 85v-88v. Image from Muratova, Xenia, Mikeshvish, Vladimir and The National Library of Russia. *Srednevekovyi Bestiarii - The Medieval Bestiary*. Translated by Inna Kitrosskaya. Moscow: Izd-vo. 1984, 201-207.

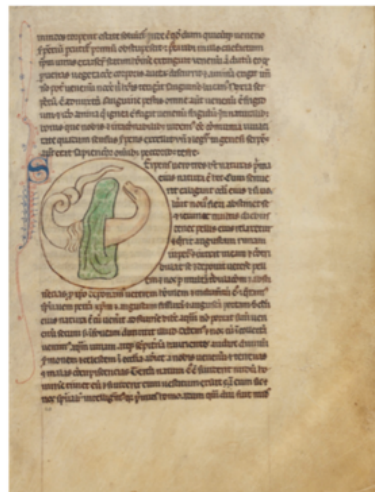


Figure 29.4: Openings between lizard and snake, *Northumberland Bestiary*, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS. 100, fol. 58r-60r, England, ca. 1250-1260. Images from *Northumberland Bestiary*. Getty MS.100. Manuscripts. The J. Paul Getty Museum. Los Angeles. Accessed July 14, 2020. <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/240115/unknown-maker-northumberland-bestiary-english-about-1250-1260/>



Figure 30.1: Manticore-Yale, *Royal Bestiary*, London, British Library, MS. Royal 12 C XIX, fol. 29v-30r, England, ca. 1200-1210. Image from *Royal 12 C XIX*. Illuminated Manuscripts. The British Library. London. Accessed December 20, 2019. <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8813&CollID=16&NStart=120319>



Figure 30.2: Manticore-Yale, *Workshop Bestiary*, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. M. 81, fol. 38v-39r, England (possibly Lincoln), ca. 1187. Image from *Workshop Bestiary*. Morgan Pierpont Library M.81. Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts. The Morgan Library & Museum. New York. Accessed July 14, 2020. <https://www.themorgan.org/collection/workshop-bestiary/thumbs>



Figure 30.3: Manticore-Yale, *Northumberland Bestiary*, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS. 100, fol. 27v-28r, England, ca. 1250-1260. Images from *Northumberland Bestiary*. Getty MS.100. Manuscripts. The J. Paul Getty Museum. Los Angeles. Accessed July 14, 2020. <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/240115/unknown-maker-northumberland-bestiary-english-about-1250-1260/>



Figure 30.4: Manticore-Yale, *St. Petersburg Bestiary*, St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS. Q.v.V.1, fol. 39v-40r, England, ca. 1180-1185. Image from *St. Petersburg Bestiary*. MS Q.v.V.1. Handwritten Materials. National Library of Russia. St. Petersburg. Accessed July 29, 2020. https://vivaldi.nlr.ru/ob000000053/view/#page=https://primo.nlr.ru/permalink/f/d40lai/07NLR_LMS010113399



Figure 31.1: Elephant, *Workshop Bestiary*, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. M. 81, fol. 23r, England (possibly Lincoln), ca. 1187. Image from *Workshop Bestiary*. Morgan Pierpont Library M.81. Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts. The Morgan Library & Museum. New York. Accessed July 14, 2020. <https://www.themorgan.org/collection/workshop-bestiary/thumbs>



Figure 31.2: Elephant, *St. Petersburg Bestiary*, St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS. Q.v.V.1, fol. 23r, England, ca. 1180-1185. Image from Muratova, Xenia, Mikeshevish, Vladimir and The National Library of Russia. *Sredneuekovyi Bestiarii - The Medieval Bestiary*. Translated by Inna Kitrosskaya. Moscow: Izd-vo. 1984, 102.



Figure 31.3: Elephant, *Northumberland Bestiary*, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS. 100, fol. 17v, England, ca. 1250-1260. Images from *Northumberland Bestiary*. Getty MS.100. Manuscripts. The J. Paul Getty Museum. Los Angeles. Accessed July 14, 2020. <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/240115/unknown-maker-northumberland-bestiary-english-about-1250-1260/>



Figure 32.1: Mole and Mouse, *Northumberland Bestiary*, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS. 100, fol. 33r-33v, England, ca. 1250-1260. Images from *Northumberland Bestiary*. Getty MS.100. Manuscripts. The J. Paul Getty Museum. Los Angeles. Accessed July 14, 2020. <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/240115/unknown-maker-northumberland-bestiary-english-about-1250-1260/>



Figure 32.2: Mole and Mouse, *Royal Bestiary*, London, British Library, MS. Royal 12 C XIX, fol. 37r, England, ca. 1200-1210. Image from *Royal 12 C XIX*. Illuminated Manuscripts. The British Library. London. Accessed December 20, 2019. <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8813&CollID=16&NStart=120319>



Figure 32.3: Mole and Mouse, *Workshop Bestiary*, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. M. 81, fol. 47r, England (possibly Lincoln), ca. 1187. Image from *Workshop Bestiary*. Morgan Pierpont Library M.81. Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts. The Morgan Library & Museum. New York. Accessed July 14, 2020. <https://www.themorgan.org/collection/workshop-bestiary/thumbs>



Figure 32.4: Mole and Mouse, *St. Petersburg Bestiary*, St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS. Q.v.V.1, fol. 46r, England, ca. 1180-1185. Image from Muratova, Xenia, Mikeshvish, Vladimir and The National Library of Russia. *Srednevekoyi Bestiariĭ - The Medieval Bestiary*. Translated by Inna Kitrosskaya. Moscow: Izd-vo. 1984, 136.



Figure 33.1: Dog, *Northumberland Bestiary*, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS. 100, fol. 20r-20v, England, ca. 1250-1260. Images from *Northumberland Bestiary*. Getty MS.100. Manuscripts. The J. Paul Getty Museum. Los Angeles. Accessed July 14, 2020. <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/240115/unknown-maker-northumberland-bestiary-english-about-1250-1260/>



Figure 33.2: Dog, *Workshop Bestiary*, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. M. 81, fol. 27r, 28r, England (possibly Lincoln), ca. 1187. Image from *Workshop Bestiary*. Morgan Pierpont Library M.81. Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts. The Morgan Library & Museum. New York. Accessed July 14, 2020. <https://www.themorgan.org/collection/workshop-bestiary/thumbs>



Figure 33.3: Dog, *St. Petersburg Bestiary*, St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS. Q.v.V.1, fol. 28r, 29r, England, ca. 1180-1185. Image from Muratova, Xenia, Mikeshevish, Vladimir and The National Library of Russia. *Srednevekoviĭ Bestiarii - The Medieval Bestiary*. Translated by Inna Kitrosskaya. Moscow: Izd-vo. 1984, 106,108.



Figure 33.4: Dog, *Royal Bestiary*, London, British Library, MS. Royal 12 C XIX, fol. 21r, England, ca. 1200-1210. Image from *Royal 12 C XIX. Illuminated Manuscripts*. The British Library. London. Accessed December 20, 2019. <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8813&CollID=16&NStart=120319>

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