Bohemian Sheep, Hungarian Horses, and Polish Wild Boars: Animals in Twelfth-Century Central European Chronicles

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Omnis mundi creatura
Quasi liber et pictura
Nobis est speculum
Nostrae vitae, nostrae mortis,
nostrae status, nostrae mortis
Fidele signaculum
(Alain de Lille)

It is a sign of the gradual cultural assimilation with the rest of Europe that similarly structured chronicles or *gesta* were written at almost the same time in Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary each strongly connected with a particular dynasty: the Piasts in Poland, the Přemysls in Bohemia, and the Árpáds in Hungary. With the adoption of Christianity these kingdoms also became connected with a Western way of looking at history and literature; and they soon began to use literary patterns and write about their own origins and the glorious deeds of their kings.

Both the *Chronicae et Gesta Ducum sive Principum Polonorum*, written by the so-called Gallus Anonymus in 1113-1117 and the *Chronica Bohemorum* by Cosmas of Prague in 1119-1125, seem to have followed the style and genre of German and French models. Based on later texts, we can assume that the, more or less, similar *Gesta Hungarorum* were also written around that time.

In this paper, I will compare the Bohemian[1] and Polish[2] chronicles with the (reconstructed) early parts of the Hungarian Chronicle Composition[3] of the Fourteenth Century (henceforth: Illuminated Chronicle) regarding the "use" of

[1] Kosmas von Prag,. *Die Chronik der Böhmen des Cosmas von Prag*. Monumenta Germaniae Historica, SSrerGerm NS 2 (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1923) (henceforth Cosmas).

[2] Jan Maleczynsky, ed., *Galli Anonymi Chronicae et Gesta Ducum sive Principum Polonorum* (Cracow: Nakl. Polskiej Akad. Umietnoşci, 1952) (henceforth Gallus).

[3] Imre Szentpétery, ed., *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum Tempore Ducum Regumque Stirpis Arpadianae Gestarum* (reprint edition, Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1988) (henceforth Ill. Chr.).

animals in it. By this, I mean the appearance and various functions of animals in the texts. My main objective is to compare the use of animals as indicators of thought and culture in these three chronicles. In the final analysis, I intend to make some statements about the thinking, education, and erudition of the authors,[4] in the light of the way animals appeared in their narratives. Moreover, chronicles also reflect the education and preferences of their audience, the clergy and nobles who may have read them or listened to them.

It is clear that many objects or phenomena reflect the characteristics of a culture, offering numerous possibilities for investigation. The role animals play in the representation of culture is one of these characteristics. I chose the study of animals[5] because I think that animals held a unique position in medieval society, and their existence and different tasks in every important aspect of life and culture can help us understand medieval worldviews.

No literary work that refers to animals can be studied without understanding their crucial role in almost every area of medieval society. Animals played a decisive role in the Middle Ages because they provided important sources of food,[6] raw material,[7] power[8] and help in transportation[9] and as game animals in

[4] The three authors seem to represent different cultural and educational levels. Gallus Anonymus was a monk, apparently with no ecclesiastical rank, who may have traveled a great deal before he settled down in Poland. Cosmas was a man of great reknown in the ecclesiastical hierarchy of his country. The probable author of the Hungarian *Chronicle* was in all likelihood a bishop or a clerk at the royal court. Among the three authors, Cosmas seems to have had the widest access to classical Greek and Latin sources, although he also may have known them only from *florilegia* or similar secondary collections.

[5] For a general overview of animals see Robert Delort, *Der Elefant, die Biene und der heilige Wolf. Die wahre Geschichte der Tiere* (Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1987); idem, "Les animaux en occident du Xe au XVIe siècle", in *Le monde animal et ses représentations au Moyen Âge* (Toulouse: Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, 1985), 11-47; Nona C. Flores, ed., *Animals in the Middle Ages* (New York: Garland, 1990); F. Klingender, *Animals in Art and Thought to the End of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT, 1971); L. A. J. R. Houven ed., *Animals and Symbols in Medieval Art and Literature* (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1997); Joyce Salisbury, *The Beast Within: Animals in the Middle Ages* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

[6] For animal keeping and husbandry in the Middle Ages, see László Bartosiewicz, "Animal Husbandry and Medieval Settlement in Hungary", *Beiträge zur Mittelalterarchäologie in Österreich* 15 (1999): 139-155; János Matolcsy, *Állattartás őseink korában* (Animal keeping in the time of our ancestors) (Budapest: Gondolat, 1982); Sándor Bökönyi, *History of Domesticated Mammals in Central and Eastern Europe* (Budapest: MTA, 1974).

[7] For clothes and dress in connection with animals in the Middle Ages see Robert Delort, "Les animaux et l'habillement", in *L'uomo di fronte al mondo animale nell'alto Medioevo*, 2.vols. (Spoleto: Presso La Sede del Centro, 1985), 673-701.

[8] See J. Langdon, *Horses, Oxen and Technological Innovation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

[9] For the multiple functions of horses in the Middle Ages see J. Clark, ed. *The Medieval Horse and its Equipment 1150-1450* (London: HMSO, 1995); R. H. C. Davis, *The Medieval War-Horse* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1989); Ann Hyland, *The Horse in the Middle Ages* (Phoenix Mill: Sutton Publishing Ltd, 1999); J. Hewitt, *The Horse in Medieval England* (London: J. A. Allen, 1988).

the hunt.[10] As part of valuable personal or family property they also held a significant place in medieval society.

Animals in the Middle Ages were part of everyday life; everyone had dealings with them in some form. Perhaps because of this pervasive familiarity with animals, they also served as metaphors in literary works. These metaphors are strongly context-bound, and can only be interpreted within the network of connections throughout the text, because the text provides the background or the basis for the comparison of humans and animals.

Beside philosophical and theological writings several literary genres dealt with the relationship of animals and mankind: for instance, bestiaries,[11] fables,[12] beast epics,[13] and travel literature, but we can find metaphors utilizing animals in almost every lyrical or narrative source as, for example, chronicles. They also used animals as instruments for comparison and providing additional information about humans.

In order to prepare an appropriate basis for comparison, the study of animals either lacking symbolic meaning or as examples of human-type behaviour, or as bearers of additional information about the culture from which the author of these chronicles comes necessitates a brief overview of the rise of these chronicles and of their authors. Both Polish and Bohemian historiography starts with rather similar works at the beginning of the twelfth century. Between the years 1113 and 1117, an anonymous author with loyalty to the Polish kingdom wrote the history of Poland from the origins of the country until his own time. He received his name Gallus from his first editors who believed that he had come from France to Poland.[14]

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[10] See: John Cummings, *The Hound and the Hawk* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988).

