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THE FALCON, THE KITE, THE WOLF AND THE FOX. THE ANTICLERICAL CRITIQUE IN *APOKOPOS* 217-8 AND MEDIEVAL ANIMAL LITERATURE*

ABSTRACT: By analyzing the symbolic value that the main predators bore in medieval animal literature, this paper attempts to highlight the anticlerical critique made against the Franciscan friars in Bergadis' *Apokopos* 217-8, in which the friar is compared to a kite, in order to arrive at the ultimate positive meaning of the simile as far as the virtuous widows are concerned.

KEY WORDS: *Apokopos,* anticlerical critique, falcon, kite, wolf, fox, medieval animal literature.

RESUMEN: Mediante el simbolismo que los principales predadores poseían en la literatura de animales de la Edad Media, intentamos esclarecer la crítica anticlerical contra los franciscanos en el *Apókopos* de Bergadís, vv. 217-8, donde se compara al fraile con un milano, para llegar al sentido último positivo del símil en relación a las viudas virtuosas.

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Apókopos,* crítica anticlerical, halcón, milano, lobo, zorro, literatura medieval de animales.

1.- THE COMPARISON OF THE FRIAR WITH A KITE IN THE *APOKOPOS*

In the harsh anticlerical critique made against the mendicant friars (vv. 183-220), most probably Franciscan (cf. Lassithiotakis 1992 and González 2009), in Bergadis' *Apokopos* (15th century Cretan *katabasis* in dreams), a comparison is made regarding the φράροι / παπάδες who harass the young vir-

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tuous widows in their own houses in an attempt to secure their inheritances and sexual favors (vv. 197-220). Those friars are described as kites, as the cowardly and clumsy birds of prey that chase the poor in spirit, but that come off badly in their evil intentions. This simile unfolds in the verses 217-8: Ἀλλ' ἀστοχοῦν ὡς τὸ πουλίν, τὸ λέγουν κουφολούπην, / ὁπού, ἂν στοχήση εἰς τὸ πουλίν, ἁρπᾶ στουππιὰ τουλούπιν («But they fail like the bird called silly-kite, / that, when aiming at a bird, seizes a skein of flax»).

In the following pages I will try to elucidate the different levels of meaning that such a comparison has in the light of fables and medieval animal literature, including the symbolic treatment that bestiaries and aviaries gave not only to the kite, but also to the falcon and other predators such as the vulture, the wolf and the fox, that also seem to be at the bottom of Bergadis' anticlerical message. Only by doing this is it possible to make sense of the simile, as well as to highlight the ultimate extent of the praise that the author gives to the pious widows.

2.- The evangelical base of medieval anticlerical critique

Though the anticlerical critique already appears in early Christian literature, it seems that the critique about friars of mendicant orders strengthened especially after the circulation of the French Guillaume de Saint-Amour's *De periculis novissimorum temporum* (13th c.), in which the author attacked them, as he had already done in different public sermons where he accused them of being idlers and meddlers (*otiosi et curiosi*), intruders in other people's houses (*penetrantes domos*), wanderers and rovers (*gyrovagi*), rapacious wolves (*lupi graves*), hypocrite Pharesees (*hypocritae Pharisaei*), false apostles (*pseudoapostoles*), false preachers (*pseudopraedicatores*) and even false Christs (*pseudochristi*). Saint-Amour made this invective based on the New Testament and presented the friars more as eschatological types –*i. e.,* as announcers of the end of times, and as the antithesis of all that is truly Christian– than as historical figures (Szittya 1986: 41).

To justify his critique, Saint-Amour resorted to *Eu.Matt.* 23 and, among others, to verse 15: Οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖοι ὑποκριταί, ὅτι περιάγετε τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὴν ξηρὰν ποιῆσαι ἕνα προσήλυτον, καὶ ὅταν γένηται, ποιεῖτε αὐτὸν υἱὸν γεέννης διπλότερον ὑμῶν («Woe to you, because you travel around on sea and land to make one proselyte; and when he becomes one, you make him twice as much a son of hell as yourselves!»). In these attempts the friars become *penetrantes domos* («intruders in other people's houses»),

especially in those of the widows, consuming their goods, like the Pharisees in *Eu.Matt.* 23.14 (13): [...] ὅτι κατεσθίετε τὰς οἰκίας τῶν χηρῶν καὶ προφάσει μακρὰ προσευχόμενοι («[...] because you devour widows' houses and for a pretense you make long prayers»). Saint-Amour tries to demonstrate in *De periculis* that these false preachers slip into the widows' houses or into the houses of the spiritually weak to disturb the consciences of their victims and, thus, get more money and tributes, even though they risked perverting them. This description of the intruders in the widows' houses was also associated with *2Tim.* 3.6-7: [...] ἐκ τούτων γάρ εἰσιν οἱ ἐνδύνοντες εἰς τὰς οἰκίας καὶ αἰχμαλωτίζοντες γυναικάρια σεσωρευμένα ἁμαρτίαις, ἀγόμενα ἐπιθυμίαις ποικίλαις, πάντοτε μανθάνοντα καὶ μηδέποτε εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν δυνάμενα («[...] For among them are those who enter into households and captivate weak women weighed down with sins, led on by various impulses, always learning and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth»). These verses helped to reinforce the idea both of the friars' inadequate interest in money and their excessive inclination for women, from whom they tried to obtain all kinds of profit, be it economic or carnal. They were, thus, the *hypocritae nostri temporis* («hypocrites of our time») (*ibid.* 35), announcers of the last times referred in *Eu.Matt.* 23.13: [...] ὅτι κλείετε τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ὑμεῖς γὰρ οὐκ εἰσέρχεσθε, οὐδὲ τοὺς εἰσερχομένους ἀφίετε εἰσελθεῖν («[...] because you shut off the kingdom of heaven from people; for you do not enter in yourselves, nor do you allow those who are entering to go in») (*ibid.* 35 and 40-1).

This critique would become the fundamental source for all later invectives against mendicant orders, and was included in the encyclopedic work *Omne bonum* (14th c.), which shows the importance of the antifraternal critique by that time. In its entry *Apostoli* the author, named Jacobus and probably a Cistercian monk, offers a paragraph about how to identify the false apostles who will infiltrate in the Church to destroy it at the end of times. One of the signs to identify the true apostles is that they «do not enter into households and captivate weak women weighed down with sins» (*non penetrant domos et captivas ducunt mulierculas oneratas peccatis*), referring to *2Tim.* 3.6-7 (*ibid.* 69-70) (cf. *supra*).

Another work that echoed many of the invectives of Saint-Amour was the Englishman William of Pagula's *Summa summarum* (1320). Of those invectives we will select the one accusing the friars of being rapacious wolves[1]

[1] «These friars –says the *Summa*– inquire into the secrets of the faithful during confession and with crafty words, first seduce women, and then, through them, men, as the devil seduced Adam through Eve» (Szittya [1986]: 75).

who arrive disguised as lambs (*ibid.* 75), referring to *Eu.Matt.* 7.15: Προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν, οἵτινες ἔρχονται πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν ἐνδύμασιν προβάτων, ἔσωθεν δέ εἰσιν λύκοι ἅρπαγες («Beware of the false prophets, who come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly are ravenous wolves») and to *2Cor.* 11.13: Οἱ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι ψευδαπόστολοι, ἐργάται δόλιοι, μετασχηματιζόμενοι εἰς ἀποστόλους Χριστοῦ («For such men are false apostles, deceitful workers, disguising themselves as apostles of Christ»).

3.- Symbolic literature: fables, bestiaries and animal poetry

In medieval animal literature life is reflected as a battle against the destructive beasts in man's interior, embodying sin and death. The imagery of this interior struggle came about due to a change in mental attitude that had occurred, as far as the environment is concerned, which transformed the reading of the natural world into something exemplary (Ortalli 1999: 44). This educational function taken from the animal world is in the base of medieval bestiaries and aviaries, true moral treatises that tried to interpret the behavior of real animals[2], connecting directly both with fables –fictional episodes in which animals appeared offering a final moral– and with animal poetry, also fictional accounts about a certain animal, but with no moral intention in principle. Of all this animal literature, the fable had a special status both in the education of children and for social critique, and was the main source to which the clerics resorted when composing the *exempla* that they included in their instructing sermons, inside and outside the church.

Furthermore, there was a continuous interaction between fables and popular stories and narrations, and one genre fed the other according to the wide range of possibilities offered by the symbolism ascribed to the different animal species. These animals had remained as archetypal models which had even passed into the plastic arts. Next, we will proceed to analyze, with no intention of exhausting the subject, the different symbolic values that the main birds of prey and predator animals had in the Middle Ages.

