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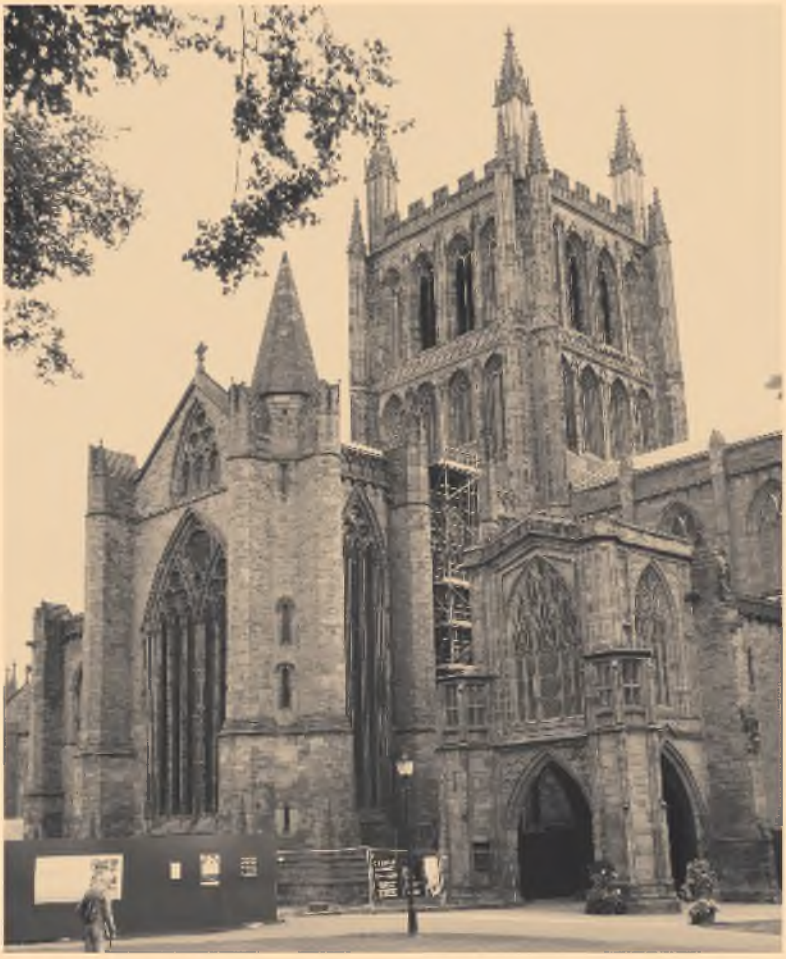

Herausgegeben von
Peter Dinzelbacher und Albrecht Classen

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Valentine A. Pakis

Contextual Duplicity and Textual Variation: The Siren and Onocentaur in the Physiologus Tradition

Mira est in hoc capite rerum confusio.[1]

It is chiefly in the treatment of manuscript variation that approaches toward the editing of ancient and medieval texts diverge. On the one hand, there are methods of textual criticism that lead to the editorial fashioning of authoritative, standardized, or reconstructed texts. Such methods have at their heart certain presuppositions about why copyists and translators might have deviated from their exemplars, and each of these presuppositions is sound, if not always valid. On the basis of internal manuscript evidence, scribal inconsistency has been attributed to unintentional physical lapses (omission, dittography, haplology, orthographic confusion), or intentional alteration (correction, interpolation, deletion, tendentious manipulation), among other things. After an examination of external manuscript evidence, which yields information about the number and age of the witnesses, such editorial guidelines emerge as *brevior lectio probabilior* and *difficilior lectio potior*, and choices are made that result in a critically established text.[2] On the other hand, there are proponents of "new" and materialist philology who regard textual variation as a defining feature of manuscript culture and thus endorse the synchronic evaluation of manuscripts as textual and cultural monuments of equal value.[3] Products of such thinking, namely diplomatic editions

1 J. P. N. Land, ed., *Otia syriaca*, Anecdota syriaca 4 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1875; repr. Jerusalem: Veritas, 1971), 142, on the chapter concerning the siren in the Syriac *Physiologus Leidensis*.

2 For overviews of such methods, especially as regards the New Testament tradition, see Leo Vaganay and Christian-Bernard Amphoux, *An Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism*, rev. and trans. Jenny Heimerdinger (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991); and Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, 4th ed. (New York: Oxford UP, 2005). For a survey of their development, see Sebastiano Timpanaro, *The Genesis of Lachmann's Method*, ed. and trans. Glenn W. Most (Chicago: U of Chicago Press, 2005).

3 On the principles of New Philology, see Bernard Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante: Histoire critique de la philologie* (Paris: Seuil, 1989); the articles devoted to this theme in *Speculum* 65.1 (1990); and the collection of writings by Evelyn S. Firchow, *Wege und Irrwege der mittelalterlichen Textausgaben*, ed. Richard L. Hotchkiss (Stuttgart: S. Hirzel, 2007). On materialist philology, see the introduction to Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel, eds., *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany* (Ann Arbor: U of

(which have a long history), gain and lose popularity according to disciplinary trends. The aim of the present study is to propose a synthetic approach toward a particular type of textual instability that is both sensitive to local manuscript cultures and yet capable of surmising an archetypal stimulation for manuscript variation. The type of instability in mind might be called context-based variation, and an argument for its existence can be made most convincingly in light of evidence drawn from broadly disseminated textual traditions. The example presented below will concern the siren and onocentaur in the many versions of the *Physiologus* that were produced before the middle of the thirteenth century.

The work known as the *Physiologus* is an early-Christian collection of stories relating the nature and typological significance of real and fabulous animals, plants, and stones. It was written in Greek some time in the second or third century, was translated into several Eastern and Western languages (Syriac, Classical Ethiopic, Classical Armenian, Georgian, Latin, Old and Middle High German, Old and Middle English, Old Icelandic, Old French, to name a few), and survives today in hundreds of manuscripts.[4] What is striking is the degree of structural fluidity that pervades the entire textual tradition. The nearly eighty manuscripts of the Greek tradition, for instance, have been divided into four redactions, and even within these it is impossible to reconstruct a plausible *Urtext* without making arbitrary editorial decisions.[5] In Sy-

Michigan Press, 1996), 1-6, and that to Joyce Tally Lionarons, ed., *Old English Literature in its Manuscript Context*, Medieval European Studies 5 (Morgantown: U of West Virginia Press, 2004), 1-9.

4 Surveys of the broader *Physiologus* tradition include Friedrich Lauchert, *Geschichte des Physiologus* (Strassburg: Trübner, 1889; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1974); A. Karnějev, Матеріалы и замътки по литературной исторіи физіолога (St. Petersburg: V. Balasheva, 1890); B. E. Perry, "Physiologus," in *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Atertumswissenschaft: Neue Bearbeitung begonnen von Georg Wissowa*, ed. Wilhelm Kroll and Karl Mittelhaus, vol. 20.1 (Stuttgart: Alfred Druckenmüller, 1941), 1074-1129; Lorena Mirandola, *Chimere divine: Storia del Fisiologo tra mondo latino e slavo*, Heuresis 3 (Bologna: CLUEB, 2001); and Alexandre Vermeille, *Physiologus. De l'Orient à l'Occident. Un patchwork multiculturel au service de l'Écriture* (doctoral diss., Université Neuchâtel, 2006). On the Latin tradition in particular, see Giovanni Orlandi, "La tradizione del «Physiologus» e i prodromi del bestiario latino," in *L'uoma di fronte al mondo animale nell'alto Medioevo*, Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo 31, 2 vols. (Spoleto: Presso la sede del centro, 1985), 2:1057-1106. On the Latin and French traditions, see Florence McCulloch, *Medieval Latin and French Bestiaries*, University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures 33 (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina Press, 1962); on the Latin and German traditions, see Nikolaus Henkel, *Studien zum Physiologus im Mittelalter*, Hermaea 38 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1976). A review of the Semitic tradition can be found in Sibylle Wentker, ed., *Der arabische Physiologus: Edition, Übersetzung, Kommentar* (doctoral diss., Universität Wien, 2002).

5 For the best eclectic editions of the first through third redactions, see Francesco Sbordone, ed., *Physiologus* (Rome: In Aedibus Societatis "Dante Alighieri, Albright, Segati et C.," 1936; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olm, 1991). On Sbordone's successes and shortcomings, see the review of his edition by B. E. Perry in the *American Journal of Philology* 58 (1937),

riac the generic lines become blurred on account of the great disparity among the witnesses – there is a version with thirty-two chapters (*Syrus Vaticanus*), another with eighty-one (*Syrus Leidensis*), and still another longer work that has been given the title *Das Buch der Naturgegenstände*[6]– and the situation in Latin and the western vernacular languages is similar. Here it is uncertain which texts warrant the name *Physiologus* and which should be known simply as bestiaries, and the grounds for this distinction depend on the number of accretions from authors like Isidore of Seville and on the whim of the investigator.[7] Despite the variability in its details and arrangement, however, the substance of the *Physiologus* remains constant enough to be easily identifiable, and the choices made by the different authors are normally transparent: Chapters are rearranged into different sequences (occasionally according to groups of species), omitted, rendered into verse, supplemented with extra biblical material, or shortened to contain only the natural descriptions. As one editor has remarked: "Jeder Schreiber konnte sich eben seinen eigenen Text machen; er konnte bald ausführlicher

488-96, which begins: "During the thirteen centuries or more of its popularity as a Christian folkbook, the *Physiologus*, in its Greek branch alone, passed into such a bewildering variety of textual forms that few scholars have even hoped for an edition of the Greek text that should render a critical account of the entire body of traditional data. Such an edition, however, lies before us in the book under review."

6 For the short Syriac text, see Olaf Gerhard Tychsen, ed., *Physiologvs syrvs sev historia animalium XXXII in s. s. memoratorvm, syriace e codice bibliothecae vaticanae nvnc primvm edidit, vertit et illvstravit* (Rostock: Stiller, 1795), 3-20 (Syriac), 21-180 (Latin translation and commentary). The longer version, known as the *Physiologus Leidensis*, can be found in Land, *Otia syriaca* [note 1]. This book contains two parts with individual pagination, one reading from right to left (see pages 33-99 of this section for the Syriac *Physiologus*), the other reading from left to right (see pages 31-93 of this section for the Latin translation). The *Buch der Naturgegenstände*, which consists of 125 chapters, is edited and translated into German in Karl Ahrens, ed., *Das Buch der Naturgegenstände* (Kiel: C. F. Haeseler, 1892); for a Swedish translation, see Britta-Stina Nordin-Pettersson, trans., *Physiologus: En bok om naturens ting* (Stockholm: Sällskapet Bokvännerna, 1957).

7 About the medieval French versions by Philippe de Thaon, Gervaise, and Guillaume le Clerc, which are each traditionally called *bestiaires*, McCulloch, *Medieval Latin and French Bestiaries* [note 4], 45, remarks: "The word 'bestiary' is not precisely the correct one to apply to these compositions, since with one exception all were translated not from the large *bestiarius* with its extensive borrowings from Isidore, but rather from the older *Physiologus* of thirty-seven chapters with fixed Isidorean additions." The same problem of labels exists with regard to the Middle English *Physiologus*; see Hanneke Wirtjes, ed., *The Middle English Physiologus*, EETS Original Series 299 (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1991), lxxix: "Although our text has been known as the 'Middle English *Bestiary*' for well over a century, this title is misleading and should be corrected to 'the Middle English *Physiologus*'. The ME *Physiologus* is for the most part a translation of a Latin work by Theobald, which shows no attempt at classification according to Isidore of the creatures described and which invariably allegorizes the characteristics given, making the text a version of the *Physiologus* and not a bestiary."

erzählen, bald straffen, bald ganze Gedanken neu einfügen. Die Substanz des Buches veränderte dies wenig."[8]

One chapter of the *Physiologus* concerns two mythological figures, the siren and the onocentaur, which appear together in the Septuagint version of Isaiah 13.21-22 and 34.11-14. As with the other chapters, this one appears in various positions within the text, certain witnesses do not contain it, its length fluctuates across the tradition, and it exists in verse. There are other variations, however, that are more or less particular to it: First, the names of the figures in question – especially that of the onocentaur – vary to a noteworthy extent throughout the tradition; second, their recorded natures (φύσεις) are also presented inconsistently, as is reflected in manuscript illustration and other forms of art; third, the structure of the chapter is often treated in such a way as the others are not. I should like to suggest the possibility that each of these inconsistencies is due to a different layer of contextual duplicity that is special to the chapter at hand, and that they are thus examples of context-based variation. In the *Physiologus*, sirens and onocentaurs are biformal *Mischwesen*, their characters are accordingly deceitful and Janus-faced, and they are placed together to form one of the few chapters of the work that concerns two subjects. After a review of the evidence, remarks will be made on scribal playfulness and on the author and provenance of the original version. The study will close with an appendix containing texts of the *Physiologus* chapter under consideration.

The Names of the Mischwesen

Confusion surrounding the siren and onocentaur predates the composition of the *Physiologus*, for the two creatures appear in the Septuagint without clear precedent in the Masoretic text.[9] In the latter there are two exempla for σειρῆνες 'sirens', namely בְּנוֹת יַעֲנָה *bənôt ya'ănāh* 'ostriches' (Isa 13.21; Jer 50[27].39; Mic 1.8) and תַּנִּים *tannîm* 'jackals' (Isa 34.13, 43.20; Job 30.29). The four examples of ὀνοκένταυροι 'ass-centaurs' in the Septuagint are found in Isaiah; one has no foundation in Hebrew (Isa 34.11), two are translations of אִיִּים *'iyyîm* 'hyenas' (Isa 13.22, 34.14), and one of לִילִית *lîlît* 'a female demon' (Isa 34.14).[10] It is difficult to account for the peculiar

8 Dieter Offermanns, ed., *Der Physiologus nach den Handschriften G und M*, Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 22 (Meisenheim am Glan: Anton Hain, 1966), 8.

9 For evaluations of the Septuagint translation of Isaiah, where σειρῆνες and ὀνοκένταυροι appear together, see Joseph Ziegler, *Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta des Buches Isaias*, Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen 12:3 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1934); and I. L. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah: A Discussion of its Problems*, Medelingen en verhandelingen N° 9 van het vooraziatisch-egyptisch genootschap "Ex oriente lux" (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1948).

10 Hebrew is cited from Rudolf Kittel et al., eds., *Biblia hebraica stuttgartensia*, 5th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1997); the Septuagint is cited from Alfred Rahlfs, ed., *Septuaginta: Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes*, 2nd ed., rev. Robert

Greek renderings with anything more specific than that they represent a Hellenizing tendency among the Alexandrian translators.[11] About the appearance of the word σειρῆνες, Hugo Rahner remarked: "Aus welchen Gründen diese falsche, aber höchst interessante Übersetzung in dem hellenistischen Geist der siebzig Übersetzer auftauchte, ist bis heute noch nicht gelöst."[12] Likewise, the appearance of ὀνοκέν-ταυροι in Isaiah has been a source of confusion since early Christianity; this is true not only because it is an incongruous translation but also because it is, seemingly, a neologism created by the translators, a *creatura linguistica* with no mythological heritage beyond its obvious association with centaurs.[13] It is the Septuagint version of

Hanhart (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006). My English glosses of these Hebrew words are conventional; for further discussion and references, see s.v. II *אִי, יַעֲנָה, לִילִית, and *תַּן in Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgarten, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*, 5 vols., trans. M. E. J. Richarson (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994-2000).

11 For a survey of the problem, see the first part (pp. 79-88) of Sabrine Bonati and Minela Bernadelli, "Sirene e altri esseri fantastici dalla Bibbia ai testi armeni," in *Pensiero e istituzioni del mondo classico nelle culture del Vicino Oriente*, ed. Rosa Bianca Finazzi and Alfredo Valvo (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2001), 79-100. A general explanation of the type I have in mind is offered by the art historian William J. Travis, "Of Sirens and Onocentaurs: A Romanesque Apocalypse at Montceaux-l'Etoile," *Artibus et Historiae* 23 (2002), 29-62, here at 35-36: "For the translators of the Septuagint [...] the decision to bring mythology into the Bible was a strategy to enhance understanding. The Greek-language audience, especially, knew mythology; replacing unfamiliar beasts from the Near Eastern desert with equivalents from a native tradition made good sense, even if it modified the original context." See also Ziegler, *Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta* [note 9], 191: "Die ägyptische Tierwelt begegnet uns ebenfalls in der Js-LXX. Die fabelhaften Onokentauren [...] und Sirenen [...] gehören der griech. Mythologie an und waren dem alexandrinischen Leser aus der Sage bekannt." In this respect, Ziegler is followed by H. Kaupel, "Sirenen in der Septuaginta," *Biblische Zeitschrift* 23 (1935-36), 158-65, at 160.

12 Hugo Rahner, *Griechische Mythen in christlicher Deutung: Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Zürich: Rhein, 1945), 450. For an ingenious explanation of the appearance of σειρῆνες in the Septuagint, based on their association with Na'amah (Gen 4.22), see Manolis Papoutsakis, "Ostriches into Sirens: Toward an Understanding of a Septuagint Crux," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 55 (2004), 25-36, here at 31: "[A]t Gen. 4:22, the targumic glosses that present Na'amah as a Siren (an alluring songstress) are but the late records of an early tradition that had been encouraged by the general context of Gen. 4:19-22 (on the Cainites' association with the invention of crafts and music) and had already developed before the Septuagint was undertaken. Na'amah the Siren was subsequently associated with ostriches by means of paronomasia within the pale of a community that could operate in Aramaic: the Septuagint translators belonged to such a milieu."

13 See Karl Preisendanz, "Onokentauros (ὀνοκένταυρος)," in *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 18.1, ed. Wilhelm Kroll (Stuttgart: Alfred Druckenmüller, 1939), cols. 487-91, here at 487: "Die Gestalt des O[nokentauros] stammt also nicht aus dem A. T., sondern ist eine eigene Zutat der LXX, die nach Ansicht der alten Bibelerklärer ein Äquivalent des hebr. צִיִּים sein sollte, tatsächlich aber dem Wort אִיִּים entspricht [...]. Wohl alle alten Erklärer waren sich unklar sowohl über Vorgang und Absicht der griechischen Interpretation oder Paraphrase als auch über das Wesen des O[noken-

Isaiah 13.21-22, where sirens have taken the place of ostriches and onocentaurs that of hyenas, that likely inspired the *Physiologus* chapter on the two *Mischwesen*, and not even in the earliest Greek witnesses is everything consistent with respect to their names.

The so-called first or earliest redaction of the *Physiologus* consists of twenty-three chief manuscript witnesses (and a few others that present mixed texts). Francesco Sbordone divided the twenty-two of these known to him into four closely related groups, to which a fifth group was added by a later manuscript discovery at the Pierpont Morgan library.[14] This later discovery (siglum G), which happens also to be one of the earliest extant versions of the Greek *Physiologus*,[15] reads as follows at the beginning of its fourteenth chapter: Ἐλάλησεν Ἡσαΐας ὁ προφήτης ὅτι "δαιμόνια καὶ σειρῆνες καὶ ὀνοκένταυροι ὀρχηθήσονται ἐν Βαβυλῶνι." Ὁ Φυσιολόγος ἔλεξεν περὶ τῶν σειρήνων καὶ τῶν ὀνοκενταύρων ... [The prophet Isaiah said that "demons and sirens and onocentaurs will dance in Babylon." About the sirens and

tauros] selbst, und ihre Bemerkungen liefern sprachlich wie sachlich nichts wesentlich Förderliches zur zoologischen und religionsgeschichtlichen Frage. Ungewiß bleibt, wie sich die LXX selbst den O[nokentauros] vorgestellt haben." On the understanding of the siren and the onocentaur among patristic writers, see Sabine Wedner, *Tradition und Wandel im allegorischen Verständnis des Sirenenmythos: Ein Beitrag zur Rezeptionsgeschichte Homers* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 1994); Elissa Piccinini, "Le sirene nella patristica latina," *Vetera Christianorum* 33 (1996), 353-70; idem, "Ὀνοκένταυρος: demone o animale? (Dalla «nascita» biblica alla esegesi patristica)," *Vetera Christianorum* 35 (1998), 119-31; Travis, "Of Sirens and Onocentaurs" [note 11], 38-40.

14 The manuscripts classified by Sbordone, *Physiologus* [note 5], xiii-xviii, are known by the sigla M, Γ, Σ, a, s, λ, W, O, A, E E′, I I′, Π, e e′, o, Ω (= 2 MSS: Venetus Marcianus XI, 23 and 24), B, M^t, and ξ. Three MSS – Δ, φ, and r – contain mixed texts from the first and second redaction; and one – y – contains a mixture of the first and third redactions. Sbordone describes these on pages xxii, xxiii, xxiv, and xxvi, respectively. The MS unknown to Sbordone, represented by the siglum G, was brought to light by Perry in his review of Sbordone's edition [note 5]. The five groups or classes of the first redaction are presented synoptically in Offermanns, *Der Physiologus* [note 8], who edited G and M; and Dimitris Kaimakis, ed., *Der Physiologus nach der ersten Redaktion*, Beiträge zur klassichen Philologie 63 (Meisenheim am Glan: Anton Hain, 1974), who edited the groups Σas, WO, and AIEΠΔφry. For a Russian translation of group Σas, see E. I. Vaneeva, trans., Физиолог (St. Petersburg: Nauka, 1996), 124-56. Single manuscript editions exist for MSS Π (=Mosquensis graecus 432) and a (=Ambrosianus graecus E 16 sup.); see respectively A. Karnějev, "Der Physiologus der Moskauer Synodalbibliothek: Ein Beitrag zur Lösung der Frage nach der Vorlage der armenischen und eines alten lateinischen Physiologus," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 3 (1894), 26-63; and C. O. Zuretti, "Per la critica del Physiologus greco," *Studi italiani di filologia classica* 5 (1897), 113-218. A new edition of the Greek *Physiologus* is being prepared for the series Fontes Christiani (Brepols) by Horst Schneider and Wilhelm Geerlings.

15 Perry, "Physiologus" [note 4], 1113, dates G in the tenth century and calls it "die beste und vielleicht auch die älteste aller griechischen P[hysiologus]-Hss."

onocentaurs, the Physiologus said ...].[16] Things are different, however, in several of the other early versions – those that Sbordone considered most reliable – where instead of ὀνοκένταυροι we find ἱπποκένταυροι 'horse-centaurs'. Based mainly on manuscripts M and Γ, one of Sbordone's critical texts (he provides two, the other based on W and O) reads: Ἐλάλησεν Ἡσαΐας ὁ προφήτης ὅτι «δαιμόνια καὶ σειρῆνες καὶ ἐχῖνοι ὀρχισθήσονται ἐν Βαβυλῶνι». ὁ Φυσιολόγος ἔλεξε περὶ τῶν σειρήνων καὶ τῶν ἱπποκενταύρων ... [The prophet Isaiah said that "demons and sirens and hedgehogs will dance in Babylon." About the sirens and hippocentaurs, the Physiologus said ...].[17] In all, six manuscripts (M, Γ, W, O, Π and s) have ἱπποκένταυροι against the rest of the tradition.[18] Perhaps this represents the archetypal reading – though manuscript G suggests otherwise – in which case the author's recollection of the Septuagint reading was slightly off the mark, and he chose to record the name of a more legitimate mythological creature (hippocentaurs appear as early as Plato's *Phaedrus*).[19] If this is so, later redactors simply corrected their *Vorlage* to accord with the biblical text. On the other hand, it is possible that ὀνοκένταυροι is original, and that the reading ἱπποκένταυροι constitutes a reaction to the novelty of the onocentaur, made by those without the text of Isaiah before them. The word hippocentaur is of course tautological, since centaurs are already half-horse and half-man, and perhaps the tautology was introduced by a scribe to underscore the reasoning behind his emendation. In either case, the reading ἱπποκένταυροι, with perhaps one exception, never left the Greek-speaking world, while ὀνοκένταυροι would go on to cause difficulties for several translators.

16 Offermanns, *Der Physiologus* [note 8], 58 (=Appendix 1.1). Offermanns has arranged the chapters of his edition to accord with the sequence established by Sbordone. In his text, therefore, the chapter on the siren and onocentaur appears as chapter thirteen. In G, however, this chapter is actually the fourteenth, as Offermanns relates at the end of his edition (pp. 160-62) in a section entitled "Über die Reihenfolge der Kapitel in den wichtigsten Handschriften." MS G also forms the basis of the edition and French translation by Arnaud Zucker, ed., *Physiologus: Le bestiaire des bestiaires* (Grenoble: Jérôme Millon, 2005).

17 Sbordone, *Phsyiologus* [note 5], 51. Sbordone's edition serves as the basis of several translations, such as: F. Ledegang, trans., *Christelijke symboliek van dieren, planten en stenen: De Physiologus*, Christelijke bronnen 6 (Kampen: Kok, 1994); Teresa Martínez Manzano and Carmen Calvo Delcán, trans., *Pseudo Aristóteles: Fisiognomía. Anónimo: Fisiología*, Biblioteca clásica Gredos 270 (Madrid: Gredos, 1999); Otto Schönberger, trans., *Physiologus: Griechisch/Deutsch* (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 2001); Otto Seel, trans., *Der Physiologus: Tiere und ihre Symbolik*, 5th ed. (Zurich: Artemis, 1987); Ursula Treu, trans., *Physiologus: Naturkunde in frühchristlicher Deutung*, 3rd ed. (Berlin: Union, 1998); Francesco Zambon, trans., *Il Fisiológo*, 4th ed. (Milan: Adelphi, 1993).

