

# Presents to Princes: A Bestiary of Strange and Wondrous Beasts, Once Known, for a Time Forgotten, and Rediscovered

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DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF JACK L. SCHRADER

THE SIXTH TAPESTRY in the series *The Hunt of the Unicorn* shows the slain unicorn being brought to a castle and presented there to the castle's lord and lady (Figure 1). James J. Rorimer saw in this lord's face a likeness to Louis XII, King of France.<sup>1</sup> Even though this identification has been challenged, the presentation of the killed unicorn to a lordly personage is clear. It is a motif derived from a classical source, the zoological compendium *De natura animalium* by Claudius Aelianus (ca. A.D. 170–ca. 230). There the unicorn is described as an animal living in inaccessible mountain regions of India, and it is said that “the young ones are sometimes taken to the king to be exhibited in contests on days of festival, because of their strength, but no one remembers the capture of a single specimen of mature age.”<sup>2</sup> From this it can be inferred that fully grown unicorns have to be killed when hunted, because they cannot be captured alive;<sup>3</sup> the Unicorn in Captivity tapestry of the set (Figure 2) might then represent a unicorn taken as a foal and grown to maturity in some fairy-tale king's myth-haunted zoological garden.

Rare and strange beasts were considered worthy presents in the diplomatic gift exchanges between princes of virtually every period. Among the best-known examples are the elephant sent to Charlemagne by Harun al-Rashid;<sup>4</sup> the three leopards that Emperor Frederick II, *stupor mundi*, presented to his brother-in-law, King Henry III of England, “in honor of his noble coat-of-arms,” in a most elegant heraldic gesture;<sup>5</sup> and the rhinoceros King Manuel

of Portugal had received from the king of Cambodia and forwarded to the pope. Although that luckless creature drowned in a shipwreck on its way to Rome, it became immortalized by Dürer's woodcut (Figure 3).<sup>6</sup>

It is interesting to see that while Aelianus mentions the unicorn as well as the rhinoceros, he describes only the unicorn at any length (evidently without realizing that he is actually talking about the rhinoceros).<sup>7</sup> He considers a detailed description of the rhinoceros unnecessary, because that animal was quite familiar to Greeks and Romans, precisely from the animal fights staged in the Circus as “contests on days of festival.” By contrast, in Dürer's time everybody was familiar with the unicorn, which by then graced innumerable armorial shields, but it was a sensational event when the public became reacquainted with the rhinoceros.

The custom of one ruler's presenting another with animals not found in the recipient's country can be traced nearly to the beginning of recorded history. One of these early gifts was given to Tiglath-Pileser I, king of Assyria, himself a great hunter who not only slaughtered all sorts of wildlife, but also brought the live young of elephants and “wild oxen” (probably the now extinct aurochs, or urus [*Bos primigenius*]) to his menagerie at his city of Assur. About 1100 B.C. the Egyptian pharaoh sent Tiglath-Pileser a large crocodile and a hippopotamus as exotic additions to his collection.<sup>8</sup>

One of the most baffling examples of an animal that, brought to a king's court, was realistically portrayed but remained unidentified for more than two thousand years, is in the relief friezes at the palace of Persepolis. They depict tribute bearers from all



Figure 1. *The Unicorn is Killed and Brought to the Castle*, tapestry, Franco-Flemish, ca. 1500. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of John D. Rockefeller, 1937, 37.80.6

the lands subject to the Great King presenting their gifts to Xerxes the Great (ca. 470 B.C.).<sup>9</sup> Among these gifts is an animal that has been described as a “short-necked giraffe,” led on a leash by three men of clearly negroid type (Figure 4). This relief is on the stepped wings of the stairway, and the artist made clever use of the diminished available space by showing these three negroids as shorter by a head than the Persian court official ushering them

in. This is not likely to be an instance of the artistic convention of indicating social status by size, but a realistic attempt to portray Pygmies. Pygmies, though already known to the Egyptians of the Fifth Dynasty and to Homer, were considered just another fable until their rediscovery in the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>10</sup> Some Pygmy groups live beyond the headwaters of the Nile—exactly where Homer places them—roaming the Ituri For-

est, which is also the habitat of the okapi, a short-necked relative of the giraffe, “discovered” only as late as 1901.<sup>11</sup>