[2] The *Physiologus,* father of all bestiaries, states that human behavior has a twofold aspect: one leading to salvation and the other toward punishment. Thus, animals are presented as paradigms of both possibilities (Baxter [2000]). Hugues de Fouilloy (Clark [1992]: 207) affirms in his *Aviary*: «Observe how the birds, which lack reason, by examples of perverse actions teach educated men possessing the power of reason» (*Ecce quomodo volucres, quae rationes carent, peritos homines et ratione utentes per exempla pravae operationis docent*).

4.- The heavy shadow of the falcon

The falcon, considered the noblest among the birds of prey, symbolized Christ and the Holy Spirit to the Christians of the first years, and, during the Middle Ages, received the most important emblematic missions (Charbonneau-Lassay 1997 I: 450-4). Likewise, this bird was taken as a symbol of the soul in its search for knowledge, of metaphysical wisdom, which culminated in the ineffable vision of the divinity. The art of falconry appears very early in Iranian tradition and was later adopted by the Muslim tradition, from which it passed to the Christians, through Spain and Sicily, as a metaphor and symbol of the philosophic-mystical way. In that tradition, the falcon represented the human soul both in its earthly and afterlife form, as a bird-like metaphor (Boccassini 2003: 281), symbolizing, thus, the soul in its human condition, which, by means of its learning capacities, can get rid of its corporeal nature in order to attain a transcendental destiny[3]. Life, thus, becomes a journey of metamorphosis toward the ineffable. Ibn Sina was the starting point for mystics and poets in the Muslim area regarding the subject of falconry as a *paideia* to which the soul must be submitted in its way to domestication and training. This subject is found, with variations, in such authors as Faruddin Attar, who insists in the necessity that the falcon choose the suitable prince to serve while developing its capacities, that it choose the falconer who can really show the way of ascension, of the renunciation of the multiplicity toward unity, giving up the instincts and senses. The illumination of the ego can only happen when the soul, abandoning human parameters, obeys its Master-Sovereign, like the tamed falcon obeys its falconer. Other extensions of this metaphor appear in authors such as Shuhravardi, who takes up from Ibn Sina the subject of the human bird-soul caught in the hunters' trap which must set itself free from the yoke to attain freedom and resume the task of hunting wisdom. Jaladudin Rumi, who also treats the subject, stresses the fact that the falcon's happiness can only be found in its Master-Sovereign's arm, once it has been captured and tamed, expressing, thus, the almost alchemical value of this training. Thus, the snare and the net where the falcon is trapped get a positive symbolic value: the soul must desire to become the lover-God's prey. Ibn Arabi, in turn, uses, among others, the motif of the perch in which the falcon-soul stands as a symbol of the painful link that keeps the ego imprisoned in earthly condition. The training of the falcon-soul is presented as a type of asceticism, an

[3] This is the symbolism it has in heraldry (cf. Charbonneau-Lassay [1997 I]: 454).

essential condition for the ego to be killed in order to reflect the transcendental condition. In this way, the falcon-soul will be able to experience the flight that God has reserved to its real essence through the acquisition of Wisdom.

This symbolic subject, spread through the Sicilian court of Federico II, was used and adapted in Christian lands by the poets belonging to the *Stil nuovo,* to end in Dante's *Divine Comedy,* who shaped it in his conception of man as *viator-volator* and of his guide during his otherworldly journey (*ibid.* 319-34, 335-88).

4.1. The falcon's venereal reputation

Since ancient times the falcon's venereal reputation led this bird to fashion one of the most used and lasting erotic metaphors. Thus, we find in late antiquity the word γυναικοϊέρακες in Palius of Helenópolis, *H. Laus. 65* (*PG* 34, 1251C), *V. Chrys.* 12, 4 (*PG* 47, 44) and *Max. Invect* (*PG* 90, 204B), commented on the *Suda* as follows: Γυναικοϊέρακες: οἱ περὶ ἔρωτας ἐπτοημένοι. Δεινοὶ γὰρ οἱ γυναικοϊέρακες εὐπρεπεῖς αἰτίας εὑρίσκειν ἐς ἄγραν τῶν θηλειῶν («"Woman-hunters": those passionately excited for love. Because "woman-hunters" are terrible when trying to find appropriate excuses for female hunting»). See also *TGL,* s. v. Γυναικοϊέρακες: *Qui mulieribus, ut accipiter avibus, inhiant; Mulierum sectatores; Mulierosi;* Lampe (1961), s. v. Γυναικοϊέραξ: «woman-hunter»; Vorberg (1965) s. v. Γυναικοϊέραξ: «Der Weiberhabicht, der Weibertolle», and *DGE* s. v. Γυναικοϊέραξ: «cazador de mujeres, mujeriego». The same image can be found in Elian, *NA* 2.43: Ἔστι δὲ φῦλον ἱεράκων [...] καὶ ἕκαστός ἐστι δεινῶς φιλόθηλυς καὶ ἕπεται κατὰ τοὺς δυσέρωτας οὐδὲ ἀπολείπεται («There is also the race of falcons [...] and every one of them delights terribly in the female and follow <the tracks> of those who are desperately in love without giving up their chase»).

In medieval times the new metaphor of the lover as a falcon and the beloved lady as a dove / turtledove is developed, both in a positive and a negative sense, depending on the context in which it appears, and it will continue to modern times[4]. In this form we find it in Byzantine literature, and in the *Διήγησις Ἀχιλλέως* (Wagner 1881) vv. 990-1 a description of Eros

[4] It can even be found in Modern Greek popular songs. See in Aravandinós (1880): 169 (nº 255) a poem entitled *Ο γυναικοθήρας*, where there is a pun with the metaphor of the bird-man who goes a-hunting beautiful women. For the use of this erotic metaphor in medieval Europe and the falcon / man / penis and chick / woman / vagina metaphor, cf. González (2007): 269-75.

as a falcon that had already shed its feathers: καὶ εἰς τὴν χρησὴν τὴν πλάτανον ἐσκέψατο γεράκιν / μέγαν, μουτάτον, ἔμορφον, ὁλόκαλον, ὡραῖον.

5.- The kite and its symbolism in medieval times

The fear of the evil coming from heaven understood as a place inhabited by evil spirits and by the Devil is an ancient belief that we can even find in the New Testament. Paul, in *E* 2.2 calls the Devil ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος, and Jerome, commenting on this passage, argues that according to all wisemen's view (*omnium doctorum opinio*) heaven is full of evil spirits (*plenus est contrariis spiritibus*). Likewise, Palladius, in his *H. Laus*. (*PG* 34, 1002) writes about the οἱ ἐν ἀέρι πετόμενοι δαίμονες, and it was an accepted view among many fathers of the Church that angels inhabited the space between heaven and earth. The Patriarch of Constantinople Filotheos, in his work *Εἰς τὴν ὕψωσιν τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ Σταυροῦ* 4 (14th century; *PG* 154, 721) narrates that the Devil's task in the air is that of avoiding souls from going up to heaven:

> « Ὁ διάβολος γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐκπεσὼν μετὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ τῆς πονηρίας πνευμάτων, περὶ τὸν ἀέρα πλανᾶται, καὶ ἐπιχειρεῖ ἐμποδίζειν τοὺς ἀνερχομένους εἰς οὐρανόν. Ἦλθεν οὖν ὁ κύριος ἵνα τὸν διάβολον καταβάλῃ, καὶ τὸν ἀέρα καθαρίσῃ καὶ ὁδοποιήσῃ ἡμῖν τὴν εἰς οὐρανὸν ἄνοδον διὰ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ δείξῃ ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ πάντα συνέχων καὶ διακρατῶν».

This was, as well, the task of the referenced evil spirits that inhabited the air (ἀερικά) (Politis 1874 B: 482-3).

5.1. The kite's dreadful reputation

In medieval bestiaries, symbolic animals used to bear an unstable ambivalence and, occasionally, the positive and the negative perception of them are completely interlaced. However, there are animals whose symbolic value is exclusively and markedly negative, as it happens to be with the kite. These birds are used, as an exception to the formerly mentioned rule, as undiluted models of the negative[5]. The low-flight or ignoble-flight birds of

[5] In the world of the birds of prey, we find the basic distinction between the "birds of decoy" or "falconry" (composed by the gerfalcon, the sakre, the lanere, the peregrine, the kestrel, the sparrowhawk and the merlin), called of "noble" flight or "high-flight" birds, and the "low-

prey, and especially the kite, were used by the spiritual masters as an image of the demons that wreak havoc among the believers (Charbonneau-Lassay 1997 I: 456-7). The kite represents those who delight in carnal pleasures, especially those of the stomach. Just as the kite is unable of catching wild birds, but only the defenseless ones, thus the Devil seizes the weak in spirit (González 2007: 276-80).