[11] Willene Clark and Meradith T. Mcmumm, *Birds and Beasts of the Middle Ages: the Bestiary and its Legacy* (Philadelphia: n. p., 1989); Wilma George and Brunsdon Yapp, *The Naming of the Beasts: Natural History in the Medieval Bestiary* (London: Gerald Duckworth, 1991); Debra Hassig, *Medieval Bestiaries, Text, Image, Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

[12] See: David Bell, *Wholly Animals: a Book of Beastly Tales* (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1992); Peter Rickard, et al., *Medieval Comic Tales* (Totowa, N.J.: Reowman and Littlefield, 1973).

[13] Jan Ziolkowski, *Talking Animals: Medieval Latin Beast Poetry, 750-1150* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993).

[14] There have been innumerable hypotheses about who he was, or which country he came from, but the consensus is that probably he was educated in Liège as a Benedictine monk. He might have reached Poland at the very beginning of the twelfth century, and he came in close contact with the most notable ecclesiastical personalities, particularly Chancellor Michael. For the beginnings of Central European chronicles, see Norbert Kersken, *Geschichtsschreibung im Europa der "nationes" – Nationalgeschichtliche Gesamtdarstellungen im Mittelalter* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1995); idem, *Bibliographien zur Geschichte Ostmitteleuropas* (Marburg: Herder Institut, 1997). Joseph Bujnoch compared the two contemporaries in his "Gallus Anonymus und Cosmas von Prag. Zwei Geschichtsschreiber und Zeitgenossen", in *Osteuropa in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. H. Leeberg, P. Nitsche and E. Oberlander (Cologne: Böhlau, 1977), 301-315.

Although the chronicles of Gallus Anonymous and Cosmas of Prague were similar regarding the time in which they wrote, their concept of historiography, and the structure and purpose of their writings, the life and career of Cosmas was completely different from that of Gallus, and this fact left its mark on his work. Cosmas of Prague[15] was born around 1045 into a noble family, and received an excellent education, first in Prague, then in Liège. After his return to Prague, he became the deacon of the cathedral of Prague, and remained in this important position until his death. He worked on his chronicle from 1119-1125.

No less influential was the third coeval chronicle, the Hungarian Chronicle, although in this case the author, dating, and structure of the work poses a more complex problem for modern scholars. It is clear that this chronicle is not the work of one author, but rather a compilation of earlier versions of Hungarian history. Sándor Domanovszky edited the Chronicle in a parallel version, which he took from the famous *Illuminated Chronicle*. He argued that eleventh-century text had existed, commonly referred to as the *Urgesta* which became the source of later continuations with interpolations. It was probably written either in the middle of the eleventh century, that is, in the reign of Andrew I, or in the second third of the eleventh century (in the reign of King Salomon). We can find several traces of this *Urgesta* in the *Illuminated Chronicle*[16] including the story of the miraculous stag and the myth of the *turul* (a Hungarian mythical vulture-like bird). The story of Lehel and the fight of Botond may also have been part of the *Urgesta*. One can follow the line of chroniclers to the time of Louis the Great, under whose reign the version in the *Illuminated Chronicle* was finished in 1358. The *Chronicle* was also the first Hungarian codex, which offered a store of information via its illuminations[17] concerning heraldry, armour, and national dress.

From the above-mentioned description of sources it is clear that although the *Illuminated Chronicle* probably contains pieces of earlier chronicles, that is, from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the work which is now in our hands is a

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[15] To know more about Cosmas, see also Joseph Hemmerle, "Kosmas von Prag", in *Lebensbilder zur Geschichte der böhmischen Länder,* vol. 4, ed. Ferdinand Seibt (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1981), 23-48, Dušan Trestik, "Anfänge der böhmischen Geschichtschreibung," *Stud. Zrodloznawcze* 23 (1978): 1-37.

[16] See the best pieces of the huge literature on the chronicle composition: József Gerics, *Legkorábbi gesta-szerkesztéseink keletkezésproblémái* (The problems of origin in the earliest Hungarian Gesta-Compositions) (Budapest: MTA, 1961), György Györffy, *Krónikáink és a magyar őstörténet. Régi kérdések-új válaszok* (Hungarian Chronicles and Hungarian Ancient Tradition) (Budapest: MTA, 1993); János Horváth,. *Árpádkori latinnyelvű irodalmunk stílusproblémái* (Problems in the style of Latin literature from the Arpadian Age) (Budapest: MTA, 1954), Elemér Mályusz, *Királyi kancellária és krónikaírás a középkori Magyarországon* (The royal chancellery and chronicles in Medieval Hungary) (Budapest: MTA, 1973).

[17] There are also numerous animals in these images, e.g. deer, horses. For the images, see: *Képes krónika* (Illuminated Chronicle), eds. Csaba Csapodi and Klára Gárdonyi Csapodi . (facsimile edition, Budapest: Magyar Helikon Könyvkiadó, 1964).

fourteenth-century compilation. In a comparative study, two centuries may see very great changes in almost every aspect of culture. Parallel to this, changes are also apparent in the way chronicles were written, in their approach to events, style, and the patterns that they followed.

To avoid the accusation of ahistorical comparisons, I examined the *Illuminated Chronicle* from two different points of view: first, from the point of view of the twelfth-century sections and second from the point of view of the entire fourteenth-century compilation. There is a change in style and the narrative of events in the year 1152, where the author began to tell the events year by year, enumerating only the names of kings, battles, and natural catastrophes, instead of recounting the events together with their background. Moreover, scholars argue that this is the turning point, the point where the chronicler of Geysa II may have ended his version including the *Urgesta* among other chroniclers' works as well as the *Gesta Ladislai Regis*.

In my research regarding animals I investigated both this part of the *Illuminated Chronicle,* that is, from the beginning to the 168th chapter in the SRH edition, and in the whole chronicle. What I found supports the hypotheses of previous research, because there is a radical change in the way animals are used from the 168th chapter. This change can be seen first in the number of animals which appear. In the suspected twelfth-century chronicle there are 81 animals, while in the later part only 13 are mentioned. Furthermore, in the later version, animals appear around the larger block of narratives, while in the twelfth-century part, the animals are distributed throughout the text, and there are no significant blocks containing animals. I think that the fourteenth century chronicler who compiled these earlier pieces wanted to preserve the events in an *annalistic* way, and he only described those events, which were important for him. Since there is a significant change in style as well as in the narration for the events of the year 1152, I decided to investigate only the presumed twelfth-century part of the *Illuminated Chronicle*. In this way, I can compare three chronicles from almost the same period, in which the usage of animals as objects embodying information on culture, traditions, and religion can give us a detailed overview of medieval mentality.

