

Tierlexikon – Probeartikel »Kamel« (Entwurf!)

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Bitte beachten: Die Literaturangaben zu den einzelnen Abschnitten sind noch nicht vollständig.

Kamel, camel, chameau

[...]

A. Das reale Tier

Camels are mentioned frequently in Latin accounts of the Crusades. Most references are fleeting and incidental, as for example in Fulker of Chartres's *Historia Hierosolymitana* (PL 155, cols 837, 846, 856f., 875, 880, 887, 911, 916, 926, 933) and William of Tyre's *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* (pp. 316, 392, 499, 465, 555, 730, 823, 827, 884, 919, 983, 991, 994). In 9, 12 (p. 435), however, William interestingly corroborates the ancients' assessment of the value of camels in counteracting cavalry, and in 3, 15 (p. 235), he records that the crusaders saw camels for the first time at the siege of Nicea. Moreover Guibert de Nogent's *Gesta Dei per Francos* fascinatingly chronicles the extent to which those besieged in Antioch depended on camels for food – »wealthy men ate the flesh of → horses, camels, → cows, and → deer« (tr. Levine, p. 103); »[the Count of Flanders'] quartermaster paid a remarkable amount of money for a camel's foot, since he was unable to find anything better for him to eat at that point« (p. 109). The occasional presence of camels in the medieval West is meanwhile recorded in accounts of menageries, such as that of Emperor Frederick II (see Godfrey of Viterbo, *Gesta Frederici*, p. 348; also Loisel, 2, 154, 169, 179).

The occasional presence of camels in the medieval West is recorded in accounts of menageries, such as that of Emperor Frederick II (see Godfrey of Viterbo, *Gesta Frederici*, p. 348; also Loisel, 2, 154, 169, 179).

Lit.: G. LOISEL: *Histoire des ménageries de l'antiquité à nos jours*, 1912; A. DIERKENS: Chameaux et dromadaires en Gaule mérovingienne. Quelques remarques critiques. In: *Hommages à Carl Deroux*, ed. P. DÉFOSSÉ, 2003, 114-137; A. DIERKENS: Chameaux et dromadaires dans la Gaule du très haut Moyen-Âge. Note complémentaire: La méditerranée et le monde mérovingien. *Bulletin Archéologique de Provence*, Supplément 3 (2005), 241-245.

Nigel Harris

B. Denktraditionen

B.1 Antike Zoologie

There is evidence of camels being known to the Egyptians as early as 4,000 BC, to the Assyrians from 860 BC, and to Archilochus in the seventh century BC (Keller 1, 275). Moreover Herodotus (*Histories*, 3, 103) regards the camel as sufficiently familiar to his audience to render a physical description of it unnecessary. Nevertheless the major ancient natural historians offer numerous details about the camel, a good proportion of which would still be regarded as broadly accurate (see Gauthier-Pilters/Dagg, *passim*). For example, Aristotle (especially *Historia animalium* 2, 1; 5, 14; 8, 1, 9), Pliny (especially *Naturalis historia* 8, 26, 67f.), and their followers agree that the camel is a cloven-hooved, retromingent ruminant; that it can live for four days without water (Aelian – 17, 7 – erroneously inflates this figure to eight); that it gives birth to one foal at a time following a gestation period of twelve months; and that it instils fear in → horses – a phenomenon also recorded by historians such as Herodotus (7, 87) and Xenophon (*Cyropaedia*, 6, 2, 14; 7, 1, 27; 7, 1, 48), and confirmed by some modern zoologists (see Gauthier-Pilters/Dagg, p. 128). Moreover Aristotle (2, 1) and Pliny (8, 26, 67) distinguish correctly between the two-humped Bactrian camel (*camelus bactrianus*) and the one-humped Arabian (*camelus dromedarius*), though Solinus (49, 9) and Isidore of Seville (12, 1, 35) confuse the two, and the latter

regards the dromedary as a separate species, characterized by its exceptional running speed; the dromedary is faster, indeed, than a → horse, with whose speed that of a normal camel is often equated (e.g. by Pliny, 8, 26, 68, and Herodotus, 7, 86). There is also confusion as to the camel's life-span (nowadays regarded as about 40 years – Gauthier-Peters/Dagg, p. 77): Aristotle (8, 9) states that it normally lives to 30, whereas Pliny (10, 68) cites 50 to 100 years, and Solinus (49, 11) and Aelian (4, 55) 100 at least.