Augustine, in *Enarr. in psalm.* 62, 16 (*PL* 36, 757) presents the kite as the Evil One, from whom he is protected by God's wings: *Hilarisco in bonis operibus, quia super me est velamentum pennarum tuarum. Si me non protegas, quia pollus sum, milvus me rapiet.* Likewise, in *In Zachariam* 5, 9: *Asidam Hebraei milvum putant, avem rapacissimam et semper domesticis avibus insidiantem.* In Alanus de Insulis, *Distinc. Dict. Theolo.* (*PL* 210, 865), the same metaphor is used, but regarding women that protect their children: *Milvus semper studet insidiare pullis*: *istae ergo mulieres alas habent quasi alae milvi, quia acciones earum procul dubio milvo sunt similes, quia insidiantur semper vitas parvulorum.*

In Greek literature this symbolism has been well-known since antiquity. Dionysius Periegeta, *Au.* 1.7, describes the kite in the same terms, as a cowardly but bold bird that seizes the chicks from the very hands of women, grieving them: Τῶν ἰκτίνων δ' οὐδὲν ἄν τις ἀναιδέστερον εἴποι· ὁρμῶσι γὰρ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰς πολλάκις τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὰς χεῖρας καὶ διαφθείρουσιν τῶν κατοικιδίων ὀρνίθων τοὺς νεοττοὺς καὶ λυποῦσιν μάλιστα τὰς γυναῖκας. The *Poulologos* offers us the same characterization of the kite (λούπης)[6] in the passage about its quarrel with the falcon (Tsavarí 1987: 379-415), which scoffs at the former because he feeds on snakes and mice, and only when it finds them dead. Besides, the falcon reproaches the kite's cowardliness for stealing chicks from old women who are blind: Ἂν εὕρης γραῖαν καὶ ἔναι τυφλὴ καὶ ἔχει πολλὰ πουλία, / καὶ ἰδῆς ὅτι ἐβγάλη τα καὶ θέση τα εἰς τὸν ἥλιον, / καὶ τύχη καὶ ἡ κλωσσαρέα καὶ οὐδὲν τὰ ἐπιμελῆται, / σ' ἐκεῖνα τὴν ἀνδρείαν σου δείχνεις, καὶ τ' ἁρπάζεις [...]

flight" birds (composed by the goshawk, the hawk and the kite), known as "ignoble-flight" birds. Of this second class, the kite is the only one that, generally, does not lend itself to be trained and used for hunting. Though the Byzantine also trained kites for falconry (cf. commentary in González [2007]: 267), these birds were not, actually, very useful for those purposes. Thus, the Spaniard Don Juan Manuel (15th c.) (Manuel [1952]: 251) writes: «These kites [...] are more useful to be hunted than to hunt», and Covarrubias (1998: 805) comments that «This bird is itself a prey for other falconry birds».

[6] For the name of λούπης (= ἰκτῖνος), cf. González (2007): 266-7, n. 9.

Thus, the kite is compared to the Devil and the faithful to the defenseless chick that moves away from the protection of the wings of the hen[7] (fig. 1). By extension, this bird is taken for evil in general, and with this negative burden it appears also in a medieval oneirocritic Greek text (Drexl 1921: 362-3): Λούπην ἐὰν ἴδης, στρατιώτην ἐλθόντα ἴδοις, and Λούπην ἀποκτεῖναι ἄνδρα

Fig. 1. Kite seizing a chick. Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 764, f. 88v

[7] This idea comes very likely from the New Testament's passage *Eu.Matt.* 23.37, that narrates in a symbolic way the protection that Christ offers to the believers as chicks sheltered beneath the hen's wings: «Jerusalem, Jerusalem [...] How often I wanted to gather your children together, the way a hen gathers her chicks under her wings [ὃν τρόπον ὄρνις ἐπισυνάγει τὰ νοσσία αὐτῆς ὑπὸ τὰς πτέρυγας], and you were unwilling».

ἀναιδῆ πετάξεις. This negative moral concept of the kite prevailed during many centuries[8], and thus we find it in Marcuello (1617: 201, 202, 203 and 204-5), who updates many of the pre-existent *loci communes* about this bird in the Middle Ages:

> «It doesn't dare to attack wild birds but it is very bold with the domestic ones, particularly against chicks if they are unaware when it flies over them; and they fear it so much that they get frightened and are appalled of its shadow, and it would even be more harmful to them if the sparrowhawk did not deter it, searching and chasing it, by whose fear <the kite> abandons its seizure of the chicks.
>
> Radulf affirms that when the kite seizes something it does it in a very sudden way, and in most of its assaults it relies mainly on its own cunning and ambushes, and this is why it overflies its victim so many times.
>
> But the kite, though having claws and wings similar to those of a noble bird, it is not <noble> in his spirit and heart; and, thus, it drops over the defenseless chicks because it does not have a heart for more. In this he represents the vileness of villainous and fainthearted men, who though being so cowardly against those who have some strength, are most cruel against those who are harmless, wronging the poor and feeding on their sweat.
>
> In discussing the hen, I said how our lord Christ wished to compare himself to it, and us with its chicks. And here I have said that the biggest enemy the chicks have is the kite. Let's compare now the kite to the Devil, who keeps on surrounding and ambushing the sons of the hen that are we, the faithful. Thus, just as the kite is the biggest enemy the chicks have, the Devil is our biggest enemy [...] since he seeks our harm and perdition in every way he can, as Saint Gregory says in his *Morales* with these words: *Diabolus aut opprimendo rapit, aut insidiando circumvolat, aut suadendo blanditur, aut minando terret, aut desperando frangit, aut promitendo decipit*. And Saint Bonaventure says in his *Compendium theologiae* that the Devil deceives men in four manners: the first one encourages wrongdoing for evil [...] The second one persuades hiding the wrong beneath the color of the good [...] The third one persuades taking from the mind that which is good as if it were harmful [...] And the fourth one takes from our mind our will not to do anything wrong, lest a bigger evil come to us from there [...] But of all these ambushes of the infernal kite God our Lord shelters and defends us, beneath the wings of his divine mercy, with whose divine favor and help the Devil's malignity is avoided in many ways: Sometimes because

[8] We also find references to this dreadful bird in the 17th-century Cretan literature, in a passage of Chortatzis' *Erophili* (II 147-62), where the maiden narrates to her wet-nurse a premonitory dream in which a hungry kite (λούπης) attacks two doves lying in their nest, on the top of a tree, snatching and devouring one of them.

> of the limits that God has imposed on his malignity and power, without whose permission he cannot surpass it. Other times because of the resistance displayed by the angelical spirits, who defend us. Other times we ourselves avoid his ambushes by using the free will that God gave us, and not consenting to the temptations with which the Devil attacks us. In all these ways God defends us beneath his wings as the hen defends its chicks from the kite, which continuously chases them just as the Infernal chases us».

5.2. The kite's voluptuousness

Among the most common symbolic values ascribed to the kite it is that of presenting it as an example of those who delight in the pleasures of the stomach and, by extension, in those of the flesh. It represents, thus, the paradigm of voluptuousness, as it is exposed in the bestiaries[9]. In the *Physiologus* the kite is ascribed with the vice of fornication, among others: *adulteria, fornicationes, idolatria, veneficia, homicidia, furta* and *falsa testimonia,* adapting the passage of *Eu.Matt.* 15.19-20 (Baxter 2000: 32 and 35).

Hugues de Fouilloy, for example, in his *Aviarium* (chapter XLV, *De milvo*), starts describing the kite from Isidore's assessment about this bird (*Milvus mollis et viribus et volatu quasi mollis avis, unde et nuncupatur; rapacissimum tamen et semper domesticis avibus insidiatur*). That is why the kite signifies those whom the weakness of desire tempts (*Illos autem milvus significat, quos mollities voluptatis temptat*). Also, the kite feeds on corpses, because the hedonists delight in the desires of the flesh (*Cadaveribus milvus vescitur, quia carnalibus desideriis voluptuosi delectantur*). It flies constantly around kitchens and markets, so that it might more quickly seize any raw meat that might be thrown out of them (*Circa coquinas et macella milvus assidue volitat, ut si quid crude carnis ab eis proiciatur foras velocius rapiat*). In this way the kite in fact indicates to us those who are very concerned about their stomachs (*Per hoc enim milvus eos nobis innuit quos cura ventris sollicitos reddit*). Therefore, those who are of this type pursue pleasure (*Qui igitur huius modi sunt, voluptuosa quaerunt* [...]) (Clark 1992: 206).