Methodology

I used the best printed editions of the chronicles to create a database for the animal references.[18] I applied the database management system *Kleio* to

[18] I looked for all the animals that can be found in the three chronicles. I only used the nouns and the adjectives such as *columbinus*: mild as a pigeon, but not the verbs, like *equitare*: to ride on a horse, and so on. After the source, I wrote the exact and whole context of the mentioned animal, as long as necessary. In order to create later the inquiries and to have good references, I used the English name of the animals. When there is more than one animal in the sentence, I put them into alphabetical order, with every animal in a new row. The

handle my data[19] and to prepare different inquiries. In order to distinguish the sense in which these animals were used I created five major groups and several subgroups of animals according to the role they played in the narratives:

1. If the animals were *used without any added meaning*, that is, as an animal that produces food, material, or was used as a tool;[20] those animals that show up as helpers of men in an evil act,[21] for example, horses, who step on the enemy's body or dogs who bite or attack children on command; the wild animals that neither participate in any comparison nor embody any added cultural connotations. Such wild animals do not embody the added glory that the man acquires if he hunts them or any other aspect of value.
2. Animals symbolise *value in different senses*: the fertility and richness[22] of a certain field; why it was worth settling down there; how the hunter[23] acquires glory because the prey was strong or dangerous; when a ruler

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most important entries of my database have been the classification of the animal together with its connotation.

[19] Creating the database I had to face some inaccuracies. For example, in the Hungarian Chronicle the author mentions several kinds of hunting birds. In Latin, the words he used for naming the birds have at least three or four meanings, all of them hunting birds. I decided to translate them consistently, although other solutions might have been possible. I also had problems with the collective nouns, like sheep in the sense of flock or cows in the sense of herd. In these cases, I distinguished the places where the meaning comes closer to the collective noun. Every author used several variations for naming horses: *sonipes*, *quadrupes*, *dextrarius*, *caballus*; I put them all into the category of horse, although, where necessary, I noted about the specific name.

[20] Cosmas 3. XXVII: *Quem ut vidit primo iam noctis in crepusculo stipatum ingenti caterva militum obsequentium, insiluit equum et paulisper se inmiscuit agmen in medium.* (As he saw him in the twilight of the night, surrounded by an enormous crowd of people who all obeyed him, he jumped onto his horse and mingled among the crowd.).

[21] Cosmas 1. XII; *Sed utinam mortem, verum peius morte ageretur, coniuges vestras in conspectu vestro violabunt et in sinu earum infantes ferro trucidabunt et ad lactandum eis catulos dabunt*. (If only they had planned death, but they planned even worse than that, to destroy your wives in front of you and in their laps they kill your babies with a sword and give them whelps of dogs to suckle).

[22] Cosmas 1.II:. *Hec est illa, hec est illa terra, quam sepe me vobis promisisse memini, terra obnoxia nemini, feris et volatilibus referta, nectare mellis et lactis humida, et, ut ipsi perspicitis, ad habitandum aere iocunda*. (This is that, this is the land, which I remember to have promised you often, the land that does no harm to anybody, that is rich in beasts and birds that is watered by rivers of milk and honey, and that has, as you yourselves can see, appropriate air to live from).

[23] Cosmas 1. LXI: *Semper aderat comes individuus duci in venationibus, primus enim affuit in occisione silvatici apri et abscidens eius caudam purgat et parat, ut ducem velle norat, paratamque venienti domino ad vescendum donat*. (He was present as individual companion of the duke in hunting, he was the first to kill the wild boar and cutting its tail off, he disembowled and prepared it as he knows that the duke likes it, and he gives the prepared wild boar to the duke to eat).

gives horses or cows as presents[24] to another ruler; or the chroniclers say that the cows, bulls or horses were captured as booty.

3. In group three there are the animals that provide *basis for an external comparison*.[25] There are only a few animals that belong to this group, because they present the reason for the comparison only by their form or outlook, not by their characteristics.
4. The most interesting categories are those of *internal comparisons*, and
5. of *comparisons with a cultural background*.

Into the former, I put all the animals, which present a basis for internal comparison, that is, their characteristic features help to enlighten the behaviour or character of a person. Animals can represent several qualities, from *wildness*[26] and *slyness*[27] through *stupidity*[28] to *cowardice*[29] or *concord*[30] (for all the subgroups see Table 1).

I followed a consistent method in creating these subgroups by recording all the possible attributes in connection with each kind of animal. I grouped these attributes and tried to find an appropriate name that described all the features in the group. For example: the lions, wolves, and some of the hunting birds are characterised by almost the same attributes: *rapax, rabidus, inmanis, occulto ruit, ferox, iratus, rapiens, rugiens*. Then I separated the wild and

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[24] Ill. Chr. 29: *Deinde communi consilio ad predictum ducem eundem nuncium remiserunt et ei equum album et magnum cum sella deaurata auro Arabie et freno deaurato miserunt pro terra sua.* (Then they sent a messenger to the above-mentioned town with common counsel and they sent a great white horse with a golden saddle from Arabia and with a golden bridle in return for his land).

[25] Cosmas 1. VIII: *Loci autem mons curvatur in modum delphini, marini porci, tendens usque in predictum amnem*. (The mountain of this place bends like a dolphin, a marine pig, and extends to the above-mentioned river).

[26] Cosmas 2. XXVII: *Oblitus sacri ordinis, oblitus fraternitatis, immemor humanitatis, ceu leopardus lepusculum aut leo agniculum rapit, ita ille furibundus hospes ambabus manibus per capillos fratrem suum episcopellum alte sustuli.* (He forgot his holy orders, forgot his brother, forgot humanity, and as a leopard or lion tears away the little lamb, the angry guest lifted high his brother, the little bishop, by his hair with his both hands).

[27] Cosmas 2. XXII: *At ille, ... ut vulpecula que non illuc fugit, quo suam iactavit caudam, ita dux aliud clausum retinens in pectore, aliud promit suis fratribus ore.* (And he, as the little fox who does not go to that place to which his tail turns, the duke kept other things in his heart than what he said to his brothers with his mouth).

[28] Cosmas 1.V: *Heu tarde frustra vos penitebit, sicut ranas penituit, cum ydrus, quem sibi fecerant regem, eas necare cepit.* (Too late you will regret this in vain, as the frogs regretted it when the snake whom they made king above them, began to kill them).

[29] Gallus 3.134: *Tunc verum Bolezlavus non sicut lepus formidolosus evanuit, sed suos sicut miles animosus ammonuit.* (Then Bolezlav did not disappear as a timid rabbit, but he warned the people as a brave soldier).

[30] Cosmas 2. XLIII.; *Sicut fertur leo pertimuisse tres iuvencos inter se collatis cornibus stantes, ita nunquam ausus est rex invadere suos fratres.* (The lion, which stood in front of three heifers that put together their horns, is said to have been afraid of them like this, as the king who never dared to attack his brothers).

domestic animals by forming a subgroup with the name "wild", and put all these animals into this subgroup.

Into the group of *animals with a cultural background,* I put all the animals whose meaning implies characteristics of the thinking of the nation, of a culture, religion or traditions. These animals show both the chroniclers' and the readers' intellectual background and level of education. The subgroups are strongly connected to national traditions, customs and approaches to historical events or behaviours.