18 This is especially interesting in the case of MS s (=Oxoniensis Seldenianus 14 [15]), which Sbordone classifies as part of group Σas and yet which disagrees with MS a at this point (MS Σ lacks the chapter).

19 See the references s.v. ἱπποκένταυροι in Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon: With a Revised Supplement*, rev. Henry Stuart Jones et al. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996).

One of the earlier eastern translations of the Greek *Physiologus* was into Classical Ethiopic; it was produced during the earlier, or Aksumite, period of Ethiopian literature, at some time between the fifth and seventh centuries, and its text resembles that of the Greek manuscript group AIEΠΔφry.[20] In this version, one manuscript (L) transliterates the genitive ὀνοκενταύρων of the chapter heading as እንቅጠውሮስ *'oneqeṭweros*, whereas another (P) attests a sort of abbreviation, namely ቅጠው *qeṭwe*, which perhaps suggests that the Ethiopian translators saw more sense in the centaur than in its asinine counterpart.[21] This idea finds support later on in the chapter, where both L and P have the curtailed transliteration ቅጠውን *qeṭwen*.[22] In Ethiopic, σειρῆνες is transliterated fully, as is also the case throughout the Syriac tradition.[23] The translators responsible for the latter, however, were at a loss with the word ὀνοκένταυροι. In the shorter Syriac *Physiologus* the onocentaur appears as an ܐܝܠܝܛܐ *'elītā*. Tychsen translates this word as *strix* 'screech-owl' – perhaps with Hebrew יַנְשׁוֹף *yanšôp* 'twilight bird, owl' (Isa 34.11) in mind – though it more probably, like Hebrew לִילִית *lîlît*, denotes a female demon.[24] (Recall that the Septua-

20 For an edition and German translation, see Fritz Hommel, ed., *Die aethiopische Uebersetzung des Physiologus nach je einer Londoner, Pariser und Wiener Handschrift herausgegeben, verdeutscht und mit einer historischen Einleitung versehen* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich, 1877). Hommel would later publish a revised translation as an appendix to Friedrich Lauchert, "Zum Physiologus," *Romanische Forschungen* 5 (1890), 1-36, at 13-36. The work appears in English translation in Claude Sumner, *Ethiopian Philosophy. Volume 5: The Fisalg*^{w}*os* (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa UP, 1982), 5-65. Excerpts of this translation were reprinted in a slightly modified form in idem, *The Source of African Philosophy: The Ethiopian Philosophy of Man*, Äthiopische Forschungen 20 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1986), 81-89. Both Hommel (*Die aethiopische Uebersetzung*, p. xviii) and Sumner (*Ethiopian Philosophy*, p. 99) favor an early date for the Ethiopic *Physiologus* between the beginning and middle of the fifth century. Arguments for a sixth or seventh century date are made by Carlo Conti Rossini, "Il Fisiologo etiopico," *Rassegna di studi etiopici* 10 (1951), 5-51, at 14. He also provides an Italian translation of the text (pp. 16-51).

21 Hommel, *Die aethiopische Uebersetzung* [note 20], 13, 13n2. MS L = London, British Museum MS 390,12 [Orient. 818]; MS P = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale MS 146,5 (Eth. 123). A third MS (W = Vienna, Hofbibliothek MS 21,6 [Aeth. 4]), the readings of which Hommel included in an appendix (pp. 105-47), exhibits no variants of interest to the present study.

22 Ibid., 13n13.

23 Ibid., 13 (ሲረንስ *sirēnis*). Tychsen, *Physiologvs syrvs* [note 6], 17 (ܣܝܪܝܢܘܣ *sīrīnūs*); Land, *Otia syriaca* [note 1], 43-44 (ܣܝܪܘܢܘܣ *sīrūnūs*). The *Buch der Naturgegenstände* contains two chapters on the sirens; in chapter 38 (Ahrens [note 6], 26) the tranliteration is ܣܝܪܢܣ *sīranas*, and in chapter 110 (ibid., 59) it is ܣܝܪܝܢܣ *sīrīnas*.

24 Tychsen, *Physiologus syrus* [note 6], 17 (Syriac text), 144 (Latin translation). On the meaning of ܐܝܠܝܛܐ *'elītā*, see R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus syriacus*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1879-1901), s.v. (vol. 1, p. 208): "daemonis species quae vorat homines." Emil Peters, *Der griechische Physiologus und seine orientalische Übersetzungen* (Berlin: S. Calvary, 1898), 43n1, considers both meanings: "Stryges, also etwa Unholde." The word לִילִית *lîlît* has also been thought to mean 'screech-owl'; see Koehler and Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon* [note 10], s.v. In any case, Tychsen's translation and Land's

gint rendering of לִילִית *lîlît* is ὀνοκένταυροι). The *Syrus Leidensis* has ܝܥܘܪܐ *yōrūrā* 'jackal',[25] and the *Buch der Naturgegenstände* omits the word altogether, though it awkwardly goes on to describe the creature.[26] Another eastern translation of the *Physiologus*, the text of which is also close to that of Greek MS Π in Moscow, appeared in Armenian before the end of the fifth century and survives in nearly forty manuscripts.[27] Here the onocentaurs, by way of false etymology, appear as *իշացուլք išac'owlk'* 'ass-bulls', and it is clear that the translator mistook κένταυρος 'centaur' for ταῦρος 'bull' (the two words are probably unrelated).[28] Stranger still is the Armenian rendering of σειρῆνες, namely *յուշկապարիկք yowškaparikk'*, which are female *Mischwesen* of Armenian mythology and folklore. The word is a compound from Middle Iranian, the first part of which means 'ass' (from *yuška*) and the second 'a fe-

acceptance of it (see the following note) are clearly influenced by the Hebrew text, since the Syriac word for *stryx* is ܒܘܡܐ *būmā*. See the Index Latinus (s.v. *strix*) in Carl Brockelmann, *Lexicon syriacum*, 2nd ed. (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1928), 912.

25 Land, *Otia syriaca* [note 1], 43-44. About this translation and that of the shorter version, Land (p. 142) comments: "At inter eadem animalia thoem, et in simili loco 34:14 noctuam invenimus, quare haec a Syro Vaticano, ille a nostro in auxilium vocati sunt, utroque centauros Graecorum prorsus ignorante."

26 Ahrens, *Buch der Naturgegenstände* [note 6], 59 (ch. 110). The description will be related below.

27 This work has been made available anew, with an English translation, in the exemplary edition by Gohar Muradyan, ed., *Physiologus: The Greek and Armenian Versions with a Study of Translation Technique*, Hebrew University Armenian Studies 6 (Leuven: Peeters, 2005). The *editio princeps*, based on three manuscripts, appeared in Jean Baptiste Pitra, ed., *Spicilegium solesmense*, 4 vols. (Paris: F. Didot, 1852-58; repr. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlaganstalt, 1962-63), 3:374-90. A French translation of the latter edition was published in Charles Cahier, ed., *Nouveaux mélanges d'archéologie, d'histoire et de littérature sur le Moyen Âge*, 4 vols. (Paris: Didot, 1874-77), 1:106-64. The Armenian *Physiologus* is also edited alongside the Georgian version, and translated into Russian, in N. Marr, ed., Физіологъ: армяно-грузинскій изводъ, Тексты и разысканія по армяно-грузинской филологіи 6 (St. Petersburg: Akademii nauk, 1904). On its similarities with Greek MS Π, see Karnějev, "Der Physiologus der Moskauer Synodalbibliothek" [note 14], *passim*.

28 Muradyan, *Physiologus: The Greek and Armenian Versions* [note 27], 113. On the mistranslation, see Lauchert, *Geschichte des Physiologus* [note 4], 81; and Marr, Физіологъ: армяно-грузинскій изводъ [note 27], 85. In his introduction (p. 60n93), Muradyan remarks: "The correspondence κένταυρος–'bull' could be considered as literal with some reservation (merely ταῦρος means 'bull'). This rendering might have influenced the expression *իշացուց եւ դասիթաց կռիւ* (the war of the Centaurs and Lapiths) in the Armenian translation of the *Chronicle* by Eusebius of Caesaria." For the same etymological error, see Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job* 7.28, in PL 75, col. 786: "Quid vero onocentaurorum nomine, nisi et lubrici figurantur et elati? Graeco quippe eloquio ὄνος asinus dicitur, et appellatione asini luxuria designatur, propheta attestante, qui ait: *Ut carnes asinorum, carnes eorum (Ezech. XXIII, 20)*. Tauri autem vocabulo cervix superbiae demonstratur, sicut voce Dominica de Judaeis superbientibus per Psalmistam dicitur: *Tauri pinques obsederunt me (Psal. XXI, 13)*." For some possible etymologies of κένταυρος, see Hjalmar Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 2nd ed. (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1973), s.v.

male demonic being' (from *parik* = Avestan *pairikā-*).[29] Given these meanings it is understandable how, in the Armenian version of Isaiah 13.22 and 34.11-14, *յուշկապարիկք yowškaparikk'* stands exclusively for ὀνοκένταυροι, the σειρῆνες being rendered with a different word.[30] A Georgian translation of the Physiologus was made from Armenian in the eighth or ninth century, if not earlier.[31] Here the Armenian mistranslation of ὀνοκένταυροι was realized as ვირ-კურთხა *vir-k'urotay*, a compound which also means 'ass-bulls'.[32] Armenian *յուշկապարիկք yowškaparikk'*,

29 On the *yowškaparik*, see Marr, Физіологъ: армяно-грузинскій изводъ [note 27], 86; H. V. Hayrapetyan, "Huškapariki gałap'arə hay miǰnadaryan havatalik'nerum," *Lraber hasarakakan gitut'yunneri* 7 (1990), 53-61 (Russian and English résumés, pp. 60-61); James R. Russell, "The Mother of All Heresies: A Late Medieval Armenian Text on the *Yuškaparik*," *Revue des études armeniennes* 24 (1993), 273-93 [repr. in idem, *Armenian and Iranian Studies*, Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies 9 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 2004), 509-29]; Bonati and Bernadelli, "Sirene e altri esseri," [note 11], 90-100; and Muradyan, *Physiologus: The Greek and Armenian Versions* [note 27], 60n93. On the etymology of *պարիկ parik*, see Hrač'cay Ačarean, *Hayerēn Armatakan Bararan*, 4 vols. (Yerevan: State UP, 1926-35; repr. 1971-79), s.v. **համբարձու* (vol. 3, p. 24).

30 Hovhann Zohrapian, ed., *Astuatsashunch' Matean hin ew nor ktakarants' (Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments)*, A facsimile reproduction of the 1805 Venetian edition with an introduction by Claude Cox (Delmar: Caravan Books, 1984), 500 (Isa 13.22), 510 (Isa 34.11-14). The word used consistently to translate σειρῆνες is *համբարձուք hambarowk'*, which designates another vague mythological creature. Matthias Bedrossian, *New Dictionary: Armenian-English* (Venice: S. Lazarus Armenian Academy 1875-79; repr. Beirut: Liban, 1973), s.v. (p. 375), lists the following definitions: "mermaid, siren; fairy, elf, fay; faun, sylvan god."

31 For an edition and Russian translation, see Marr, Физіологъ: армяно-грузинскій изводъ [note 27]. Marr's edition is based on the Georgian version contained in the tenth-century Šatberd codex, the text of which can also be found in Bak'ar Gigineisvili and E. Giunasvili, eds., *Shatberdis crebuli X saucunisa: The 10th Century Shatberdi Codex* (Tbilisi: Metzniereba, 1979), 175-90. There are two German translations: Theodor Kluge, trans., "Die georgische Übersetzung des Physiologus," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 28 (1914), 123-48; and Georg Graf, trans., "Der georgische Physiologus," *Caucasisca* 2 (1925), 93-114. Graf (p. 93) considered Kluge's translation to be "zum größten Teil falsch, vielfach sinnlos und für wissenschaftliche Benutzung gänzlich wertlos." Marr's dating of the Georgian translation to the eighth or ninth century (pp. xlvii-xlix) is challenged by Michael Tarchnišvili, *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur auf Grund des ersten Bandes der georgischen Literaturgeschichte von K. Kekelidze*, Studi e Testi 185 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1955), 359, who on lexical grounds concludes, "daß die Übersetzung des Physiologus in die Zeit vor dem 8. Jahrhundert zu datieren ist." It is not entirely certain, incidentally, that the Georgian tranlsation was made from Armenian and not directly from Greek.

32 Gigineisvili and Giunasvili, *Shatberdis crebuli* [note 31], 182; Marr, Физіологъ: армяно-грузинскій изводъ [note 27], 20-22 (Georgian text in Mrgvlovani script), 83-86 (Russian translation and commentary). Marr (p. 85) translates ვირ-კურთხა *vir-k'urotay* as осломелецъ, ослоболъ 'ass-calves, ass-bulls'; Graf, "Der georgische Physiologus" [note 31], 103, as "Eselochse." Kita Tschenkéli, *Georgisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*, rev. Yolanda Marchev, 3 vols. (Zurich: Amirani, 1965-74), s.v. (vol. 1, p. 645), defines *k'uro* as "Stier."

on the other hand, did not seem to lend itself to a *verbum de verbo* rendering, for in Georgian the sirens are called ზღვს-ქალნი *zġwis-kalni*, that is, 'sea-women' or 'mermaids'.[33] This same meaning recurs in the western *Physiologus* tradition.

It is largely by way of the *Physiologus* that the siren and onocentaur – especially as a pair – came to the attention of Latin ecclesiastical writers, for Jerome had made efforts in his revision of the Old Latin Isaiah to restore original Hebrew readings, or at least to de-Hellenize his text. In the Vulgate version of Isaiah 13.22 there is no mention of onocentaurs (these are rendered as *ululae* 'howlers'), though *sirenae* appear in the place of ἐχῖνοι 'hedgehogs' and are said to "communicate in temples of pleasure" (*respondebunt … sirenae in delubris voluptatis*).[34] In Isaiah 34.11-14, however, it is the sirens that are omitted entirely (they become *draconum* 'dragons'), while one of the three Septuagint attestations of onocentaurs remains: "et occurent daemonia onocentauris" [and demons will meet with onocentaurs].[35] The translators of the *Physiologus* into Latin were not influenced in this matter by the Vulgate and preserved the original coupling of the *Mischwesen*. In three of the four principal Latin translations – known as versions y, b, c, and a – σειρῆνες and ὀνοκένταυροι are transliterated, with minor orthographic variations, as *sirenae* and *onocentauri*.[36] This is also the case in the derivative Latin versions known as *b-Isidore*, the *Dicta Chrysostomi*, and the

33 Ibid. Marr's translation is морскія женщины 'sea-women'; Graf's is "Meermädchen."

34 Bonifatius Fischer et al., eds., *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, 4th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994), 1110. In the Old Latin text of Isa 13.21-22, which we know chiefly from Jerome's own commentary on the book, both *sirenae* and *onocentauri* are present. See Roger Gryson, ed., *Vetus latina. Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel 12: Esaias* (Freiburg: Herder, 1987), 388-89. The textual history is further complicated by the appearance of σειρῆνες instead of ἐχῖνοι at Isa 13.22 in the Greek translations of the Old Testament by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion (see ibid.).

35 Fischer, *Biblia sacra* [note 34], 1130 (Isa 34.14).

36 Version y is edited from three MSS in Francis J. Carmody, ed., "Physiologus latinus versio y," *University of California Publications in Classical Philology* 12.7 (1941), 95-134. Three additional MS witnesses to this version are cited in Francesco Sbordone, "La tradizione manoscritta del *Physiologus* latino," *Athenaeum (Nuovo Serie)* 27 (1949), 246-80, here at 251. For an English translation of this version, with supplementary text from version b, see Michael J. Curley, trans., *Physiologus* (Austin: U of Texas Press, 1979). Version b, which enjoyed the most popularity in the Middle Ages, is edited from twenty MSS in Francis J. Carmody, ed., *Physiologus latinus: Éditions préliminaires versio B* (Paris: E. Droz, 1939). The best edition of version c, represented by two MSS from the eighth or ninth century (Bern, Burgerbibliothek, lat. 318; and Wolfenbüttel Gud. lat. 148) is printed beside a German translation at the end of the facsimile by Christoph von Steiger and Otto Homburger, eds., *Physiologus bernensis: Voll-Faksimile-Ausgabe des Codex Bongarsianus 318 der Burgerbibliothek Bern* (Basel: Alkuin, 1964), 50-115. This version is given the siglum x by Sbordone, "La tradizione," 249. Version a consists of thirty-six chapters – thirteen from version y and the remaining from version b – and is represented by a single MS (Brussels, Bibl. Roy. 10074). The text is edited in Charles Cahier and Arthur Martin, eds., *Mélanges d'archéologie, d'histoire et de littérature sur le Moyen Âge*, 4 vols. (Paris: Poussielgue-Rusand, 1847-56), 2:85-232, 3:203-88, 4:55-87.

Physiologus Theobaldi.[37] The exception is version c, which calls to mind the Armenian and Georgian translations by twice calling the onocentaur a *honotaurus*.[38] Despite the relative consistency of the Latin tradition, several vernacular translations made from Latin sources exhibit the variability that characterizes the Eastern tradition. Georgian ზღვს-ქალნი *zġwis-kalni* 'mermaids' has an analogue in an early twelfth-century Old High (or Early Middle High) German *Physiologus* – based on the Latin *Dicta Chrysostomi* – where *Sirȩne* are called *meremanniu* 'mermaids'.[39] The neuter *meremanniu*, despite its clear relation to the word *man* 'man', was understood to denote female *Meereswesen* (similarly, Old Icelandic *man*, in addition to 'bondsman', can mean 'girl, maid, bondswoman').[40] The word recurs in the Middle English

37 The version known as *b-Isidore* is a composite text with features from version b and from Books 11 (*De homine et portentis*) and 12 (*De animalibus*) of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*; a single MS edition (London, British Museum Royal 2 C. xii) is provided in Max Friedrich Mann, ed., "Der bestiaire divin des Guillaume le Clerc," *Französische Studien* 6.2 (1888), 1-106, at 37-73; it is reprinted and translated into Italian in Luigina Morini, ed., *Bestiari medievali* (Parma: Pratriche, 1987; repr. Torin: Giulio Einaudi, 1996), 3-102. The *Dicta Chrysostomi* also go back to version b. The first critical edition of this work appeared in Friedrich Wilhelm, ed., *Denkmäler deutscher Prosa des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols., Germanistische Bücherei 3 (Munich: Max Hueber, 1914-16; repr. in 1 vol., 1960), 2:1-52. Wilhelm's edition is reprinted in Friedrich Maurer, ed., *Der altdeutsche Physiologus: Die Millstätter Reimfassung und die Wiener Prosa (nebst dem lateinischen Text und dem althochdeutschen Physiologus*, Altdeutsche Textbibliothek 67 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1967), 75-90. Six of the twenty-seven chapters that typically make up this work were edited on the basis of more MSS in Sbordone, "La tradizione" [note 36], 259-70. An extensive list of MSS containing the *Dicta Chrysostomi* is provided in Henkel, *Studien zum Physiologus* [note 4], 29n43. The *Physiologus Theobaldi* contains thirteen verse chapters and cannot be traced with precision to any one of the principal Latin versions (it has features in common with each of them). The work is edited on the basis of more than forty MSS, and translated into English, in P. T. Eden, ed., *Theobaldi «Physiologus»*, Mittellateinische Studien 6 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972).

38 Von Steiger and Homburger, *Physiologus bernensis* [note 36], 80.

39 Maurer, *Der altdeutsche Physiologus* [note 37], 92: "Sirȩne sint meremanniu" [Sirens are mermaids]. The Old High German *Physiologus*, which consists of twelve chapters, survives in a single MS (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 223) and has been edited several times; see Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen, ed., *Denkmale des Mittelalters* (Berlin: Oehmigke, 1824), 50-56; August Heinrich Hoffmann von Fallersleben, ed., *Fundgruben für Geschichte deutscher Sprache und Litteratur*, vol. 1 (Breslau: Grass, Barth und Comp., 1830; repr. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1969), 17-22; Wilhelm, *Denkmäler deutscher Prosa* [note 37], 1:4-20; Wilhelm Braune, ed., *Althochdeutsches Lesebuch*, 17th ed., rev. Ernst A. Ebbinghaus (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1994), 78-80 (excerpts); Michael Dallapiazza, *Der Wortschatz des althochdeutschen 'Physiologus'* (Venice: Cafoscarina, 1988), 91-93 (repr. of Maurer); Vittoria Dolcetti Corazza, ed., *Il Fisiologo nella letteraria germanica*, Bibliotheca Germanica: Studi e Testi 2 (Turin: Edizioni dell'Orso, 1992), 166-85 (repr. of Maurer). Dolcetti Corazza also provides a facing-page Italian translation and photographs of the MS (Tavole VII-XI).

40 Old High German glosses of *Sirenę* at Isa 13.22 include *merimenni*, *merime*^{n}*ni*, *meriminni*, *meriminnun*, *meriminna*, and *merminno*; see Elias Steinmeyer and Eduard Sievers, eds., *Die*

Physiologus. Following the *Physiologus Theobaldi*, where sirens are considered *monstra maris* 'monsters of the sea',[41] the Middle English translation reads *mereman* 'mermaid.'[42] Four lengthy Old French translations of the *Physiologus* appeared between the end of the twelfth and the first quarter of the thirteenth centuries; these are attributed to Philippe de Thaon, Gervaise, Guillaume le Clerc, and Pierre de Beauvais, whose *bestiaire* exists in two versions, known simply as long and short.[43] Against the

althochdeutschen Glossen, 5 vols. (Berlin: Weidmann, 1879-1922; repr. 1968-69), 1:602 (lines 20-23). On Old Icelandic *man*, see Richard Cleasby and Gudbrand Vigfusson, *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., rev. William A. Craigie (Oxford: Clarendon, 1957; repr. 1975), s.v. For a comprehensive study of the difficulty of the Germanic word *man*, see Anatoly Liberman, "Mannus-Sript: The Origin of the Germanic Word for 'Man'," in *Hrdá Mánasa: Studies Presented to Professor Leonard G. Herzenberg on the Occasion of his 70-Birthday*, ed. Nikolai N. Kazansky et al. (St. Petersburg: Nauka, 2005), 185-200.

41 Eden, *Theobaldi «Physiologus»* [note 37], 60.

42 Wirtjes, *The Middle English Physiologus* [note 7], 15. This version survives in one MS (British Library MS Arundel 292) and has been printed in several anthologies, including Bruce Dickins and R. M. Wilson, eds., *Early Middle English Texts* (London: Norton, 1951), 58-61; and J. A. W. Bennett and G. V. Smithers, eds., *Early Middle English Verse and Prose*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 165-73. For reference to earlier editions, see Wirtjes's bibliography (p. xciii), which fails to mention only a near contemporaneous Italian edition, namely Dora Faraci, ed., *Il Bestiario medio inglese (ms. Arundel 292 della British Library* (Rome: Japandre, 1990).

43 The bestiary by Philippe de Thaon, based on a b-Isidore exemplar and written in verse (3,194 lines), survives in three MSS (London, British Museum, Cotton Nero A. V.; Oxford, Merton College 249; and Copenhagen, Royal Library 3466) and is the earliest of the French translations (c. 1125). It is edited from the British Museum MS by Emmanuel Walberg, ed., *Le bestiaire de Philippe de Thaün: Texte critique publié avec introduction, notes et glossaire* (Paris: H. Welter, 1900), which is reprinted alongside an Italian translation in Morini, *Bestiari medievali* [note 37], 103-285. Another verse translation (1,280 lines), that attributed to Gervaise exists in one MS (London, British Museum, Add. 28260) and is loosely based on the *Dicta Chrysostomi*; it was edited for the inaugural issue of the journal *Romania*: Paul Meyer, ed., "Le bestiaire de Gervaise," *Romania* 1 (1872), 420-43. Meyer's edition is reprinted and translated into italian in Morini, *Bestiari medievali*, 287-361. Guillaume le Clerc also composed his bestiary in verse (3,426 lines) on the model of b-Isidore. The work is extant in twenty-four MSS and can be read in the following editions: Cahier and Martin, *Mélanges d'archéologie* [note 36], 2:85-232, 3:203-88, 4:55-87; C. Hippeau, ed., *Le bestiaire divin de Guillaume clerc de Normandie*, Collection des poètes français du Moyen Âge 1 (Paris, 1852-77; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1970); and Robert Reinsch, ed., *Le Bestiaire: Das Tierbuch des normannischen Dichters Guillame le Clerc* (Leipzig, O. R. Reisland, 1890). On the relation of Guillaume's *bestiaire* to b-Isidore, see Mann, "Der bestiaire divin" [note 37]. The long and short versions of Pierre de Beauvais's bestiary, written in prose, survive in four MSS each; they are based, too, on a version of b-Isidore, though they include additions from a number of sources, some of which remain unknown. The longer version is edited alongside Latin MSS and the bestiary of Guillaume le Clerc in Cahier and Martin, *Mélanges d'archéologie* [note 36], 2:85-232, 3:203-88, 4:55-87 (these editors refer to the author as Pierre le Picard), and by Craig A. Baker, ed., *Étude et édition critique de la version longue du Bestiaire attribuée à Pierre de Beauvais* (doctoral diss., Rutgers University, 2004); for an edition of the short version, see Guy R. Mermier, ed., *Le*

rest of its tradition, which reads *(h)onocentors*, one manuscript of Pierre's longer version – Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, fr. 3516 – has the translation *hanetons* 'cockchafers, June bugs' for Latin *onocentauri*.[44] This odd rendering, which probably owes itself to consonance (however vague), left its editors at a loss: "On voit bien qu'il ne s'agit pas du tout de hannetons."[45] Both the long and short versions of Pierre's bestiary, moreover, refer to the onocentaur as a *sagetaire*, that is, by the constellation of the centaur.[46] Similarly, in the verse bestiary by Gervaise, the section devoted to the *sereine* is followed by one concerned with the *centaurus*.[47] This is peculiar because such a variant is entirely absent from the *Dicta Chrysostomi* tradition that served as the basis for the Old French translation; again, perhaps the unfamiliarity of the onocentaur accounts for the appearances of its mythological cousin.[48] The westernmost representatives of the *Physiologus* are two fragmentary Old Icelandic translations – known as A and B – that were produced at the beginning of the thirteenth century, if not somewhat earlier.[49] Though both fragments contain a chapter on the onocentaur, only that of the

bestiaire de Pierre de Beauvais (Version courte): Édition critique avec notes et glossaire (Paris: A. G. Nizet, 1977). Modern French translations of the works of Guillaume le Clerq and Pierre de Beauvais (the short version) can be found in G. Bianciotto, trans., *Bestiaires du Moyen-Âge* (Paris: Stock, 1980).