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[9] Other examples of the negative value of the kite in medieval literature can be found in Pliny the Old, *Historia naturalis* 10.10; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 12, cap. 7, 1, 9, 58 and 67; Raban Maure, *De universo* 8.6 (*PL* 111, 252-3); Ps.-Hugues de Saint Victor, *De bestiis et aliis rebus* 4.40 (*PL* 177, 152); Hildegarde of Bingen, *Liber subtilitatum diversarum naturarum creaturarum* 6.21 (*PL* 197, 1297-8); Thomas de Cantimpré, *Liber de natura rerum* 5.79 (ed. H. Boese, Berlin-New York 1973, 214); Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum naturae* 16.108 (Venice 1591, fol. 207b-c).

The kite is timid about formidable things, courageous about the insignificant (*Timidus est in magnis, audax in minimis*). It does not dare to seize wild birds; it usually ambushes the domestic ones (*Silvestres volucres rapere non audet; domesticis insidiari solet*). It ambushes the chicks to seize them, and kills more quickly those it perceives to be unwary *(Insidiatur pullis ut illos rapiat, et quos incautos repperit velocius necat*). Thus, weak people and hedonists seize the young chicks, because they mold the more simple and careless people to their ways, and drag them away to evil practices (*Sic molles et voluptuosi teneros pullos rapiunt, quia simpliciores et indiscretos suis moribus aptant et ad perversos usos protrahunt*). By flying slowly above them, <the kites> deceive the unwary, while <the weak and hedonistic> entice the simple and careless by flattering them with seductive conversation (*Super eos lente volando incautos decipiunt, dum eos blandis sermonibus adulando decipiunt*) (*ibid.* 207).

Thus, the kite, especially between the 13th and 15th c. and until well into the 17th c., bore the reputation of an impure, bold and treacherous bird, always greedy for meat, feeding on carrion and the voluptuous, an emblem of the Devil and messenger of Hell, and it was even used in comparisons with a heavily pejorative meaning insisting on its avidity and swiftness when seizing a prey. It became the emblem of the thief and of he who attains victory on the basis of patience, symbolizing, thus, the ignoble and cowardly man, interested in money and delighted in carnal passions, representing the imminence of an extreme threat. In this metaphor we must recognize, as well, an implicit call to prudence and continuous watchfulness, since the kite signified the supreme menace, the diabolic temptation capable of ending up in a sin of the flesh. This bird embodies cowardliness and the law of the strongest, the absolute Evil and the bestiality to which people eaten by their desires are reduced (Louison 2009: 125-31).

5.3. The field of activity of the friar-kite

In the analysis of the critique that Bergadis makes against Franciscan friars when comparing them to the (κουφο)λούπης (silly-kite) we must mention the evidence from Antiquity using the ample flight of the kite as a metaphoric measure of lands. The expression «as much as the flight of the kites can take» / «as much as kites can fly» (*quantum milvi volant*) and other similar expressions are used hyperbolically to refer to great extensions of land. Thus, in *Sat.* 37.8 Petronius mentions the possessions of Trimalchio: «he himself has lands, where the kites fly» (*ipse fundos habet, qua milvi volant*); Perse, in 4.26, talks about the land of the rich Vetidius: «there is a rich

man in Cures that ploughs so many lands as a kite cannot overfly» (*dives arat Curibus quantum non milvus errat*) and Juvenal 9.54f mentions the miserly Naevolus' property: «Tell me, sparrow, for whom do you keep so many mountains, so many farms in Apulia, so many kites that without going out of your pastures get tired?» (*dic, passer, cui tot montis, tot praedia servas / Apula, tot milvos intra tua pascua lassas?*). Perse's scholiast comments are as follows: «Thus it is usually said following the proverb: "As much as kites can fly", because kites fly very much. Or, as a hyperbole, from the proverb, he refers to a land so big that a kite could not overfly» (*quod dici solet secundum proverbium*: *Quantum milvi volant, quia milvi multum volant. Vel* ὑπερβολικῶς *ex proverbio tantam dicit regionem, quantam volans milvus circumire non possit*). For his part, Juvenal's scholiast explains: «The poet wants to show the largeness of the possessions, how wide the lands are, because not even kites can fly through them» (*vult ostendere magnitudinem possessionum poeta, quam latae sint agris, quoniam nec milvi transvolare eas possunt*) (Ihm 2000: 48-9).

The image of the mendicant and intruder Franciscan who goes out of his convent to collect money –bearing likewise other shameful intentions– and who wanders tirelessly through great extensions of land, such as they are described in the literature of the time, fits perfectly to that of the kite of powerful flight which is capable of overflying untiringly large hectares in search of his prey. This particular image can only intensify the negative value that the bestiaries ascribe to this bird in its evil connotation as a tireless tempter.

6.- The wolf as an archetype of the evil

The reproach of *Eu.Matt.* 7.15 matches perfectly with the passage of the *Apokopos* we are dealing with (vv. 197-220), and especially with the distich 217-8, since the Cretan name λούπης (kite) comes from the Latin word *lupus* (wolf) (= λύκος)[10]. Thus, the kite would be presented to us, somehow, as a correlate of the predator wolf in the world of the birds of prey.

This level of reference is widened when we have a look at the connotations that the wolf bore during the Middle Ages. This animal had taken, in

[10] Cf. Kriarás (1968-1997), vol. Θ΄ (1985) s. v. *λούπης*: Το μτγν. ουσ. *λούπης* (< λατ. *lupus*) and *λούπος*: Το λατ. *lupus*. Cf. as well *ibid*. vol. Η΄ (1982) s. v. *Κουφολούπης*. Already in classical times a sort of wolf was known by the name ἰκτῖνος; cf. LSJ s. v. *ἰκτῖνος* (mentioned in Opp. *C.* 3.331) and also Thompson (1895), s. v. *ἰκτῖνος*, and the word λύκος was a nickname for the jackdaw, *ibid*. s. v. *λύκος*. Cf. likewise Tsavarí (1987): 154-5 and n. 212.

the Christian world, a negative symbolic value coming from pagan mythologies: it was considered a symbol of the principle of evil, metaphor of the diabolic, emblem of vices such as lubricity, wrath, greed, rapacity and even heresy, since it steals the sheep of the Church (Charbonneau-Lassay 1997 I: 310-3). It was even accepted that it could be one of the many metamorphoses adopted by the Devil for his misdeeds (the satanic wolf devours the holy sheep, cf. *Eu.Io*. 10.11-12)[11]. Thus we find it, for instance, in the hexameral commentaries, where a wide range of cosmological functions was assigned to the animals, conceptualizing them as sources for allegories or *moralia* about the spiritual development of human beings (Pluskowski 2006: 15).

The wolf was considered an image of Lucifer, who tirelessly ambushes God's sheepfold trying to tempt and miscarry it[12]. However, in most of those accounts, following their educational and exemplary function, the wolf, personification of the evil, is presented as the antihero of the story, and ends up cheated and humiliated, as a warning to the faithful who move away from the evangelical rules. The wolf –states the Latin *Physiologus*–, which always malignly envies mankind and continuously ambushes the flocks of the Church's faithful, adopts the form of a wolf (*Lupi figuram Diabolus portat, qui semper humano generi invidet ac iugiter circuit caulas ecclesiae fidelium, ut master perdat forum animas*) and always chases those who separate from him with their good acts (*Illos autem omnino insequitur, qui bonis operibus ab eo elongant*) (Clark 2006: 142-3).

Likewise, it was believed that the man who comes across a wolf would lose his shouting voice, but this man can escape unharmed if he lays aside his clothing trampled by his feet while he throws two stones to the animal to make it flee. This system can be understood allegorically and spiritually (*Spiritualiter autem hoc intelligendum est, atque ad superiorem sensum allegorice est dicendum*): the wolf is the Devil, the man symbolizes sin, and the stones the apostles and Christ himself (*ibid*. 144). Also, the *Tuscan Bestiary* (Sebastián 1986: 11) states:

> «And just as man takes away the strength of the wolf when he comes across it, before the wolf catches sight of him, thus happens with man, who takes off the strength to the Devil when he knows how to look out for his

[11] Meliton, bishop of Sardis (2nd c.), described it in the following terms: *Lupus diabolus [...]* (*ap*. Charboneau-Lassay [1997] I: 313). Its infernal character was also reflected in the belief in lycanthropy.