On the other hand, if only a description is available of a beast of legend instead of a picture, which after all says more than a thousand words, it is often very difficult to find the real animal hiding behind an apparently precise word image. This is the case with the mysterious animal that wends its elusive way through the enchanted forests of King Arthur’s realm, the *Beste Glatysaunt*, or Questing Beast. Sir Thomas Malory, in his *Le Morte d’Arthur* (finished by 1470; published by Caxton, 1485), describes this marvel as having “in shap a hede lyke a serpents hede, and a body lyke a lybard, buttocks lyke a lyon, and foted lyke an herte.” If the “serpents hede” is meant to include a long, swaying neck, if the “body lyke a lybard” indicates a spotted hide, and the “buttocks lyke a lyon” means relatively narrow hind-quarters with a tufted tail, then, adding the slender legs and cloven hooves of a hart, we rather surprisingly have the image of a giraffe! The exotic nature

of the Questing Beast is indicated by the tradition that it was pursued as an adventurous quest, presumably to deliver it to King Arthur’s court at Camelot, by the Saracen knight Sir Palomydes, the son of the king of Babylon, who also bore it as charge on his shield and horse trappings.<sup>12</sup>

Medieval heraldry abounds with strange beasts. Thus, among the “royal beasts” set up by Henry VIII to flank the bridge of Hampton Court is the yale, a “minor monster” that has long been suspected of being a garbled rendering of a real animal.<sup>13</sup> Pliny and the bestiaries describe it as being as big as a horse, black in color, and having the tail of an elephant and the jowls of a boar.<sup>14</sup> Its outstanding feature is that its horns are not fixed but can be swiveled forward and back at will, so that, in a fight, “if it hurts the tip of one with any blow, the sharpness of the other one can take its place.” It has been suggested that the real animal that served as the model for the yale was a species of African antelope, such as the gnu or wildebeest. However, it seems more likely that Pliny’s yale was based on misinter-

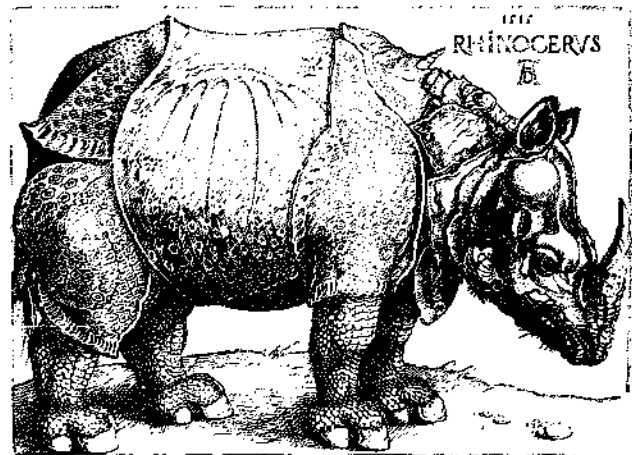
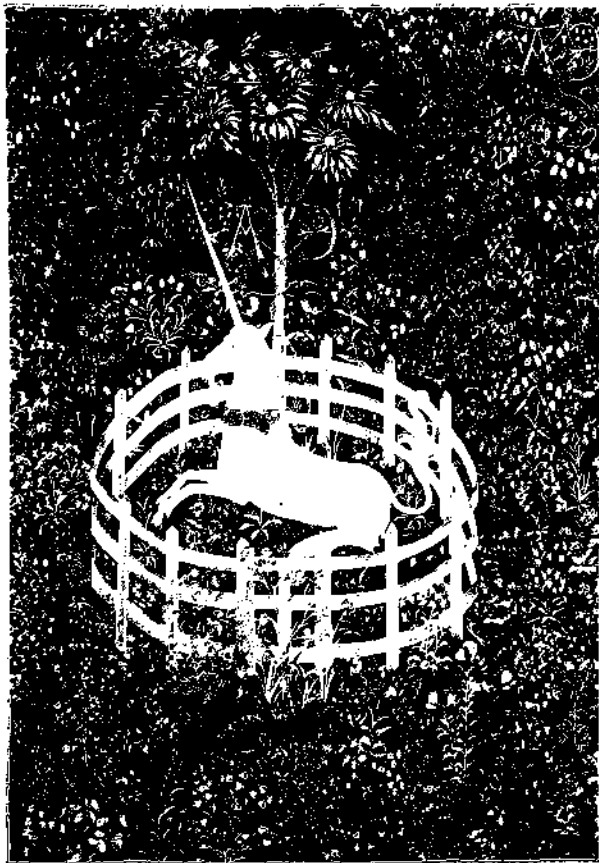