Ancient military historians say little that contradicts these details – though Herodotus's apparently independent description of the camel's back legs (3, 103) is inaccurate (see Pauly 6, 222). They do refer, however, to various functions performed by camels in warfare. They were above all beasts of burden (e.g. Herodotus 1, 80), but were also used as mounts (Xenophon indeed attests – 6, 2, 8 – to two archers riding on the same camel) and as scarers of □ horses; and they were often taken as booty (e.g. Xenophon 6, 1, 30).

Elsewhere there is considerable evidence of caravans of camels being used to transport goods along the major Eastern trade routes (Pauly 6, 222), of the animals' presence at Roman games (Pauly 6, 223, Keller 1, 277), of their employment on imperial postal duties (Keller 1, 276), and indeed of their being eaten by Persians as a delicacy at birthday celebrations (Herodotus 1, 133).

Lit.: O. KELLER: *Antike Tierwelt* 1, 1909, 275–7; *Der neue Pauly*, 6, 221–3; H. GAUTHIER-PILTERS/ A. I. DAGG: *The Camel. Its Evolution, Ecology, Behavior, and Relationship to Man*, 1981.

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B.2 Bibel und Bibelexegese

There are over 60 references to the camel in the Bible. Most of these are incidental mentions which merely reflect the fact that it was and is a domesticated animal in the Bible lands. Spiritual significance was seldom ascribed by patristic and later commentators to more than a few references: the classification of the camel as unclean in Lv 11, 4 and Dt 14, 7; the story of Rebekah watering Eliezar's camels in Gn 24; the allusion to the young camels of Midian and Ephah in Is 60, 6; and, above all, Jesus's two camel parables, in Mt 23, 24 and Mc 10, 25 (the latter also Mt 19, 24 and Lc 18, 25). In the former, Christ denounces the scribes and Pharisees as blind guides (to the Jews), who strain out a → gnat but swallow a camel. The Fathers established a strong tradition of interpreting the camel here as Christ, and the gnat as Barabbas (see Jerome PL 30, 695; Gregory PL 75, 536); though Augustine (PL 35, 1329f.) and Jerome (PL 26, 171) also associate the camel with »the weightier matters of the law: justice and mercy and faith« which Jesus accuses the Pharisees of having neglected. Meanwhile, his statement in Mc 10, 25 and its cognates that it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven also gave rise to widespread comparisons between the camel and Christ (with the needle interpreted as his passion – see Jerome, PL 30, 555; Gregory, PL 76, 770 and 79, 319; Augustine PL, 35, 1329 and 36, 610). Whilst this reading predominated, the Fathers on occasion also identified the camel with the rich man (see Jerome PL 22, 982 and 25, 1324, Ambrose PL 17,681 and 20,973), with Zacchaeus (Jerome PL 22, 726) – or indeed with the Gentiles, perceived as likely to find it easier than the Jews to progress through the needle's eye (Augustine PL 37, 1465, Jerome PL 30, 555, Ambrose PL 15, 1787). Further associations between the camel and Gentiles are made in interpretations of Gn 24 (see Gregory PL 76, 770 and 83, 252) and of Is 60, 6 (see Jerome PL 25, 259), whilst Gregory compares the unclean camel to the Samaritans (PL 75, 581).

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C. Lateinische Literatur

[...]

II. Tierallegorese und Tierkunde

[...]

1. Physiologus, Bestiarien

The camel is not a *Physiologus* animal, though it does appear in some ›Second Family‹ bestiaries, including some well-known illustrated ones such as the Ashley and Harley Bestiaries. These, along with Ps. Hugh of St Victor's *De bestiis et aliis rebus* (12th century) have no spiritual interpretations of the camel, and record only the stock zoological information (mostly from Pliny via Isidore; see PL 177, 90). We are told, for example, about its names, division into two types, enmity with □ horses, mating habits, ability to endure thirst, preference for dirty drinking water, and life-span (100 years). Again following Isidore, these texts also have a short notice about the dromedary, focusing inevitably on its speed (PL 177, 91).

Rabanus Maurus, however, in his encyclopedia, is chiefly interested in interpreting the animal allegorically, and his elucidations confirm that, at least in the earlier Middle Ages, the camel was seen mainly as a symbol of Christ – because of its name, its willingness to bear burdens, and its ability to go through the eye of a needle. As in the patristic period, however, the camel of Mt 19, 24 is used also to signify Gentiles who have converted to the faith; the camels of Gn 24 are interpreted as sinners, from whose backs Rebekah symbolically dismounts; and the *De universo* also, very unusually, has an interpretation of the camels in Idc 7, 12: these are as »numerous as locusts«, and are equated with »peccatores moribus distorti«.