The first subgroup are *animals as attributes*,[31] which contains all animal names involved during a quarrel. In these cases, a man desecrates his enemy with the name of an animal; he calls him a dog's or a wolf's son. This fact also represents the thinking and tradition of a nation, because, for example, in Hungarian it means something different to call someone a dog, a pig or a cow. This subgroup contains the phrases chroniclers used to define another nation by an animal name. These are negative attributes in all cases.

To the next subgroup, *animals signifying social status*,[32] belong all animal names involved in indicating social rank. Horses signify social status by simply being owned, by their appearance, by their colour, size, or equipment, and by the context of their use. For example, if someone sits on a horse while speaking to another person who is standing on the ground, it would have been considered demeaning and humiliating.

Two other subgroups reflect a Christian way of thinking, but we can also find traces from classical philosophy. Animals often appear as counterparts to humans, as *inferior*,[33] subordinate creatures who, unlike humans, have no souls, are subject to passions, and are unable to live according to rules and God's law. Christian thinking also reflects the flock theme. All the animals that are connected with Christ's people belong to the *Christi ovilia* subgroup: lambs, sheep and the flock used in a Christian sense are to be found here.

The last two subgroups of the *animals with a cultural background* category are the *mythological animals*[34] and the *animals with transcendental*

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[31] Ill. Chr.161:.*Quis facis, vilissime canis, cum regno?* (What are you doing to the country, you bloody dog?)

[32] Gallus 1.54: *Nam cum regnum alienum fugitivus introiret, ut vir humilis properabat, eumque propinquitatem eminus equo descendens ob reverentiam exspectabat.* (Namely, when he entered the foreign realm as a refugee, he went there as a humble man and out of respect he was waiting for him to get off his horse.)

[33] Gallus 1.54: *Nam cum regnum alienum fugitivus introiret, ut vir humilis properabat, eumque propinquitatem eminus equo descendens ob reverentiam exspectabat*. (Namely, when he entered the foreign realm as a refugee, he went there as a humble man and out of respect he was waiting for him to get off his horse.)

[34] Ill. Chr. 6: *Et post hec ... est desertum inmeabile, ubi ... sunt serpentes diversi generis, ranes velud porci, basiliscus et plura animalia toxicata, tigris et unicornis ibi generantur*. (And after this there is an enormous desert where there are different types of snakes, frogs as big as pigs, basilisks and other poisonous animals; tigers and unicorns are born there.)

meanings[35]. In the Middle Ages, the borders between real and mythological animals were not sharply drawn, so this category may be "ahistorical," because only modern people regard, for instance, unicorns as mythological animals. For medieval people they were as real as dogs. Nevertheless, I created this subgroup to have a place for unusual and supernatural creations, like the leviathan, the unicorn, etc.

Table 1: The different categories of animals.

1. Animals without added meaning

1. Animals as animals
2. Animals as tools

2. Animals of negative helpers – helpers in an evil act
3. Animals of positive value

1. Symbols of richness
2. Animals for hunting
3. Animals as presents
4. Animals as booty

4. Animals as metaphors
   1. External comparison
   2. Internal comparisons

1. Stupid, conceited
2. Slyness
3. Ignorant
4. Cowardice
5. Wild, aggressive
6. Victim
7. Defence of whelps
8. Concord
9. Numerous
10. Organised state

5. Comparisons with a socio-cultural background

1. Animals as attributes
2. Animals signifying social status
3. Animals as inferior creatures
4. *Christi ovilia*
5. "Mythological animals"
6. Animals with transcendental meanings

[35] Ill. Chr.124: .... *apparuit eius cervus habens cornua plena ardentibus candelis cepitque fugere coram eis versus silvam at in loco, ubi nunc est monasterium, fixit pedes suos.* (A deer appeared in front of them with burning candles on his antlers; he turned to the forest and stopped at the place where the monastery now stands.)

The mythological subgroup overlaps somewhat with the animals embodied with transcendental meaning. In the latter group I categorised animals that are accompanied by supernatural power, where God or an angel appear in their faces, and unusual signs accompany their appearance.

Animals in the Chronicles

General findings

There is a wide and colourful palette of animals used in the three chronicles. Table 2 shows how varied these animals are, from mammals to insects and reptiles. Almost all types of domesticated, not domesticated and wild animals significant to the region are represented, as well as animals on the boundary between wild and domesticated, like falcons and worms. One can find dozens of "common" animals as well as exotic and "fantastic" ones, which surely would never have been seen in Central Europe, for example, dolphins, leopards, lions, tigers, vultures, or unicorns.

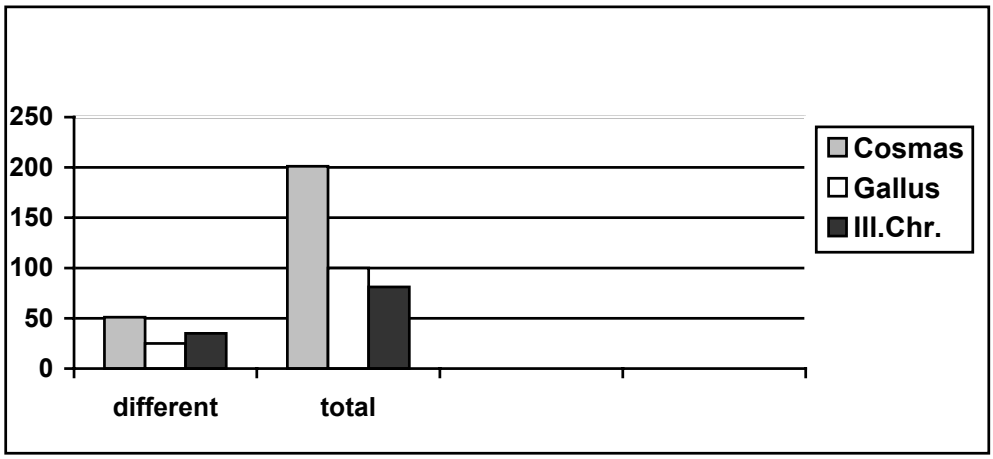
Table 2: Animals in the three chronicles,
with the number of their occurrence in each chronicle.