44 Cahier and Martin, *Mélanges d'archéologie* [note 36], 2:172.

45 Ibid., 2:172n4

46 Ibid., 2:173n10. As opposed to MS P, upon which the editors have based their text, MS R of Pierre's long version reads: "Li honocentors c'on apele la sagetaire," and MS S reads: "Li onocentors, que on appelle sajetaire." For the reading of the short version, see Mermier, *Le bestiaire de Pierre* [note 43], 68: "La honocentors c'om apele sagetaire [...]." The tradition of refering to the centaur as sagittarius also appears in Middle Dutch; in Jacob van Maerlant's *Historie van Troyen* it is said about the centaur Chiron: "Nu suldy vernemen wel, / Dat hy voeren was een man / Ende achter een pert daeran. / Oec waeren al die centauroene / Also ghescapen ende van dien doene. / In anderen boecken – na dat waer is – / Hiet sulck volck sagittarys" (lines 4980-86) [Now you should well understand that, in the front, he was a man and, behind, a horse. All the centaurs were so created and of this nature. In other books – as is true – such creatures are called sagittarius]. The Middle Dutch is quoted from Ludo Jongen, "Do Centaurs Have Souls? Centaurs as seen by the Middle Dutch Poet Jacob van Maerlant," in *Animals and the Symbolic in Medieval Art and Literature*, ed. L. A. J. R. Houwen (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1997), 139-54, here at 141.

47 Meyer, "Le bestiaire de Gervaise" [note 43], 430 (line 329).

48 The only variation among the twelve MSS of the *Dicta Chrysostomi* edited by Sbordone is orthographic, namely *onocentaurus* appears beside *onocenthaurus*. See Sbordone, "La tradizione" [note 36], 268-69.

49 The fragments, which once composed a gathering in one MS – Arna-Magnæan Collection MS 673a, 4to – have been separated; fragment A is held in Reykjavik and fragment B in Copenhagen. It is available in the following editions: Theodor Möbius, ed., *Analecta Norræna: Auswahl aus der isländischen und norwegischen Litteratur des Mittelalters*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1877), 246-51; Verner Dahlerup, ed., "Physiologus i to islandske bearbejdelser," *Aarbøger for nordisk oldkyndighed og historie* 4 (1889), 199-290, with a facsimile; Halldór Hermannsson, ed., *The Icelandic Physiologus: Facsimile Edition with an Introduction*, Icelandica 27 (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1938), with a facsimile; Hreinn Bene-

shorter fragment A begins with the following association: "Honocentavrvs heiter dýr, þat es vér kǫllom finngálkan" [An animal is called *honocentaurus* that we call *finngálkn*].[50] The word *finngálkn* is generally understood to denote a sort of hybrid monster; it appears without definition in *Njáls saga* and, what is more telling, as a term for an ill-sounding mixed metaphor (*cacemphaton*) in the so-called Third Grammatical Treatise.[51]

diktsson, ed., *Early Icelandic Script as Illustrated in Vernacular Texts from the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, Icelandic Manuscripts, Series in Folios 2 (Reykjavik: Manuscript Institute of Iceland, 1965); Dolcetti Corazza, ed., *Il Fisiologo* [note 39], 208-39, with a facsimile and Italian translation; and Carla Del Zotto Tozzoli, ed., *Il Physiologus in Islanda*, Biblioteca Scandinava di Studi, Ricerche e Testi 7 (Pisa: Giardini, 1992), with a facsimile and Italian translation. For a facsimile edition and Danish translation, see Jonna Louis-Jensen, ed., "Faksimile af de islandke Physiologus-fragmenter," *Romanske stenarbejder* 2 (1984), 23-57. A German translation by Theodor Möbius appeared in the same year as the *editio princeps*, oddly enough, as an appendix to Fritz Hommel's edition of the Ethiopic *Physiologus* [note 20], 99-104. For an English translation and commentary, see James Marchand, "The Old Icelandic Physiologus," in *De consolatione philologiae: Studies in Honor of Evelyn S. Firchow*, ed. Anna Grotans et al. (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 2000), 231-244.

50 Del Zotto Tozzoli, *Il Physiologus in Islanda* [note 49], 74.

51 See Einar Ól. Sveinsson, ed., *Brennu-Njáls saga*, Íslenzk fornrit 12 (Reykjavik: Prentsmiðja Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1954), 303 (ch. 119), where the following is said about the exploits of Þorkell hákur: "Þá mœtti han finngálkni ok varðisk því lengi, en svá lauk með þeim, at hann drap finngálknit" [Then he met a *finngálkn* and fought it for a long time, and so it ended for them that he killed the *finngálkn*]. Regarding the Third Grammatical Treatise, see Thomas Krömmelbein, ed., *Dritte grammatische Abhandlung*, Studia Nordica 3 (Oslo: Novus, 1998), 146: "Sa laistr hæyrir ok cacenphaton, ær ver kǫllvm nykrat æða finngalgknat, ok verðr þat mæst inygervingvm" [This mistake, which we call *nykrat* or *finngalgknat*, also belongs to the category of *cacemphaton*, and occurs most often in the case of neologisms (*nygervingvm*)]. Marchand, "The Old Icelandic Physiologus" [note 47], suggests the influence of the first lines of Horace's *Ars poetica*: "Humano capiti ceruicem pictor equinam / iungere si uelit, et uarias inducere plumas / undique collatis membris, ut turpiter atrum / desinat in piscem mulier formosa superne, / spectatum admissi resum teneatis, amici?" [Should a painter take a whim to join to human head a horse's neck, and to clothe with motley feathers limbs derived from any bird or beast, so that a female bust, shapely and fair to see, should finish off in form of hideous fish, could you, my friends, admitted to a private view, restrain a laugh?]. Quoted from C. O. Brink, ed., *Horace on Poetry: The 'Ars Poetica'* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1971), 55 (lines 1-5); the translation is from A. Hamilton Bryce, trans., *The Poems of Horace: A Literal Translation* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1902), 276. All attestations of *finngálkn* have been collected by Sophus Bugge, "Mindre bidrag til nordisk mythologi og sagnhistorie. I. Finngálkn," *Aarbøger for nordisk oldkyndighed og historie* 10 (1895), 123-38. Following the lead of Jón Jónsson, Bugge (pp. 134-38) associates *finn-* with Latin *sphinx* on account of the many characteristics shared by the native *finngálkn* and the imported "Fabeldyr," though Icelanders would later understand *finn-* to mean 'Finnish'. Bugge derives *-gálkn* from **gandlíkan* and gives the following definition (p. 134): "*gálkn* skulde altsaa etymologisk betyde » en Gand-Skikkelse «; et Væsen, der har en Gands, et Trolddyrs Skikkelse; et Væsen, der har en Skikkelse som et af en ond Aand, en Trold besat og bevæget Væsen." His derivations are

The results of this first investigation are printed in the table below.[52] To summarize, the onocentaur of the Greek archetype appears as a hippocentaur in manuscripts MΓWOs, as a man-eating female demon in the *Syrus Vaticanus*, as a jackal in the *Syrus Leidensis*, as a centaur in Ethiopic (?) and in Gervaise's Old French, as an ass-bull in Armenian and Georgian – so too in Latin c, more or less – as a cockchafer in Pierre de Beauvais, and as a hybrid troll in Old Icelandic. The siren is rendered as a female ass-demon in Armenian and as a mermaid in Georgian, Old High German, and Middle English. The peculiarity of this variation comes into relief when compared with the consistent treatment of the phoenix, another mythological creature (though uniform), throughout the *Physiologus* tradition. It will be noticed in the table that, with the exception of the Arabic translation and possibly that of an Old English fragment,[53] the phoenix appears as φοῖνιξ or as a faithful transliteration. Even the Arabic rendering – طير *ṭayr* 'bird' – is not such a great deviation, for it can be explained as an abridgement of the full Greek title of the chapter, namely περὶ φοίνικος πετεινοῦ

cited with reservation by Jan de Vries, *Altnordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962; repr. 2000), s.v. *finngálkn*, *galkn*, and *gandr*. For further discussion, see Vittoria Dolcetti Corazza, "Animali reali e fantastici nel Fisiologo islandese antico," *AION-Filologia germanica* 28 (1985), 141-68, at 147-50, who revives the interpretation 'Finnish' (=magical).

52 The forms in the table are quoted from the editions already cited with the exception of the Coptic, Middle High German *Wiener Prosa*, and Middle High German *Millstätter* versions of the *Physiologus*, which have not yet been discussed. The existence of a Coptic *Physiologus* was first postulated by Hommel, *Die aethiopische Uebersetzung* [note 20], viii. Fragments were indeed discovered and edited by Adolf Erman, "Bruchstücke des koptischen Physiologus," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 33 (1895), 51-57, and later supplemented by additional discoveries and translated into French by Arnold van Lantschoot, ed., "A propos du Physiologus," in *Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum*, Bulletin of the Byzantine Institute 2 (Boston: Byzantine Institute, 1950), 339-63. No chapter on the siren or onocentaur has yet been found in Coptic. The two Middle High German versions will be discussed below.

53 The Arabic *Physiologus*, extant in eleven known MSS, does not have a chapter on the siren and onocentaur. The text is edited from a single MS (Leiden, Bibliothek der Rijksuniversiteit, De Jong 146) and printed in the commentary to the *Syrus Leidensis* in Land, *Otia syriaca* [note 1], 115-76. Three chapters from Vatican City, Bibliotheca Vaticana, MS Sbath 146 are printed in an appendix to Arnold van Lantschoot, ed., "Fragments syriaques du Physiologus," *Le Muséon* 72 (1959), 37-51, at 49-51. The recent edition (in transliteration) and German translation by Sibylle Wentker, which is based on five MSS, is cited above in note 4. The Old English *Physiologus* consists of two alliterative poems – on the panther and the whale – and one fragmentary line of verse concerned with a certain bird. The text survives in the Exeter Book (Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3501) and has been edited on some ten occasions, appearing most recently in Ann Squires, ed., *The Old English Physiologus* (Durham: Durham Medieval Texts, 1988) and, with photographs of the MS and an Italian translation, in Dolcetti Corazza, *Il Fisiologo* [note 39], 128-43 (+ Tavole I-VI). For references to earlier editions and translations, see Squires's bibliography, p. 31.

'On the bird phoenix'.[54] The situation in Old English is much less clear, since the poetic fragment in question consists of merely eight words: *Hyrde ic secgan gen bi summum fugle / wundorlicne* [I have heard yet more about a certain bird, wonderful …].[55] Though it has been argued that the *fugel* 'bird' in question is the phoenix, it is traditionally believed – and this is more likely the case – to denote the partridge.[56] My thesis that the variability in the names of the siren and onocentaur has roots in the biformal nature of the creatures themselves is supported by evidence from Greek, Ethiopic, Armenian, Georgian, Old High German, Middle English, Old Icelandic, and Old French. In these cases, though one or the other creature is given a different name, their hybridity remains as a defining characteristic. In Syriac, however, this characteristic was somewhat lost on the translators, at least with respect to their understanding of the word ὀνοκένταυροι.

Version	**Siren**	**Onocentaur**	**Phoenix**
Greek (G):	σειρῆνες	ὀνοκένταυροι	φοῖνιξ
Greek (MΓ):	σειρῆνες	ἱππoκένταυροι	φοῖνιξ
Greek (Σas):	σειρῆνες	ὀνοκένταυροι s: ἱππoκένταυροι	φοῖνιξ
Greek (WO):	σειρῆνες	ἱππoκένταυροι	φοῖνιξ
Greek (AIΠΕΔφr):	σειρῆνες	ὀνοκένταυροι	φοῖνιξ
Syriac (Vaticanus):	ܣܝܪܝܢܘܣ *sīrīnūs*	ܐܝܠܝܛܐ *'elītā* 'a (female) demon'	ܦܘܢܝܩܝܐ *pūnīqiyus*
Syriac (Leidensis):	ܣܝܪܘܢܘܣ *sīrūnūs*	ܝܥܘܪܝܐ *yōrūrā* 'jackal'	ܦܘܢܝܩܝܐ *pūnīqiyus*
Syriac (*Buch der Naturgegenstände*):	ܣܝܪܢܣ *sīranas* ܣܝܪܝܢܣ *sīrēnas*	—	ܦܘܢܝܩܝܐ *pūnīqiyūs*
Ethiopic:	ሲሬንስ *sirēnis*	ቅጠውን *qeṭwen*	ፈንክስ *finəks*
Arabic:	—	—	طير كبير *ṭayr kabīr* 'a great bird'
Armenian:	յուշկապարիկք *yowškaparikk'* 'female demons'	իշացուլք *išac'owlk'* 'ass-bulls'	ւիիւ ևիքս *p'iwnik's*
Georgian:	ზღვს-ქალნი *zgwis-kalni* 'mermaids'	ვირ-კუროთაჲ *vir-k'urotay* 'ass-bulls'	ფინიქს *piniks*
Coptic:	—	—	ⲫⲟⲓⲛⲓⲝ *phoinix*
Latin (y):	*Syrene*	*onocentauri*	*phenix*
Latin (b):	*sirenae*	*onocentauri*	*phoenix*
Latin (c):	*serenae*	*honotaurus*	—

54 For the Arabic text on the phoenix, see Land, *Otia syriaca* [note 1], 154-55; and Wentker, *Der arabische Physiologus* [note 4], 148-50. The Greek chapter title is quoted from Sbordone, *Physiologus* [note 5], 25. Perhaps Wentker has my explanation in mind when she writes (p. 62): "Die griechische Bezeichnung für diesen sagenhaften Vogel lautet *phoínix peteinós*, die arabische Überlieferung bezeichnet ihn lediglich als *ṭayr* (Vogel)."

55 Squires, *The Old English Physiologus* [note 51], 46.

56 An argument for the phoenix is made by Michael D. C. Drout, "'The Partridge' is a Phoenix: Revising the Exeter Book Physiologus," *Neophilologus* 91 (2007), 487-503. See, *contra* Drout, Valentine A. Pakis, "A Note in Defense of 'The Partridge' (Exeter Book 97v)," *Neophilologus* 92 (2008), 729-34.

Latin (a):	*syrenæ*	*honocentauri*	*fenix*
Latin (Dicta):	*sirenae*	*onocentaurus*	*fenix*
Latin (b-Is):	*syrena*	*onocentaurus*	*phenix*
Latin (Theobaldi):	*sirene*	*honocentauris*	—
German (Old High):	*meremanniu*	*onocentaurus*	—
German (Wiener):	*Sirenef*	*Onocenthauren*	*fenix*
German (Millstätter):	*Sirenen*	*Onocenthauren*	*fenix*
Old English:	—	—	*fugle* (?)
Middle English:	*mereman*	—	—
Icelandic (A):	*Sirena*	*finngálkan*	*fenix*
Icelandic (B):	—	*honocentaurus*	—
French (short Pierre):	*serainne*	*sagetaire*	*fenis*
French (long Pierre):	*seraine*	P: *haneton* RS: *sagetaire/sajetaire*	*fénix*
French (Philippe):	*Serena*	*onoscentaurus*	*fenix*
French (Guillaume):	*sereine*	—	*fenix*
French (Gervaise):	*Sereine*	*centaurus*	*phenix*

Physeis and Hermeneiai

The characteristics attributed to the siren and onocentaur differ as much as their names. Throughout the tradition, again, it seems as though the duplicity of the creatures, in form and nature, superseded other priorities of representation, for against this constant the details vary considerably. In the first Greek redaction, the sirens are described as being half man (ἄνθρωπος) and half goose (χήν) in manuscripts GMΓΣas, as half woman (γυνή) and half goose in manuscripts WO, and as half woman and half bird (πετεινός) in manuscripts AIΠΕΔφr. In GΣa the onocentaur is predictably characterized as being half man and half ass (ὄνος), whereas in AIΠΕΔφr it is half man and half horse (ἵππος). Inversely, the hippocentaurs are predictably half man and half horse in ΓsWO, but half man and half ass in M. Both creatures are likened to a duplicitous man (ἀνὴρ δίψυχος), to heretics (αἱρετικοί), and to those full of hypocrisy (ὑποκρίσεων μεστοί).[57]

In Ethiopic, sirens are said to resemble a bird (**የፍ** *yaf*) from the navel down and, strangely enough, a horse (**ፈረስ** *faras*) from the navel up. As expected, the onocentaur is half man (**ሰብእ** *sab'*) and half ass (**አድግ** *'adeg*), though it is additionally described as having solid feet and as being entirely wild or agitated (**ህውክ፡ ኵለ–ንታሆሙ** *hewek k*^{w}*elntāhomu*).[58] Here too both creatures are likened to hypocrites

57 Sbordone, *Physiologus* [note 5], 51-54; Offermanns, *Der Physiologus* [note 8], 58-61 (MSS GMΓ); Kaimakis, *Der Physiologus* [note 14], 42a-45b (MSS ΣasWOAIΠΕΔφr).

58 Hommel, *Die aethiopische Uebersetzung* [note 20], 13. Hommel, in both his original and revised translation, renders **ወህውክ፡ ኵለንታሆሙ** *wahewek k*^{w}*elntāhomu* as "und erregt ist ihr ganzer körper," and Sumner's version – *Ethiopian Philosophy* [note 20], 27 – is: "and furthermore their behavior is perturbing." On the meaning of **ህውክ** *hewek*, see August Dillmann, *Lexicon linguae aethiopicae cum indice latino* (Leipzig: Weigel, 1865; repr.

who feign piety. Chapter twenty-eight of the short Syriac *Physiologus* contains one of the few biblical citations in the work (part of Isa 13.21); here, as in the Greek manuscripts GMΓΣas, the siren is thought to be part man and part goose (ܥܙܛܐ *wazztā*). The onocentaur, called an ܐܝܠܝܛܐ *elītā* 'female demon' (to recall), is nevertheless given the attributes of a centȧur or hippocentaur, that is, it is half man and half horse (ܣܘܣܝܐ *sūsyā*).[59] Like the Greek manuscript group AΠΠΕΔφr, the *Syrus Leidensis* describes the sirens as half woman and half bird (ܦܘܕܗܘܛܐ *podahotā*), while it uniquely portrays the ܝܥܘܪܐ *yōrūrā* 'jackal' as an onocentaur, half man and half ass (ܚܡܪܐ *hamrā*). The creatures are together allegorized – "lest we be divided into two parts" – as those who try in vain to serve two masters, Mammon and God.[60] Of the two chapters concerned with sirens in the Syriac *Buch der Naturgegenstände*, chapter thirty-eight, which consists largely of extra-*Physiologus* material, also represents them as half woman and half bird.[61] Chapter 110, on the other hand, says nothing of the physical characteristics of the sirens, but closes in a disjointed manner by describing onocentaurs – which are not named – as half man and half horse: "This animal, however, is composed of two forms: from the navel up it has the form of a man, and from there down the form of a mare (ܣܘܣܬܐ *sūstā*). It is thus half man and half horse (ܣܘܣܝܐ *sūsyā* 'stallion')."[62] In Armenian, the nov-

New York: Frederick Ungar, 1955), s.v. (p. 13): "agitatus, commotus, perturbatus; vagus, inconstans."

59 Tychsen, *Physiologvs syrvs* [note 6], 17. About this strange chapter, Tychsen (p. 144) remarks: "Quem Auctor secutus sit, incognitum habeo."

60 Land, *Otia syriaca* [note 1], 43-44 (Syriac). Land's reaction to this passage (p. 142) provided the epigraph of the present article; to repeat: "Mira est in hoc capite rerum confusio." See also Land's earlier comments on this chapter in "Over twee onuitgegevene redactiën van den Physiologus," in *Verslagen en mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen: Afdeeling letterkunde* 2.4 (Amsterdam: C. G. van der Post, 1874), 248-73, here at 269: "De grieksche en armenische exemplaren van den Physiologus beschrijven de sirenen, gelijk Aelianus het doet, als de harpyien der mythe, derhalve als half mensch half vogel; de Syriër van het Vaticaan vereenigt zich daarmede, doch bedenkende dat zij in de zee moesten zwemmen, maakt hij van den vogel een gans. De onocentauren beschrijven allen volgens de overlevering. Doch de gewone syrische bijbelvertaling heeft bij Jesajas onder de genoemde dieren den jakhals (*joruro*) en op een soortgelijke plaats den nachtuil (*'elito*); van daar dat de Physiologus van Tychsen den uil, en de onze den jakhals tot een monster maakt, dat uit helften van een mensch en een ezel is zamengesteld."

61 Ahrens, *Buch der Naturgegenstände* [note 6], 26 (Syriac). It is worth quoting some of this chapter, in Ahrens's translation (p. 51), for its strangeness: "Die *sîrênâs* ist ein Meertier und hat sieben Spalten am Munde und sieben Finger an den Füssen; und wenn sie singen will, so steckt sie ihre Finger in den Mund, jeden Finger in ein Loch, und bläst darauf. Und alle Tiere des Meeres versammeln sich beim Klange der Gesänge der Sirenen."

62 Ibid., 59 (Syriac). Ahrens's explanation (p. 7n) of the feminine form ܣܘܣܬܐ *sūstā* fails to convince: "BNG [=*Buch der Naturgegenstände*] 110 sind die Worte 'Gestalt einer Stute' dadurch zu erklären, dass in der Vorlage *wazzθâ* (Gans) stand, gleich ST [=Tychsen's edition of the short Syriac *Physiologus*] 28; der Abschreiber geriet von da in die Beschreibung der ὀνοκένταυροι, wo (s. ST) *sûsjâ* steht. So entstand die Form *sûstâ*."

elty of the rendering յովշկապարիկք *yowškaparikk'* for σειρῆνες is offset by the somewhat conventional description of the creature as half woman (կնոջ *knoj*) and half bird (թռչնոյ *t'rč̌'[n]oy*).[63] What is perhaps more colorful is that the Armenian translation of ὀνοκένταυροι as իշացուլք *išac'owlk'* 'ass-bulls', based on false etymology, did not result in hypercorrection throughout the tradition, for in a number of manuscripts the ass-bull is defined as half man (մարդոյ *mardoy*) and half ass (իշոյ *išoy*), not as half ass and half bull (գլոյ *c'loy*), which appears in a minority of witnesses.[64] That this inconsistency is absent from the Georgian version, where onocentaurs also appear as ass-bulls (ვირ-კურთაჲ *vir-k'urotay*), reveals something about its *Vorlage*.[65]

Without an exact parallel in Greek, Latin versions a, b, c, b-Isidore, and one manuscript of version y describe the siren as half man (*figuram hominis*) and half bird (*figuram volatilis*).[66] Instead of *volatilis*, the two remaining manuscripts of version y (designated as Y and Y² by Carmody) have the erroneous reading *mulieris* 'woman'.[67] In the *Dicta Chrysostomi*, as in Greek ΑΙΠΕΔφr, the siren is half woman (*figuram feminae*) and half bird (*uolatilis imaginem*),[68] and the *Physiologus Theobaldi* presents a poetic variation of this: "Ex umbilico sunt ut pulcherrima virgo, / Quodque facit monstrum, volucres sunt inde deorsum" [From the navel up they are like a most beautiful maiden and – what makes them monsters – from there downwards they are birds].[69] Versions y, a, c, the *Dicta Chrysostomi*, and the *Physiologus Theobaldi* each describe the onocentaur as part man (*homo/humanus*) and part ass (*asinus*),[70] while

63 Pitra's edition, according to Cahier, *Nouveaux mélanges* [note 27], 127, describes the siren as part woman and part bird, ass, or bull ("la reste tient de l'oiseau, ou de l'âne, ou de taureau"), but this variant is not recorded in Muradyan's apparatus. See also Karnějev, "Der Physiologus der Moskauer Synodalbibliothek" [note 14], 46; and Peters, *Der griechische Physiologus* [note 24], 43n1: "In der armenischen Übersetzung gleichen die Sirenen in ihrem untern Teil einem Vogel oder einem Esel oder einem Stier."