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2. Tierkunde, Enzyklopädien

The relatively early encyclopaedia of Rabanus Maurus, *De universo libri 22*, contains only a small amount of zoological information about the camel (see PL 111, 211). This work confirms for example that it ruminates, and transmits Isidore's mistaken distinction between dromedaries, two-humped Arabian camels, and single-humped ones »from other regions«.

Hildegard of Bingen, in her idiosyncratic *Physica*, devotes herself to similarities between the camel and other animals (its hump has the strength of a → lion, a → pard, and a → horse, whereas the rest of its body is like a → donkey's; PL 197, 1313f.).

The principal conveyors of camel lore to the high and later Middle Ages were, however, the vast thirteenth-century encyclopaedias of Thomas Cantimpratensis (4, 12, p. 113f.), Albertus Magnus (espec. 22, 15, p. 1361f.), Bartholomaeus Anglicus (18, 18 and 18, 35), and Vincentius Bellovacensis (18, 22–26 (cols 1337–40) and 18, 45 (col. 1351) – Bartholomaeus and Vincentius give the dromedary its own chapter, the others do not. All four authors bring together and re-order the material provided by the canonical ancient and early-medieval naturalists, but occasionally also offer fascinating glimpses of less familiar material. Basilius Magnus (via Eustathius) is for example quoted as saying that the camel holds grudges for a long time, and always eventually wreaks revenge – a *proprietas* found very useful by later moralists. Finally, and most fascinatingly, there is some material of relatively recent vintage from the *Historia orientalis* of Jacques de Vitry (ch. 88, p. 177). This includes references to the camel's ugliness and laziness (it is »deforme«, »turpis aspectus«, and »pigrum«), to the fact that it walks slowly (»lentus incessus«), and to its unpleasant shrieks when angered (»horribiliter strident«). These additions, minor though they are in extent, carry a tantalizing ring of truth which suggests an increased personal familiarity with camels on the part of Jacques (and doubtless of many other crusaders and inhabitants of Outremer since the end of the 11th century).

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[...]

3. Gebrauchsliteratur

Medizinisches Schrifttum: Many ancient beliefs in the medicinal powers of camels are recorded by Pliny (28,26). A camel's brain, dried and taken in vinegar, cures epilepsy, as does its gall taken with honey, and its burnt dung applied with oil (the latter also cures dysentery and makes the hair curl). A camel's urine, meanwhile, is a valuable purgative and remedy for ulcers, whereas its tail hairs, when plaited onto the left arm, can cure certain fevers.

Hildegard of Bingen also discusses the camel's medicinal uses (see PL 197, 1313f.). In particular, ground camel hump bones, taken in water, do wonders for the heart, the spleen, and various fevers; and Vincentius Bellovacensis provides some less »standard« medical material, attributed to Avicenna, Dioscorides and Haly, rather than Pliny (a camel's flesh is a diuretic, for example, its dung good for swellings and wounds, and its milk an antidote).

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III. Tierdichtung

1. Fabel

The camel is represented in four fables, two of them widely transmitted in Latin, two of them less so. The Aesopic fable of the camel and the → flea is common to Babrius and the Romulus traditions, and is also related by Ps. Dositheus and Alexander Neckam (see Grubmüller/Dicke no. 157, p. 169f.). A flea rides for some time on a camel's back, before getting off and telling the camel that he is doing so to relieve the camel's burden – to which the camel responds that he has at no point noticed the flea's presence. If this fable acts above all as a warning to insignificant people (like the flea) against vaunting their own presumed importance, the comparably well known Avianic fable of the camel and Jupiter presents the camel itself in a morally negative light (see Grubmüller/Dicke no. 328, p. 381f.). The camel asks Jove for a pair of horns like those of a bull, only to be derided, told to be content with what nature has provided, and in several accounts denuded of his long ears. The camel is sometimes addressed as »livide«, thereby implying an association also with the deadly sin of envy. Meanwhile a fable from the Kalila wa-Dimna tradition (also in Baldo, Bono Stoppani, John of Capua, and Raymond of Bézières – see Grubmüller/Dicke no. 389, p. 449) casts the camel as a selfless servant who allows himself to be eaten by the sick → lion-king in order to save the latter's life; and the Cyrillus fable of the camel 4 Tiere in der Literatur des Mittelalters. Ein interdisziplinäres Lexikonprojekt – Probeartikel »Kamel« and the → oxen (Grubmüller/Dicke no. 331, p. 386f.) presents the former as a prudent father-figure (he is addressed as 'pater'), who mediates between two steers fighting each other over the same female calf. One suspects that most of these characterizations are based above all on the camel's large size; and certainly they contain little to imply a connection with the encyclopaedic and patristic traditions described above.