Animal	**Cos-mas**	**Gal-lus**	**Ill. Chr.**	**Total**
Animal	3	4	4	11
Ant	0	1	0	1
Basilisk	1	0	1	4
Bear	1	2	1	4
Beast	6	7	2	15
Bee	5	0	0	5
Bird	5	3	1	9
Bull	1	0	1	2
Buzzard	0	0	3	3
Cat	1	0	0	1
Cattle	0	1	0	1
Centaur	1	0	0	1
Chicken	0	1	0	1
Cock	1	0	0	1
Cow	2	2	1	5
Crow	0	0	1	1
Deer	1	2	4	7
Dog	8	8	3	19
Dolphin	1	0	0	1
Donkey	5	0	0	5
Dragon	0	3	1	4
Eagle	1	0	2	3
Ermine	0	0	1	1
Falcon	3	0	1	4
Fish	9	4	1	14
Flock	4	1	2	7
Fox	1	0	0	1

Frog	1	0	1	2
Goat	0	0	1	1
Goose	2	0	0	2
Grass-hopper	2	0	0	2
Gryphon	0	0	1	1
Hawk	2	0	0	2
Hen	2	1	0	3
Herd	1	1	2	4
Horse	33	27	29	89
Hydra	2	0	0	2
Kite	2	0	1	3
Lamb	9	0	3	12
Leopard	1	0	0	1
Leviathan	0	0	1	1
Lion	11	7	1	19
Lizard	1	0	0	1
Mink	1	0	0	1
Mosquito	1	1	1	3
Mouse	1	0	0	1
Owl	1	0	0	1
Ox	10	1	2	13
Pig	3	2	1	6
Pigeon	7	0	0	7
Hare	2	2	0	4
Roe	0	1	0	1
Sheep	18	4	2	24
Snake	4	0	1	5
Stork	0	0	1	1
Swallow	1	0	0	1
Swan	2	0	0	2
Tiger	2	0	1	3
Unicorn	0	0	1	1
Vulture	1	0	0	1
Wild boar	4	8	0	12
Wolf	15	7	1	23
Wood–pecker	1	0	0	1
Worm	1	0	0	1
Total	**204**	**102**	**81**	**387**

Although each of the three chronicles used animals for similar purposes, namely for describing territories, people, or events, on the one hand, and to develop examples for human behaviour, on the other, there is a significant difference between them.

Chart I: Total number versus variability of animals in the chronicles.



As one can see from Chart I, which represents both the variability in the kinds of animals in each chronicle and the total number of animals, Cosmas made reference to the most animals as well as the most variable ones (204/52).[36] There is only a small difference in the number of animals referred to between Gallus (102/25) and the *Illuminated Chronicle* (81/35), but the Hungarian chronicler used a greater variety of animals than Gallus. Cosmas made mention of twice as many animals as each of the other two authors although his chronicle is not much longer than the others.

Table 3: The most frequently employed animals
(more than ten occurrences).

Type of animal	Number of occurrences	Percentages
Horse	89	37 % / 23 %
Sheep	24	10 % / 6 %
Dog	19	8 % / 5 %
Ox	13	5 % / 3 %
Lamb	12	5 % / 3 %
Wolf	23	10 % / 6 %
Lion	19	8 % / 5 %
Beast	15	6 % / 4 %
Fish	14	6 % / 4 %
Wild boar	12	5 % / 3 %
Subtotal	240	100 % / 62 %
Remainder	147	---- / 38 %
Total	387	---- / 100 %

[36] Of course from a statistical point of view the higher the number of animals the greater the variability expected.

There are 387 animals altogether in the three chronicles and 65 different types of animals. Animals that occur more than ten times in the whole database were compiled in order to see which of them were referred to most frequently (Table 3). Horses comprise almost one quarter (23 %) of all the animals that were referred to.

One can also see that only a relatively small part of all the animals belong among the most commonly used wild or not domesticated species (wolves, lions, wild boars, beasts, fish), and a much larger number consist of domesticated animals such as horses, sheep, oxen, and dogs. Although the chroniclers were also interested in exotic species, they mainly made reference to the animals which they could encounter every day. Beast refers to animals in general, but with a pejorative connotation that emphasises the superiority of humans over the untamed fauna.[37]

The ratio of domestic to not domesticated and wild animals

In Tables 4 and 5, I examine the way the three chroniclers referred to domestic and not domesticated animals taking the examples of mammals and birds,[38] not the reptiles, insects and amphibians, because there are only few of these species mentioned.

Table 4: Domestic animals in the chronicles: mammals and birds.

Domestic animals	**Cosmas**	**Gallus**	**Illuminated Chr.**	**Total**
Bull	1	0	1	2
Cat	1	0	0	1
Cattle	0	1	0	1
Chicken	0	1	0	1
Cock	1	0	0	1
Cow	2	2	1	5
Dog	8	8	3	19
Donkey	5	0	0	5
Goat	0	0	1	1
Goose	2	0	0	2
Hare	2	2	0	4
Hen	2	1	0	3
Horse	33	27	29	89
Lamb	9	0	3	12
Ox	10	1	2	13
Pig	3	2	1	6
Pigeon	7	0	0	7
Sheep	18	4	2	24
Altogether	**104**	**49**	**43**	**196**

[37] For example, Cosmas 1. XXXVI: V*ivebant enim quasi bruta animalia conubia habentes communia* (They lived as brute animals having common marriages).

[38] I left out all the collective nouns, like bird, beast, animals, etc.

The domestic mammals and birds in all three chronicles amount to roughly half of all the animals mentioned: Cosmas 104 of 204; Gallus 49 of 102; the Illuminated Chronicle 43 of 81. The differences are greater for the wild and not domesticated species. The ratio of them to all animals is 38 of 204 (19%) in Cosmas, 32 of 102 (31 %) in Gallus, and 16 of 81 (20%) in the Illuminated Chronicle.

Table 5: Wild and not domesticated animals in the three chronicles: mammals and birds.

Wild Animals	**Cosmas**	**Gallus**	**Illuminated Chr.**	**Total**
Bear	1	2	1	4
Buzzard	0	0	3	3
Crow	0	0	1	1
Deer	1	2	4	7
Eagle	1	0	2	3
Ermine	0	0	1	1
Falcon	3	0	1	4
Fox	1	0	0	1
Hawk	2	0	0	2
Kite	2	0	1	3
Mink	1	0	0	1
Mouse	1	0	0	1
Owl	1	0	0	1
Roe deer	0	1	0	1
Stork	0	0	1	1
Swallow	1	0	0	1
Swan	2	0	0	2
Vulture	1	0	0	1
Wild-boar	4	8	0	12
Wolf	15	7	1	23
Woodpecker	1	0	0	1
Total	**38**	**21**	**16**	**75**

There are also differences in the way "exotic" mammals and birds were used. I put into Table 6 not only those animals which an average Central European would have been unlikely to encounter, but also those which are today regarded as mythological animals.

Cosmas referred to the largest number of exotic animals (17; 50% of all exotic ones in the three chronicles together), while the other two authors mentioned them less often (Gallus: 10; Ill. Chr. 6). All three authors, however, preferred to use common animals. Cosmas may have written for a more educated audience, with broader views of nature and literature, making it easier for him to refer to animals which were from further away and less known.

Table 6: Exotic animals in the three chronicles: mammals and birds.