64 Muradyan, *Physiologus: The Greek and Armenian Versions* [note 27], 113, 113n438, 113n439. Both traditions of understanding the onocentaur had afterlives in Armenian literature; see the tenth chapter of Muradyan's introduction, "Traces of the Physiologus in Later Armenian Literature" (pp. 72-81).

65 Marr, Физіологъ: армяно-грузинскій изводъ [note 27], 20-22.

66 Cahier and Martin, *Mélanges d'archéologie* [note 36], 174 (version a); Carmody, *Physiologus latinus: Éditions préliminaires versio B* [note 36], 25; Von Steiger and Homburger, *Physiologus bernensis* [note 36], 80 (version c); Mann, "Der bestiaire divin" [note 37], 46 (version b-Isidore); Carmody, "Physiologus latinus versio y" [note 36], 114.

67 Carmody, "Physiologus latinus versio y" [note 36], 114.

68 Sbordone, "La tradizione" [note 36], 268.

69 Eden, *Theobaldi «Physiologus»* [note 37], 60-61. See also the lines from the so-called *Abbreviatio phisiologi* in Henkel, *Studien zum Physiologus* [note 4], 51: "Voce sua dulci siren est causa pericli; / Est ut virgo superius, avis inferius."

70 Carmody, "Physiologus latinus versio y" [note 36], 114; Cahier and Martin, *Mélanges d'archéologie* [note 36], 175 (version a); Von Steiger and Homburger, *Physiologus bernensis* [note 36], 80 (version c); Sbordone, "La tradizione" [note 36], 269; Eden, *Theobaldi «Physiologus»* [note 37], 62.

version b and the derivative b-Isidore claim that its upper part is like that of a man and its lower part is, simply, of a very wild nature (*inferior uero partis membra sunt naturae ualde agrestis*).[71] There is further inconsistency regarding the allegorical significance of onocentaurs in the Latin tradition. Likened in general to hypocrites, they are said to represent a *uir duplex corde* (following James 1.8) in version y – in version c the construction is plural – which is a fitting translation of ἀνὴρ δίψυχος.[72] Versions b and b-Isidore call them "uecordes atque bilingues homines informes" [mad (*or* senseless) and double-tongued hideous (*or* shapeless) men]. There is further confusion in the tradition between the attributes *informes* 'shapeless, hideous' and *biformes* 'double-shaped', and between *bicordes* 'of two hearts, false' and *vecordes* 'mad, senseless'. Instead of the *informes* of version b, for instance, version a reads *et moribus biformes* 'and duplicitous in their ways'[73]; according to the *Dicta Chrysostomi*, onocentaurs are *moribus informes*, but rather than *vecordes*, they are *bicordes*: "Per hunc assimilantur bicordes et bilingues homines, moribus informes" [In this regard the are like two-faced and double-tongued men, hideous in their ways].[74] Though the majority of its manuscript witnesses reads *in more biformes* 'two-faced in their behavior', a Northern French recension of the *Physiologus Theobaldi* (labelled Δ by its editor) has instead *nunc ore biformes*, which literally means that the onocentaur had two heads.[75] This misunderstanding has reflexes in medieval art, in which the onocentaur occasionally appears as a two-headed monster.[76]

Western vernacular translations introduce further novelties. In Old High German, both the siren and the onocentaur are thought to live in the sea, whereas elsewhere in the *Physiologus* tradition this dwelling belongs only to the siren: "[I]n demo mere sint uunderlihu uuihtir, diu heizzent sirenę unde onocentauri" [In the sea there are marvelous creatures called siren and onocentaur].[77] Otherwise the Old High German version follows the *Dicta Chrysostomi* rather closely, stating that sirens are part woman (*uuibe*) and part bird (*uogele*) and that onocentaurs, half man (*halb man*) and half ass (*halb esil*), are duplicitous in their speech and hearts (*zuuiualtic sint in ir zunon und in*

71 Carmody, *Physiologus latinus: Éditions préliminaires versio B* [note 36], 26; Mann, "Der bestiaire divin" [note 37], 46. At the end of the chapter (ibid., 47), b-Isidore follows Isidore of Seville closely: "Onocentaurus autem vocatur, eo quod media specie sit homo, media vero asinus." See *Etymologiae* 11.3.39, in W. M. Lindsay, ed., *Isidori hispalensis episcopi etymologiarvm sive originvm*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1911), n.p.: "Onocentaurum autem vocari eo quod media hominis specie, media asini esse dicatur."

72 Carmody, "Physiologus latinus versio y" [note 36], 114; Von Steiger and Homburger, *Physiologus bernensis* [note 36], 80: "His ergo conparantur uiri duplici corde" [They are therefore comparable to two-hearted (*or* false) men].

73 Cahier and Martin, *Mélanges d'archéologie* [note 36], 175.

74 Sbordone, "La tradizione" [note 36], 269.

75 Eden, *Theobaldi «Physiologus»* [note 37], 62n3.

76 See ibid., 63n3: "It may not be coincidence that the magnificent *opus tesserulatum* of the floor of the cathedral at Otranto, laid by Pantaleone in 1165 A.D., when Southern Italy was dominated by the Normans under Roger II, shows an onocentaur with two heads."

77 Maurer, *Der altdeutsche Physiologus* [note 37], 92.

iro herzon).[78] Things are similar in the two principal Middle High German translations – the *Wiener Prosa* and its derivative, the *Millstätter Reimfassung*[79] – where the siren is likewise part woman (*wib*) and part bird (*vogile/vogele*) and the onocentaur half man (*manne/mannes*) and half ass (*Esile/Esil*).[80] Both follow the *Dicta Chrysostomi* closely by calling the onocentaur *vil wild(e)lich* 'very wild' (=*valde agrestis*) and by preserving the reading *bilingues homines, moribus informes*. In the latter case, the author of the *Millstätter* version was prompted to neologize for the sake of rhyme: "Der Onocenthaurus bezeichnit an uns / vil broden mennisken die zunge zwislisken, / die mit ubilen siten umbegant unde den wonent mit" [The onocentaur represents to us the double-tongued nature of very weak men who go around with the wicked customs they have adopted].[81] The word *zwislisken* is a hapax legomenon.[82] The translator of

78 Ibid.

79 Based on the *Dicta Chrysostomi*, the twelfth-century Middle High German *Wiener Prosafassung* survives in a single manuscript: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 2721. For a facsimile, see Edgar Papp, ed., *Codex Vindobensis 2721. Frühmittelhochdeutsche Sammelhandschrift der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien: Genesis – Physiologus – Exodus*, Litterae 79 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1980), 129v-158r. For editions, see Eberhard Gottlieb Graff, ed., *Diutiska: Denkmäler deutscher Sprache und Literatur*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1826-29; repr. Hildesheim: Olm, 1970), 3:22-39; August Heinrich Hoffmann von Fallersleben, ed., *Fundgruben für Geschichte deutscher Sprache und Litteratur*, vol. 1 (Breslau: Grass, Barth und Comp., 1830; repr. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1969), 22-37; Hans Ferdinand Massmann, ed., *Deutsche Gedichte des zwölften Jahrhunderts und der nächstverwandten Zeit*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: G. Basse, 1837), 1:311-25; Lauchert, *Geschichte des Physiologus* [note 4], 280-99; Wilhelm, *Denkmäler deutscher Prosa* [note 37], 1:5-28; Friedrich Maurer, ed., *Die religiösen Dichtungen des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1964), 169-244; idem, *Der altdeutsche Physiologus* [note 37], 2-72. The *Millstätter Reimfassung*, produced around the year 1200, is based on the Viennese prose *Physiologus* and exists in the first illustrated German manuscript, namely Klagenfurt, Kärnter Landesarchiv, Geschichtsverein für Kärnten 6/19. A facsimile was made by Alfred Kracher, ed., *Millstätter Genesis und Physiologus Handschrift: Vollständige Faksimileausgabe der Sammelhandschrift 6/19 des Geschichtsvereins für Kärnten im Kärtner Landesarchiv*, 2 vols. (Klagenfurt/Graz: Akademische Druck u. Verlagsanstalt, 1967), and the text appears in the following editions: Theodor G. von Karajan, ed., *Deutsche Sprach-Denkmale des zwölften Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: Braumüller und Seidel, 1846; repr. New York: G. Olms, 1974), 73-106; Peter F. Ganz, ed. *Geistliche Dichtung des 12. Jahrhunderts: Eine Textauswahl*, Philologische Studien und Quellen (Berlin: E. Schmidt, 1960), 49-58 (350 line excerpt); Maurer, *Die religiösen Dichtungen*, 169-245; idem, *Der altdeutsche Physiologus* [note 37], 2-72; and, with a German translation, Christian Schröder, ed., *Der Millstätter Physiologus: Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar*, Würzburger Beiträge zur deutschen Philologie 24 (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2005).

80 Maurer, *Der altdeutsche Physiologus* [note 37], 16-18; Schröder, *Der Millstätter Physiologus* [note 79], 80-82.

81 Schröder, *Der Millstätter Physiologus* [note 79], 82. The *Wiener Prosa* – Maurer, *Der altdeutsche Physiologus* [note 37], 18 – reads: "Der Onocentaurus bizeichinot die zwislen zungin der menniskin, die mit ubilen siten sint bivangin" [The onocentaur signifies the two-tongued nature of men who are taken by wicked customs]. There is also a fragmentary rhyming *Physiologus* in Middle High German – called the *Münchener* or *Schäftlarner*

fragment B of the Old Icelandic *Physiologus* did not have the sharpest command of Latin; here, *bilingues* is not interpreted as 'two-tongued, deceitful' but rather as 'having two languages', and *agrestis* is understood to mean 'rural, of the field (?)': "oc hefir tu[enn] mǫl oc hefsc á teigum úti at mæla viþ menn" [and it has two languages and stays out in the field to talk to men].[83]

In the Old French *bestiaires* by Gervais, Pierre de Beauvais, and Philippe de Thaon, the onocentaur normally appears as half man (*home/üme*) and half ass (*asne*),[84] though an irregularity occurs in manuscript S (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 944) of Pierre's shorter version, where the onocentaur is half man and half horse (*moitie cheval*).[85] Like Old Icelandic B, there is some ambiguity in Gervaise's rendering of *bilingues*: "Aicestui sanblable sunt / Li home qui .ij. langues ont" [These are similar to men who have two tongues (*or* languages)].[86] To Philippe de Thaon, the asinine half of the onocentaur represents its turpitude (*vilainie*),[87] whereas to Pierre the biformality signifies those who have two hearts and two manners of speaking (*qu'il ont double cuers et doubles paroles*).[88] Over the course of the (Western) Middle Ages, the siren began to acquire the features of a fish; the idea appears as early as the mid-seventh to mid-eighth-century *Liber monstrorum de diversis generibus* (if not already in Horace) and, later on, in such texts as the *De bestiis et aliis rebus* attributed to Hugh of St. Victor (ob. 1141).[89] The transition between a woman-bird and a

fragment – from which a few lines on the onocentaur are extant; it is printed in Maurer's apparatus (p. 19): "Der onocentaur bezeichinot des wir haben michele not. / die zwiskelen zungen an unsern ebenchristenen / die da sint unstate unde machenz gerne gebage" [The onocentaur signifies that which brings about great calamity: the two-tongued nature of our fellow Christians, who are unsteady in their ways and look to quarrel].

82 For commentary on the word and references, see Schröder, *Der Millstätter Physiologus* [note 79], 192.

83 Del Zotto Tozzoli, *Il Physiologus in Islanda* [note 49], 96; Marchand, "The Old Icelandic *Physiologus*" [note 49], 240, who notes: "The translator has misunderstood the *bilinguis* of the Latin, which does not mean, of course 'having two languages', but 'having two tongues, deceitful'. He has expanded the *agrestis* 'wild' of the Latin in an interesting fashion."

84 Meyer, "Le bestiaire de Gervaise" [note 43], 430 (lines 330-34); Cahier and Martin, *Mélanges d'archéologie* [note 36], 2:173 (Pierre's long version); Mermier, *Le bestiaire de Pierre* [note 43], 68 (Pierre's short version); Walberg, *Le bestiaire de Philippe* [note 43], 41-42 (lines 1110-16).

85 Mermier, *Le bestiaire de Pierre* [note 43], 103 (*Variantes*).

86 Meyer, "Le bestiaire de Gervaise" [note 43], 430 (lines 335-36).

87 Walberg, *Le bestiaire de Philippe* [note 43], 42 (lines 1120-22).

88 Mermier, *Le bestiaire de Pierre* [note 43], 68. The long version reads: "qui ont dobles cors et dobles parole."

89 *Liber Monstrorum* 1.6-7, in Andy Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the Beowulf-Manuscript*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: U of Toronto Press, 2003), 262-63: "Sirenae sunt marinae puellae, quae nauigantes pulcherrima forma et cantu dulcedinis decipiunt, et a capite usque ad umbilicum sunt corpore uirginali et humano generi simillimae, squamosas tamen piscium caudas habent, quibus semper in gurgite latent" [Sirens are sea-girls, who deceive sailors with the outstanding beauty of their appearance and the sweetness of their

woman-fish is clear in manuscript illustrations, which often depict the siren as a woman with the combined features of a bird and a fish.[90] It is also clear in the Old French versions of the *Physiologus*: Philippe de Thaon, author of the earliest French witness, imagined the siren as a woman down to the waist, with the feet of a falcon and the tail of a fish (*E de feme at faiture / Entresqu'a la ceinture, / E les piez de falcun / E cue de peissun*); below the waist, according to Guillaume le Clerc, the siren can be either a fish or a bird (*L'autre partie est figuree / Comme poisson et com oisel*); and Pierre de Beauvais's longer bestiary claims that there are three types of siren, two of which are half woman and half bird, the third half woman and half fish (*III manières de seraine sont, don't les II sont moitié feme moitié poisson; et l'autre moitié feme moitié oiseax*).[91] The transition had completed its course, however, in the bestiary of Gervaise, who portrayed the siren simply as half woman (*feme*) and half fish (*poisons*),[92] and also in Middle English *Physiologus*, which was composed a few decades later (c. 1250) in the area of Norfolk: "Đe mereman is a meiden ilike: / On brest & on bodi oc (al ðus ȝe is bunden): / Fro ðe noule niðerward ne is ȝe (no man like) / Oc fis to ful iwis mið finnes waxen" [The mermaid is like a maiden in its breast and

song, and are most like human beings from the head to the navel, with the body of a maiden, but have scaly fishes' tails, with which they always lurk in the sea.]. Hugh of St. Victor, *De bestiis et aliis rebus* 2.32, in PL 177, col. 78: "superne usque ad umbilicum figuram muliebrem habent, inferna vero pars usque ad pedes piscis habet figuram" [From the navel up they have a female shape, yet the lower part down to the feet has the shape of a fish]. On the relation between Hugh of St. Victor's work and the *Physiologus*, see Francis J. Carmody, "*De bestiis et aliis rebus* and the Latin Physiologus," *Speculum* 13 (1938), 153-59. Horace's allusion to sirens is cited above in note 51. For additional references, see especially Faraci, *Il Bestiario* [note 42], 157-61.

90 About the representation of the siren in manuscript illustrations, McCulloch, *Medieval Latin and French Bestiaries* [note 4], 168-69: "Illustrations of the siren [...] are among the most fascinating of the bestiary drawings because of the ingenuity shown in combining monstrous features with the figure of a woman. The three types that appear are women with bird extremities, with fish tail, and finally hybrid fish and bird features. The text of the oldest illustrated manuscript, Bern 318, says that the siren has a bird's tail, but the drawing of a woman standing by a centaur shows her with a coiled, serpent-like tail. Brussels 10074, f. 146v, shows two bird-tailed sirens tearing the clothes from a recumbent man while another siren plucks a stringed instrument. [...] It is odd to see in the Icelandic Bestiary a fish-tailed, bearded woman standing on human legs beside a boat full of lively men. The twelfth and thirteenth century Latin bestiaries from England are scarcely less fantastic in their conception of the siren [...]. Bodl. 602, f. 10v. depicts two sirens with bird's wings, tails, and taloned feet, playing instruments. A third has a fish's tail and webbed feet. [...] In her hand the siren often holds a fish, a mirror, or a comb; more rarely, she grasps the head of a serpent twisted over her shoulder."

91 Walberg, *Le bestiaire de Philippe* [note 43], 51 (lines 1365-68); Hippeau, *Le bestiaire divin* [note 43], 224 (lines 1000-01); Cahier and Martin, *Mélanges d'archéologie* [note 36], 2:172-73.

92 Meyer, "Le bestiaire de Gervaise" [note 43], 430 (lines 306-07).

body, too. She is formed just so: From the navel down she is like no one else, but rather entirely a fish with grown fins].[93]

This panoramic glance at the tradition has exposed a rather disconcerting scene. Onocentaurs – *in nuce* – are described as hippocentaurs, hippocentaurs as onocentaurs, female demons as hippocentaurs, jackals as onocentaurs, ass-bulls as man-bulls, onocentaurs as wild men; they are likened to hypocrites who can be two-psyched, two-hearted, two-tongued, two-headed, biformal, and bilingual. Any of the following beings, moreover, can form part of a siren: man, woman, goose, bird, fish, horse, or bull.

The Structure of the Chapters

As mentioned above, certain variations in the sequence and content of *Physiologus* chapters are characteristic of the tradition as a whole; they appear in a number of orders, are occasionally put into verse, and are truncated or expanded according to their omission or inclusion of biblical citations and typological interpretations. The chapter on the siren and onocentaur reflects this "stete Aenderung und Umwandlung," as J. Victor Carus has called it.[94] An idea of the variability that characterizes the order of chapters can be gained by looking merely at the Greek tradition: In manuscripts GMΓAasWOIIΊΕΔφr and Π, the siren and onocentaur are treated, respectively, in chapters 14, 12, 12, 13, 8, 13, 11, 11, 11, 6, 9, 9, 8, and 16.[95] Greek MS Σ lacks the chapter altogether, as does the Arabic *Physiologus* (Coptic evidence is also wanting).[96] Poetic renderings include the *Physiologus Theobaldi* and the derivative Middle English version, the Middle High German *Millstätter Reimfassung*, and the Old French translations by Gervaise, Philippe, and Guillaume. The use of biblical citations is so unsteady that even Isaiah 13.21-22, the verses that might have motivated the composition of the chapter, are not always quoted or paraphrased; Greek MΓ and

93 Wirtjes, *The Middle English Physiologus* [note 7], 15 (lines 392-95). See also line 406: "Half man & half fis."

94 J. Victor Carus, *Geschichte der Zoologie bis auf Joh. Müller und Charl. Darwin*, Geschichte der Wissenschaft in Deutschland – Neuere Zeit 12 (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1872), 139.

95 Offermanns, *Der Physiologus* [note 8], 161; Kaimakis, *Der Physiologus* [note 14], 149. In the other versions the chapter on the siren and/or onocentaur occurs as chapter 3 (Old Icelandic A), 5 (*Dicta Chrysostomi*, Old High German, *Wiener Prosafassung*, *Millstätter Reimfassung*, Old Icelandic A, Gervaise), 6 (Gervaise), 9 (*Physiologus Theobaldi*, Middle English, Philippe de Thaon), 10 (*Phsyiologus Theobaldi*, Old Icelandic B) 11 (Latin c and a), 12 (Latin b, Latin b-Isidore, Pierre de Beauvais's short version, Guillaume), 13 (Ethiopic), 14 (*Syrus Leidensis*), 15 (Latin y, Philippe de Thaon), 16 (Armenian – though not in every recension – and Georgian), 23 (Pierre de Beauvais's long version), 28 (*Syrus Vaticanus*), 38 (*Buch der Naturgegenstände*), 110 (*Buch der Naturgegenstände*).

96 Kaimakis, *Der Physiologus* [note 14], 42a; Wentker, *Der arabische Physiologus* [note 4]; Van Lantschoot, "A propos du Physiologus" [note 52].

WO, the Syriac *Buch der Naturgegenstände*, the *Physiologus Theobaldi*, the Old High German and Old Icelandic versions, the Middle English *Physiologus*, and the three Old French verse translations do not refer to Isaiah at all. These omissions aside, the great variety of other biblical verses cited or alluded to in one version or another includes, for example: Gen 2.22 (Greek as),[97] Gen 6.19 (Greek WO),[98] 1 Kings 18.21 (*Syrus Leidensis*),[99] Job 30.29 (Greek WO),[100] Ps 48.13 (Latin y, Latin b, Latin b-Isidore, *Dicta Chrysostomi*, *Wiener Prosafassung*, *Millstätter Reimfassung*, Icelandic B, Gervaise),[101] Matt 6.14 (*Syrus Leidensis*),[102] Matt 23.28 (Greek WO),[103] Acts 11.26 (Greek asAΠΠΕΔφr),[104] Rom 16.18 (Greek GMΓWOasAΠΠΕΔφr, Armenian, Latin c),[105] 2 Cor 2.17 (Georgian),[106] 1 Cor 15.33 (Greek GMΓWOasAΠΠΕΔφr, Ethiopic, Armenian),[107] 2 Tim 3.5 (Greek GMΓasAΠΠΕΔφr, Ethiopic, Armenian, Georgian, Latin y, Latin b, Latin b-Isidore, *Dicta Chrysostomi*, Icelandic B),[108] and Jas 1.6-8 (Greek GMΓasAΠΠΕΔφr, Armenian, Latin y, Latin c).[109] It should also be mentioned that the structure of the chapters can be subject to scribal error. In the Ethiopic version, for instance, the chapter on the siren and onocentaur is slightly rearranged on account of a mistake at some stage of the tradition; it begins with what

97 Kaimakis, *Der Physiologus* [note 14], 42a n12.

98 Ibid., 42b n2.

99 Land, *Otia syriaca* [note 1], 42.

100 Kaimakis, *Der Physiologus* [note 14], 42b n3.

101 Carmody, "Physiologus latinus versio y" [note 36], 114; Carmody, *Physiologus latinus: Éditions préliminaires versio B* [note 36], 26; Mann, "Der bestiaire divin" [note 37], 46; Sbordone, "La tradizione" [note 36], 269; Maurer, *Der altdeutsche Physiologus* [note 37], 18; Schröder, *Der Millstätter Physiologus* [note 79], 82; Del Zotto Tozzoli, *Il Physiologus in Islanda* [note 49], 96; Meyer, "Le bestiaire de Gervaise" [note 43], 430.

102 Land, *Otia syriaca* [note 1], 42.

103 Kaimakis, *Der Physiologus* [note 14], 44b n9.

104 Ibid., 42a n4, 43a.

105 Offermanns, *Der Physiologus* [note 8], 60-61; Kaimakis, *Der Physiologus* [note 14], 44a-45a; Muradyan, *Physiologus: The Greek and Armenian Versions* [note 27], 114; Von Steiger and Homburger, *Physiologus bernensis* [note 36], 80.

106 Graf, "Der georgische Physiologus" [note 31], 103.

107 Offermanns, *Der Physiologus* [note 8], 60-61; Kaimakis, *Der Physiologus* [note 14], 44a-45a; Hommel, *Die aethiopische Uebersetzung* [note 20], 13; Muradyan, *Physiologus: The Greek and Armenian Versions* [note 27], 114.

108 Offermanns, *Der Physiologus* [note 8], 60-61; Kaimakis, *Der Physiologus* [note 14], 42a, 43a; Hommel, *Die aethiopische Uebersetzung* [note 20], 13; Muradyan, *Physiologus: The Greek and Armenian Versions* [note 27], 114; Graf, "Der georgische Physiologus" [note 31], 103; Carmody, "Physiologus latinus versio y" [note 36], 114; Carmody, *Physiologus latinus: Éditions préliminaires versio B* [note 36], 26; Mann, "Der bestiaire divin" [note 37], 46; Sbordone, "La tradizione" [note 36], 269; Zotto Tozzoli, *Il Physiologus in Islanda* [note 49], 96.