Figure 3. Albrecht Dürer, *Rhinoceros*, woodcut, German, 1515. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1922, 22.10.8

Figure 2. *The Unicorn in Captivity*, tapestry, Franco-Flemish, ca. 1500. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of John D. Rockefeller, 1937, 37.80.6



Figure 4. Tribute-bearing Pygmies leading an okapi, relief at the great stairway of the palace of Persepolis, Persian, ca. 470 B.C. (photo: from E. Schmidt, *Persepolis I: Structures, Reliefs, Inscriptions*, pl. 49)



Figure 5. African black rhinoceroses, one with a broken horn (photo: Russell B. Aitken)



Figure 6. Heraldic yale, supporter of the arms of John, Duke of Bedford (d. 1435) (drawing after London)

preted reports about African double-horned rhinoceroses. A vague description of how the two horns are placed, one behind the other, might have suggested the notion that the rear horn could take the place of the one in front in case of damage (Figure 5).<sup>15</sup>

On the other hand, the heraldic yale had a definitely deerlike shape when it appeared in the early fifteenth century (Figure 6). Therefore, it may have had as its model an exotic deer, possibly the Père David's deer, which has a set of peculiarly double-forked antlers pointing forward as well as backward (Figure 7). These deer once lived in swampy forests in the northern parts of China, but lost their habitat and became extinct in the wild after these swamps were drained for cultivation. The species survived only in one herd that had been corralled into the Imperial Hunting Park near Beijing, which had been established about 1400. It was discovered in this preserve in 1865 by the French missionary Père Jean Pierre Armand David, who at great personal risk climbed the wall surrounding these then-forbidden and heavily guarded grounds. Before the end of the century an enlightened Son of Heaven had given permission for a number of Père David's deer to be exported to several European zoos. This was in the nick of time, because by 1900 the imperial herd was almost wiped out, eaten by starving peas-



Figure 7. Père David's deer (photo: Russell B. Aitken)



Figure 8. Gamelyon, from the arms of Thomas Garner, 1557 (drawing after Dennys)

ants during the famine of 1895. The surviving herd of about thirty animals was killed off during the Boxer Rebellion of 1900.<sup>16</sup> The boarlike tusks that have been given to the heraldic yale may have originated in this case from a confusion with another unusual Chinese deer, the musk deer (*Moschus moschiferus*), which has large fanglike canines as weapons; the musk deer, however, lacks antlers.

As we have seen with the Questing Beast, the fictitious heraldry of the Knights of the Round Table knows of manifold strange beasts, such as the dragon on King Arthur's helmet crest and battle standard, and the dragonlike *gampilūn* (probably based on an exaggerated story about the fierce-looking chameleon, which appears in English heraldry as the gamelyon) assigned to Gawain in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* (Figure 8).<sup>17</sup> In the same epic, Wolfram, with grim humor, divides the griffin (a composite of eagle and lion, that guards gold nuggets in its nest beyond the steppes of Scythia) between King Hardiess of Gascony and his retainers. The king displays the forepart of the griffin in his shield, while his men bear the griffin's hind-quarters!<sup>18</sup>