Exotic animals	**Cosmas**	**Gallus**	**Illuminated Chr.**
Centaur	1	0	0
Dolphin	1	0	0
Dragon	0	3	1
Gryphon	0	0	1
Leopard	1	0	0
Leviathan	0	0	1
Lion	11	7	1
Tiger	2	0	1
Unicorn	0	0	1
Vulture	1	0	0
Total	**17**	**10**	**6**

The fact that it was also Cosmas who made mention of the most different kinds of animal species: mammals, birds, reptiles and amphibians, and insects, supports the hypothesis of a more educated audience (Table 7). Gallus did not mention any reptiles or amphibians, and only once did he refer to an insect. There is one mention of insects in the Illuminated Chronicle as well.

Table 7: Different types of animals used in the chronicles.

Type of animal	**Cosmas**	**Gallus**	**Illuminated Chronicle**
Mammals	20	13	14
Birds	12	2	5
Reptiles & Amphibi-ans	5	0	3
Insects	3	1	1
Collective nouns	6	6	6
Total	**46**	**22**	**29**

Moreover, I examined which animals were only used by one of the chroniclers (Table 8). There are 22 animals used by Cosmas, which were not used by either of the other two. Conversely, Gallus and the Hungarian author only used four and eight animals, which were not used by Cosmas.

Table 8: Animals only used in one of the chronicles.

Cosmas	**Gallus**	**Illuminated Chronicle**
Bee	Ant	Buzzard
Cat	Cattle	Crow
Centaur	Chicken	Ermine
Cock	Roe	Goat
Dolphin		Gryphon
Donkey		Leviathan
Fox		Stork

Goose		Unicorn
Grasshopper		
Hawk		
Hydra		
Leopard		
Lizard		
Mink		
Mouse		
Owl		
Pigeon		
Swallow		
Swan		
Vulture		
Woodpecker		
Worm		

From Tables 6 and 8, one can also see that although the Hungarian author used numerically fewer exotic animals, he used more variations. Gallus' exotic animals mainly come from his frequent mention of lions, something that is not surprising if one considers that the lion is one of the most popular and most frequently mentioned animals in the Bible,[39] one of Gallus' main sources.

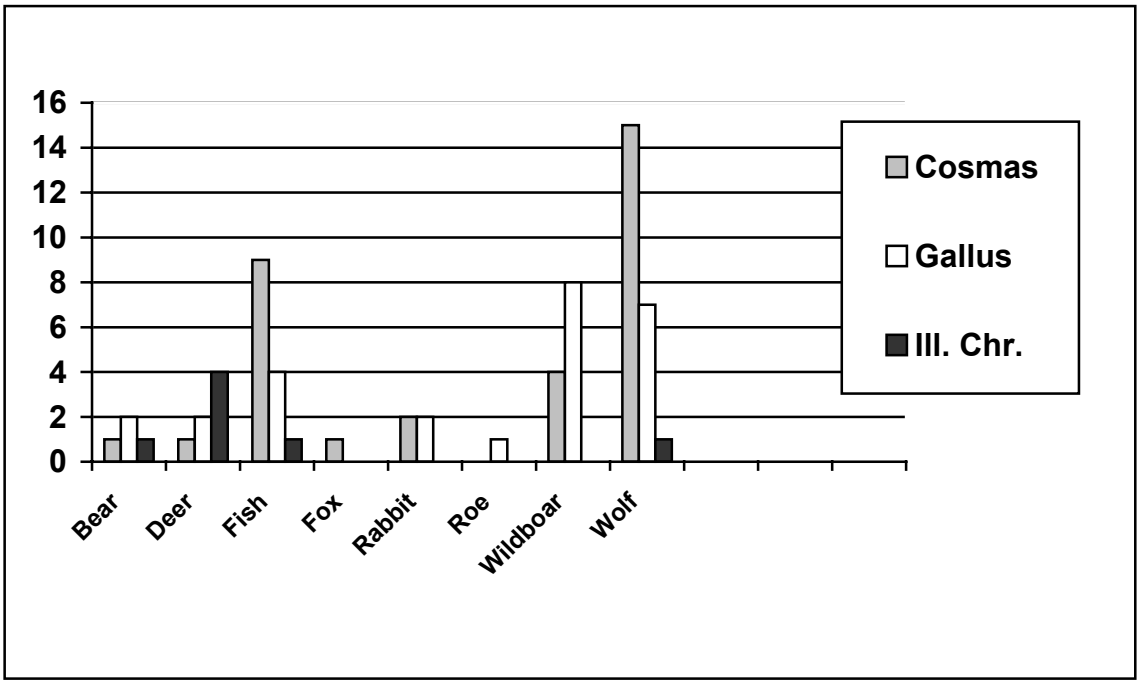
Animals connected to hunting

There are some oddities in the way animals are used in connection with hunting and fishing. Chart II contains those animals that were hunted commonly, such as bears, wild boar and wolves, but omits those kept by people as hunting companions, that is, dogs and raptors.

The proportion of animals in connection to hunting and fishing, that is, the number of bears, deer, dogs, fishes, foxes, hares, roes, wild boar and wolves is the highest in the *Chronica Polonorum.* Altogether, Cosmas used 31 animals connected to hunting (15%), Gallus 26 (25%), the Illuminated Chronicle 7 (8%). There is an explanation for this that may clarify the differences. Hunting was the image of warfare in the eyes of the nobility and, thus, the favourite occupation of the nobility. On the one hand, Gallus' chronicle is, more or less, about the lives of kings, dukes and other high ranking people. As a consequence, the depiction of their behaviour while hunting fits to their characterisation. On the other hand, Gallus' admired topic was the narrative of the life and deeds of Bolezlav III, whom he respected as a brave and noble king as well as an invincible warrior. If we examine, how many animals he used in telling the deeds of Bolezlav III, we find that more than half (59) of all the animals were mentioned in connection with this ruler. And also 22 of all the animals associated with hunting are found in this part.

[39] There are 47 occurrences of lions in the Vulgata.

Chart II: Animals connected to hunting and fishing.



There appear to be some other, hard to explain, peculiarities connected to hunting. There are no wild boars in the Illuminated Chronicle, although one knows of several accidents caused by wild boar including the death of the young St. Emeric and later Zrínyi and other noblemen, too. The number of wolves is rather small in the Hungarian chronicle in comparison to the other two works (15/7/1), for which one cannot give an exact explanation.[40] Moreover, only Cosmas mentioned foxes, and only Gallus used roe deers. I am convinced that there was wild boar in Hungary, and surely the Bohemians knew about roe deer. One has to find appropriate explanations for these strange absences. A good explanation must also be found for the small proportion of animals connected to hunting in the Hungarian chronicle.