109 Offermanns, *Der Physiologus* [note 8], 60-61; Kaimakis, *Der Physiologus* [note 14], 42a, 43a; Muradyan, *Physiologus: The Greek and Armenian Versions* [note 27], 113; Carmody, "Physiologus latinus versio y" [note 36], 114; Von Steiger and Homburger, *Physiologus bernensis* [note 36], 80.

should be its third sentence, goes on to quote Isaiah, and then completes its description of the siren's *physeis*:

እምታሕተ ፡ ሕንብርቶሙ ፡ እስከ ፡ እግሮሙ ፡ ዘያፍ፡ ወእምገጸሙ ፡ እስከ ፡ ሕንብርቶሙ ፡ አምሳሊሆሙ ፡ ዘፈረስ ። ወይቤ ፡ ኢሳይያስ ፤ እስመ ፡ አጋንንት ፡ ወጽይፍናታት ፡ ወከዋንያት ፡ ዘፈኑ ፡ ውስተ ፡ በቢሎን ። አሉስ ፡ ሲረኒስ ፡ ቀታልያን ፡ እመንጉሉ ፡ ወከመ ፡ ቃሎሙ ፡ አልቦሙ ፡ ዘይሔውዝ ።

[From the navel to the feet (the sirens) look like a bird, while from the face to the navel they are like a horse. Isaiah said: "Evil spirits and rustic demons and devils will dance in Babylonia." These sirens are murderous and there is nothing more enticing than their voice.][110]

Though the structural variability outlined above might occur in any chapter of the *Physiologus*, the composition of the chapter on the siren and onocentaur suffers additional instability, it seems, because of its focus on two *Mischwesen*. In certain versions, that is, the narrative redundancy the *Vorlagen* appears to have caused a sort of *horror aequi*, owing to which the account of the onocentaur would be eliminated outright from the translation, reduced to a brief afterthought, or developed into a chapter of its own. Neither the Middle English *Physiologus* nor the *bestiaire* by Guillaume, for instance, relates anything about the onocentaur,[111] which is especially striking because the probable sources of both texts do so without exception. Not a single edited manuscript of the *Physiologus Theobaldi*, which underlies the Middle English version, lacks this information, and this is also true of the Latin b-Isidore and the *Liber de bestiis et aliis rebus*, Guillaume's chief influences.[112]

110 Hommel, *Die aethiopische Uebersetzung* [note 20], 13. The translation is from Sumner, *Ethiopian Philosophy* [note 20], 85. About this passage, Hommel notes (p. 57n77): "Die nach dem griech. notwendig vorzunehmende umstellung dieses vom übersetzer und den abschreibern so gründlich misverstandenen stückes habe ich nur in der deutschen übersetzung auszuführen gewagt." In his revised translation – in Lauchert, "Zum Physiologus" [note 20], 20 – Hommel follows the order of the Ethiopic faithfully. See also Conti Rossini, "Il *Fisiologo* etiopico" [note 20], 27n5: "Nella versione etiopica il paragrafo delle sirene è alquanto disordinato, senza dubbio perchè tale dovette essere nel codice greco su cui essa fu fatta." Following Hommel and Conti Rossini, Sumner notes (page 27n140): "In the Ethiopic version the paragraph on the sirens is partly out of order, no doubt because this is the way it was in the Greek codex used. Besides, the variant readings in the Greek codices are numerous."

111 On the Middle English version, see Wirtjes, *The Middle English Physiologus* [note 7], 39; and Faraci, *Il bestiario medio inglese* [note 42], 157: "L'autore dell'opera medio inglese tratta in questo capitolo l'argomento in maniera autonoma rispetto al suo modello, il quale viene ampiato e trasformato in vari punti. Della scelta di trattare autonamamente la sirena, separandola dall'onocentauro, un essere fantastico che nella tradizione dei bestiare veniva accoppiato alla funesta abitatrice del mare, si è già detto." On Guillaume's work, see Reinsch, *Le bestiaire* [note 43], 93-95.

112 Eden, *Theobaldi «Physiologus»* [note 37], 62; *De bestiis et aliis rebus* 2.32 [note 89]; Mann,"Der Bestiaire divin" [note 37], 46-47. Mann (ibid.) considered the b-Isidore version to be the immediate source of Guillaume's bestiary (see also above, note 43); how-

That the role of the onocentaur in the chapter was of secondary importance is reflected in several chapter titles found in the manuscripts. In Greek z (Codex Vaticanus Palatinus graecus 363), the chapter is entitled simply Περὶ σειρήνων, despite its discussion of the onocentaur[113]; similarly, the title given in b-Isidore is *De sirenis*, that in Pierre's short version is *Ci parle des proprietez de la seraine*, and that in the long verion is *La seraine*, yet each work devotes attention to the onocentaur.[114] As an afterthought, the onocentaur appears most clearly in the *Syrus Vaticanus* and the *Buch der Naturgegenstände*, but this might owe something to their confused idea of the being. Here as elsewhere the titles make no reference to onocentaurs – *Vaticanus* reads ܡܥܢܝܢܐ ܕܠ *meṭṭul sīrīnūs* 'concerning the siren', and the *Buch der Naturgegenstände* ܡܥܢܝܢܐ ܥܠ *ʿal sīrēnas* 'on the siren' (ch. 110) – though, as mentioned above, both chapters conclude with an abrupt (in once case anacoluthic) description of the creature.[115]

In some witnesses the redundancy of the chapter resulted in its division. This is especially so in later texts such as the *Dicta Chrysostomi*, in which sections on both the siren and the onocentaur are introduced with a leonine couplet – as though independent chapters – and of which one recension (e) places some distance between the two by keeping the onocentaur as the fifth chapter and moving that on the siren to the twelfth.[116] Gervaise's bestiary differentiates its treatments of the two creatures by disentangling their shared content and introducing each with a large capital letter,[117] and the *Physiologus Theobaldi* likewise treats them independently.[118] While the latter two works present their chapters on the siren and onocentaur in immediate sequence, in Philippe de Thaon's bestiary and in Old Icelandic A – as in recension e of the *Dicta* – they are removed from one another; Philippe discusses the onocentaur (lines 1109-34) before the siren (lines 1361-1414),[119] and in the Icelandic fragment the chapters are

ever, Reinsch, *Le bestiaire* [note 43], 73-147, outlined with precision the similarities between the work and the *De bestiis* attributed to Hugo of St. Victor.

113 Sbordone, *Physiologus* [note 5], 51.

114 Mann,"Der Bestiaire divin" [note 37], 46; Mermier, *Le bestiaire de Pierre* [note 43], 68; Cahier and Martin, *Mélanges d'archéologie* [note 36], 2:172.

115 Tychsen, *Physiologvs syrvs* [note 6], 17 (Syriac), 144 (Latin); Ahrens, *Buch der Naturgegenstände* [note 6], 59 (Syriac), 77 (German).

116 Sbordone, "La tradizione" [note 36], 257-58. On the inclusion and tradition of the leonine couplets in the *Dicta Chrysostomi*, see Henkel, *Studien zum Physiologus* [note 4], 42-47.

117 Meyer, "Le bestiaire de Gervaise" [note 43], 430.

118 Eden, *Theobaldi «Physiologus»* [note 37], 60-62. But cf. Wirtjes, *The Middle English Physiologus* [note 7], 39: "The ME *Physiologus* omits Theobald's Onocentaurs. As in the prose *Physiologus*, Sirens and Onocentaurs are described in the same chapter [...]. They share the same moralization, so perhaps Eden would have done better not to split the Sirens and Onocentaurs up into two separate sections, the first of which necessarily lacks a *significatio*. He does not mention if and how the manuscripts divide the two."

119 Walberg, *Le bestiaire de Philippe* [note 43], 41-42, 51-52.

separated by one on midges, locusts, or ants (*kleggiar*).[120] Like the variability characteristic of the names and descriptions of the *Mischwesen* throughout the tradition, these structural variations might also owe something to a certain type of textual duplicity, in this case the dual (and tautological) subject of the original chapter.

Scriptor Ludens

The absence of orthographic manuals notwithstanding, it is still confounding why a medieval scribe should choose to spell a word one way and yet, only a few lines later, abandon that spelling for another. Such variation is as evident in the *Physiologus* tradition as it is elsewhere. Beyond concealing the effects of itacism – the vowels ι, ει, η, οι, and υ are regularly confused in medieval Greek manuscripts – editors of the Greek witnesses have had to smooth over other orthographic inconsistencies; the scribe of manuscript M, for instance, frequently doubled or simplified consonants in a haphazard manner.[121] Irregular spelling is such a normal feature of Classical Ethiopic manuscripts that consistency is regarded as abnormal.[122] In the Ethiopic *Physiologus*, no exception, "it not infrequently happens that on one line of the same manuscript a word is spelled differently."[123] Within the space of eleven lines, the Middle High German *Millstätter Physiologus* exhibits the forms *tiuvale* 'devils', *tievellichen* 'devlish', and *tiufils* 'devil'[124]; there is orthographic variation within three words in the

120 Del Zotto Tozzoli, *Il Physiologus in Islanda* [note 49], 70, 74. On the meaning of *kleggiar*, which is a matter of debate, see Marchand, "The Old Icelandic *Physiologus*" [note 49], 235: "Since this chapter comes at a place where one might expect a section on the ant, it has traditionally been called 'De formica'. It has, however, nothing to do with the ant, but is on the locust and the *bruchus*. The word *kleggi*, glossed by Hermannsson as 'formica', and by Dahlerup as 'horse-fly', following modern usage, is used in early texts to render Latin *pulex* or *culex*. [...] Thus, it was quite natural for the Icelander to use *kleggi* to translate locust as an infestor of plants."

121 Offermanns, *Der Physiologus* [note 8], 9: "Falsche Verdopplung und Vereinfachung von Konsonanten ist im M sehr häufig und wird ebenfalls nicht erwähnt."

122 Editorial approaches to such variation have been a matter of contention; see, for instance, Thomas O. Lambdin, *An Introduction to Classical Ethiopic (Ge'ez)*, Harvard Semitic Studies 24 (Ann Arbor: Edwards Brothers, 1978), 13-14: "The gradual evolution of spoken Ge'ez and its ancient sister dialects into the modern languages of Ethiopia led to the introduction of systematic errors into manuscript copying by scribes who applied their own pronunciation to the ancient language and misspelled accordingly. [...] The cumulative effects of the [...] errors can be quite bewildering unless one has a firm grasp of the forms and lexicon of the older language as it has been recovered by Dillmann and other scholars. The failure of modern editors of Ethiopic texts to normalize spelling is puzzling (unless, of course, a word is unknown or genuinely ambiguous); even more reprehensible is the burdening of a critical apparatus with such trivial and predictable pronunciation errors."

123 Sumner, *Ethiopian Philosophy* [note 20], 104.

124 Schröder, *Der Millstätter Physiologus* [note 79], 80.

short version of Pierre de Beauvais's *Bestiaire*, where the *honocentor* is said to be "*moitié* home et *moistié* asnes."[125] Though variation of this sort can be explained by many things – a lack of standardization, dialectal interference, hypercorrection, scribal lapse, for example – it should be admitted that scribes occasionally adopted a somewhat playful attitude toward their work. A trace of this attitude is perhaps captured in Gogol's satirical description of the copyist Akaky Akakyevitch, protagonist of *The Overcoat*:

Там, в этом переписываньи, ему виделся какой-то свой разнообразный и приятный мир. Наслаждение выражалось на лице его; некоторые буквы у него были фавориты, до которых если он добирался, то был сам не свой: и подсмеивался, и подмигивал, и помогал губами, так что в лице его, казалось, можно было прочесть всякую букву, которую выводило перо его.

[There, in that copying, he found some varied, pleasant world of his own. His face expressed his delight. Some letters were his special favorites, and when he got the opportunity of using them he was quite beside himself. He would give a little laugh and wink, and his lips moved so that it seemed as if every letter that he had formed with his pen could be read on his face.][126]

Clearer signs of scribal play include the use of ciphers and letters from different alphabets.[127] Numerous Old High German glosses, for instance, were written in an unsophisticated code known as *bfk-Geheimschrift*.[128] This method of encryption re-

125 Mermier, *Le bestiaire de Pierre* [note 43], 68 (my emphasis).

126 Nikolai Gogol, *The Greatcoat*, trans. Zlata Shoenberg and Jessie Domb, Bilingual Series: Russian-English (New York: Transatlantic Arts, 1945), 11.

127 On classical cryptography, see Aloys Meister, *Die Anfänge der modernen diplomatischen Geheimschrift: Beiträge zur Geschichte der italienischen Kryptographie des XV. Jahrhunderts* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1902), 1-13; Viktor Gardthausen, *Griechische Palaeographie*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Leipzig: Veit & Comp., 1913; repr. 1978), 2:298-319 [with some reference to Coptic and Arabic as well]; idem, "Geheimschrift," in *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. Georg Wissowa et al., Supplementband 4 (Stuttgart: Alfred Druckenmüller, 1924), 517-21; Jean Richard, "Cryptographie dans l'antiquité et le haut Moyen Âge," in *L'histoire et ses méthodes*, ed. Charles Samaran, Encyclopédie de la Pléiade 11 (Paris: Gallimard, 1961), 615-17; Anne Kolb, "Kryptographie," in *Der neue Pauly Enzyklopädie der Antike*, ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider, 16- vols. (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1996- [vol. 6 =1999]), 6:873-74. The best introduction to medieval Latin cryptography remains Bernhard Bischoff, "Übersicht über die nichtdiplomatischen Geheimschriften des Mittelalters," in *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1981), 3:120-48 [originally in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 62 (1954), 1-27]. See also Bischoff's more cursory discussion of the topic in his *Paläographie des römischen Altertums und des abendländischen Mittelalters*, Grundlagen der Germanistik 24 (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1979), 224-25.

128 For the most recent discussions of Old High German cryptographic glossography, see Rolf Bergmann and Stefanie Stricker, "Die althochdeutschen Boethiusglossen: Ansätze

quired only that a vowel be replaced by the following consonant – *a* was written as *b*, *e* as *f*, and so on – and was therefore simple to decipher. The simplicity of the practice, however, makes it difficult to understand why it was undertaken at all, and scholars have been led to interpret such glosses as reflections of ludic secrecy. "Ein eigentümlich spielerisches Verhältnis," in the words of Bernhard Bischoff, "hatte das Mittelalter zur Geheimschrift. Man bediente sich ihrer in vielen Fällen, in denen eine wirkliche Verschleierung weder begründet noch ernsthaft beabsichtigt war. Das deutsche Schriftwesen ist besonders reich daran."[129] In the case of the Old High German glosses, the use of encryption adds yet another stratum of textuality to what is already a paratextual phenomenon; it removes the potential reader, that is, a step further from understanding the gloss, which is itself an explanatory caption – so to speak – to the Latin lemma. Whether certain Latin words or certain contexts might have inspired encryption (playfulness) is worthy of speculation. For instance, a certain Latin manuscript – Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 18140 – contains approximately 7,730 Old High German glosses, of which only 150 or so appear in *bfk-Geheim-*

zu einer Überlieferungstypologie," in *Sô wold ich in fröiden singen: Festgabe für Anthonius H. Touber zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Carla Dauven-van Knippenberg and Helmut Birkhan, Amersterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik 43/44 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995), 42; Rolf Bergmann, "Zur Textualität althochdeutscher Glossen," in *Textsorten und Textsortentraditionen*, ed. Franz Simmler, Berliner Studien zur Germanistik 5 (Berlin: Peter Lang, 1997), 215-38, at 222-23; J. Splett, "Glossen und Glossare," in *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, ed. Johannes Hoops et al., 2nd ed., 33- vols. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1973-), 12:218; Rolf Bergmann, "Zehn St. Galler Kleinigkeiten: Glossen zu allem möglichen außerhalb von Texten," in *Sprache und Dichtung in Vorderösterreich: Elsass, Schweiz, Schwaben, Vorarlberg, Tirol. Ein Symposium für Achim Masser zum 65. Geburtstag am 12. Mai 1998*, ed. Guntram A. Plangg and Eugen Thurnher, Schlern-Schriften 310 (Innsbruck: Wagner, 2000), 42; Roswitha Wisniewski, *Deutsche Literatur vom achten bis elften Jahrhundert*, Germanische Lehrbuchsammlung 28 (Berlin: Wedler, 2003), 98-99; Rolf Bergmann and Stefanie Stricker, eds., *Katalog der althochdeutschen und altsächsischen Glossenhandschriften*, 6 vols. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005), 1:109-10; and Valentine A. Pakis, "Old Icelandic *stafkarlaletr*, a Poor Man's Cryptography," *Interdisciplinary Journal for Germanic Linguistics and Semiotic Analysis* 13 (2008), 101-16.

129 Bischoff, *Paläographie des römischen Altertums* [note 127], 224. Regarding the use of *bfk-Geheimschrift* in the Exeter Book, see R. W. Chambers, Max Förster, and Robin Flower, eds., *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry* (London: Percy Lund, Humphries & Co., 1933), 63: "Medieval scribes liked to play with all kinds of secret scripts which were very easy to decipher, because the systems were almost universally known." On similarly encoded Anglo-Saxon marginalia, Max Förster, "Nochmals ae. *fregen* 'Frage'," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 135 (1916), 399-401, remarks: "Auf demselben Blatte hat nun der Angelsachse zu spielerischer Übung auch folgende zwei Sätze eingetragen, die ich leider nur in Wanleys (vielleicht nicht ganz fehlerfreiem) Abdruck wiedergeben kann." On the Old High German glosses, Splett, "Glossen und Glossare" [note 128], 218, writes: "Seit dem 9. Jh. begegnen zahlreiche Gl. in Geheimschrift, wohl in spielerischer Abgründe, da keine ernsthaften Verschleierungsgründe erkennbar sind."

schrift.[130] One of the latter is found in the Vulgate preface to Joshua, where *mfrkmfnnk* (=*merimenni* 'mermaid') glosses *syrenę* 'siren'.[131] Though there are other encrypted glosses nearby, it is not outlandish to conjecture that the biformality of the siren prompted the scribe to mutate the gloss or, if nothing else, that the orthographic reflection of the siren's hybridity – *mfrkmfnnk* is part Old High German, part cipher – brought a smile to his face.

Like *bfk-Geheimschrift*, runes were used in English and Scandinavian manuscripts "for the same reason of playful secrecy."[132] Beyond their practical use as a supplement to the Latin alphabet (ᚦ and ᚹ for *th* and *w*, especially), runes appear in acrostics, cryptograms, seemingly magical formulae, signatures, and as ornamental symbols.[133] Because each rune was acrophonically associated with a word – ᚠ (*f*) was called *feoh* 'property', for instance – certain runic letters were sometimes used as abbreviations for their names. In England the practice is most striking in the runic signatures of Cynewulf and in the use of ᛞ (*d*) and ᛗ (*m*) for the words *dæg* 'day' and *monn* 'man' in the *Durham Ritual* and the Lindisfarne Gospels.[134] The English custom is thought to have come to Scandinavia, where the words *fé* 'property' and *maðr* 'man', are represented – though rarely – by their corresponding runes ᚠ and ᛘ (occasionally with morphological superscripts).[135] Examples that have escaped commentary, but not

130 Bergmann and Stricker, *Katalog* [note 128], 3:1212-13.

131 Steinmeyer and Sievers, *Die althochdeutschen Glossen* [note 40], 1:377 (line 52). The word *syrenes* is similarly glossed in two widely encrypted MSS of Boethius's *Consolatio philosophiae*. See ibid., 2:55 (line 21); and Rudolf Schützeichel, ed., *Althochdeutscher und altsächsischer Glossenwortschatz*, 12 vols. (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2004), s.v. *merimenni* (vol. 6, p. 340).

132 Chambers, *The Exeter Book* [note 129], 63; see also John D. Niles, *Old English Enigmatic Poems and the Play of the Texts*, Studies in the Early Middle Ages (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 276, among other places. R. Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta: The English Tradition* (Bruges: De Tempel, 1954), xxiii, is reluctant to understand runes as "a luxury or plaything" of scribes, though he will attribute the use of runes in manuscripts to the attractiveness of their ornamentality and cryptic nature.

133 The best study of runes in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts is Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta* [note 132]. On their use in medieval Scandinavian (especially Icelandic) manuscripts, see Anders Bæksted, *Islands runeindskrifter*, Bibliotheka Arnamagnæana 2 (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1942), 215-25; Didrik Arup Seip, *Palæografi B: Norge og Island*, Nordisk kultur 28B (Stockholm: Albert Bonnier, 1954), 30; and Wilhelm Heizmann, "Runica Manuscripta: Die isländische Überlieferung," in *Runeninschriften als Quellen interdisziplinärer Forschung*, ed. Klaus Düwel, Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde 15 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1998), 513-38.

134 Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta* [note 132], 390-402; idem, "*Runica Manuscripta* Revisited," in *Old English Runes and their Continental Background*, ed. Alfred Bammesberger, Anglistische Forschungen 217 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1991), 85-106, at 88-89.

135 See Bæksted, *Islands runeindskrifter* [note 133], 27n1: "Foruden disse ovenfor omtalte ældre runenotater forekommer der i en lille gruppe islandske haandskrifter brug af runer paa en speciel maade. Det drejer sig om runerne ᚠ, f og ᛘ, m, der af og til bruges som forkortelsestegn for de ord, der i de gamle runedigte [...] optræder som runens navn: fé

notice, occur in fragment A of the Old Icelandic *Physiologus*; throughout the chapter on the onocentaur – and nowhere else in the text – ᛘ is used to designate *maðr*:

Þat es ᛘ fram en dýr aftr, oc markar þat óeinarþarmenn í vexti sínom. Þat kallasc at bókmále rangt oc dýrom glíkt, ef ᛘ mæler efter þeim, sem þá es hiá, þót sá mæla rangt. Rétorþr scal góþ[r] ᛘ of alla [lutti ávalt, hvá]rtt sem er avþigri eþa snavþr

[It is a man in front and animal behind, and symbolizes inconstant people through its form. It is called in Latin (Holy Scripture) false and like an animal, if one agrees with a person when he is present, even if he speaks falsely. A good man should always be properly spoken in all things whether he (his interlocutor) is rich or poor.][136]

Here the alphabetic hybridity underscores, and was possibly motivated by, the duplicity and inconstancy of the creature described.

Conclusion

In the introduction to his edition of the *Millstätter Reimfassung*, Christian Schröder remarks that the interest of scholars in the variation among different versions of the *Physiologus* has typically been driven by the aim of surmising the textual history of the work, and that this aim has been pursued at the expense of contextual investigations which might yield reasons for the changes in question: "Es gibt keine Arbeiten, die einen intensiven, vollständigen Textvergleich irgendwelcher Physiologus-Fassungen bieten, der auch inhaltliche Fragen einschließt."[137] Though the present study is far from supplying this desideratum, it is nevertheless a step in the right direction. Here at least it has been shown that, in the case of the siren and onocentaur, the question of context or content should not be divorced from that of textual variation. Moreover, the evidence presented above suggests that certain contexts, while valuable to the explication of individual texts, might also account for changes throughout an entire textual tradition. As archetypal stimuli for variation, such contexts – like the multifaceted du-

og maðr." Heizmann, "Runica Manuscripta" [note 133], 514, records six manuscripts with this feature. The English origins of this abbreviation are postulated with perhaps excessive certainty by Seip, *Palæografi B* [note 133], 30: "Også runetegn kunne bli brukt som symboler. I liste over forkortinger i geng. skrifter (*sic*) har H. Wanley i fortale til Catalogus (1705) fört opp to runetegn, nemlig runene for **d** og **m** ᛗ og ᛗ ᛗ som forkortinger for **dæg** og **man**, **men** [...]. I norsk skrift blev runetegnet ᛘ brukt på samme måte for **maðr**. [...] Bruken av visse runer som forkortingssymbol stammer derfor sikkert fra eng."

136 Del Zotto Tozzoli, *Il Physiologus in Islanda* [note 49], 74 (edition), Tavoli II (facsimile), 20 (MS description). The English translation is from Marchand, "The Old Icelandic *Physiologus*" [note 49], 235-36. This folio is also reproduced in Benediktsson, *Early Icelandic Script* [note 49], Plate 9.

137 Schröder, *Der Millstätter Physiologus* [note 79], 26.

plicity at the heart of this study – present an opportunity to fuse the methods of "new" and materialist philologists with the reconstructive efforts of more conventional editors. It is hoped that further research will test this hypothesis.

Coda

Too little doubt has been cast on the longstanding consensus that the original Greek *Physiologus* – if such as text can be imagined – was written in Egypt, if not specifically in Alexandria. Fritz Hommel, in his edition of the Ethiopic *Physiologus*, argued for this provenance on the following grounds[138]:

1. Some of its chapters are devoted to Egyptian animals, such as those on the ibis and the ichneumon.
2. The account of the phoenix and that of the wild ass and the monkey are of Egyptian origin, and the Coptic names of two months appear in the Greek text.
3. Fifteen chapters of the *Physiologus* have correspondences in the *Hieroglyphica* of Horapollo, and the account of the ibis and ichneumon is found in the writings of Manetho, an Alexandrian author.
4. An analogous treatment of the charadrius is attributed, in the *Suidae lexicon* (s.v. ἴκτερος), to the *Adagia* of the Alexandrian grammarian Didymus.
5. Reference is made to the desert fathers in the chapter on the swallow (ch. 33).
6. Indian aspects in the work, such as the chapters on the Indian stone and the peridexion, can be explained by the commercial relations between Alexandria and India at the time.
7. Paradoxographic and allegorical traditions have roots in Alexandria.
8. The Ethiopic translation, like other literature of the early Ethiopic Church, likely originated in Alexandria.

138 Hommel, *Die aethiopische Uebersetzung* [note 20], xiv-xvi. Several of Hommel's points were made earlier by Pitra, *Spicilegium solesmense* [note 27], 3:liv-lvi. He is further supported by the demonstration that the chapters on the otter and the ichneumon have roots in Egyptian mythology; see Emma Brunner-Traut, "Ägyptische Mythen im Physiologus," in *Festschrift für Siegfried Schott zu seinem 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Wolfgang Helk (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1968), 13-44.