More realistic than dragons and griffins is the ecdemon, *daz reine tier*, a small animal that kills snakes in India. It is quite obviously based upon reports of the ichneumon, better known as the mongoose. It is

the emblem of Feirefiz, lord of three Indian kingdoms. He was the older half brother of Parzival and the son of Queen Belakane of Zazamanc, sired by Parzival's father, Gahmuret, during his youthful days as a knight-errant in the fabulous countries of the mysterious East. After Parzival's achievement of the Grail, Feirefiz, properly baptized, married the Grail maiden Repansedeschoye and took her back to his lands in the East, where in due time they became the parents of Prester John.<sup>19</sup>

Gahmuret's blazon, bequeathed to him together with the kingship of Anschauë at the death of his older brother, an event that marked the end of his knight-errantry, was a *pantel* (panther). Interestingly, the name Gahmuret is a variant of the name of the first king of Iran, Guyomars, in Firdausi's *Shah-nameh*. Guyomars is a culture hero, who introduced proper food and clothing to his people, who were still living in wretched primitive conditions. Since weaving was not one of his innovations, clothing had to be made from animal skins. Significantly, in most representations in Persian miniatures, including the Museum's Houghton *Shah-nameh*, these clothes are shown as spotted leopard or panther skins (Figure 9).<sup>20</sup> Most of them, however, are colored whitish-gray, not yellow like the usual leopard fur. That would seem to indicate that the artists had the pelt of the snow leopard, also known as the irbis,



Figure 9. *The Court of Guyomars* (detail), miniature attributed to Sultan Muhammad, fol. 20v of *Shah-nameh*. Iranian, ca. 1520–22. Collection of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan (photo: Malcolm Varon)



Figure 10. Giant panda (photo: Russell B. Aitken)

in mind. This species was first brought to the attention of Western zoologists in 1778, but was recognized as a separate species only in this century.<sup>21</sup>

The controversial author of the celebrated and widely read *Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (1366) claimed that he had served the Great Khan of Cathay as a mercenary knight-errant for fifteen months (much as Parzival's father, Gahmuret, served the Baruch of Baghdad). He gives a colorful account of the Great Khan's court, which in his expert opinion by far surpassed that of any other Eastern potentate, including the Sultan of Babylon, the Emperor of Persia, and even Prester John of High Ind. Sir John goes on to describe in detail the hall of the Great Khan's palace, where there were twenty-four pillars of gold, "and all the walls are covered with the red skins of beasts, called *panthers*. They are very fine animals, sweet smelling, and because of the good smell of the skins no harmful air can come therein. These skins are as red as any blood, and shine so in the sun that a man can hardly look at them because of their brightness. The folk of that country honour that beast, when they see it, on account of its good properties and the sweet smell that comes from it; they praise the skin of it as much as if it had been of fine gold."<sup>22</sup>

C. W. R. D. Moseley, the translator of the *Travels*, has after the word *panthers* inserted "(pandas?)" and points out in his introductory discussion, "The Book and its Author," that though early commentators in the bestiaries<sup>23</sup> do discuss the sweet smell of the panther, the red panda does indeed smell of musk, and the Nepali word *panda* could easily be mistaken for *panthera*. This detail is not found in other reports, such as that of the missionary friar Odoric de Pordonone, who did visit the Great Khan and is one of the sources happily exploited by Sir John to flesh out his own stories; perhaps it can be taken as an indication that Sir John was not just a bald-faced liar but had some traveling experiences of his own.