[40] An appropriate explanation for this strange absence is missing, because wolf bones have been found, but from these findings one can only prove that wolves were present, but does not know whether they were common or not. Here I have to mention another important fact in connection with wolves, too: they were important totem animals, which is clearly visible from the fact that wolves could not be named directly (*farkas* means an animal with a tail). The same is true for roe deers; their names mean an animal with horns. As far as I know, in the Slavic languages there are no such names for wolves and deers, but the same phenol-menon can be noticed on the name of the bear (*medved*) "the animal, which eats honey."

Animals in the mirror of categories

Categories

Table 9 offers an overview of the groupings, classifications and specifications of animals in the three chronicles.

Table 9: Types of classifications in the three chronicles.

	Types of classifications	Cosmas	Gallus	Illuminated Chronicle	Total
Animals without added meaning	**ANIMALS WITHOUT ADDED MEANING**				
	Animals as animals	26	17	19	62
	Tools	34	26	28	88
Animals as value	**ANIMALS OF NEGATIVE VALUE**	9	1	1	11
	ANIMALS OF POSITIVE VALUE				
	Richness	21	15	15	51
	Hunting	3	11	2	16
	Presents	3	3	5	11
	Booty	0	0	2	2
Animals as metaphores	**EXTERNAL COMPARISON**	6	0	2	8
	INTERNAL COMPARISON				
	Stupid, conceited	3	0	0	3
	Slyness	8	0	0	8
	Ignorant, innocent	17	1	5	23
	Cowardice	3	3	0	6
	Wild aggressor	40	19	6	65
	Victim of aggressor	27	7	4	38
	Defense of whelps	3	3	1	7
	Concord	2	0	0	2
	Numerous	5	1	1	7
	Organized state	2	1	0	3
	SOCIO-CULTURAL COMPARISON				
	Attribute	5	1	1	7
	Social status	2	3	5	10
	Inferior creation	9	4	3	16
	Christi ovilia	5	1	0	6
	Transcendent	0	0	5	5
	Mythological	3	0	2	5

There are no great differences concerning the *animals without added meaning.* In the group of *animals with negative value*, however, Cosmas is more likely to use animals as evil helpers, while Gallus and the Hungarian author apply animals in this sense only once.

One may conclude (see also Table 10 and 11) that Cosmas used most *animals for external and internal comparisons,* while Gallus and the Hungarian author used the largest number *without added meaning*. In the second place, Cosmas applied *animals without added meaning*, afterwards the *animals as positive or negative values*, and then animals in *comparisons with a cultural background.* The Polish chronicle contains the second largest number of *animals in external and internal comparison*, followed by *animals as positive or negative values* and by animals in *comparisons with a cultural background*. The second place in the Hungarian chronicle is taken by *animals as values*, followed by the *animals in external or internal comparisons* and also by the *comparisons with a cultural background.*

Table 10: Types of categories and their occurrences in each chronicle.[41]

Types of category	Cosmas	Gallus	Ill. Chr.	Altogether
Animals without added meaning	60	43	47	150
Animals of negative and positive value	36	30	25	91
External and internal comparisons	116	35	19	170
Comparison with a socio-cultural background	24	9	16	49
Total	236	117	107	460

Considering the authors, these results are not surprising. Among the three chroniclers, Cosmas was a high-ranking deacon in Prague who had received an excellent education in Liège. He would also have had wide access to many ancient and medieval literary sources. The *animals used in internal comparisons* almost all come from either classical, or other medieval sources. The other two authors, Gallus the monk, and the suspected author of the Hungarian chronicle who may have been a bishop, lived in a world where animals were chiefly everyday creatures reflected in the frequent mention of *animals without added meaning*. It is interesting, however, that the Hungarian author used more animals as reflections of *positive and negative value* compared to *external and internal comparisons*, while Gallus followed Cosmas' hierarchy in the third and fourth places. On the one hand, this shows that Hungarian traditions had deeper roots in the different practical values of animals rather than their use in abstract comparisons. On the other hand, of the three chroniclers the author of the Illuminated Chronicle used relatively the most animals in socio-cultural comparisons.

[41] The numbers are so high because of the multiple possibilities for each animal to be in different categories.

Table 11: Order of the most commonly used categories.

Author	**Cosmas**	**Gallus**	**Illuminated chronicle**
First place	External and internal comparison **49%**	Animals without added meaning **37%**	Animals without added meaning **44%**
Second place	Without added meaning **25%**	External and internal comparison **30%**	Animals of pos. and neg. value **23%**
Third place	Animals of pos. and neg. value **15%**	Animals of pos. and neg. value **26%**	External and internal comparison **18%**
Fourth place	Cultural comparison **10%**	Cultural comparison **8%**	Cultural comparison **15%**

Subgroups of categories

Table 9 displays several characteristic features for each of the three chronicles within each category, that is, within the subgroups. Within the first category, in each chronicle most of the animals are used as tools, deriving from the overall use of animals in ploughing, draught work, riding, transport, hunting, and so on. The manifold possibilities animals offered as sources of meat and other products for human consumption comprise most of the animals used in daily life. If we consider the great variety of ways animals were used in hunting and fieldwork, it is not surprising that they were sometimes used as helpers in an evil act, as for examples as instruments of torture, revenge or killing. Into this subgroup belong all animals that could be used to threaten an enemy in a quarrel or in a speech of exhortation, although animals in this context are used almost exclusively by Cosmas.

In the category of external and internal comparisons come all the animals that were referred to be based on 'real context' and appearance in order to describe a place or a human.[42] I cannot really give an acceptable explanation for the rare use of animals in external comparisons, because it would have seemed more logical for me to have more animals in this category since Gallus and the Hungarian chronicler preferred actual animals to abstract ones.

Varied and diverse subgroups can be found for animals used to reflect *internal or behavioural characteristics* or *features of society***.** Stupidity, conceit, slyness, ignorance and cowardice are internal features, while wildness, being a victim, defending ones whelps and concord can only be interpreted within the context of communication and interaction. Furthermore, the subgroup of numerous and organised states are only valid for societies, not for single bees, grasshoppers or ants.[43]

[42] Cosmas 1, VIII; 1, XXXVI; 1, XLI; 2, XXXII; 3, LIX.
[43] Cosmas 1,II; 1,XXXIV; 3,XXXI; XLII; Gallus 2, 61; Ill. Chr. 27;210

Worth noting is the remarkably large number of aggressive and victimised animals. There are altogether 67 in Cosmas, 26 in Gallus and 10 in the Hungarian chronicle, which are large numbers compared to the total number of animals in internal comparisons. (110; 35; 17). Thus, 60%, 74%,and 58% of the internally compared animals are either victims, that is, prey or predators. They are animals chiefly characterised by their wildness and aggression. This is not characteristic only for these chronicles but also for ancient and especially medieval fables. Twelfth-century Marie of France and Odo of Cheriton also saw the world as consisting of prey and predators, though they changed several aspects of the classical traditions in order to be able to show the courtly or ecclesiastical worldviews. Ancient prey, however, remained prey and predators remained predators. Joyce Salisbury remarked about Mary of France that it was prestigious to be a predator as it was noble to be a lion or an eagle, the king of the animals and birds, because predators imitated the most important noble occupation, war.[44] The indicator of this favourable view of predators can be found in the ratio of predators versus prey (40 to 27 in Cosmas; 19 to 7 in Gallus; 6 to 4 in the Hungarian chronicle). Moreover, in almost all cases, the chroniclers empathized with the wild predators because of their braveness, strength or because of their ability to fight and to defend either themselves (wild boar) or their young.[45] If they felt any sympathy, it was for the human victim not the victimised animal.