Hommel may indeed be right, but his arguments do not seem so persuasive as to have won the nearly universal support that they have.[139] Objections come to mind:

139 *Contra* Hommel, see especially Max Wellmann, *Der Physiologus: Eine religionsgeschichtlich-naturwissenschaftliche Untersuchung*, Philologus: Supplementband 22 (Leipzig: Dieterich, 1931), 1-17, whose argument for a Syrian origin of the work is supported, as far as I can tell, only in the (uninformed) work of F. N. M. Diekstra, "The *Physiologus*, the Bestiaries and Medieval Animal Lore," *Neophilologus* 59 (1985), 142-55, at 142. Less deviant from the *communis opinio* is the recent doubt of Alan Scott over the precise location of Alexandria; see his "The Date of the *Physiologus*," *Vigiliae Christianae* 52 (1998), 430-41, here at 41: "That the *Physiologus* was written in Egypt does appear certain, but there is no compelling reason to insist on a connection with Alexandria." In his conclusion, Scott (p. 441) remarks, "It may have been written in Alexandria, but it may also have been written outside, e.g. in monastic circles." On the singularity of Scott's position, see Horst Schneider, review of *Physiologus: Griechisch/Deutsch*, by Otto Schönberger, *Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft* 5 (2002), 1019-1034, at 1030n41. Supporters of Hommel include, among many others: Mann, "Der bestiaire divin" [note 37], 16; Lauchert, *Geschichte des Physiologus* [note 4], 41; Richard Gottheil, "The Greek Physiologus and its Oriental Translations," *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 15 (1899), 120-24, at 123; Max Goldstaub, *Der Physiologus und seine Weiterbildung, besonders in der lateinischen und in der byzantinischen Literatur*, Philologus: Supplementband 8.3 (Leipzig: Dieterich, 1899/1901), 339-403, at 344; Hellen Woodruff, "The Physiologus of Bern: A Survival of Alexandrian Style in a Ninth Century Manuscript," *The Art Bulletin* 12 (1930), 226-53, at 234; Francesco Sbordone, *Ricerche sulle fonti e sulla composizione del Physiologus greco* (Naples: G. Torella, 1936), 159; Hermannsson, *The Icelandic Physiologus* [note 49], 5; Perry, "Physiologus" [note 4], 1104; Conti Rossini, "Il Fisiolog etiopico" [note 20], 8; Mary Francis McDonald, "Phoenix Redivivus," *Phoenix* 14 (1960), 187-206, at 197; McCulloch, *Medieval Latin and French Bestiaries* [note 4], 17; Eden, *Theobaldi «Physiologus»* [note 37], 2; Henkel, *Studien zum Physiologus* [note 4], 14; R. Riedinger, review of *Der Physiologus nach der ersten Redaktion*, by D. Kaimakis, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 70 (1977), 109-12, at 112; Curley, *Physiologus* [note 36], xvi-xvii; idem, "Physiologus, Φυσιολογία, and the Rise of Christian Nature Symbolism," *Viator* 11 (1980), 1-10, at 1; Sumner, *Ethiopian Philosophy* [note 20], 86-87; Patricia Cox, "The Physiologus: A Poiēsis of Nature," *Church History* 52 (1983), 433-43, at 436; Klaus Alpers, "Untersuchungen zum griechischen Physiologus und den Kyraniden," *Vestigia Bibliae* 6 (1984), 13-87, at 14; Ruth Kühner, "Physiologus," in *Acts of the Second International Congress of Coptic Study*, ed. Tito Orlandi and Frederik Wisse (Rome: C.I.M., 1985), 135-47, at 135; Orlandi, "La tradizione del «Physiologus»" [note 4], 1059; Squires, *The Old English* Physiologus [note 53], 14; Christian Schröder, "Physiologus," in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, ed. Kurt Ruh et al., 2nd ed., 12 vols. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1978-), 7:620-34, at 621; Faraci, *Il bestiario medio inglese* [note 42], 8; Leslie S. B. MacCoull, "The Coptic *Triadon* and the Ethiopic Physiologus," *Oriens Christianus* 75 (1991), 141-46, at 142; Wirtjes, *The Middle English Physiologus* [note 7], lxix-lxxi; Dolcetti Corazza, *Il Fisiologo* [note 39], 12; Alfred R. Wedel, "Physiologus (circa 1070- circa 1150)," in *German Writers and Works of the Early Middle Ages: 800-1170*, ed. Will Hasty and James Hardin, Dictionary of Literary Biography 148 (New York: Gale Research, 1995), 255-59, at 255; Treu, *Physiologus: Naturkunde* [note 17], 115; Mirandola, *Chimere divine* [note 4], 56-64; Schönberger, *Physiologus: Griechisch/Deutsch* [note 17], 146; Wentker, *Der ara-*

Egyptian animal-lore was made known outside of Egypt well before the composition of the *Physiologus* (by Herodotus, for instance[140]), and there are several well-known animals of Egyptian mythology, such as the cat and the hawk, that the *Physiologus* fails to mention.[141] Regarding Horapollo, correspondences between the *Physiologus* and his *Hieroglyphica* mean only that the former was available in Alexandria in the fifth century, not that it was originally written there.[142] In the *Suidae lexicon*, a tenth-century encyclopedia, there is no mention of Didymus Alexandrinus (known also as χαλκέντερος 'bronze-guts') under the lemma ἴκτερος 'jaundice',[143] nor does the charadrius appear in the extant fragments of his Περὶ παροιμιῶν (*On Proverbs*), which is presumably what is meant by *Adagia*.[144] Suidas's entry, it seems, goes back a scholium to Aristophanes's *Birds* that might have been written by Didymus, but there

bische Physiologus [note 4], 10-13; V. Dolcetti Corazza, "Physiologus," in *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, ed. Heinrich Beck et al., 2nd ed., vol. 23 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 142-45, at 142; Muradyan, *Physiologus: The Greek and Armenian Versions* [note 27], 1; Vermeille, *Physiologus: De l'Orient à l'Occident* [note 4], 24.

140 See Herodotus, *Historiae* 2.35-99, in Charles Hude, ed., *Herodoti historiae*, 3rd ed., 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1927; repr. 1951), 1:np, where Egyptian animals and customs are discussed.

141 This last observation is made by Sumner, *Ethiopian Philosophy* [note 20], 86.

142 The *Hieroglyphica* survives in twelve fourteenth-century manuscripts; it consists of two books, the first of which describes seventy hieroglyphs, the second 117. In the second book, only the first thirty lemmata are considered genuine, the rest being attributed to a later redactor called Philippos. Of the fifteen animals in the *Hieroglyphica* with analogues in the *Physiologus*, all but three are found in the section by Philippos (the animals are listed in Hommel, *Die aethiopische Uebersetzung* [note 20], xxxii n2). For a convenient introduction to Horapollo and his work, see Heinz-Joseph Thissen, *Vom Bild zum Buchstaben – vom Buchstaben zum Bild: Von der Arbeit an Horapollons Hieroglyphika*, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur. Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse. Jahrgang 1998. Nr. 3 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1998). For a critical edition, see Francesco Sbordone, ed., *Hori Apollinis Hieroglyphica* (Naples: L. Loffredo, 1940); and (with a German translation) Heinz Josef Thissen, ed., *Des Niloten Horapollon Hieroglyphenbuch* (Munich: K. G. Saur, 2001).

143 Ada Adler, ed., *Suidae lexicon*, 6 vols. (Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner, 1967-71), 2:628; Aemilius Portus and Ludolf Kuster, eds., *Suidae Lexicon, græce & latine. Textum Græcum cum manuscriptis codicibus collatum a quamplurimis mendis purgavit, notisque perpetuis illustravit*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Typis Academicis, 1705), 2:112.

144 Moritz Schmidt, ed., *Didymi Chalcenteri grammatici Alexandrini fragmenta quae supersunt omnia* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1854; repr. Amsterdam: A. M. Hakkert, 1964), 396-98. Pitra's citation – *Spicilegium solesmense* [note 27], 3:lvi – of Didymus is: "Hæc porro Suidas inter Didymi philosophi *adagia* retulit." Hommel's exact words – *Die aethiopische Uebersetzung* [note 20], xv – are: "4. das vorkommen der vom charadrius handelnden geschichte in den bei Suidas under ἴκτερος angeführten "adagia" des (um Augustus zeit lebenden) Alexandriners Didymus." Sbordone, *Physiologus* [note 5], 13, notes: "Praeterea nominandi sunt SUIDAS sub verbis ἴκτερος et χαραδριός (e DIDYMI ALEXANDRINI *adagiis*) [...]."

is no sure evidence of this.[145] Regardless, accounts of the charadrius and its healing powers appear – outside of Egypt – as early as the Hippocratic tradition.[146] In the chapter on the swallow, reference to the desert fathers is made only in the Ethiopic *Physiologus* (**አበው ፡ ዘአስቄጥስ** *'abaw za'sqēṭs* 'fathers of Skete') and is more likely an example of local coloring than a vestige of the archetype.[147] Access to Indian merchants and culture, moreover, was hardly restricted to Alexandria in the early centuries of the Christian era, nor were the paradoxographic and allegorical traditions that originated there. Finally, the simple existence of the Ethiopic *Physiologus*, even if it is based on an Alexandrian exemplar, does not prove that this Alexandrian exemplar did not come from elsewhere. This is especially so because, as mentioned above, Hommel's dating of the Ethiopic version to the fifth century has since been rejected, the sixth or seventh century being more likely.[148]

That the consensus should not resist such mild scrutiny indicates that, by this point, the espousal of Hommel's case has become an *argumentum ad populum*. It ought not to be presupposed, then, that the original Greek *Physiologus* was written in Alexandria, but what of its author? In this matter it has long been agreed, for good reason, that none can be identified: The earliest Greek witnesses are anonymous and,

145 For the scholium in question, see D. Holwerda, ed., *Scholia in Aristophanem. Pars II: Scholia in Vespas; Pacem; Aves et Lysistratam. Fasc. III: Continens scholia vetera et recentiora in Aristophanis Aves* (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1991), 41 (on line 266 of the comedy).

146 See Hippocrates, Περὶ τῶν ἐντὸς παθῶν [*On Internal Affections*] 37, in Paul Potter, ed., *Hippocrates: Vol. IV*, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1988), 196-99: Ἄλλος ἴκτερος· [...] καὶ ἀπὸ χαραδριοῦ πίνειν, καὶ λούειν αὐτὸν πολλῷ καὶ θερμῷ, καὶ ξύων τοῦ χαραδριοῦ τὴν σάρκα ἐν οἴνῳ λευκῷ διδόναι· [Have the patient drink soup made from plover (χαραδριοῦ), and wash him in copious hot water; also shred plover (χαραδριοῦ) fresh into white wine, and give this]. For other early references to the charadrius, see Max Wellmann, "Charadrios (χαραδριός)," in *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Atertumswissenschaft: Neue Bearbeitung begonnen von Georg Wissowa*, ed. Wilhelm Kroll and Karl Mittelhaus, vol. 3.2 (Stuttgart: Alfred Druckenmüller, 1899), 2115.

147 Hommel, *Die aethiopische Uebersetzung* [note 20], 26 (Ethiopic text). Hommel himself (p. 78n187) mentions the uniqueness of the Ethiopic translation: "[…] das übrige, sowie die ganze ἑρμηνεία, und die ἑτέρα φύσις nebst ihrer ἑρμην. stehen nicht in der äth. übersetzung, der dieses capitel in ganz anderer fassung vorgelegen haben muss." See also Wellmann, *Der Physiologus* [note 139], 12: "Von den acht Gründen, die er für seine Hypothese anführt, kommt zunächst der fünfte in Wegfall, da die Erwähnung der sketischen Wüste südlich von Alexandreia sich nur in der äthiopischen Übersetzung (c. 33) findet, also für den Ursprung des griechischen Originals nichts beweist."

148 See above, note 20, for reference to Carlo Conti Rossini's argument that the Ethiopic *Physiologus* was written in the sixth or seventh century. The work is dated to the seventh century by Enno Littmann, "Die äthiopische Literatur," in *Semitistik*, ed. Berthold Spuler, Handbuch der Orientalistik 3.2-3 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954), 375-85. See also Alpers, "Untersuchungen zum griechischen Physiologus" [note 139], 57; and Scott, "The Date of the *Physiologus*" [note 139], 432.

in the later Greek recensions and the translations, the *Physiologus* is attributed to such a variety of unlikely hands that the question cannot be pursued in earnest.[149] Yet while the anonymity of the work is secure, its tesselated composition – with pieces drawn from the *Gemeingut* of eastern Mediterranean and early Chrisitan culture – allows just as well as it excludes the possibility of certain authorial influences.[150] That such possibilities have been discounted with excessive conviction can be illustrated by revisiting an old conjecture about the author of the work and by returning to the chapter on the siren and onocentaur.

As early as 1841, Charles Cahier and Arthur Martin suspected the author of the *Physiologus* to be Tatian, the Assyrian encratite who harmonized the Gospels in the latter half of the second century.[151] In his *Oratio ad Graecos*, Tatian mentions that he wrote a book about animals (Περὶ ζῴων),[152] and Cahier identified passages in the

149 See Perry, "Physiologus" [note 4], 1078: "Das Fehlen von Autorennamen in den älteren Texten und die Multiplikation solcher in späteren oder vereinzelten Hss., sprechen offenbar dafür, daß es niemals darüber eine feste Tradition gegeben hat, und daß das Büchlein, dessen Inhalt man gewöhnlich als Gemeingut betrachtete, ursprünglich anonym erschienen ist." Among those said to have written the *Physiologus*, in one manuscript or another, are Ambrose, Basil the Great Jerome, Ephiphanius, Gregory of Nyssa, John Chrysostom, Peter of Alexandria, and Solomon (see ibid.). Possible sources of the *Physiologus* are listed in Sbordone's apparatus; he addresses the question at greater length in his monograph *Ricerche sulle fonti* [note 139]. Karl Ahrens, in *Zur Geschichte des sogenannten Physiologus* (Ploen: S. W. Hirt, 1885), 20-23, argued that Origen was the author of the *Physiologus*, but would later retract this theory in his edition of *Das Buch der Naturgegenstände* [note 6], 13.

150 See Mirandola, *Chimere divine* [note 4], 34: "Nel caso del *Physiologus*, probabilmente, ogni teoria racchiude una verità parziale, minuscola tessera di un mosaico che si è via via ingigantito nel corso dei secoli per l'intervento di diverse mani, illustri o meno, che hanno contribuito a trasformarne l'aspetto originario, pur conservandone l'integrità di fondo."

151 Charles Cahier and Arthur Martin, eds., *Monographie de la cathédrale de Bourges, première partie. Vitraux du XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Poussielgue-Rusand, 1841), 77-82. See also Cahier and Martin, *Mélanges d'archéologie* [note 36], 2:86-87 – "Je l'avais soupçonné dès l'abord, avant d'en rien connaître que le nom, puisque j'avais cru pouvoir le faire remonter jusqu'à Tatien; et ce soupçon acquiert tous les jours plus de consistance à mes yeux" – and especially Cahier, *Nouveaux mélanges d'archéologie* [note 27], 1:112-14.

152 Tatian, *Oratio ad Graecos* 15, in Molly Whittaker, ed., *Tatian: Oratio ad Graecos and Fragments*, Oxford Early Christian Texts (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 30-31: λέγω δὲ ἄνθρωπον οὐχὶ τὸν ὅμοια τοῖς ζῴοις πράττοντα, ἀλλὰ τὸν πόρρω μὲν τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος πρὸς αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν θεὸν κεχωρηκότα. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτου ἐν τῷ Περὶ ζῴων ἀκριβέστερον ἡμῖν συντέτακται, τὸ δὲ νῦν συνέχον ῥητέον ποταπή τίς ἐστιν ἡ κατὰ θεὸν εἰκὼν καὶ ὁμοίωσις. [I mean by man not one who behaves like the animals, but who has advanced far beyond his humanity towards God himself. We have written about this in greater detail in our treatise *On animals*, but the important question now is what is meant by the divine image and likeness.] In the Greek manuscripts M and G, the *Physiologus* bears the title Περὶ τὰς φύσεις καὶ θέσεις τῶν ζῴων; see Offermanns, *Der Physiologus* [note 8], 15; Perry, "Physiologus" [note 4], 1077.

Physiologus that, he thought, concur with Tatian's heretical theology.[153] These putative gnosticisms and encratisms do not need to be evaluated here; it suffices to say that Cahier's idea has been rejected vigorously and from several fronts: The chronology has been ruled unsound, a non-Alexandrian *Entstehungsort* impossible (as we have seen), traces of heresy in the *Physiologus* have been deemed Catholic, and Tatian's Περὶ ζῴων is believed to have served an entirely different purpose.[154] While

153 Cahier, *Nouveaux mélanges d'archéologie* [note 27], 1:112-14.

154 Pitra, *Spicilegium solesmense* [note 27], 3:lxiii: "Tatianum esse interpretum ducem et Physiologi qualis exstat integri auctorem sententia est R. P. Cahier, a quo nihil perfunctiorium, non semel, neque obscure asserta. [...] Sed, de auctorum et codicum silentio ne loquar, nec urgeam illud, et Physiologum esse antiquiorem, et ἑρμηνείας recentiores, obstat idipsum testimonium allatum, in quo se de anima in eodem libro disseruisse asserit, quod ab Physiologo nostro alienum omnino videtur"; Carus, *Geschichte der Zoologie* [note 94], 140-41: "Aus gleichen Gründen kann man auch der Ansicht Cahier's nicht beitreten, daß Tatian (zweite Hälfte des zweiten Jahrhunderts) der Verfasser sei. Es hat dies schon Pitra zurückgewiesen. Tatian spricht zwar von einer von ihm verfaßten Schrift über die Thiere und führt einige Beispiele von Instinkt an. Aber abgesehen davon, daß er die angezogene Schrift wahrscheinlich noch als Heide verfaßt hat und daß sie sich dem ganzen Zusammenhang der ihre Erwähnung enthaltenden Stelle nach vielmehr auf die Natur des Menschen, auf Pneumotologie und Metempsychose, als auf die Naturgeschichte der Thiere bezogen haben mag, weist schon Pitra mit Recht darauf hin, daß die Theirschilderungen älter, die angefügten Erklärungen oder Moralisationen jünger sind, als Tatian, wie ja letztere selbst noch im syrischen und im ältesten lateinischen Physiologus fehlen"; Land, "Over twee onuitgegevene redactiën" [note 60], 255-56: "[D]e Jesuiet *Cahier*, die als kunstarchaeoloog den Physiologus voor een dertigtal jaren het eerst weer had opgerakeld, nog heden volhoudt, dat hij zijn oorsprong veel waarschijnliker te danken heeft aan *Tatianus* den Assyriër en diens haeretische sekte de Enkratiten. [...] Wat het berigt bij Tatianus zelf aangaat: waneer men dit leest in zijn verband, dan zal men bemerken, dat daar sprake is van een boek over de dieren, waarin vrij uitvoerig werd aangetoond, dat de mensch niet een redelijk dier is, vatbaar voor rede en wetenschap (want dit geldt van de dieren evenzeer), maar dat hij het beeld en de gelijkenis der godheid is, in zooverre hij namelijk niet leeft gelijk de dieren, maar tot de godheid nadert"; idem, *Otia syriaca* [note 1], 128-30 [responds to each of Cahier's points, providing evidence from Origen against each of Cahier's gnostic readings]; Hommel, *Die aethiopische Uebersetzung* [note 20], xlii n25: "[D]ass der Physiologus den Tatian von Assyrien zum verfasser habe (so Cahier) hat schon Land [...] als hinfällig und unhaltbar erwiesen; die stelle, auf die sich Cahier dabei beruft, gibt unbefangen betrachtet auch nicht das mindeste recht zu dieser annahme"; Ahrens, *Zur Geschichte des sogenannten Physiologus* [note 149], 20-21: "Thatsache ist freilich, dass Tatian, sei es vor seinem Übertritt zum Christentum, sei es nachher, ein Buch über die Tiere verfaßt hat, das einen gewissen moralisierenden Zweck gehabt zu haben scheint. [...] Ein gewisser moralisierender Zweck schimmert auch im *Buch der Naturgegenstände* hindurch, indem ganz besonders das moralische Verhalten der Tiere zum Gegenstande der Betrachtung gemacht wird. Dieser Grund ist aber zu schwach, um darauf die Hypothese zu bauen, daß Tatian der Verfasser des Buches gewesen sei. Denn auch bei anderen, Gnostikern wie Katholiken, war es weit verbreitete Sitte, ihre Leser darauf hinzuweisen, wie viel höher oft die Tiere in sittlicher Hinsich ständen, als der Mensch"; Mann, "Der Bestiare divin" [note 37], 17n1: "Sehr schätzenswerthe Beiträge, leider in der (besonders in den Nouv. Mél. verfochtenen)

it is, indeed, most unlikely that Tatian wrote the *Physiologus* from which the extant tradition derives, it is not entirely unlikely, despite Cahier's critics, that Tatian's lost work on animals has left a mark on the *Physiologus* as we know it. Chronology becomes problematic only if it is accepted that the *Physiologus* was written at a very early date – before the middle of the second century – but the evidence for such a date has been shown to be weaker than that for a century or so later.[155] Tatian was an itinerant scholar, moreover, whose travels took him from Assyria to Greece to Rome and back again to the East, and he was well versed in both pagan and Christian intellectual traditions.[156] He may or may not have spent time in Alexandria (if this remains a matter of importance), but his writings were certainly known in Egypt, as is shown by Diatessaronic traces in Coptic texts and by Clement's and Origen's quotations of his work.[157] Whether the themes and purpose of his Περὶ ζῴων diverged considerably

Grundansicht verfehlt, dass Tatian Verfasser des Physiologus gewesen und derselbe in Mesopotamien entstanden sei"; Lauchert, *Geschichte des Physiologus* [note 4], 48: "Ebenso haltlos ist die Vermutung Cahier's, die auch weiter keine Anhänger fand, Tatian als Häresiarch der Enkratiten sei der Verfasser, der ja ohnehin (nach meiner Annahme) jünger ist als der Physiologus"; Wellmann, *Der Physiologus* [note 139], 18: "Die Tatsache nun, daß in dem Büchlein nicht nur von Tieren, sondern auch von Steinen und Bäumen die Rede ist und von ihnen merkwürdige Eigenschaften (φύσεις) berichtet werden, führt zu der Annahme, daß die Vorlage unmöglich eine systematische Tiergeschichte, eine Schrift Περὶ ζῴων gewesen sein kann, etwa wie die Schrift Tatians [...]"; Perry, "Physiologus" [note 4], 1078: "Verfehlt ist die Ansicht Cahiers [...], Tatian sei Verfasser des P., da die verlorene Schrift περὶ ζῴων, worauf Cahier verweist, selbst wenn sie teilweise wie der P. von Steinen handelte, doch einem ganz anderen Zweck gewidmet war, als der P."

155 Scott, "The Date of the *Physiologus*" [note 139], *passim*.

156 William L. Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron: Its Creation, Dissemination, Significance, and History in Scholarship*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 25 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), 72, summarizes Tatian's biography neatly: "Recapitulating Tatian's life, then, we may surmise that he was born in Assyria around the year 120. The child of pagen parents, perhaps of the middle- or upper-classes, Tatian studied various philosophies. With the means and leisure to travel, he wandered westward, eventually reaching Rome, perhaps about 150. There he met Justin Martyr. Either as a result of this encounter or, perhaps, prior to it, Tatian became acquainted with the Septuagint, which led to his conversion to Christianity. In keeping with his nature, the conversion was philosophical, based on the intellectual appeal of the texts he read. At first he was a student of Justin's; later he had his own pupils in Rome. After Justin's death, Tatian manifested certain theological tendencies – characterized as gnostic and/or Encratite – which led to his separation from the Roman church, probably about 172. Tatian returned to the continent of his youth, founded a school, and had great influence in the Christian East, where he died. Extrapolating from his time with Justin as a mature man and departure from Rome *c.* 172, he probably died between 180 and 190."

157 On the possible influence of the Diatessaron on the Coptic *Kephalaia*, see Anton Baumstark, "Ein 'Evangelium'-Zitat der Manichäischen Kephalaia," *Oriens Christianus* 34 (1938), 169-91. The relationship between the Diatessaron and the Gospel of Thomas is complicated. For instance, Gilles Quispel, *Tatian and the Gospel of Thomas: Studies in the History of the Western Diatessaron* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975), has argued that the two

from those of the *Physiologus* cannot be determined from what little is known about it.[158]

Certain features in chapter on the siren and onocentaur – an example conveniently in mind – betray the compatibility of the *Physiologus* and Tatian's thinking, foremost among them the preference for unity over multiplicity and inconstancy. A common preference in both Eastern and Western philosophy and religion,[159] it was embraced by Tatian with especial fervor. In the *Oratio*, he claims to have accepted Christianity because of its belief in a "single ruler of all things" (τῶν ὅλων μοναρχικόν),[160] and he faults the Greeks for their lack of unity with respect to language, ethnicity, law, philosophy, and religion.[161] As Tjitze Baarda has pointed out, the pursuit of unity and

works are related by their use of a common source. Less convincingly, Nicholas Perrin, *Thomas and Tatian: The Relationship between the Gospel of Thomas and the Diatessaron*, Academia Biblica 5 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002), argues for the direct influence of the Diatessaron on the Gospel of Thomas, which he considers to have been written originally in Syriac. Clement of Alexandria's and Origen's references to Tatian are collected in Whittaker, *Tatian: Oratio ad Graecos* [note 152], 78-81. Regarding Tatian's presence in Alexandria, it is noteworthy that three Syrian writers – Isho'dad of Merv, 'Abūl Hasan bar Bahlul, and Dionysius bar Salibi – associate Tatian and his Diatessaron with that city (their testimonies are cited in Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron* [note 156], 53, 55, 60).