[12] In Nicolas de Biard's *Distinctiones* (13th c.) we read: *Lupus [...] significat diversos peccatores [...] Primum quoad principes terrenos, secundum quoad ecclesiasticos, tertium quoad negociatores dolosos. Et nota quod lupus non rapit lupum, sed ovem [...]* (*ap*. Morenzoni [1999]: 188).

tricks and his false wits, so that the Devil will be able neither to deceive nor to take him by surprise; he takes off the strength to the Devil [...]»

6.1. The wolf's sensuality

Erotic metaphors referring to the hunt for love taken from the animal world –specifically referring to the wolf as a sexual predator– can be found from late classical literature onwards. Thus, in Aristaenetus' *Ep.* II 20.26 we find the comparison about the young who chase women as wolves: ὡς γὰρ λύκοι ἄρνας ἀγαπῶσιν, οὕτω τὰ γύναια ποθοῦσιν οἱ νέοι, καὶ λυκοφιλία τούτων ὁ πόθος («Just as wolves love lambs, thus the young long for women, and this passion of them is wolf's (false) friendship»)[13]. During the Middle Ages the wolf was an emblematic animal of depravity and lubricity (Charbonneau-Lassay 1997 I: 310)[14]. Thus, in the 13th c. we find the wolf defined as a lustful animal in Nicolas de Biard's *Distinctiones* (*ap.* Morenzoni 1999: 188-9), for its insatiable appetite and because it hunts at night: *Item luxuriosus. Lupus enim in ovili plures oves occidit cum una sufficeret […] Sicut enim lupus vadit de nocte, ita luxuriosus.* Later the wolf's erotic value falls on the figure of the werewolf, paradigm of the degradation of human nature to a beast-like state. The hybridization of this figure allows it to take the characteristic of the wolf as a diabolic animal in the *limen*, exponent of uncontrollable and untamed vices. Because of this, the descriptions of the attacks of werewolves against women always have a strong erotic component that stresses the value that the wolf's figure had in popular imagery, as an extension of satanic sexuality (fig. 2).

Fig. 2. Werewolf

[13] This image is found even in homoerotic contexts to refer to mature men who chase young masculine lovers (cf., for instance, *AP* XII 250.2). Likewise, the Greek inhabitants of Italy used the term λούπα (= from latin *lupa*) to depict the prostitutes' rapaciousness (Taillardat [1967]: 50): «Λούπα· [...] παρὰ Ἰταλιώταις ἡ λύκαινα· [...] τὸ ζῷόν τε γὰρ ἁρπακτικόν, ἡ δὲ λούπα εἴτουν λύκαινα, καὶ αἱ ἑταιρίδες δὲ ὁμοιότροποι».

[14] About the equation swallowing / stomach = eroticism, cf. Durand (1982): 192-3 and 203-7.

6.2. The wolf-friar archetype

The metaphor of the wolf-Devil and the stereotype of the wolf as stalker of the Christian faithful found, since late Middle Ages onwards, a critical usage against clergymen. We find at least since the 11th c. the figure of the wolf-friar or wolf that becomes friar, by which it seems that the parishioners exercised their invectives against the members of the religious orders, many of whom embraced religious life for purely material reasons (Ziolkowski 1993: 206; Pluskowski 2006: 119-20).

Such a metaphor seems to have been inspired in the expression in the Bible about the wolf and the sheep. The New Testament expressly mentions (*Eu.Matt.* 7.15, *supra*) the figure of the wolf as a metaphor of the false prophets who try to miscarry the faithful-sheep from the flock of Christ, their shepherd, while it offers a clear idea about how apostles must behave in *Eu.Matt.* 10.16: «Behold, I send you out as sheep in the midst of wolves [ὡς πρόβατα ἐν μέσῳ λύκων]». Lastly, in *Eu.Io.* 10.11-12 it is said about the good shepherd's responsibility toward his herd: «I am the good shepherd; the good shepherd lays down His life for the sheep [ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλὸς τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ τίθησιν ὑπὲρ τῶν προβάτων]. He who is a hired hand, and not a shepherd, who is not the owner of the sheep, sees the wolf coming and leaves the sheep and flees, and the wolf snatches them and scatters them»[15]. This metaphor appears in Christian sources from the beginning and throughout the Middle Ages. The wolf-devil, Satan, God's rival, however, will be finally domesticated by the good shepherd (cf. *Is* 11.6 and 9: «And the wolf will dwell with the lamb [...] There will be no hurt or destruction in all my holy mountain, for the earth will be full of the knowledge of the Lord [...]»).

The figure of the wolf that embodies the hypocrite cleric appears both in Latin and Greek sources between the 11th and 13th c. as a recreation of traditional fable elements sprung up from the Christian feeling of religious hypocrisy and would come to be a relevant part of Medieval animal literature. The hypocrite wolf is a character who has converted to Christianity, who has become a friar / monk or even a novice in a convent and who, in spite of his alleged good intentions to adapt to the rules of his new state (not to harm domestic animals, to pray, fast and do penance), always ends up succumbing

[15] Cf. likewise *Eu.Io.* 10.1: «Truly, truly I say to you: he who does not enter by the door into the fold of the sheep, but climbs up some other way, he is a thief and a robber [...]», *Eu.Luc.* 10.3 and *Act.* 20.29.

to temptation, presented in the form of an edible animal[16]. Behind the excuses displayed by the offender, there lies the ultimate moral instruction: the true nature of an animal (*i. e.,* of a person) never changes, no matter how he tries to adopt a new form or a new life.

Animal fables in the Middle Ages were based on the pre-existent material known in Aesop's fables, in the *Physiologus,* in the animal poems and in oral tradition, extending later after having incorporated the figure of the wolf. The figure of the anthropomorphic wolf appears for the first time in the *Ecbasis captivi* (*Ecbasis cuiusdam captivi per tropologiam,* 11th c.), of unknown author, in which this character seems to represent both the Devil and the monks (Ziolkowski 1993: 153-97), as well as in the poem *De lupo* (11th-12th c.). However, it is in the *Ysengrimus* (12th c.) where the wolf-friar appears as an elaborated character with a name: Isengrin, the strong but stupid wolf, followed by his small nephew Reynard, the wily fox. The poem deals with a wolf, an abbot of a monastery, who attempts to create a new order that allows eating sheep to avoid the obligation of cooking the food, and who gets himself raised to the rank of bishop. The story is unfolded in a context combining the moral and the burlesque, where the wolf and his duplicity are understood as a condemnatory satire against those who embrace monastic life looking for material security, rather than for spiritual reasons (*ibid.* 198-234)[17]. A variant of this archetypal wolf-friar has its roots in the passages of the New Testament where Jesus is described as the shepherd of his flock and evil people are characterized as wolves (cf. *supra*)[18]. But the image of the wolf as crafty shepherd and that of the wolf disguised in sheep's clothing (in the sense of letting the wolves keep the sheep, or trusting the fold to a wolf, that endured until well into modern times; fig. 3) seems to

[16] In a bull of Urban II (1096), there appears a reference to *quoddam proverbium [...] de lupo ad discendas litteras posito, cui cum magister diceret "A", ipse "agnellum", et cum magister diceret "B", ipse dicebat "porcellum"* (Kaczynski-Westra [1988]: 124), that reminds us of the satiric-burlesque episode of the wolf that enters a monastic school, extended enough in that time as to function in a proverbial way. Belonging to the same cycle are the stories of the wolf that cannot fast, that of the sick wolf that becomes a monk but that when it recovers goes back to its former habits and that of the wolf that, to have a free supply of sheep guaranteed, enters the monastic order wearing the habit with the hood, but once satiated he goes back to the wood.

[17] But also against the monks elevated to episcopacy, including the Pope, in this case Eugene III, a former monk whose wolfish avidity is referred to in the poem as the reason for the final disaster of the Second Crusade (Pluskowski 2006: 121).

[18] There are two other parables referring to the lost lamb (*Eu.Matt.* 18.12 and *Eu.Luc.* 15.4) and two comparisons likening the apostles to lambs sent amidst wolves (*Eu.Matt.* 10.16 and *Eu.Luc.* 10.3).