In what is thought to be the first Arthurian romance of chivalry, *Erec et Enide* (ca. 1170), by Chrétien de Troyes, Erec, son of King Lac of Estregales, was given a precious mantle by King Arthur when he followed his father on the throne. This royally gold-embroidered mantle was lined with the furs of *berbioletes*, outlandish beasts with blond heads, black necks, vermilion-red backs, black bellies, and indigo (*inde*) tails, who are natives of India and eat nothing but spices, such as cinnamon and fresh cloves.<sup>24</sup> With the exception of the indigo tails—perhaps changed from *onde*, "wavy," by a need to rhyme with *Inde*, "India"—this is a fairly accurate descrip-

tion of the pelt of the red, or lesser, panda, one of the very few animals with black belly fur.<sup>25</sup> Even such an extravagant diet of spices is only a slight exaggeration; the red panda is a vegetarian. It was discovered for modern zoology in 1850, by the British naturalist Hardwicke, in the Himalayan regions of northern India.<sup>26</sup>

The red panda, as the *berbiolete*, seems to have traveled along the Silk Road only as a prized fur. Incredible as it might sound, however, at least two live specimens of its large relative, the giant panda, may have reached medieval Europe. The giant panda, a favorite zoo animal and model for cuddly stuffed toys, and known to anyone concerned about endangered species as the eye-catching logo of the World Wildlife Fund, came to the official attention of European scientists when it was found munching bamboo in the rugged mountain ranges of Western China by the indomitable Père David in 1869 (Figure 10).<sup>27</sup>

If the panda had not made the long trip alive at least once before 1869, however, it would be difficult to explain a vivid description, having all the freshness of an eyewitness account, given by an eleventh-century monk in a Bavarian monastery. This evidence is in the earliest surviving true romance of chivalry, *Ruodlieb*, written in Latin, probably by a monk at Tegernsee in Bavaria, between 1050 and 1075.<sup>28</sup> The romance's hero, Ruodlieb, decides to go abroad to seek his fortune as a knight-errant. In a faraway country he enters the service of a mighty ruler, the Greater King, who though styled as an Oriental potentate, may have been modeled after the Emperor Henry II (reigned 1046–56). It is quite likely that the author spent some time at the imperial court, where he presumably had the experiences that he worked into his story.

Ruodlieb becomes the commander of the Greater King's army and defeats his lord's hostile neighbor, the Lesser King. In spite of his overwhelming victory, the Greater King treats the vanquished foe magnanimously and offers him friendship and peace. The grateful Lesser King appears at the peace conference carrying rich gifts. Among these presents are the expected fine horses and other useful animals, such as mules, asses, and camels, but also two leopards, two lions, a lynx, two talking parrots, and two monkeys (one a snub-nosed, bare-rumped ape with truncated tail, the other a long-tailed and gray-skinned *cattia marina*;<sup>29</sup> "no usefulness was seen in either brute"), and, most surprisingly, two completely white bears with black legs and paws. These bears were twin brothers, skilled in

walking on two legs like men, sitting up and doing somersaults, riding piggyback, embracing, tussling and wrestling each other, even dancing to music and joining in the ladies' round-dance so drolly that nobody minded if a few scratches were to be suffered.<sup>30</sup>

Victor von Scheffel (1826–86) was a prolific, now half-forgotten poet, whose oeuvre ranged from scurrilous student drinking songs to the historical novel *Ekkehard* (1855), considered the German equivalent to *Ivanhoe*. The hero of this colorful tale is Ekkehard I, the monk of St. Gall who is believed to have been the author of *Waltharius* (ca. 900), the earliest known epic of the Nibelungen cycle. Scheffel delights in documenting even minor incidents and obscure details in his novel, drawn from a wide variety of chronicles and other sometimes highly esoteric sources. Therefore, in describing a visit to the menagerie kept on the monastery grounds at St. Gall, he cannot resist borrowing some details from *Ruodlieb* (of course duly acknowledged in note 56 of the annotated editions). Thus the two monkeys reappear as inhabitants of the menagerie at St. Gall,

commented upon with the monk of Tegernsee's cutting remark about their lack of usefulness, and also the pair of droll tussling bears.<sup>31</sup> However, Scheffel had to change the latter into local brown bears from the Black Forest or the Swiss mountains. The extravagant coloring of the bears in *Ruodlieb* he probably had dismissed as some medieval poet's fancy, led astray by travelers' tall tales. It was only fifteen years later, in 1870, that the director of the Museum of Natural History in Paris, Henri Milne-Edwards, published Père David's discovery,<sup>32</sup> making known again to the Western world the black-and-white bear from faraway China, the giant panda.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For generous advice and kind permission to use some of his superb animal photographs I would like to thank the great friend of the Department of Arms and Armor Russell B. Aitken.