158 See above, note 152.

159 From the East, see for instance the Zoroastrian *Zand-Ākāsîh*, where it is written: "[Č]ē čē-īz ē-īz ast, ī hamāg āhōgēnīd estēd, kē-īz-īš gohr andar gumixt estēd" [For whatever there is, it is thus, everything whose essence has undergone Mixture is defiled]. Cited and translated in James R. Russell, "Sleep and Dreaming in Armenian," in *Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference on Armenian Linguistics*, ed. J. Greppin (Delmar: Caravan, 1992), 147-69 [repr. in idem, *Armenian and Iranian Studies* (see note 29), 477-99, here at 481]. Russell claims to be following Behramgore Tehmuras Anklesaria, ed., *Zand-Ākāsîh: Iranian or Greater Bundahišn. Transliteration and Translation in English* (Bombay: Rahnumae Mazdayasnan Sabha, 1956), 164, though his transliteration is of a different sort and the translation is his own. That the preference for one over many is a hallmark of Platonism needs no elaboration, except to note that Kaimakis, *Der Physiologus* [note 14], 167b, detects such Platonic thinking in the *Physiologus* chapter on the heron (περὶ ἐρωδιοῦ). The theme of duplicity and deceit also features in the chapter on the antlion (περὶ μυρμηκολέοντες), another *Mischwesen* treated in the *Physiologus*.

160 *Oratio ad Graecos* 29.2, in Whittaker, *Tatian: Oratio ad Graecos* [note 152], 54.

161 Tatian's position on these matters is summarized well, with references to the *Oratio*, by Tjitze Baarda, "ΔΙΑΦΩΝΙΑ - ΣΥΜΦΩΝΙΑ: Factors in the Harmonization of the Gospels, Especially in the Diatessaron of Tatian," in *Gospel Traditions in the Second Century: Origins, Recensions, Text, and Transmission*, ed. William L. Petersen (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1989), 133-54, here at 146-47: "The lack of unity among the Greeks had struck him. They did not agree (συνᾴδειν, ὁμοφωνεῖν), not even in their language. There was such a discrepancy (στάσις) between them that it appears impossible to say, who is Greek. Moreover, there are differences – from town to town – between the codes of law, whereas one should expect one and a common constitution of state (μίαν ... καὶ κοινὴν πολιτείαν). With respect to religion their differences are likewise immense: how can one be respectful towards those among whom there is such an amount of

consistency can be regarded as the chief impetus behind the creation of the Diatessaron, Tatian's *opus magnum*:

> If unity and harmony were characteristc of Christian faith, it should also be the distinguishing feature of the life of Christ. Therefore, it does not seem unlikely that this was the major factor that prompted Tatian to his attempt to write *one* harmonious life of Jesus, which means that behind his endeavor there was a clearly philosophical or theological interest: truth takes shape in unity and harmony.[162]

Familiar with both Greek mythology and the Septuagint, Tatian would have known the siren and onocentaur from both contexts and could very well have described the two *Mischwesen* in his Περὶ ζῴων; like that in the *Physiologus*, his opinion of their biformality would not have been positive. An Encratite, and thus particularly austere, Tatian opposed music, theater, sex, and marriage.[163] The sweet and Muse-like singing of the sirens – ὡς δὲ μοῦσαι ταῖς φωναῖς ᾄδουσιν εὐμελῶς, in version ΑΙΠΕΔφr – would have earned his criticism,[164] as would the behavior of ono-

contradiction (δογμάτων ἐναντιότης … πολλή). The same goes for their philosophy: in contrast to the Christians, who do not make use of differing subtleties of doctrine (δογμάτων … ποικιλίαις), their views are incoherent (δόγμασιν ἀσυναρτήτοις), in their doctrines they contradict each other (ἐναντία … ἑαυτοῖς δογματίζουσιν), since they propose ideas that oppose each other (ἀντιδοξοῦσι δὲ ἑαυτοῖς). Being themselves in all kinds in all kinds of doctrinal conflicts (στασιώδεις … τῶν δογμάτων), and not being in harmony with each other (ἀσύμφωνοι) in their traditions, they fight against those who are in harmony (συμφώνους), the Christians. Disharmony belongs to the realm of the Evil one; harmony is from God."

162 Ibid., 147.

163 For Tatian's distaste of theater and music, see *Oratio ad Graecos* 24, in Whittaker, *Tatian: Oratio ad Graecos* [note 152], 46-47: Τί μοι συμβάλλεται πρὸς ὠφέλειαν ὁ κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην μαινόμενος καὶ τὴν Ἀλκμαίωνος μητροκτονίαν ἀπαγγέλλων, ᾧ μηδὲ τὸ οἰκεῖον πρόσεστι σχῆμα, κέχηνεν δὲ μέγα καὶ ξίφος περιφέρει καὶ κεκραγὼς πίμπραται καὶ φορεῖ στολὴν ἀπάνθρωπον. ἐρρέτω καὶ τὰ Ἡγησίου μυθολογήματα καὶ Μένανδρος τῆς ἐκείνου γλώττης ὁ στιχοποιός. τί μοι καὶ τεθηπέναι τὸν Πυθικὸν αὐλητήν; τί δὲ μοι καὶ κατὰ Ἀριστόξενον τὸν Θηβαῖον Ἀντιγενίδην πολυπραγμονεῖν; παραχωροῦμεν ὑμῖν τὰ μὴ ὠφέλιμα· καὶ ὑμεῖς ἢ πείσθητε τοῖς δόγμασιν ὑμῶν ἢ κατὰ τὸ ὅμοιον τῶν ὑμετέρων ἡμῖν ἐκχωρήσατε. [What contribution is made to my good by the actor in Euripides who goes mad and plays the role of Alcmaeon, the matricide? He does not even keep his own form, but goes around with his mouth open, carrying a sword and ranting and roaring, in quite outlandish garb. Away with the mythical tales of Hegesias and Menander the versifier, who used the same tongue! Why should I gawk at the Pythian flute-player, or like Aristoxenus fuss myself with Antigenides the Theban? We give over to you what is of no benefit. You should either believe in your doctrines or, as we have done, abandon them]. For Tatian's ideas about sex and marriage, see Clement of Alexandria's *Stromata* 3.12, in Whittaker, *Tatian: Oratio ad Graecos* [note 152], 78-81.

164 Kaimakis, *Der Physiologus* [note 14], 43a.

centaurs, who like centaurs were known for their sexual lust.[165] In this light, certain conjectures about the non-Greek *Physiologus* tradition suggest themselves. For instance, Latin version b, the precise exemplar of which is unknown, adds the following unprecedented passage to its interpretation of the siren: "Sic igitur et illi decipiuntur qui deliciis huius saeculi et pompis et theatralibus uoluptatibus delectantur, tragediis ac diuersis musicis melodiis dissoluti, et uelut grauati somno sopiti efficiuntur aduersariorum praeda" [Just so are those men deceived who delight in the charms of the world, in games and the pleasures of theater. Dissipated by tragedies and various melodies and lulled to sleep, these men become the prey of their enemies].[166] It is not unthinkable that these lines might derive from a Greek *Vorlage* in which Tatian's influence was better preserved. The same speculation can be made about the description of the onocentaur, also in Latin b, as *naturae ualde agrestis* 'very wild of nature', a characteristic that – though absent from the Greek tradition – has an analogue in the Ethiopic version, where the onocentaur, as we have seen, is called **ህውክ፡ ኵለ-ንታሆሙ** *hewek k*^{w}*elntāhomu* 'entirely wild'.[167] Though a Tatianic substrate to the *Physiologus* cannot be demonstrated conclusively, Tatian's potential contribution to the *Physiologus* tradition warrants more than perfunctory dismissal. This is likely true of other possible contributions – by those known to have written περὶ ζῴων (καὶ λίθων καὶ δένδρων) – to the texture of this popular and anonymous work.

Appendix:

Chapters on the Siren and Onocentaur in the Physiologus Tradition

[The original language is given in all cases but the Ethiopic, Syriac, Armenian, and Georgian versions, for which available translations are provided.]

Greek G (Offermanns, Der Physiologus [note 8], 58-60)

Περὶ ὀνοκενταύρων καὶ σειρήνων.

Ἐλάλησεν Ἡσαΐας ὁ προφήτης ὅτι "δαιμόνια καὶ σειρῆνες καὶ ὀνοκένταυροι ὀρχηθήσονταιἐν Βαβυλῶνι." Ὁ Φυσιολόγος ἐλεξεν περὶ τῶν σειρήνων καὶ τῶν ὀνοκενταύρων, ὅτι αἱ μὲν σειρῆνες ζῷα θανάσιμά εἰσιν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ,

165 See for instance John Chrysostom, *In Matthæum homiliæ* 59.7, in PG 58, cols. 582-83, where the youth of the day, by bringing shame upon themselves with sexual sins (πορνείαις … καταισχυνομένους), are said to behave even worse than onocentaurs (ὀνοκενταύρων χείρους).

166 Carmody, *Physiologus latinus: Éditions préliminaires versio B* [note 36], 25-26; Curley, *Physiologus* [note 36], 23.

167 Carmody, *Physiologus latinus: Éditions préliminaires versio B* [note 36], 26; Hommel, *Die aethiopische Uebersetzung* [note 20], 13.

Μοῦσαι ταῖς φωναῖς· τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ μέρος αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπου ἔχουσι μορφήν τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἥμισυ μέρος χηνός. ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ ὀνοκένταυροι τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ μέρος αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπου ἔχουσιν, τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ ἀπὸ τοῦ στήθους ἕως ἔξω ὄνου. Οὕτω καὶ πᾶς ἀνὴρ δίψυχος ἀκατάστατος ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτοῦ. εἰσί τινες συνερχόμενοι ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ μόρφωσιν μὲν εὐσεβείας ἔχοντες, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν αὐτῆς ἀρνούμενοι· καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ ὡς ἄνθρωποί εισιν, ὅταν δὲ ἀπολυθῶσιν, ἀποκτηνοῦνται· οὗτοι σειρήνων καὶ ὀνοκενταύρων πρόσωπον λαμβάνουσιν, τῶν ἀντικειμένων δυνάμεων καὶ ἐμπαικτῶν αἱρετικῶν· "διὰ γὰρ τῆς χρηστολογίας καὶ εὐλογίας" – ὡς αἱ σειρῆνες – "ἐξαπατῶσιν τὰς καρδίας τῶν ἀκάκων." "φθείρουσι γὰρ ἤθη χρηστὰ ὁμιλίαι κακαί."

Greek MΓ (Offermanns, Der Physiologus [note 8], 59-61)

[Π]ερὶ σειρήνων καὶ ἱπποκενταύρων.

Εἰσὶ ζῷα ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ λεγόμενα σειρῆν[ες] μιμοῦσαι ταῖς φωναῖς· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ μέρος αὐτῶν ἀποκάτωθεν ἕως ὀμφαλοῦ ἔχουσι χηνός, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀμφαλοῦ ἕως ἄνω ἀνθρώπου. ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ [ἱ]πποκένταυροι τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ μέρος ἀνθρώπου ἔχουσι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ στήθους ἕως κάτω ὄνου. Οὕτω καὶ πᾶς ἀνὴρ δίψυχος ἀκατάστατος ἐστιν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐν συναγωγῇ γενόμενοι τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν μορφὴν μὲν ἔχουσι εὐσεβείας, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν αὐτῆς ἀρνοῦνται, καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ ὡς ἄνθρωποι μέν εἰσιν, ἀπολυόμενοι δὲ αὐτῆς ἀποθηριοῦνται· πρόσωπον σειρήνων καὶ ἱπποκενταύρων λαμβάνουσιν τῶν ἀντικειμένων δυνάμεων· "διὰ γὰρ τῆς χρηστολογίας καὶ τῆς ἐτυμολογίας αὐτῶν" – ὡς αἱ σειρῆνες – "ἐξαπατῶσι τὰς καρδίας τῶν ἀκάκων." "φθείρουσι γὰρ ἤθη χρηστὰ ὁμιλίαι κακαί." Καλῶς οὖν ὁ Φυσιολόγος ἔλεξεν περὶ τῶν σειρήνων καὶ τῶν ὀνοκενταύρων.

Greek Σas (Kaimakis, Der Physiologus [note 14], 42a, 44a)

Περὶ σειρήνων καὶ ὀνοκεναύρων.

Ἐλάλησεν Ἡσαΐας ὁ προφήτης ὅτι "δαιμόνια καὶ σειρῆνες καὶ ἐχῖνοι ὀρχήσονται ἐν Βαβυλῶνι." Ὁ Φυσιολόγος ἔλεξεν περὶ τῶν σειρήνων καὶ τῶν ὀνοκενταύρων, ὅτι αἱ μὲν σειρῆνες ζῷα θανάσιμά εἰσιν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, καὶ μουσικαῖς ταῖς φωναῖς ἡδύνουσι τοὺς ἀκούντας, ὥστε καὶ εἰς ὕπνον τραπῆναι μέχρι καὶ θανάτου. τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ μέρος ἕως ὀμφαλοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔχουσιν μορφήν, καὶ τὸ ἥμισυ ἕως ἔξω χηνός. ὁμοίος καὶ οἱ ὀνοκένταυροι τὸ ἥμισυ μέρος ἔχουσι ἀνθρώπου, τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ ἕως ἔξω ὄνου. Ἑρμενεία. Οὕτως καὶ "πᾶς ἀνὴρ δίψυχος ἀκατάστατος ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτοῦ." εἰσίν τινες συναγόμενοι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ μόρφωσιν μὲν ἔχοντες εὐσεβείας, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν αὐτῆς ἀρνούμενοι· καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὡς ἄνθρωποί εἰσιν, ἐπὰν δὲ ἐκ τῆς

ἐκκλησίας ἀπολυθῶσιν, ἀποκτηνοῦνται· οἱ τοιοῦτοι οὖν σειρήνων καὶ ὀνοκενταύρων πρόσωπον λαμβάνουσιν, τῶν ἀντικειμένων δυνάμεων καὶ ἐμπαικτῶν αἱρετικῶν. "διὰ γὰρ τῆς χρηστολογίας αὐτῶν καὶ εὐλογίας," ὡς αἱ σειρῆνες, "ἐξαπατῶσιν τὰς καρδίας τῶν ἀκάκων." "φθείρουσι γὰρ ἤθη χρηστὰ ὁμιλίαι κακαί." καὶ γὰρ αἱ σειρῆνες ἐξέρχονται ἐκ τῶν πλευρῶν τῶν μουσῶν καὶ εἰσιν ὡς δικέφαλαι· τὰ μὲν πρόσωπα καὶ αἱ χεῖρες ἀνθρώπου, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σῶμα χηνός. Καλῶς εἶπεν ὁ Φυσιολόγος περὶ τῶν σειρήνων καὶ τῶν ὀνοκενταύρων.

Greek WO (Kaimakis, Der Physiologus [note 14], 42b, 44b)

Περὶ σειρήνων καὶ ἱπποκενταύρων.

"Φθείρουσιν ἤθη καλὰ ὁμιλίαι κακαί," φησὶν ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος. Ὁ Φυσιολόγος ἔλεξεν, ὅτι λέγεται εἶναι ζῷά τινα ἄρρεν καὶ θῆλυ· τὸ μὲν ἄρρεν ἕως τοῦ ὀμφαλοῦ ἄνθρωπος, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἵππος· ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ θῆλυ· ἕως τοῦ ὀμφαλοῦ ἔοικε γυναικί, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν χηνὸς μόρφωμα, ὃ καλεῖται σειρήν· σειρήνων γὰρ μέλος, φησὶν ὁ Ἰώβ. Ταῦτα τοιγαροῦν πρόσωμα λαμβάνουσι τῶν ἀντικειμένων δυνάμεων καὶ τῶν ἀθέων καὶ πλάνων αἱρετικῶν· εἰσί γάρ τινες ὑποκρίσεως μεστοί, πλάνοι τε καὶ ἀπατεῶνες, οἵτινες ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ παρεισδύοντες, "διὰ τῆς χρηστολογίας αὐτῶν ἐξαπατῶσι τὰς καρδίας ἀκάκων." ἀλλ᾽ ἡμεῖς τούτους φύγωμεν μὴ συναπατώμενοι ταῖς αὐτῶν ψευδοδιδασκαλίαις. καὶ γὰρ ὥσπερ λέγεται ταῦτα τὰ ζῷα, οὐκ εἰσὶ δέ, ἀλλὰ διανοίας εἰσὶν ἀνάπλασμα κακοδαίμονος, οὕτω καὶ ἡ τῶν πλάνων καὶ ψευδοχρήστων ἀπατηλὴ ψευδολογία· μόρφωσιν γὰρ ἀσεβείας ἔχουσι τὴν δὲ δύναμιν αὐτῆς ἤρνηνται.

Greek AIIIEΔφr (Kaimakis, Der Physiologus [note 14], 43a, 45a)

Περὶ σειρήνων καὶ ὀνοκεναύρων.

Ἐλάλησεν Ἡσαΐας ὁ προφήτης ὅτι "δαιμόνια καὶ σειρῆνες καὶ ἐχῖνοι ὀρχήσονται ἐν Βαβυλῶνι." Ὁ Φυσιολόγος ἔλεξεν περὶ τῶν σειρήνων καὶ τῶν ὀνοκενταύρων, ὅτι αἱ μὲν σειρῆνες ζῷα θανάσιμά εἰσιν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, ὡς δὲ μοῦσαι ταῖς φωναῖς ᾄδουσιν εὐμελῶς· καὶ οἱ παραπλέοντες ἐὰν ἀκούσωσι τῆς μελῳδίας αὐτῶν, ῥίπτουσιν ἑαυτοὺς ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ ἀπόλλυνται. τὴν δὲ μορφὴν ἔχουσι τὸ ἥμισυ μέρος ἕως τοῦ ὀμφαλοῦ γυναικός, τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ πετεινοῦ ἔχουσι μορφήν. ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ ὀνοκένταυροι τὸ ἥμισυ ἔχουσιν ἀνθρώπου, τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ ἀπὸ τοῦ στήθους ἵππου ἔχουσιν. Ἑρμενεία. Οὕτω καὶ "πᾶς ἀνὴρ δίψυχος ἀκατάστατος ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτοῦ." εἰσί τινες συναγόμενοι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ μόρφωσιν μὲν ἔχοντες εὐσεβείας, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν αὐτῆς ἠρνημένοι· καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὡς ἄνθρωποί εἰσιν, ὅταν δὲ ἀπολυθῶσι

ἀποκτηνοῦνται· οὗτοι οὖν σειρήνων καὶ ὀνοκενταύρων πρόσωπον λαμβάνουσιν, τῶν ἀντικειμένων δυνάμεων καὶ ἐμπαικτῶν αἱρετικῶν· "διὰ γὰρ τῆς χρηστολογίας αὐτῶν," ὡς αἱ σειρῆνες, "ἐξαπατῶσι τὰς καρδίας τῶν ἀκάκων." "φθείρουσι γὰρ ἤθη χρηστὰ ὁμιλίαι κακαί." Καλῶς οὖν ὁ Φυσιολόγος ἔλεξε περὶ τῶν σειρήνων καὶ τῶν ὀνοκενταύρων.

Ethiopic (Sumner, Ethiopian Philosophy [note 20], 85)

From the navel to the feet [the sirens] look like a bird, while from the face to the navel they are like a horse. Isaiah said: "Evil spirits and rustic demons and devils will dance in Babylonia." These sirens are murderous and there is nothing more enticing than their voice. The onocentaurs, on the other hand, are human from the face to the loins, their back is that of a donkey, their feet are solid, and furthermore their behaviour is perturbing. Likewise there are men who resemble [these animals]. They assemble in the churches, outwardly behave in a correct manner, while in point of fact they deny the strength of the Church. They call themselves Christians, but in reality they have left the Church and they will perish. Those who are like them resemble the sirens and the onocentaurs. While appearing to be faithful, they oppose themselves to the mysterious strength of the Church, and with the softness of their voices they seduce simple people into error, as it is written: "A virtuous habit may be ruined by an unvirtuous conversation." Rightly did the *Fisalg*^{w}*os* speak.

Syriac Vaticanus (Tychsen, Physiologvs syrvs [note 6], 144)

De Sirene

De sirene et strige dicit Propheta Jesaias: Daemones Sirenesque et Ericios Babeli esse saltaturos. Physiologus de sirene et strige ait, quod sirenes sint ex iis animalibus, quae in mare se continent, musicis praeditae vocibus, quarum pars dimidia superna usque ad umbilicum, hominis; pars autem dimidia inferna anseris referat similitudinem. Ejusdem formae quoque est strix, cuius alterum dimidium homini, alterum inde a pectore equo similia sunt.

Syriac Leidensis (Land, Otia syriaca [note 1], 42)

De sirene i. e. thoe qui in mari est.

Jesajas propheta vaticinatur dicendo: "Sirenes et daemones et ericii illic tripudiabunt." Physiologus autem docendo de sirenibus dicit: Homicidae sunt; in mari enim canticis suis psallunt, et ii qui navibus vehuntur ubi dulces earum voces audiunt in mare se projiciunt et intereunt. Formae autem earum hujusmodi sunt: a capite usque ad dorsum mulieris forma est, atque altera pars volucris. Similiter et thoum pars superior viri

speciem refert, et a pectore inde et infra species est asini. *Theoria.* His monemur, ne in duas partes dividamur, ut etiam Elias propheta exlamavit ad filios Israelis: "Quodsi Baalem adamatis eum sequimini, sin Deum amplexamini. ..." Ne (Deum amplexemur) nomine tantum, dum actu et re idolorum cultores simus. Quemadmodum et ipse Jesus Servator noster dominus Eliae prophetae in sancto Evangelio dicit: "Non potestis duobus dominis servire, sed alterum amabitis alterum oderitis; nec potestis Deo et Mamonae servire." Sin autem estis velut sirenes illae quarum altera pars mulieris altera volucris est, aut veluti thoes quorum altera vire altera asini, si ita estis, Mamonam perdetis nec Deum possidebitis. De eo enim qui occidit mentem suam, et in duas partes dividitur nec pari modo se gerit et clam et palam, "non delectatur iis anima mea" Deus ad nos exclamat.

Syriac Buch der Naturgegenstände (Ahrens, Buch der Naturgegenstände [note 6], 77)

Von den Sirenen

Die *Sîrênâs* ist ein Tier, welches im Meere lebt. Bisweilen singt sie neue und liebliche Töne und lässt in ihren Weisen eine Musik emporsteigen gleich der Erregung eines kataleptischen Schlafes, welcher jemandem durch Seelenergiessung geschieht, und man kann den Ton ihrer Melodieen nicht ertragen. Und viele der Musiker mühen sich ab ihre Stimme zu hören, um von ihr neue Töne zu erfinden und in ihren Gesang zu bringen. – Dieses Tier ist aber aus zwei Gestalten zusammengesetzt: vom Nabel aufwärts wie die Gestalt eines Menschen, und von dort abwärts die Gestalt einer Stute. So ist es halb Mensch und halb Pferd.

Armenian (Muradyan, Physiologus: The Greek and Armenian Versions [note 27], 150-51)

Prophet Isaiah says: "There sirens will live and goat-demons will dance, and hedgehogs will give birth to offspring." Physiologus says about the sirens that they cause death and are in the sea, and they sing sweet songs; and if sailors passing by hear the sounds of the songs, it seems so delightful that they plunge into the sea and perish. And their appearance up to the navel is of a woman, and the half – of a bird. Likewise the onocentaurs have the half of man and the half of ass (*v.l.* the half of ass and the half of bull). Likewise every "man of two ways of life and two minds is unstable in all his ways." Likewise now there are some that assemble in church, but do not abstain from sins. They have the appearance of piety, but are far from its power. When they enter the church they have the appearance of lambs, and when they leave the assembly they manifest the appearance of beasts. Such [men] bear in themselves the example of sirens and onocentaurs, and of the power of the adversary and of the deceitful heretics. So that "by fair and flattering words they deceive the hearts of the simple-minded." Just as he says: "Bad company ruins good morals."