Fig. 3. The wolf-monk and its flock (Heptaméron, Berne, 1780), B. A. Dunkeer

have been sustained as well from non biblical o parabiblical proverbs. Thus, the paradigmatic wolf passed from being a metaphor of a monk to represent a real wolf (*ibid.* 204-6). The author of the *Ysengrimus* likens real-life monks to animals and his fictional animals to real-life monks, with the particularity that he attributes to the latter a major predatory capacity in their goals to exploit the parishioner, which leads them to the corruption of the world committed to their care. That's why, in an attempt to improve reality, the author does not allow Isengrin the same impunity, and the wolf is continuously defeated and humiliated in his rapacious attempts against the flock, passing from being a predator (*agens*) to become a sacrificial lamb (*patiens*) (*ibid.* 218), using the known motif of the "trickster tricked" (*derisor derisus*), o "hunter hunted". We deal with a fictional world or a world "turned upside down" (*mundus inversus*) that cannot become real, for what the author restores it to its "natural" state by turning predators into victims and allows their victims to win the battle over the wolf that wanted to devour them. This restoration of the only possible world represents God's anger, a

precursor to the Last Judgment, which will result in the punishment of all wolf-monks (Pluskowski 2006: 121-2)[19].

During the next two centuries (13th and 14th), edifying stories were widely spread, incorporating the "clericature" of the wolf-monk, partly influenced by the previous animal literature, and helping the fixation of the model in the form of *exempla* that state the uselessness of the efforts to Christianize the wolf because of his natural duplicity[20]. These brief mentions of the motif would indicate that it was already widely extended in the Christian world, and authors did not need to abound in details, but a succinct reference was enough for the reader to recall them as proverbial expressions of the type: *Quando languebat, lupus monachus esse volebat. / Postquam convaluit, raptor ut ante fuit; Quando "pater noster" lupus affirmare volebat, / verbum non linquit, semper "lam", "lam" lupus inquit,* or the kind *Sub vestimentis ovium sunt crimina mentis, / qui placet exterius est lupus interius* (Librová 2001).

The certainty of the message was passed to the bestiaries, some of which warned explicitly against the false clerics, as the *Tuscan Bestiary* (Sebastián 1986: 10):

> «And just like the wolf which enters smoothly and cleverly somewhere [...] Thus do certain men who enter different ecclesiastical occupations [...] And they operate smoothly and cleverly to resemble those who they are not, in order to get to enter that place; and if they suspect that they could be deceived by some evil actions of them, at times they feign to be humble and good men [...]; in the same way as the wolf».

This new medieval character came to be a part of the *corpus* of Byzantine and Modern Greek proverbs (perhaps partially influenced by occidental fable literature, but also because they shared a common traditional material)[21], as attested to by the proverbs: Ὁ λύκος κι ἂν βαφτίστηκε, χριστιανὸς δὲν ἔγινε («Though the wolf got baptized, he did not become Christian»); Ὁ λύκος τὴν

[19] The apocalyptic idea that there would be a crusade to eradicate all clerics as responsible for the Church's corruption gave way in the late Middle Ages to a new one that expected an imminent judgment of this *ordo,* as a restoration of the *mundus inversus* to its original state (Graus [1993]: 73-6 and González [2013]), which was directly related to the millenarian idea of the End of the World (Aalberts [2000]).

[20] So it appears, for instance, in a moralized fable of the 15th c. (Librová [2001]: 204), which affirms, reminding the reader of the New Testament: *Lupus cucullatus [h]ipocrita est. Unde in euangelio: Attendite a falsis prophetis [...].*

[21] Apart from the *Πουλολόγος,* such as Stavrakopoulou ([2008]: 315, 329) mentions, we should consider as possible sources known by Bergadis the works *Συναξάριον τοῦ τιμημένου γαδάρου* and *Γαδάρου, λύκου καὶ ἀλουπoῦς διήγησις ὡραία.*

τρίχα ἀμείβει, τὴν δὲ γνώμην οὐκ ἀμείβει («The wolf changes his hair, not his opinion») or Μυουμένῳ τῷ λύκῳ ἐκέλευον εἰπεῖν "ἀμήν", ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν "ἀρνίν" («When the wolf was being baptized, he was asked to say "amen", but he kept on saying "lamb"»). These examples, gathered in Planudes' collection of proverbs (Kaczynski-Westra 1988: 110-11), express the critique of the mask covering the ultimate reality of the person, and the last one shows language as a device both of the concealment of the hypocrite and the discovery of his hypocrisy. Such stories were narrated in an allegorical way, by which people were asked to rule themselves by the opposite assumptions to those displayed by the hypocrite wolf-monk, who as a predator was equated to the inner evil ambushing every individual (*ibid.* 107-9; 122-4).

The former wolf stories and their proverbial expressions were used as a satiric weapon[22] and critique by the parishioners and laymen against the rapacity, above all, of the mendicant friars, though they could also be used against the abuses of any other political estate.

7.- The fox

In the Greek and Latin versions of the *Physiologus* (though not in Antiquity, except in Opian), it is stated that the Devil also adopts the form of the fox (*Istius eiusdemque figuram Diabolus possidet*) (Clark 2006: 141), and this animal is presented as a symbol of deceit and cunning[23], by means of the description of its hunting techniques when it is hungry: it simulates being dead by lying on the ground and holding its breath with its tongue hanging out, to attract birds which, once settled on it, are devoured (*Aves vero videntes eam non flantem et quasi cruentatam, linguamque eius foris erectam, putant*

[22] The figure of the wolf is in the origin of classical iambic literature, of invective character (cf. Miralles-Pòrtulas [1983]: 53-60), and it reminds us of an ancient cultural tradition of defense against the attack (λύσσα), of calumny and intrigue (ψόγος) and also of deceit and lie (δόλος). Thus, «the persons who plot deceptive actions [...] are often called –both individually or collectively– names in whose composition the idea of a wolf is present» and «sometimes the people who lie and speak ill of others are wrapped in a wolf skin» (*ibid.* 56). But the person who attacks and deceives can also become a victim of his own attitude, suffering the switch of roles and turning out to be a victim or defeated, becoming thus a "deceiver deceived" (cf. *ibid.* 57 and Miralles [1990]: 15-6), which allows us to relate this fact to the idea that the ancient fable genre, before acquiring the form in which it has been transmitted, belonged to the iambic tradition (*ibid.* n. 6).

[23] Among other things, that is because it has quick feet and never runs in a straight way, but in winding circles, an idea that was based on Isidore's *Etym.* (XII 2.29): «It never maintains a straight course, it walks tortuously, it is fraudulent and of many tricks [...]».

eam esse mortuam, et descendunt sessum super eam. Illa autem sic rapit eas et devorat) (*ibid*.) This is a particularity that appears in all later bestiaries.

The *Oxford Bestiary* (Andreu 1983: 27) adds that: «the fox signifies the Devil [...] but, however, for the people who live according to God's spirit and faith, the Devil is truly dead», and the *Tuscan Bestiar*y (Sebastián 1986: 48) extends this idea:

> «This fox we can compare to the Devil [...] We can even compare it in other ways to many men in this world, who are all false and dishonest; and there is no man capable of protecting himself against them, because they deceive with evidence, buying and selling and resorting to usury, and offering in such a way that can give and manipulate; because they are damaged and want to damage others».

For those who live according to the flesh the Devil seems to be dead, until he snares them in his jaws and it is too late. However, for the men of faith who live in a spiritual way, the Devil is truly dead. As the Scriptures say: «If you live according to the flesh, you shall die» (*Ep.Rom*. 8.13). Likewise, David warned about the iniquitous: «They shall go into the lower parts of the earth [...], they shall be the portions of foxes» (*Ps*. 62.10-11) (Clark 2006: 142). Furthermore, with regard to the sensuality of the fox, it is asserted that its Latin name (*vulpis*) means almost the same as *volupis,* 'sensual' (*Vulpis dicitur quasi volupis*) (*ibid*. 141).

Relying partly on Aesop's fables and the *Ysengrimus*, the figure of the fox became, in medieval animal literature, the image of the deceiver, of the swindler, of the trickster who displays all kind of ruses to accomplish his wishes, and, in his later evolution, he displaces the figure of the wolf-monk as hooded trickster and as deceitful preacher until well into 15th c. (fig. 4). Thus, as the character of Reynard in the *Roman de Renart* (11th-12th c.), bitter enemy of Isengrin the wolf whom he always defeats, it became the exponent of deceit par excellence, showing that cunning overcomes strength. But in a society where deceit as a weapon was an ambivalent idea, Reynard the fox's stories can be interpreted as well as a moral warning to instruct the readers / audience about how to identify "tricksters" in the figures of power (kings, merchants, bishops, friars, etc.) using the symbolic base the bestiaries offered when they likened them with the Devil[24]. This symbolism seems to have been

[24] In the second part of the 13th c. the French writer Rutebeuf, a friend of Guillaume de Saint-Amour's (cf. *supra*), presented the fox as a symbol of religious hypocrisy, based on the wolf's symbolism as a harsh critique against the mendicant orders. Thus, for example, he offers

Fig. 4. Parody of a Dominican. Oxford, Christ Church Library, Ms. E.II f. 69v (14th c.)

extended throughout Europe in a rather homogeneous way among the different social classes due, partly, to the broad oral use made of it, and because fables were used both as social, political and religious communication vehicles.