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2. Tierepos

The camel has little to do in Latin beast epics, though it does appear in the Ecbasis cuiusdam captivi (l. 641), in which the → leopard gives the camel the task of providing the cloths for the celebratory breakfast (a veiled allusion to Matthew 19, 24? – Ziolkowski, p. 183). Meanwhile Leo of Vercelli's mid-eleventh-century Metrum Leonis presents the

camel as a scribe who records the proceedings of the → wolf's trial (see Ziolkowski, pp. 124 and 254, who postulates a possible connection between this role and the camel's association with the scribes and Pharisees in Mt 23).

Lit.: K. GRUBMÜLLER/ G. DICKE: *Die Fabeln des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*, 1987; J. M. ZIOLKOWSKI: *Talking Animals*, 1993.

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IV. Tiere in nicht tierbestimmter Literatur

1. Narrative Texte

In hagiographical literature, a camel intervenes in the story of Sts Cosmas and Damian, ordering in a human voice that the two martyr brothers be buried together (Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, no. 143). In the *Ruodlieb*, gifts from king to king are twice (ll. 82, 166) said to include camels. Finally, Walther's collection of proverbs contains some thirteen involving camels. Most of these relate either to Christ's eye of a needle (1129b, 1574, 1624, 7100, 18263, 21939, 23485), or to the swallowed camel and strained-out → gnat (8402, 10271, 24685) – testimony in itself to the importance of these two biblical passages for Latin literature on the animal.

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[...]

2. Diskursive Texte

As we have seen, many medieval Latin interpretations of the camel reflect the insights of patristic exegesis. At least until about 1200, indeed, it is possible to speak of a consensus amongst religious authors that the camel was primarily a symbol of Christ – particularly on the basis of the two great parables discussed above (see the many examples from the *Patrologia Latina* listed in Harris 2007). Nevertheless the Fathers' alternative interpretations of these and other passages also had an influence, as did comparisons between the treasure-bearing camels of the Queen of Sheba and the patriarchs and prophets (see Bruno of Segni PL 165, 1051), and between the camels mentioned in Is 21 and the multitudes who will follow the Antichrist (see Herveus Burgidolensis PL 181, 207).

Interesting summaries of the camel's spiritual meanings in the earlier and high Middle Ages are provided not only by Rabanus Maurus (see above), but also in the *Liber in distinctionibus dictionum theologicalium* of Alanus ab Insulis (PL 210, 687–812, here 727) and the *Allegoriae in universam sacram scripturam* (also known as the *Angelus*, PL 112, 849–1088, here 882). In both of these Christ is mentioned first (though in relation to Mt 23 rather than Mc 10, whose camel Alan sees as a »peccator pondere peccatorum oneratus«); but the *Angelus* also associates the camel with »tortitudo vitiorum« (on the basis of Gn 24), »populus huius saeculi« (Is 60, 6) and »dispositiones rerum terrenarum« (the 3,000 camels of Iob 1, 3).

The large-scale exemplum collections of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries – based as they were on the relatively new encyclopaedias of authors like Thomas or Bartholomaeus – expanded considerably the previously rather limited range of characteristics of the camel submitted to spiritual interpretations. These were often still used to signify Christ, as for instance are all three camel exempla of Ulrich von Lilienfeld's *Concordantiae caritatis* (c. 1351). Here, the camel's (supposed) ability to restrain its anger until an opportunity for vengeance arises is compared to Christ's reining in his anger until Doomsday (see Munscheck p. 338); the compassionate readiness of a group of camels to forswear food when one of them is ill is equated with his willingness to sacrifice himself for the Jews (Munscheck p. 342); and, still more implausibly, the ability of a young camel to eat greenery immediately after birth is linked with Christ's instinctive bearing of our sins (Munscheck p. 354). Further examples of rather far-fetched christological interpretations can be found in the *Reductorium morale* of Petrus Berchorius (c. 1300; see 10, 17, pp. 359a–360b): Petrus states for instance that the camel's desire for solitude in the mating season reflects the solitude of Christ's life on earth, and that the hot-bloodedness, dryness, and leanness of a camel's body is reminiscent of Our Lord's charity, purity, and penitence.