#### NOTES

1. James J. Rorimer, "The Unicorn Tapestries were made for Anne of Brittan," *MMAB* 38 (1942) pp. 7–20; idem, *The Unicorn Tapestries at The Cloisters: A Picture Book* (New York, 1938; 1962) pp. 28–36, figs. 23, 24, 28, 29; Margaret B. Freeman, *The Unicorn Tapestries* (New York, 1976) pp. 155–174, rejects this identification.

2. Odell Shepard, *The Lore of the Unicorn* (New York, 1956; 1979) p. 36; Freeman, *Unicorn Tapestries*, pp. 14–15.

3. T. H. White, *The Bestiary: A Book of Beasts* (New York, 1954; reprinted 1960) pp. 20–21 "unicornis," 44–45 "monoceros"; Richard H. Randall, Jr., *A Cloisters Bestiary* (New York, 1960) pp. 32–33; J. L. Schrader, "A Medieval Bestiary," *MMAB* 44, no. 1 (1986) p. 17.

4. Einhard and Notker the Stammerer, *Two Lives of Charlemagne*, Lewis Thorpe, trans. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1969) pp. 70, 145.

5. Sir Frederick Madden, *Matthaei Parisiensis historia Anglorum sive ut vulgo dicitur Historia minor*, 3 vols. (London, 1866–69) II, p. 380; Felix Hauptmann, "Die Wappen in der Historia minor des Matthäus Parisiensis," *Jahrbuch der K. K. Heraldischen Gesellschaft "Adler,"* n. s. 19 (Vienna, 1909) p. 35 ("rex autem Angliae tres in scuto gerit leopardos [Frederick II, after his marriage to Isabella,

sister to Henry III] misit etiam regi tres leopardos leporariis simillimis, quia in clipeo regis Anglorum tres leopardi figurantur:"). In medieval heraldic nomenclature lions were understood to be "rampant" and with their heads in profile; felines walking with their right forepaw raised and their heads turned to face the viewer, were called "leopards," as is still the custom in all languages except English. Quite recently, the "leopard" was renamed in English "lion guardant passant." In medieval lore the leopard was thought to be born from the adultery of a lioness with a pard. See White, *Bestiary*, pp. 13–14. For this reason, some heraldic theorists, such as John de Bado Aureo, in his *Tractatus de Armis* (ca. 1395), insisted that a leopard as armorial charge suggests the ancestor of the bearer was begotten in adultery. This belief was quite possibly the underlying reason Richard the Lionheart changed his earlier arms of two lions combattant into three leopards, in honor of his ancestor William the Conqueror, also known as William the Bastard. See Rodney Denny, *The Heraldic Imagination* (New York, 1975) pp. 135–136.

6. The text accompanying the woodcut states that in 1513 this rhinoceros was brought from India to the great and mighty King Emanuel of Portugal. See *The Complete Woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer*, Willi Kurth, ed. (New York, 1927; reprinted 1963) pl. 299. The entry for cat. no. 581 of the exhibition catalogue *1471 Albrecht*



Dürer 1971, Germanisches Nationalmuseum (Nuremberg, 1971) p. 310, states that this rhinoceros was a present from King Muzafar of Cambodia (1511–26) to the king of Portugal. In December 1515 the rhinoceros was sent to Pope Leo X by boat. After having been viewed by King Francis I of France during a stopover at Marseilles, the animal was drowned in a shipwreck in the Gulf of Genoa, January 1516, but its stranded carcass was recovered, stuffed, and sent on to Rome.

7. Shepard, *Lore*, p. 37; Willy Ley, *The Dawn of Zoology* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1968) pp. 58–59; Freeman, *Unicorn Tapestries*, pp. 14–15.