8.- Other birds present in the passage of the *Apokopos*

8.1. The vulture

In the *Apokopos* the vulture is mentioned in the passage describing the friars / priests that attempt untiringly to corrupt the widows (Τὰ ὄρνια πῶς μαζώνουνται ἐλάχετε στὸ βρῶμα [...]; Ἴτις ἐκεῖ μαζώνουνται εἰς αὗτες οἱ πατέρες

a warning against deceivers and hypocrites in the story of Reynard and the cock Chanticleer, where the fox appears preaching to hens (Sebastián [1986]: 107).

[...], vv. 203-6), as an anticipatory procedure to the end of the passage containing their comparison with the kite. This bird was an emblem of the demon of greed, because it eats putrid meat (cf. βρῶμα, v. 203), and of human sin (Charbonneau-Lassay 1997 I: 460). The *Oxford Bestiary* (Andreu 1983: 63) says about the vulture: «It follows the armies to have a good feed on corpses because the sinner follows the tracks of depraved men who constitute the Devil's army, when adopting their deviant habits. It feeds on corpses because it delights in the carnal pleasures that death generates» –sketching, thus, the vultures' voluptuous facet–.

Likewise, in his *Bestiary of Love,* Fournival (1980: 89) describes its erotic symbolic value: «These vultures symbolize those who chase the ladies and the maidens to make a prey of them, even if they cause their perdition». The vulture is also described as a powerful but spiritless bird, emblem of the coward, of the person of indecent habits, worthy of the noble man's contempt. And the belief that the "quadratus" stone ("quadros" or "quarridos") could be found at times in the vulture's brain, led it to symbolize vice: «Just like he who wants to find the Stone of happiness must break the vulture's head, thus we must break the head to our vices, represented by the vulture» (Charbonneau-Lassay 1997 I: 460).

8.2. The dove / turtledove

Though the dove / turtledove is not explicitly mentioned in the passage of the *Apokopos,* it is implicitly referred to, since it forms a part of the pun about the search / hunt for love as a falconry hunt between the falcon and the dove (cf. *supra*) on which Bergadis seems to have composed both the passage and the comparison of vv. 217-8 (cf. González 2007). Thus, the dove becomes the correlate of the hen / chick (ὄρνιθα, v. 210), signifying the Christian who must be defended from the Evil One's claw, so that he doesn't end up as vultures' carrion (βρῶμα, v. 203).

The dove, in bestiaries, is the symbol of prudence (Fournival 1980: 86) and thus it appears in the *Physiologus* (Guglielmi 2002: 87-8), for instance, in the story of the ambidextrous tree (God / Jesus Christ) where the doves (Holy Spirit) live feeding on its fruits (heavenly Wisdom) and sheltering from the dragon (Devil): «The dragon cannot come close neither to the tree nor to its shadow: if you possess, thus, the Holy Spirit, the dragon (*i. e.,* the Devil) will not approach you». It becomes, thus, an emblem of the faithful soul, because, like the dove that always goes back to its nest no matter how far it has been taken away, the Christian must not lose his sense of orientation back to the dovecot that is Church (Charbonneau-Lassay 1997 II: 491-2).

Because of this, the dove differs from the rest of the birds (Clarke 1992: 134-6) in that «it does not live by predation [...]; it does not feed on corpses [...]; it lives near flowing water, so that when it sees the shadow of the hawk <the dove> may more swiftly avoid its approach [...]; because it studies Scripture in order to avoid the deceit of the approaching Devil» (*Ex rapto non vivit [...]; non vescitur cadaveribus [...]; super fluenta residet, ut visa accipitris umbra, venientem citius devitet [...]; quia in Scripturis studet ut supervenientis Diaboli fraudem declinet*).

Likewise, the turtledove bore the same attributes as the dove: virtue, prudence and chastity, since it does not mate again after having been widowed for the first time, symbolizing also celibacy in marriage. Thus, Ambrose puts forth the turtledove as an example for women and particularly for the widows, so that, like this bird, they love only their husband and go on being his wife even after his death, such as it appears later in the bestiaries (*Itaque iterare coniunctionem recusat, nec pudoris jura aut complaciti viri resolvit foedera; illi soli suam caritatem reservat, illi custodit nomem uxoris*), holding conjugal practice and marriage in contempt (*pertaesum usum thalami et nomen habere coniugii*). The turtledove knows no way to abrogate her first pledge (*primam fidem irritam facere*), because she knows to maintain the moral purity (*castimoniam servare*) set forth by the first condition of marriage (Clark 2006: 185-6). Thus, the dove / turtledove even becomes an emblem of the Virgin Mary (Charbonneau-Lassay 1997 II: 492-4 and Hodne 2009).

9.- Conclusions

The passage that contains the comparison of the friar and the kite stands for another example of the economy of language used by Bergadis. Expressive succinctness is related to memory and the mnemonic value that the symbolic image had in popular culture, since the latter facilitated the contact between two different realities: the natural and the supernatural, thus making it easier for the reader / listener to recall and extend the underlying message (Rowland 1989).

In the above mentioned comparative distich of the *Apokopos* a multiple level of reference is established about the friar / bird of prey of low flight which ambushes the hens / (turtle)doves (= God's daughters, widows) thinking that they are an easy victim, but which turns out to be deceived just as the kite is deceived when trained with a bird-like decoy filled with flax

(González 2007 and *supra*). This comparison is probably based on the erotic metaphor of the falcon and the dove which could have a positive or negative value depending on the context in which it was used. Bergadis seems to use it to endow the passage with a humoristic meaning, since it seems to show partly the false idea the kite has about itself, wanting to behave like a falcon (a bird of high and noble flight). Oblivious to its own limits as a bird of low and ignoble flight, the kite fails in its task of craftily collecting the widow's money. Lastly, the good widow's perseverance makes clear that the kite has failed when considering her an actual and easy prey, as it happens in the training of birds of prey with a decoy (false reproduction of a bird filled with flax) (fig. 5).

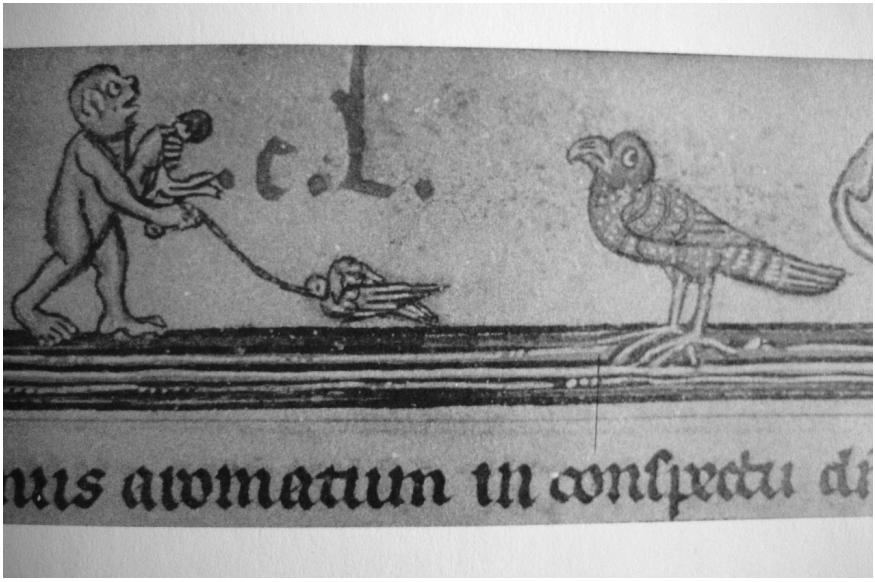

Fig. 5. Ape falconer with decoy (13th c.). Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 103 f. 421

The passage, though, reminded the reader of a wide symbolic tradition related not only to the mentioned birds of prey (vulture, falcon and kite), but also to the stories of the wolf and the fox, their symbolic correlates in the world of the mammals. Thus, the Franciscan friar-kite would be a reminiscence of the hypocrite and hooded wolf-friar (*lupus cucullatus*) of medieval animal

Fig. 6. Fox preaching to fowl. London, British Museum, Stowe Ms. f. 84 (ca. 1300)

literature, who becomes a novice in a convent or cleric because of material necessity, not being capable of putting aside his real predatory purposes no matter how intensely one tries to Christianize him, and who succumbs finally to the temptation of devouring a domestic animal. It is, likewise, a reminiscence of the fox which appears in animal stories and in the *marginalia* of manuscripts preaching to a group of domestic animals, especially to hens[25], images that warned about the false vocation of many clerics who used their position to take advantage of the faithful, whom they deceived with their glibness often far from Christian precepts (fig. 6) (Νὰ τὲς κινήσουν πολεμοῦν, νὰ τὲς ξεβγάλουν πάσχουν· / καὶ ἄκουσε τί ἔν τὸ λέγουσιν καὶ τί ἔναι τὸ διδάσκουν... vv. 207-16, where the cleric tries by all possible means to secure the widow's inheritance for his church / convent. Naturally, the vv. 207-8 have an ironic

[25] Stavrakopoulou ([2008]: 329) had a correct intuition about the kite being a correlate of the fox in the passage, but she did not get to elucidate it in its full extent.