The *Reductorium morale*, however, along with roughly contemporary works such as the *Summa de exemplis et similitudinibus rerum* of Joannes a San Geminiano (5, 20, 51, 63, 83, 104, 113) and the *Proprietates rerum moralizate* sometimes attributed to Marcus de Orvieto (CIm 8809, 102_{rb-vb}, 106_{vb-107_{rb}}) were also responsible for expanding the range of spiritual meanings with which the camel was associated. Between them, for example, Petrus and Joannes interpret the camel as meaning spiritual fervour, obedience, chastity, pride, holy men, common sinners, the Christian soul, patience, and impatience; and the *Proprietates rerum moralizate* compares eight characteristics of the camel to a just man, and four of the dromedary to a good priest or monk. Such a wide spectrum of characteristics and meanings inevitably sometimes inspired these authors to exempla of ingenious, indeed bizarre intricacy: the camel's four stomachs, for example, are compared in extraordinary detail by Joannes (5, 20) to the four ways in which (according to the four types of allegory) spiritual food must be ingested and digested, and by Petrus (p. 359a–b) both to the four stages of sin and to their four corresponding remedies.

Petrus Berchorius's use of the camel as an image of pride (p. 359a, the two main sub-species of camel respectively signifying visible and invisible pride) can also be seen as typifying an increasingly prevalent later medieval trend towards interpreting the camel *in malam partem* as one of the Seven Deadly Sins – as often as not with anger or avarice, rather than pride. This is not particularly surprising given the contemporary fashion for using all manner of natural phenomena to connote sin, but one wonders whether a certain »natural symbolism« may also have been at work, in that these are the three moral qualities with which Westerners increasingly familiar with real camels might instinctively

have associated the beast. In any event, alongside occurrences in the visual arts, the dromedary is an emblem of pride and the camel of anger in the *Etymachia* treatise (Harris 1994, pp. 108, 124); and the camel represents avarice in, for example, a Palm Sunday sermon by Conrad Holtznicker (no. 99) and a complex textual and pictorial tradition, related to the *Etymachia*, from late-medieval Austria (see Harris/Newhauser).

Lit.: N. HARRIS: *The Latin and German Etymachia*. Textual History, Edition, Commentary, 1994; ID: The Camel in Medieval Literature: Perspectives and Meanings. In: S. HARTMANN (ed.): *Fauna and Flora*, 2007, 131–51; ID/ R. NEWHAUSER: Visuality and Moral Culture in the Late Middle Ages. In: R. NEWHAUSER (ed.): *In the Garden of Evil*, 2005, 234–76; H. MUNSCHCK: *Die Concordantiae caritatis* des Ulrich von Lilienfeld, 2000.

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D. Romanische Literaturen

D.1 Französische Literatur

I. Terminologisches

aprov.: *camel*; afr.: *c(h)ame(i)l*, *c(h)ama(i)l*; aprov. *dromadari*, afr.: *dromadaire*, *dromedarie*
 »[Q]uadrupède à une ou deux bosses sur le dos, employé par les Orientaux comme bête de somme« (FEW 2, 129): le terme de chameau inclut donc le dromadaire, au Moyen Âge comme dans cet article.

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II. Tierallegorese und Tierkunde

1. Physiologus, Bestiarien

Aucun des bestiaires français ne consacre au chameau une rubrique propre. Les caractéristiques physiques du chameau servent cependant à décrire d'autres créatures. Ainsi, Philippe de Thaün (v. 1249) et Pierre de Beauvais (uniquement dans la version courte, chap. XXVII, dans la version longue on apprend que l'autruche a les pieds fendus comme une vache) comparent les pattes de l'autruche à celles du chameau, ressemblance qui expliquerait pourquoi l'autruche est également appelée *chamoi* (Gervaise, v. 954/5) ou encore *camelon* (Guillaume le Clerc, vv. 2594/5). Ce dernier renvoie également à la parabole biblique de la difficulté du chameau à passer par le chas d'une aiguille (Mc 10,25) lorsqu'il décrit la belette (v. 2478). En effet, celle-ci reçoit la semence du mâle (par la bouche, mais cela ne fait pas partie de l'analogie développée) tout comme les fidèles reçoivent en semence la parole divine. Or les fidèles se bouchent les oreilles avec les choses de ce monde pour ne pas entendre Dieu, tout comme l'aspic se bouche les oreilles pour ne pas entendre l'enchanteur. Les riches de ce monde, à leur tour semblable à l'aspic, se bouchent les oreilles et sont sourds aux choses divines, car comme le dit l'Évangile, il sera plus difficile à un riche d'entrer au ciel qu'à un chameau de passer par le chas d'une aiguille.