8. Ley, *Dawn of Zoology*, p. 9.

9. Ley, *Dawn of Zoology*, p. 14; Erich F. Schmidt, *Persepolis, I: Structures, Reliefs, Inscriptions* (Chicago, 1953) pl. 49; Gerold Walser, *Persepolis* (Tübingen, 1980) pl. 35.

10. Paul Kunhenn, *Pygmäen und andere Primitivvölker* (Stuttgart, 1952) p. 5, quotes the text of a letter from the pharaoh Nefertikare Kakai to his general Herihuf, concerning a Pygmy dancer to be brought to his court. European science discovered the Pygmies in 1869, when Georg Schweinfurth encountered the Akka tribe.

11. Ingo Krumbiegel, *Von neuen und unbekanntenen Tierarten* (Stuttgart, 1950) pp. 25–28; Ley, *Dawn of Zoology*, pp. 11–13. The story of how the okapi and the Pygmies got into the reliefs of Persepolis is imaginatively told in L. Sprague de Camp's novel *The Dragon of the Ishtar Gate* (1961).

12. James W. Spisak, William Matthews, and Bert Dillon, eds., *Caxton's Malory: A New Edition of Sir Thomas Malory's Le Morte d'Arthur Based on the Pierpont Morgan Copy of William Caxton's Edition of 1485* (Berkeley / Los Angeles, 1983) pp. 254–255.

13. H. Stanford London, "Minor Monsters: I. The Yale," *The Coat of Arms III*, no. 19 (July 1954) pp. 90–93, ill.; Dennys, *Imagination*, pp. 165–166, ill.

14. White, *Bestiary*, pp. 54–55, ill. "There is a beast called YALE, which is as big as a horse, has the tail of an elephant, its colour black and with the jowls of a boar. It carries outlandishly long horns which are adjusted to move at will. They are not fixed, but are moved as the needs of battle dictate, and, when it fights, it points one of them forward and folds the other one back, so that, if it hurts the tip of this one with any blow, the sharpness of the other can take its place." The 15th-century heraldic yale has tusks, a feature perhaps based on this description mentioning "jowls of a boar."

15. Russell Barnett Aitken, *Great Game Animals* (New York, 1969) p. 32. There are two species of African rhinoceros, the black and the white.

16. Ley, *Dawn of Zoology*, pp. 246–249, ill. Aitken, *Game Animals*, p. 124. Père David's deer is also known as milu. Although this was the name Père David was given by his informants, it was probably confused with the sika deer. The proper Chinese name is claimed to be *sse-pu-hsiang*, "four dissimilarities," because the animal does not look like a goat, a donkey, a cow, or a stag. Père David's deer sought in the wild earlier in this century regrettably turned out to be reindeer.

17. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, Lewis Thorpe, trans. (London: Penguin Classics, 1966) p. 217 (ix.4): Arthur's dragon crest, p. 248 (x.6); Arthur's battle stan-

dard of the Golden Dragon; Michel Pastoureaux, *Armorial des Chevaliers de la Table Ronde* (Paris, 1983) pp. 46–47, no. 21: Arthur's dragon crest; Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival*, A. T. Hatto, trans. (London: Penguin Classics, 1980) p. 290: Gawain's *gampilün*. Dennys, *Imagination*, p. 142, describes and illustrates the gamelyon. Helmut Nickel, "Heraldry," *The Arthurian Encyclopedia*, Norris J. Lacy, ed. (New York / London, 1986) pp. 278–283. Among the heraldic charges of the Knights of the Round Table there are strange beasts in abundance; besides the ubiquitous lions and leopards there are elephant, tiger, ostrich, peacock, porcupine, and dromedary, most of them regarded as "real" as unicorn, dragon, and griffin.

18. Wolfram, *Parzival*, pp. 45, 47.

19. Wolfram, *Parzival*, pp. 369, 408.

20. Stuart Cary Welch, *A King's Book of Kings: The Shah-Nameh of Shah Tahmasp* (New York, 1972) pp. 88–91 (20v).

21. Krumbiegel, *Tierarten*, p. 14.

22. Sir John Mandeville, *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, C. W. R. D. Moseley, trans. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1983) p. 142.