Fig. 7. Reynard preaching on a pulpit (15th c.). Rectory of Holy Cross Church, Byfield, Northamptonshire

meaning, and they remind, very possibly, of the fox's false and deceitful preaching) (fig. 7). This duplicity lies in most critiques to the mendicant orders since the 13th c. (cf. *supra*), which prevailed until well into modern times as a basic issue of anticlerical critique, based on the New Testament. Both wolf and fox were considered representations of the Devil and paradigms of temptation and evil, but while the wolf embodied the real danger of destruction for the divine flock, the figure of the fox bore, like the kite, the symbolic value of a temptation against which one must be continuously forewarned.

The wanderer and intruder friar-kite[26] deviates from what he is expected to be. A part of the critique against him takes root in the fact that his

[26] This depiction of the minor friar recalls, *mutatis mutandis,* the universal character of the *trickster,* of the fool, the deceiver or the mocker. He is a lustful and greedy swindler

comparison with the kite-Devil sets him in the antipodes of what would be expected of a man of the Church: someone who trains his soul / falcon for a higher falconry flight, the upper air spiritual flight. On the contrary, the Franciscan's "clericature" insists in characterizing him as a low-flight bird, useless to far-reaching tasks, who ends up trapped not in God's snare, but in that of his own sin.

Likewise, the whole passage hides a second critical meaning referring to the lustful intentions of the mendicant friars, widely attested in medieval literature (cf. González 2007 and 2009). Basing on the dreadful reputation of the kite as a voluptuous bird, as well as on the long-term fame of the falcon as γυναϊκοιέραξ (woman-hunter), and stressing it with the sensual character of their correlates the earthly predators the wolf and the fox, the author hints at the shameful intentions of the cleric / bird of prey, who tries by all means to lead the hen / (turtle)dove to places more appropriate for chasing her with lustful intentions (Κυρά, κατέβα ἐκ τὰ ψηλά, κατέβ' ἀπὸ τ' ἀνώγεια, / καὶ πήγαινε στὴν ἐκκλησιάν, ν' ἀκοῦς Θεοῦ τὰ λόγια, vv. 211-2). This last distich would also refer to the widow's moral highness in relation to the corruptor friar's immorality.

If life is a fight against the beasts within man, signifying sin and death, the battle that must be waged against the exterior real enemies who ambush the Christian cannot be lesser. Thus, animal literature teaches the believer that he has the right and the obligation to deceive the deceiver, the trickster who tries to deviate him from the virtuous way, the oppressor in a wide sense, the Devil, and this can only be attained by practicing the Christian virtues (Bremond 1999: 115). Both attitudes appear in this literature expressed in the "topsy-turvy world" (*mundus inversus*) and the "hunter hunted" (*derisor derisus*) motifs, attested throughout the *Apokopos* (cf. González 2013)[27], showing how in the mentality of the bestiaries, as well as in the animal *exempla* used by the friars in their sermons, the animal caught in its

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who crosses forbidden limits and violates social norms, extremely witty though he often falls into his own trap, and depicted at times as a double figure, man-woman or anthropomorphic beast, whose clumsiness is an essential characteristic. Due to this duality he bears an ambiguous and equivocal character. The *trickster* brings disorder to the established order but, somehow, he creates order by means of his silliness and self-deception (Babcock-Abrahams [1975]).

[27] Jacques de Vitry mentioned in one of his moral teachings: «In a wolf trap you snare a wolf in search of its prey; in a net you snare a bird in search of a bait [...]» («Dans un piège à loup se prend un loup qui cherche sa proie; dans un filet se prend un oiseau qui cherche un appât [...]») (*ap.* Bremond [1999]: 121).

Fig. 8. Reynardian wheel of fortune. Koninklijke Bibliotheek, KB 78 D 40 (Festal Missal)

own trap is likened to the sinner who falls into the net of his own iniquity (Polo de Beaulieu 1999: 165) (fig. 8), and it is a concept associated to self-deceit and the opponent's underestimation.

Thus, though evil may arrive in the form of the Devil disguised as a cowardly kite tirelessly ambushing the weak, wandering over long distances trying to lead him into error with deceitful, flattering and seductive words and carrying hidden lustful intentions; though it may appear in the form of a contemptible and vile vulture contending for the prize of the faithful with other members of his species as if he were a piece of carrion; though it may show up in the form of the hypocrite wolf dressed as a false friar, full of eagerness and trying to satisfy his low instincts devouring the faithful as a

lamb, with no compassion; though it may come in the form of the cunning and quick-footed fox that never walks in a straight line, but in tortuous circles, to ambush unexpectedly its victims in a cleric's disguise, the Evil One has no power over the Christian who is on the alert and finds a secure shelter in his faith and religious instruction, because he is able to keep him at bay by diminishing his strength[28].

On a second level, thus, the comparison of the vv. 217-8, that caps the passage where the good widows impassively resist the friars' temptations, reminds us of an ultimate moral meaning: the alleged victim (widow / hen / [turtle]dove) unexpectedly wins the battle with the diabolic predator (friar / kite / wolf / fox) due to the protection offered by her Christian virtue and fortitude, such as the bestiaries described the doves / turtledoves: prudent, chaste, faithful mate of one man even after his death. Again the reader relates the different symbolic levels that underlie the passage and the final comparison, updated after expanding them with a new meaning taken from the animal literature he knew (*i. e.,* of critique and social satire; Henderson 1981): the (turtle)dove / chick that takes shelter beneath God's protection is likened to the faithful one that avoids the vulture, the wolf and the ambushes of the fox and its aviary correlate, the kite[29]. The virtuous widow described by Bergadis is, thus, the pious, chaste and truly religious widow follower of the Christian precepts who, in the benefit of her dead husband's soul, sticks to her convictions and does not give way to the temptations that the Devil

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[28] The idea that sinners, as predatory animals (tricksters or deceivers), end up being trapped as victims of their own deceit, is also expressed in Nicolas de Biard's *Distinctiones* (13th c.) in his lemma "loup" (wolf), where he compares the wolf with the kite (*ap.* Morenzoni [1999]: 188-9): «Just as in the water there is a fish, the pike, that devours other fishes, on earth an animal as the wolf, in the sky the Devil <who devours> the angels, and on the air a bird, the kite, thus the Devil endeavors likewise to get men beneath other men so they can devour them, but they will finally be trapped <in the net> like the pike» (*Sicut enim in aqua est piscis alios devorans ut lucius, in terra animal ut lupus, in celo angelos dyabolus, in aere avis ut milvus, sic dyabolus procurat quod similiter homines subsint aliis ut eos devorent, sed in fine capientur ut lucius*).

[29] In this sense, the "consent" to sin was understood as the failure to update the Christian moral values. Thus it is mentioned by Chaucer ([1975]: 551) in the Parson's Tale, when commenting on the passage of *Ex.* 15.9, about how the Devil culminates his ruses inciting men to sin by means of the lure to concupiscence: «I wol chace and pursue the man by wikked suggestioun, and I wole hente [*seize*] hym by moevynge or stirynge of synne. And I wol depart my prise or my praye by deliberacioun, and my lust shal been accomplice in delit. I wol drawe my swerd in consentynge». On this particular, see likewise the mentioned passage of Marcuello (1989) (*cf. supra* 5.1).

presents to her in the form of friars and priests who want to secure her inheritance with spurious intentions, throwing her as a lure the hook of concupiscence.

Manuel González Rincón

Paseo de Europa nº 6, 5º-2
41012 SEVILLA (España)
mar_egeo@yahoo.es

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