Dans le bestiaire marial, qui fait partie d'une compilation d'éléments divers (un lapidaire, un plantaire, des miracles etc.) tous en l'honneur de Notre Dame, le chameau est l'avant-dernier de quatorze animaux. Le chapitre sur le camélidé commence par 22 vers constituant un petit bestiaire dans le sens traditionnel, reprenant le texte de Pline presque mot à mot et mentionnant, comme Isidore, la différence entre le chameau et le dromadaire. C'est ensuite presque vers par vers que les propriétés du chameau sont reprises et transformées en analogies concernant la Vierge, présentées dans seize passages délimités par une lettrine et allant de 6 à 60 vers. La maigre alimentation du chameau est par exemple mise en parallèle avec la sobriété de Marie, qui ne mangeait pas par gourmandise mais par besoin: tout le monde doit donc vivre sobrement et donner aux pauvres afin d'aller au paradis. La rapidité du chameau, finalement, signifie que nous devons tous courir vite pour sauver notre âme, la longue vie du chameau signifie qu'il faut plutôt vivre saintement une vie courte et bonne que longue et pleine de péchés. Il reste que les liens entre le symbole et ce qu'il représente sont parfois ténus.

Ausg.: *Le Bestiaire de Gervaise*, éd. P. MEYER, *Romania* 1 (1872), 420–443; *Le bestiaire marial tiré du Rosarius* (Paris, BNF, fr. 12483), éd. A. MATTIACI, Thèse de doctorat, Ottawa, 1996.

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2. Tierkunde, Enzyklopädik

Parmi les deux encyclopédies vernaculaires publiées, Brunetto (180) reprend les informations d'Isidore (12, 1, 35), duquel il relaie non seulement la différenciation terminologique entre le chameau et le dromadaire mais aussi l'erreur du nombre de bosses qui différencierait le chameau arabe (à deux bosses) du bactrien (à une seule bosse). Quant à Gossouin (2, 2), il se contente d'évoquer, lors de la description des contrées d'Ynde, que c'est à Antioche qu'il y a maints chameaux.

Ausg.: Brunetto Latini: *Tresor*, éd. P. G. BELTRAMI, 2007; *Image du Monde de Maître Gossouin*, éd. O. H. PRIOR, 1913.

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3. Gebrauchsliteratur

Medizin: Les textes para-médicaux vernaculaires n'innovent pas par rapport aux textes latins, qui eux-mêmes remontent à la tradition antique: le lait de chameau est peu nourrissant car acqueux (1500) et peut guérir des maladies (du foie et de la rate, 1500), sa chair peut soigner l'estomac (646), même s'il est dit ailleurs qu'il peut le troubler (1315).

Ausg.: *Die Diätetik nach dem 'Secretum Secretorum' in der Version von Jofroi de Waterford*, éd. Y. SCHAUWECKER, 2007.