Georgian (Graf, "Der georgische Physiologus" [note 31], 103)

Der Prophet Isaias sprach: "Dort werden die Meermädchen und die Dämonen tanzen und die Igel sich aufhalten." Der Naturbeschreiber sprach über die Meermädchen: Sie sind Todesverursacher der Menschen. Sie sind in dem Meer und singen einen Gesang mit süßer Stimme. Und die Schiffer, welche an den Orten mit ihrem Schiffe vorüberkommen – wenn sie die Melodie des Gesanges hören, horchen sie aufmerksam zu und finden Gefallen, bis sie von Sinnen kommen und abirren und in das Meer fallen und umkommen. Und die Gestalt der Meermädchen is bis zum Nabel (die) eines Menschen; ihre halbe Gestalt (ist die) von Vögeln. Ebenso (ist die Gestalt) der Eselochsen: ein Teil (ist die) von Eseln, ein Teil von Ochsen. Ebenso ist jeder heuchlerische, häretische Mensch auf allen seinen Wegen, wie sich Hinterlistige hier finden: in der Kirche versammeln sie sich zur Versammlung, und von der Sünde entfernen sie sich nicht, wie die Schrift sagte: "Sie haben das Aussehen des Gottesdienstes, und von der Stärke sind sie gewichen." Denn wenn sie zur Kirche kommen, zeigen sie sich, wie wenn sie Acht hätten, und wenn die Versammelten sie verlassen, werden sie wie die Tiere. Eben diese Eigenschaft der Meermädchen und der Eselochsen liegt auf ihnen selbst: Gesetzesübertreter, Lügner und Häretiker (sind sie), welche wie mit Süßigkeit die nicht gefestigten Seelen gefangen nehmen, wie der selige Paulus sagte: "Sie verderben süße Gedanken mit bösen Worten."

Latin y (Carmody, "Physiologus latinus versio y" [note 36], 113-14)

De syrena et onocentauro

Significauerat ante Esaias propheta dicens: Syrene et onocentauri et demonia et herinacii uenient in Babilonia et saltabunt. Unius cuiusque naturam Phisiologus disseruit, dicens de sirenis, quoniam animalia mortifera sunt in mari, clamitantia uocibus aliis; etenim dimidiam partem usque ad umbilicum hominis habent figuram, dimidio autem uolatilis. Similiter et onocentauri, a pectore et sursum hominis habet figuram, deorsum autem asini. Sic et uir duplex corde, indispositus in omnibus uiis suis. Ita sunt malorum negotiatorum, et actus anime; in ecclesia quidem colliguntur, absconse autem peccant: Habentes quidem (et apostolus dixit) speciem pietatis, uirtutem autem eius denegantes. Et in ecclesia anime quorumdam sicut oues sunt; cum autem dimissi fuerint a collecta, fiunt tamquam pecora: Et assimilabuntur iumentis insensatis. Hi tales siue syrene siue onocentauri figuram ostendunt aduersariorum.

Latin b (Carmody, Physiologus latinus: Éditions préliminaires versio b [note 36], 25-26)

Sirenae et onocentauri

Isaias propheta dicit: Sirena et *daemonia* saltabunt in Babylonia, et *herinacii* et onocentauri habitabunt in domibus eorum. Unius cuiusque natura Physiologus disseruit: sirenae (inquit) animalia sunt mortifera; quae a capite usque ad umbilicum figuram hominis habent, extrema uero pars usque ad pedes uolatilis habent figuram; et musicum quoddam ac dulcissimum melodiae carmen canunt, ita ut per suauitatem uocis auditus hominum a longe nauigantium mulceant et ad se trahant, ac nimia suauitate modulationis prolizae aures ac sensus eorum delinientes in somnum uertunt. Tunc deinde, cum uiderint eos grauissimo somno sopitos, inuadunt eos et dilaniant carnes eorum, ac sic persuasionis uocis ignaros et insipientes homines decipiunt et mortificant sibi. Sic igitur et illi decipiuntur qui deliciis huius saeculi et pompis et theatralibus uoluptatibus delectantur, tragediis ac diuersis musicis melodiis dissoluti, et uelut grauati somno sopiti efficiuntur aduersariorum praeda. Onocentaurum duabus naturis constare Physiologus asserit, id est: superior pars homini similis est, inferioris uero partis membra sunt naturae ualde agrestis. Huic assimilantur uecordes atque bilingues homines informes; dicente apostolo: Habentes autem *promissionem* pietatis, uirtutem autem eius abnegantes. Propheta Dauid dicit: Homo cum in honore esset, non intellexit: comparatus est iumentis insipientibus, et similis factus est illis.

Latin c (Von Steiger and Homburger, Physiologus bernensis [note 36], 80)

De natura serena et honocentauri

Esaias propheta sic dixit quoniam serenae et honotaurus et iricii ibi saltabunt. Physiologus sic dixit quia serenas, dicit, esse mortiferas et in mare clamitant uobis diuersis, ut nauigantes, dum audierint, seducantur. A capite usque ad umbilicum hominis figuram habet et deorsum usque ad caudam uolatile est. Similiter et honotaurus: Pars eius corporis est hominis, altera autem pars asini similitudinem habet. His ergo conparantur uiri duplici corde, qui habent figuram pietatis, personam accipientes, et habent aduersariorum et hereticorum. Nam per suauissimam eloquia sua sicut serena seducunt corda innocentium.

Latin a [see Latin b]

Latin b-Isidore (Mann, "Der Bestiaire divin" [note 37], 46-47)

De sirenis.

Ysaias dicit (Jes. 13, 22): "syrena et demonia stabunt in Babilonia, et herinatius et honocentaurus habitabunt in domibus eorum." Sirene, inquid (sic!), animalia sunt mortifera. Phisiologus describit: usque ad umbilicum figuram hominis habent, extrema vero pars usque ad pedes volatilis habet figuram, et musicum quoddam ac dulcisonum melodie cantum canunt ita ut per suavitatem vocis auditus hominum a longe navigantium mutent et ad se trahant, ac nimia suavitate modulationis prolixe aures ac sensus eorum delinientes in sompnum vertant. Tunc deinde, cum viderint eos gravissimo sompno sopitos, invadunt eos et dilaniant carnes eorum, ac sic persuavis voces soni (sic! – persuasione vocis –) ignaros et insipientes homines decipiunt et mortificant sibi. Sic et illi qui deliciis huius seculi et pompis et theatrilibus voluptatibus delectantur, tragediis ac comediis dissoluti velut gravi sompno sopiti adversariorum preda efficiuntur. Onocentaurum duabus naturis constare Phisiologus asserit, id est superior pars hominis similis, inferioris vero partis membra sunt nature valde agrestis. Huic assimilantur vecordes atque bilingues homines informes (sic! – biformes –) dicente Apostolo (2. Tim. 3, 5): "habentes autem promissiones pietatis virtutem autem abnegantes." Propheta David dicit (Ps. 49, 21): "homo cum in honore esset, non intellexit; comparatus est iumentis insipientibus, et similis factus est illis."

Ethim[ologia]

Sirenas tres fingunt fuisse, ex parte virgines et ex parte volucres, habentes alas et ungulas. Quarum una voce, alia tibiis, tercia litera (sic! – lyra –) canebat. Que indoctos navigantes pro cantu naufragio periclitari faciebant. Secundum veritatem autem meretrices fuerunt, que transeuntes deducebant ad egestatem, et his dicuntur inferre naufragia. Alas autem habuisse et ungulas, quia amor et volat et vulnerat. Que ideo in fluctibus commorasse dicuntur, quia fluctus in Venerem creaverunt. Onocentaurus autem vocatur, eo quod media specie sit homo, media vero asinus.

Latin Dicta Chrysostomi (Sbordone, "La tradizione" [note 37], 268-69)

De sirenes et onocentauris

Alliciunt pene nautas cantando sirenae:
suasus hostiles dulces Christ fuge miles.

De sirenis et onocentauris ita Esaias dicit propheta: Sirenae et daemonia saltabunt in domibus eorum. Uniuscuiusque figuram Physiologus ita disseruit. Sirenae, inquit, animalia sunt mortifera, quae a capite usque ad umbilicum figuram feminae habent. Extrema pars usque ad pedes uolatilis imaginem tenet, atque musicum quoddam dulcissimum melodiae carmen canunt, per quod homines nauigantes secipiuntur, ita ut persaepe, auditum demulcentes sensumque delinientes, in soporem uertantur, et tunc illae uidentes eas esse sopitos, inuadunt et laniant carnes eorum. Sic igitur decipiuntur illi qui diabolicis pompis et theatralibus uoluptatibus delectati uel tragoediis musicis soluti et uelut somno mentis grauati, efficiuntur aduersae uirtutis auidissima praeda.

Pars hominem fingit, asinum pars altera pingit
moribus informes notat hoc pecus atque bicordes.

Eodem modo onocentaurus duabus naturas constat, ut Physiologus asserit. Nam superior pars homini similis est posteriorque asino similis, et natura eius ualde agrestis. Per hunc assimilantur bicordes et bilingues homines, moribus informes, habentes speciem pietatis, uirtutem eius abnegantes, sicut scriptum est: Et homo, cum in honore esset, non intellexit, comparatus est iumentis insipientibus et similis factus est illis.

Latin Physiologus Theobaldi (Eden, Theobaldi «Physiologus» [note 37], 60-62)

De sirenis

Sirene sunt monstra maris resonantia magnis
Vocibus et modulis cantus formantia multis,
Ad quas incaute veniunt sepissime naute,
Que faciunt somnum nimia dulcedine vocum
Et modo naufragium, modo dant mortale periculum;
Quas qui fugerunt, hi tales esse tulerunt:
Ex umbilico sunt ut pulcherrima virgo,
Quodque facit monstrum, volucres sunt inde deorsum.

De honocentauris

Est honocentauris itidem natura biformis,
In quibus est asinus humano corpore mixtus.
Quamplures homines sic sunt in more biformes,
Unum dicentes, aliud tibi mox facientes,
Qui foris ut fantur, sic intus non operantur.
Utpote sunt multi, qui de virtute locuti
Clunibus indulgent: his o quam pulpita fulgent.

Old High German (Maurer, Der altdeutsche Physiologus [note 37], 92)

[I]n demo mere sint uunderlihu uuihtir, diu heizzent sirenę unde onocentauri. Sirene sint meremanniu unde sint uuibe gelih unzin ze demo nabilin, dannan uf uogele, unde mugin uile scono sinen. So si gesehint [man] an demo mere uarin, so sinen sio uilo scono, unzin si des uunnisamin lides so gelustigot uuerdin, daz si inslafin. So daz mermanni daz gesihit, so uerd ez in unde brihit si. An diu bezeinet ez den fiant, der des mannis muot spenit ze din ueriltlihen lusten. Ter onocentaurus, er ist halb man, halb esil, unde bezeichinet di dir zuiualtic sint in ir zunon un in iro herzon, unde daz pilide des rehtis habin un ez doh an ir uuerchin niht euullint.

Middle High German Wiener Prosa (Maurer, Der altdeutsche Physiologus [note 37], 16-18)

Von den tieren, die der heizzent Sirenes et Onocentauri, so sprichit der vorsage Esayas unt chut: "Sirene unte tiuvale screchin in ire huson." dere bilide zellit Phisiologus unt chut, daz si totfuorgiu tier sin. Si sint getan von deme houbite unze an den nabile also wib; dannen unze an die fuozze nidine sint si gitan also vogile unt singint ein vil scone sanch, heizzit musica. damite biswichint si die scefman alsus: So die vergin si gihorent, so cherent si ir sin so harte dare, daz si von deme suozzen sange intslafent; so varant siu dei tier ane unt zebrechent sie, e sirwachen. Also werdent die biswichin, die mit werltlichem unt mit tiefallichen zierden bivangin sint, unt die biswarit sint mit deme slafe ir muotis; die sint deme tievale ze roube. <A>ve zellit Phisiologus, daz der Onocentaurus zwei gislahte habe; daz obir teil ist einim manne glich, daz nidere ist dem Esile glich, unt ist sin gislahte vil wildlich. Der Onocentaurus bizeichinot die zwislen zungin der menniskin, die mit ubilen siten sint bevangin. Si habent guot pilide unt nehabent ave der guoten werche nicht, also David chot: "Do menniske in ere was, do nechund er daz vernemen. do do wart er tumben fihen gebinmazzet unde wart in gelich getan."

Middle High German Millstätter Physiologus (Schröder, Der Millstätter Physiologus [note 79], 80-82)

41 Von den tieren, die da heizzent Sirenen unde Onocenthauren
Esaias, der vorsage, sprichet da von unde saget:
"Sirene unde tiuvale [screc]hen in ir husen."
von der bilde Phisiologus zelt unde sprichet, daz si totfuorgiu tier sint.

42 Si sint von dem houbet unz den nabele also wip gescaffene,
danne unze an die fuozze nidene getan sam die vogele.
si singent ein sanch, heizzet Musica, da mit beswichent si die scefman.

43 So die vergen si gehorent, ir sinne si dar cherent.
von ir suozzen sage entslaffent si danne
iso varent sie dei tier an, unde e si erwachen, so zebrechent si si gar.

44 Also werdent die beswichen, die mit werltlichen und mit tievellichen
zierden bevangen sint, unde die darzuo beswaeret sint
mit dem slaffe ir muotis, die sint geahtet dem ruobe des tiufils.

45 Abir zelt Phisiologus, daz der Onocenthaurus
hab zwei geslehte: daz obir teil ist gelich eines mannes ahte,
daz nider teil einem Esil gelich und ist vil wildelich.

46 Der Onocenthaurus bezeichint an uns
vil broden mennisken die zunge zwislisken,
die mit ubilen siten umbegant unde den wonent mit.

47 Si habent guot bilde, an guoten werchen sint si wilde,
also uns Davit chan leren, er sprichet: "do der mennisce was in eren,
do nechunde er niht versten sich, do warde er dem tumben vih
gegenmazzot ane wan unde warde im gelich getan."

Old Icelandic A (Del Zotto Tozzoli, Il Physiologus in Islanda [note 49], 70, 74)

[III. De sirenis]

Sirena iarteiner í fegrþ raddar sinar oc sæte crása þera, es menn hafa til sælo í heimmi hér, oc gá þes eins oc sofna svá frá góþvm verkom. En dýret tek[r] menn oc fyrfer þeim, þá es þeir somna af fagri rǫddo. Svá farasc marger af sælífi síno, ef þat eit vilia gera í heimi hér.

[V. De onocentauro]

Honocentavrvs heiter dýr, þat es vér kǫllom finngálkan. Þat es ᛉ fram en dýr aftr, oc markar þat óeinarþarmenn í vexti sínom. Þat kallasc at bókmále rangt oc dýrom glíkt, ef ᛉ mæler efter þeim, sem þá es hiá, þót sá mæla rangt. Rétorþr scal góþ[r] ᛉ of alla [lutti ávalt, hvá]rtt sem er avþigri eþa snavþr.

Old Icelandic B (Del Zotto Tozzoli, Il Physiologus in Islanda [note 49], 96)

[X. De onocentauro]

Honocentaurus hefer upp líking mannz en niþr d[ýr]s, oc hefir tu[enn] mǫl oc hefsc á teigum úti at mæla viþ menn. Suá sem postoli mælir: "Hafendr fyrirheit milde, en crapt hans neitendr." Oc Dauid propheta: "Maþr, þá er hann var í vegsemþ, eigi scilþi hann, oc er hann samvirdr óvitrom kycquendom oc es þeim orþenn glíkr."

Middle English (Wirtjes, The Middle English Physiologus [note 7], 15-16)

Natura sirene

In ðe se senden selcuðes manie.
Ðe mereman is a meiden ilike:
On brest & bodi oc (al ðus ȝe is bunden):
Fro ðe noule niðerward ne is ȝe (no man like)
Oc fis to ful iwis mið finnes waxen.
Ðis wunder wuneð in wankel stede ðer ðe water sinkeð.
Sipes ȝe sinkeð & scaðe ðus werkeð.
Mirie ȝe singeð, ðis mere, & haueð manie stefnes,
Manie & sille, oc it (ben wel ille.
Sipmen here) steringe forȝeten for hire stefninge,
Slumeren & slepen & to late waken:
Ðe sipes sinken mitte suk, ne cumen he nummor up.
Oc wise men & warre aȝen cunen chare,
Ofte arn atbrosten mid he[re] best ouel.
He hauen told of ðis mere, ðat ðus uniemete,
Half man & half fis, sum ðing tokneð bi ðis.

'Significatio'

Fele men hauen ðe tokning
Of ðis forbisnede ðing:
Wiðuten weren [sepes] fel;
Wiðinnen arn he wulues al.
He speken godcundhede
& wikke is here dede.
Here dede is al vncuð
Wið ðat spekeð here muð.
Twifold arn on mode:
He sweren bi ðe rode,
Bi ðe sunne & bi ðe mone
& he ðe leȝen sone.
Mid here saȝe & mid here song
He ðe swiken ðerimong:
Ðin aȝte wið swiking,
Ði soule wið lesing.

Old French by Gervaise (Meyer, "Le bestiaire de Gervaise" [note 43], 430)

Sereine est de mer .j. peril:
Feme es par desus le lonbril,
Et poisons desoz la ce[i]nture.
Tant chante bel que creature
Ne se'e[n] porroit pas sooler

Ne d'oïr le douz chant chanter.
Quant genz vont per la mer najant
Et les sereins vont chantant,
Quant avoir en cudent l'oïe,
Tant est douce la melodie,
Tant se delitent en l'oïr
Que toz les covient endormir;
Et quant il se sont endormi[s],
Meinenant les ont asalli[s]
Les sereines; si les acorent,
Lor char despiecent et desvorent.
Cil qui aiment tragitaours
Tumeresses et juglaours,
Cil ensevent, ce n'est pas fable,
La procession au deable.
Deables les va esvoillant
Et ensi les va decevant.
El perfont anfer les envoie;
Ensi set il querre sa proie.

Centaurus est une autre best,
Poitrine, espaules, mains, teste.
Ha tot ensi come ont home.
Asne resanble, c'est la some
Aval per desoz la centu(i)re.
Moult est de mauvaise nature.
Aicestui sanblable sunt
Li home qui .ij. langues ont,
Qui amonestent faire bien
Et si n'en vuelent faire rien.
Itel sunt li faus ypocrite:
De parole senblent herite;
Mult sunt devant la gent plaisant
Et deriere fel et tirant.
Nuns hons ne se puet d'aus gaitier.
De ces dist David ou sautier:
Homo cum in honore esset non intellexit.

Old French by Pierre de Beauvais – short version (Mermier, Le bestiaire de Pierre [note 43], 68)

Ysayes dit: La serainne et li deable et li heriçons et honocentors habiteront en lour maissons. La honocentors c'om apele sagetaire est diz pour ce qu'il est moitié home et moistié asnes. Li home portent la samblance qu'il ont double cuers et doubles paroles, c'est quant dient bien devant et mal derrier. Phisiologes dit que la seraine porte samblance de fame de ci au nobril et la partie d'aval est d'oisel. La seraine a si doux chanz qu'ele deçoit ceus qui nagent en mer et atrait a lui par grant doucor de son chant et lor

fait oblier si qu'ils s'endorment. Quant les voit endormis eles les assaillent et ocient. Ausi est de ceus cil qui sont es richesses de cest siecle et es deliz endormiz que lor aversaire ocient ce sont li deable. Les seraines senefient les fames qui atraient les homes et ocient par lor blandissement et par lor decevanz paroles, tant qu'eles les menent a povreté ou a mort. Les eles de la seraine est l'amorz de la fame qui tot va et vient.

Old French by Pierre de Beauvais – long version (Cahier, Mélanges d'archéologie [note 36], 2:172-73)

Ysayes dist: La seraine et li diable manront en Babiloine; et li hérochons et li haneton [R. honocentors; S. onocentors] mandront en lor maisons et habiteront. III manières de seraine sont, don't les II sont moitié feme moitié poisson; et l'autre moitié feme moitié oiseax. Et chantent totes III, les unes en buisines et les autres en herpes, et les autres en droite vois. Et li honocentons, c'on apèle sacraire [R. c'on apèle la sagetaire; S. que on appelle sajetaire, est diz pour ce qu'il est], est dis porce que il est moitié home et moitié asne [S. cheval]. De cels, dist Ysaies: Li home portent sa semblance, qui ont dobles cors et doble paroles; c'est quant il dient bien devant, et mal derière. Phisiologus dist que la seraine port semblance de feme de si al nonbril, et la partie d'aval est oisel. La seraine a si dous chant qu'èle déchoit cels qui nagent en mer; et est lor mélodie tant plaisant à oïr, que nus ne les ot, tant soit loing, qu'il ne li conviegne venir. Et la seraine les fait si oblier quant èle les i a atrait, que il s'endorment; et quant il sont endormi, èles les asaillent et ocient en traïson que il ne s'en prennent garde. Ensi est de cels qui sont ès richoises de cest siècle, et ès délis endormis, qui lor aversaire ocient: cè sont li diable. Les seraines senefient les femes qui atraient les homes par lor blandissemens et par lor déchèyemens à els, de lor paroles; que èles les mainent à a poverté et à mort. Les èles de la seraine, ce est l'amor [R. la mors] de la feme qui tost va et vient.

Old French by Philippe de Thaon (Walberg, Le bestiaire de Philippe [note 43], 41-42, 51-52)

Ço dit Ysidorus
Est onoscentaurus
Ki d'umë at faiture
Entresqu'a la ceinture
E deriere at façun
D'asne par grant raisun.
Onos en griu at num,
Asne issi l'apelum.
Oëz que signefie
Beste de tel baillie.
Om quant dit verité

A dreit om est numé,
E asne signefie
Quant il fait vilainie.
Enpur ço dit Davit
Que om ne s'entendit,
A jument se preisat
Quant il onur laissat;
Ki nie verité
Asnes seit apelé,
Kar Deus est verité
Ço dit auctorité.
E iço signefie
Beste de tel baillie.
Atant fin ma raisun,
D'altre beste dirum.

[…]

Serena en mer hante,
Cuntre tempeste chante
E plurë en bel tens,
Itels est sis talenz;
E de feme at faiture
Entresqu'a la ceinture,
E les piez de falcun
E cue de peissun.
Quant se volt dejuër
Dunc chante halt e cler;
Se dunc l'ot notunier
Ki najant [vait] par mer,
La nef met en ubli,
Senes en endormi.
Aiez en remembrance,
Ço est signefiance.
Les sereines ki sunt
Richeises sunt del munt;
La mer mustre cest munt,
La nef gent ki i sunt,
E l'anme est notunier,
Nef cors ki deit nagier.
Saciez maintes feiz funt
Les richeises del munt
L'anme e le cors pechier
– C'est nef e notunier –
L'anme en pechié dormir,
Ensurquetut perir.
Les richeises del munt
Mult granz merveilles funt,
Els parolent e volent,

Par piez prenent e noent;
Pur ço de tel façun
Les sereines peignum:
Li riches om parole,
De lui la fame vole,
E les povres destreint
E noe quant se feint.
Sereine est d'itel estre
Qu'ele chante en tempeste;
Ço fait richeise el munt
Quant riche ume cunfunt
– C'est chanter en tempeste
Quant richeise est sis maistre –
Que om pur li se pent
E ocit a turment.
La sereine en bel tens
Plurë e plaint tuz tens:
Quant om dune richeise
E pur Dé la depreise,
[I]lores est bele ure
E la richeise plure.
Saciez ço signefie
Richeise en ceste vie.

Old French by Guillaume (Hippeau, Le bestiaire divin [note 43], 224-26)

XII. De la sereine.

De la sereine vous diron,
Qui molt a estrange facon.
Car des la cainture en amont
Est la plus bele riens del mont,
En guise de feme formee.
L'autre partie est figuree
Comme poisson et com oisel.
Tant chante douchement et bel,
Que cil qui vont par mer naiant,
Si tost com il oient ce chant,
Ne se pueent mie tenir
Que la nef n'i facent venir;
Tant lor samble cis chans soef,
Qu'il s'endorment enmi la nef;
Et quant tres bien sunt endormi,
Don't sunt deceu et trahi;
Quer les sereines les ocient
Si soudement que mot ne dient.
La sereine qui si haut chante,
Que par son chant les genz enchante,
Done essample a ceus chastier

Qui par cest mont deivent nagier.
Nos, qui par cest munde passon,
Sommes deceuz par tel son,
Par la glorie, par le delit
De cest munde qui not ocit.
Quant le delit avon amors,
La luxure, l'ese del cors
Et la glotonie et l'ivrece,
L'ese del mont et la richece,
Les dames et les chevaus cras,
La noblece des riches dras,
Toz jorz nos treon cele part;
De la venir nos est trop tart.
Ileques tant nos demorons,
Qu'a force nos y endormons.
Adonc nos ocit la sereine;
C'est li maufe qui la nos maine,
Qui tant nous fait plungier es vices
Qu'il nos eclot dedanz ses lices:
Donc nos asaut, donc nos cort sore,
Si nos ocit, si nos acore,
Ausi com les sereines font
Les mariniers, qui par mer vont.
Mais il i a meint marinier
Qui s'en set garder et guertier.
Quant il vet siglant par la mer,
Ses orelles fet estoper,
Qu'il n'oie le chant qui deceit.
Tot ensement fere le deit
Sage qui passe par cest munde;
Chaste se deit tenir et munde,
Et ses orelles estoper,
Qu'il n'oie dire, ne parler
Chose qui en pechie le maint;
Et issi se deffendent maint;
Lor orelles et lor euz gardent,
Que il n'oient ne qu'il n'esgardent
Les deliz et les mauvestiez
Par quei plusors sunt engignez.

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