23. White, *Bestiary*, pp. 14–17; Randall, *Cloisters Bestiary*, p. 9; Schrader, "Medieval Bestiary," pp. 14–15; Helmut Nickel, "The Iron Door Mountings of St. Léonard-de-Noblat," *MMJ* 23 (1988) pp. 83–87 (iconography of the panther).

24. Chrétien de Troyes, *Erec and Enide*, Carleton W. Carroll, ed. (New York, 1987) pp. 296–297 (ll. 6748–6757):

... La pane qui i fu cosue  
fu d'unes contrefetes bestes  
qui ont totes blondes testes  
et cos noirs com une more  
et les dos ont vermauz desore,  
les vantres noirs et la coe inde.  
Itex bestes neissent en Inde  
si ont berbioletes non;  
ne manjuent s'espices non,  
que nele et giroffe novel . . .

25. The only other animal with black belly fur that Chrétien would have known is the European hamster; but he is clearly not talking about the hamster pelt with which he would have been thoroughly familiar. In the popular translation by W. W. Comfort, in Chrétien de Troyes, *Arthurian Romances* (London / New York: Everyman's Library, 1914) p. 88, the "barbioletes" are described as having white heads, necks as black as mulberries, red backs and green bellies, and a dark blue tail. These translations are probably based on a corrupt French text, or a manuscript, where *blancs* for *blondes* in line 6750, and *verts* for *noirs* in line 6753 were read in some scribe's crabbéd handwriting.

26. Ley, *Dawn of Zoology*, p. 247.

27. Krumbiegel, *Tierarten*, pp. 16–17; Ley, *Dawn of Zoology*, pp. 249–250; Aitken, *Game Animals*, p. 125.

28. Dennis M. Kratz, ed., *Waltherius and Ruodlieb* (New York, 1984).

29. Kratz, *Ruodlieb*, pp. 108–109 (ll. V. 131–133): "simia nare brevis nate nuda murcaque cauda, voceque milvina cute crisa catta marina, in quibus ambabus nil cernitur utilitatis." The Latin term *catta marina* is the same as the German *Meerkatze* and desig-

nates a long-tailed monkey of the family Cercopithecidae; it tries to describe an animal that comes from beyond the ocean (*Meer*) and climbs trees as nimbly as a cat (*Katze*).

30. Kratz, *Ruodlieb*, pp. 106–107 (ll. V.84–98): “et pariles ursi, qui fratres sunt uterini, omnino nivei gambis pedibusque nigelli, qui vas tollebant, ut homo, bipedesque gerebant; illi saltabant neumas pedibus variabant; interdum saliant seseque superiaciebant, alterutrum dorso se portabant residendo, amplexando se luctando deiciunt se; cum plebs altisonam fecit girando choream, accurrunt et se mulieribus applicuere, quae gracili voce cecinerunt deliciose, insertisque suis harum manibus speciosis erecti calcant pedetemptim, murmure trinsant, ut mirarentur, ibi circum qui graderentur, non irascantur, quodcumque mali paterentur.”

31. Victor von Scheffel, *Ekkehard*, chap. 4: “Da erfreute sich Frau Hadwig [the visiting Duchess of Swabia, the monastery’s liege] am ungeschlachten Wesen der Bären: in närrischen Sprüngen kletterten sie am Baum ihres Twingers auf und nieder; daneben erging sich ein kurznasiger Affe, der mit einer Meerkatze zusammen an einer Kette durchs Leben tollte, - zwei Geschöpfe, von denen ein Dichter damaliger Zeit sagt, dass weder das eine noch das andere eine Spur nutzbringender Anlage als Berechtigungsgrund seines Vorhandenseins aufzuweisen vermöge . . .” (Note 56) “Das ist unser Tutilo! sprach er und deutete auf einen Bären, der soeben seinen Nebenbär rücklings zu Boden geworfen . . .”

32. Krumbiegel, *Tierarten*, pp. 16, 17, 74.