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III. Tierdichtung

1. Fabel

Les répertoires de fables médiévales et de la Renaissance recensent en tout cinq fables dans lesquelles le chameau joue un rôle. La plus répandue d'entre elles est indubitablement *Du chameau et de la puce*, dans laquelle un chameau se moque d'une puce qui descend de son dos afin de ne pas l'accabler de son poids plus longtemps. *Du chameau et de Jupiter*, met en scène un chameau qui, lassé qu'on se moque de lui, demande des cornes à Jupiter, mais en punition de sa requête effrontée Jupiter lui coupe/rapetisse les oreilles: cette fable n'est conservée que dans le recueil de MACHO (n°16) pour la période médiévale. On remarque cependant un regain en popularité à la Renaissance, où, outre *Du chameau et Jupiter* (ANONYME, n° 91 et HAUDENT n°188) plusieurs fables d'origine ésoopique réapparaissent, illustrant certains traits caractéristiques du chameau: patience et soumission dans *De l'âne, du boeuf, de la mule et du chameau*, puisque la fable met en relief le caractère patient et soumis du chameau qui accepte de travailler pour être nourri, contrairement à l'âne qui se révolte; sa douceur dans *Du chameau*, où il est montré que si le chameau suscite la crainte lors de sa première apparition, il suffit d'un peu de temps pour oser l'approcher et s'apercevoir que c'est chose «douce et facile» (HAUDENT, n°100); sa docilité et soumission d'animal de bât dans *Du cheval et du chameau* (VALANCIER, n°10), fable dans laquelle un cheval se moque d'un pauvre chameau souffrant sous le poids de son faix, mais celui-ci l'exhorte à porter son fardeau au lieu de rire. Alors que l'arrogance caractérisait cet animal dans les *Du chameau et de la puce* et *Du chameau et de Jupiter*, les fables plus tardives lui tirent un portrait plus positif, ce qui pourrait bien être dû à une plus grande familiarité de l'Occident avec ce grand ruminant de provenance orientale.

Ausg.: [Anonyme de 1547] *Les fables de la vie d'Esopé Phrygien, traduites de nouveau en françois selon la vérité Graecque. Nouvellement Augmentées et enrichies de plusieurs figures tant en la Vie, que ez Fables d'iceluy, non encores par cy devant Imprimées*, Paris, Hierosme de Marnef, et veufve de Guillaume Cavellat, 1582: »Du chameau« (n°91); *Esbatement moral des animaux*, 1578: »L'asne, le boeuf, la mule et le chameau« (n°105); *Esopé von Julien Macho, eingeleitet und herausgegeben nach der Edition von 1486*, éd. B. HECKER, 1982: »Du chameau et de la puce« (livre IV, n°16), »Du chameau et de Jupiter« (Fables de Aviam, n°7); *Estienne Valancier. Dizains et sonnets mythologiques, Documents sur la vie intellectuelle en Forez au XVI^e siècle*, éd. C. LONGEON, 1973, p. 298-317: n°10, »Du cheval et du chameau«; *Die Fabeln der Marie de France*, éd. WARNKE, 1898: »De pulice et camelo« (n°33); G. HAUDENT: *Trois centz soixante et six Apologues d'Esopé*, 1547: »D'un chameau« (I, n°100), »D'un chameau« (I, n°188); *Recueil général des Ysopets*, éd. J. BASTIN, 1929-1930: »De la puce et dou chamuel« (Isopet de Chartres, n° 33); *Theatre des animaux*, 1644: »L'asne, le boeuf, la mule et le chameau« ([n° 84], p. 87).

Lit.: G. DICKE/K. GRUBMÜLLER: *Die Fabeln des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit. Ein Katalog der deutschen Versionen und ihrer lateinischen Entsprechungen*, 1987, n° 157; P. CIFARELLI: *Catalogue thématique des fables ésoopiques françaises du XVI^e siècle*, 1993, n° 21, 89, 90, 91, 114.

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2. Tierepos

C'est uniquement dans la branche Va (numérotation d'Ernest Martin) du *Roman de Renart* que l'on trouvera deux chameaux: d'une part, un légat pontifical faisant office de juge et parlant un langage incompréhensible truffé d'italianismes, du nom significatif de Musart, d'autre part, un chef religieux et politique des païens. Aucun des deux n'est un personnage positif. L'ambivalence inhérente au chameau (voir B2. *Bibel und Bibelexegese*: Un exemple de cette ambivalence est que le chameau biblique est à la fois un animal impur (Lv 11,4), tout en étant un représentant du Christ dans la parabole du chameau (Grégoire PL 75, 536)) fait de lui l'animal idéal pour le rôle de légat papal. Ce rôle de chameau-juge serait peut-être à mettre en rapport avec l'*exemplum* du chameau qui demande des cornes à Jupiter, fable qui selon Jacques de Vitry illustre son insatiabilité, et qui, à son tour, renverrait à ce même trait de caractère reproché aux Phari-siens dans Mt 19, 24. Le deuxième chameau est un chef religieux et politique des païens, dirigeant une armée de scorpions, d'éléphants, tigres et dromadaires, qui envahit les terres de Noble. Lors du combat contre Tiercelin, il entre en rage et le frappe de sa patte. Plus loin, il sera fait prisonnier (en dernier, car en coursier rapide il avait réussi à s'échapper) et baisera les pieds de Noble pour lui demander pardon, mais sans succès puisqu'il sera écorché vif.