The weak animals display another interesting part of the medieval worldview. The animals treated as victims and those considered to have been stupid or ignorant, overlap in almost all cases.[46] The more the authors felt sympathy for the wild predators as indicators of strong, noble and manly behaviours, the more they thought of prey as stupid, ignorant, cowardly impotent victims, who could do nothing against their fate; and this despite the religious tradition of Christ as the Lamb of God, who offered himself as a victim without resistance. Cosmas had even less sympathy for those weak animals who wanted to change their fate and refused to accept it without complaint.

Concordance[47] is seen as a rare behaviour among animals. There are only two cases in which animals agree and help each other. Both instances appear in Cosmas: the first is the mention of a lion being afraid of three cattle (!) who agreed and united in their strength (Cosmas 2, XLIII); the other is about two bulls who first agreed, but later someone sowed the seed of disagreement among them and they separated (Cosmas 3, LI).

---

[44] Joyce Salisbury, "Human Animals of Medieval Fables", in *Animals in the Middle Ages*, ed. Nona C. Flores, 49-53.

[45] See the subgroup of defence of whelps.

[46] Victim animals: chicken, crows, fish, lambs, owls, oxen, pigs, pigeons, sheep; stupid, conceited: frogs, pigeons; ignorant: cows, fish, lambs, pigs.

[47] An interesting counter-example for concordance: Cosmas III,16. ...*sicut vulgo dicitur, duo catti uno sacco capti insimul esse non possunt.* (It is said: two bobcats can not be put into one sack at the same time).

There is another unusual aspect in the subgroup of defense of the young. In this category we can find various animals: hens and their chicks twice,[48] a lioness,[49] an eagle[50] and a stork[51]. It belongs to the world of proverbs to speak about the hens as defenders of their chicks. This topos also has a Biblical origin,[52] as does the parallel with the lion and eagle. Jordanes[53] was the probable model for the Hungarian author in his description of the story of the stork.

There are features that are strongly connected with ignorance and innocence as well as with stupidity and offering oneself without resistance. Stupidity can mean two different things in the chronicles, on the one hand, the ignorance and lack of knowledge about something, and on the other, a real absence of thought about the possible result of an act. Although only Cosmas used animals in this sense and despite the fact that the story about the frogs and their elected king as well as the one of the pigeons and the kite comes from classical tradition, it should be mentioned, because it is totally different from the other type of ignorance. In both cases, the animals want to rule their own lives by choosing a king who seems appropriate to them. This desired king turns out to be more dangerous, however, than their previous ones. The same kind of social conservativism can be recognised here as in the fables of both Mary of France and Odo of Cheriton, although Cosmas probably did not use them as sources. This notion of the structure of society might have been widespread within the circle of both the secular and ecclesiastical hierarchy.

* * *

I investigated the various animal categories in each chronicle and discovered that their order of importance is different for each one. For Gallus and the Hungarian author *animals without added meaning* played the most important role. The chronicles show them most often as common creatures in daily life. The *Hungarian Chronicle,* however, employed more animals in the sense of value than in "learned" internal or external comparisons that represent the second most important way of using animals for Gallus and, by far, are the most relevant for Cosmas. On the one hand, this suggests that in the Hungarian tradition the valuing of an animal from different points of view was more deeply rooted than referring to animals in abstract comparisons. On the other hand, the author of the *Illuminated Chronicle* mentioned among the three chroniclers the most animals in *socio-cultural comparison*. He particularly dealt with animals signifying social status and animals with transcendental meanings. Hungarian society still had quite profound connections to traditions where animals were

[48] Cosmas Appendix 1, Gallus 1,34.
[49] Gallus 2, 101.
[50] Cosmas Appendix 3.
[51] Ill. Chr. 15.
[52] Matthew.
[53] Getica ch. 42.

highly venerated and because of this, in many cases, supernatural powers were also attributed to them. In addition, they accepted the fact that certain animals could reflect the social rank of humans.

From another viewpoint, it seems to be clear that Cosmas used most animals in internal comparisons, because the latter had their sources either in classical or medieval writings, those to which he had easiest access.

The difference among the three authors can also be explained by considering their audience. Cosmas may have written for more educated people, who had a broader view of nature and also literature. That is why he could more easily refer to animals which were not so physically close to the audience. Therefore, the *Chronicon Bohemorum* displays the broadest and most differentiated approach to animals.

ANIMAL DIVERSITIES

Edited by

Gerhard Jaritz and Alice Choyke

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Preface

Over the last two decades, interests in animals and the relationship between humans and animals in the past have increased decisively. This is also true particularly for the research into the Middle Ages. A variety of perspectives and approaches can be traced concerning

- the questions asked;
- the used source evidence: zooarchaeological, textual, visual;
- the embedding of the analyses into the wider fields of the study of the history of nature, environment, economy, religion and theology, signs and symbols, social history, and so on;
- the degrees and levels of the application of interdisciplinary and comparative methods;
- the level of consciousness of the diversities of use and functions of animals in medieval society, on the one hand, and of the contextualized networks of their meanings, on the other hand.

Such a consciousness of animal diversities and, at the same time, of animal networks has been the basis for this volume of collected essays. They originate from a number of international research collaborations, communications, and presentations at international meetings, such as the annual Medieval Conferences at Kalamazoo and Leeds. All the contributors have aimed to show individual aspects of human-animal relations and have also been interested in the social contexts animals occur in. Therefore, the book is meant to represent *Animal Diversities* but certainly also, in particular, the indispensable *Animal Contexts* and *Contextuality*: from zooarchaeological evidence to zoocephalic females in visual representations of Ashkenazi Jews; from the economic function of animals in Cistercian houses to the role of their representations in Gothic misericords; from animals in chronicles or hagiographical texts to their images at different levels of late medieval visual public space.

Some recently initiated projects, two of them introduced in the volume, others referred to in the contributions, will hopefully also open up possibilities for new insights into the variety of roles and functions that were played by and constructed for all kinds of fauna in the Middle Ages.

"Zoology of the Middle Ages" may then perhaps be seen, in general, as one of the model fields for representing the importance of relations and connections between the sciences and humanities, economy and theology, daily life

and symbolic meaning, nature and culture, intention and response, as well as construction and perception, …

December 2005 Gerhard Jaritz

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