Ausg.: *Le Roman de Renart*, éd. E. MARTIN, 1882.

Lit.: J. DERROY: Le discours du chameau, légat papal dans le *Roman de Renart*, branche Va, dans: *Proceedings of the Third International Beast Epic, Fable and Fabliau Colloquium, Münster, 1979*, Köln, Böhlau, 1981 (Niederländische Studien 30), 102-110; L. FOULET: *Le Roman de Renart*, Paris, Champion, 1914, 217-226; A. LODGE: A comic papal legate and his language. *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen. Bulletin de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki*, 96:2 (1995), 211-221; J. SUBRENAT: Portraits de prélats dans le *Roman de Renart. Reinardus*, 4 (1991), 193-203; J. SUBRENAT: Trois versions du jugement de Renart: le Roman de Remart, branches VIIb, I, VIII du manuscrit de Cangé, dans: *Mélanges de langue et de littérature françaises du Moyen Âge offerts à Pierre Jonin, Senefiance 7* (Aix-en-Provence, CUERMA, 1979), 623-43; K. VARTY/D. BUSCHINGER: Le viol dans l'*Ysengrimus*, les branches II-Va, et la branche I du *Roman de Renart* et dans le *Reinhart Fuchs* d'Heinrich der Glichezare, dans: *Tierepik im Mittelalter. La littérature animalière au Moyen Âge. Thematische Beiträge des 29th International Congress on Medieval Studies an der Western Michigan University (Kalamazoo-USA)*, 5.-8. Mai 1994, Greifswald, Reineke-Verlag, 1994, 107-119.

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IV. Tiere in der nicht tierbestimmten Literatur

1. Narrative Texte

On trouve quelques chameaux dans la littérature vernaculaire vers le milieu du Moyen Âge, mais ce sont toujours des acteurs d'arrière-plan. Les sept cents chameaux, mentionnés à différentes reprises dans la *Chanson de Roland*, y jouent un rôle secondaire en tant qu'animaux exotiques porteurs des cadeaux du roi Marsile autant pour Charlemagne que pour Ganelon.

Lit.: M. SZKILNIK: Roland et les chameaux. La date de la *Chanson de Roland*. *Romania* 122 (2004), 522-31.

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Similarly, in *Girart de Roussillon* (ll. 297–304), the Emperor of Constantinople gives some 2,000 camels as wedding presents to his future sons-in-law. The *Roman de Thèbes* has references to camels as mounts of war (l. 6312) and the *Roman de Troie* to their role in pulling of war chariots (l. 7905). *Anseïs* (l. 2172f.) also mentions camels as part of an army, and *Orson* (l. 1561) as constituent parts of rich booty taken from the heathen. Dromedaries feature (because of their supposed speed) particularly as the mounts of messengers, for example in the *Enfances Guilherme* (ll. 1864–8), *Doon de Mayence* (l. 1563), and the *Roman d'Alexandre* (III, 7619) – in which we are also told (730) that Bucephalus is the son of a male elephant and a female dromedary.

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Hagiographie: Dans la *Légende dorée*, seule la légende de Côme et Damien, provenant de la tradition latine, attribue à un chameau un rôle narratif décisif. En effet, Côme et Damien sont des médecins jumeaux qui soignent autant les hommes que les animaux. Damien accepte, une seule fois et à contrecœur, le cadeau d'une femme qu'il a guérie. En apprenant cela, Côme soupçonne son frère de cupidité et commande de ne pas mettre son corps avec celui de son frère, mais la même nuit, le Seigneur apparaît à Côme en songe et disculpe Damien. Après une longue série de tourments infligés par le proconsul, les deux martyres sont décapités et les chrétiens, se souvenant du vœu de Côme, réfléchissent à la manière de les enterrer. C'est alors qu'apparaît un chameau qui ordonne d'une voix humaine que les saints soient ensevelis ensemble. Lors de toutes ses autres apparitions, il fait uniquement figure d'animal de bât (légendes de Sainte-Théodore et de Saint Barthélémy).

Ausg.: Jean de Vignay: *La légende dorée*, éd. B. DUNN-LARDEAU, 1997, n° 138.

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2. Lyrische Texte

[...]

3. Diskursive Texte

Liturgische und theologische Texte: La notoriété médiévale du ruminant bossu est clairement due à la parabole biblique du chameau qui passerait plus facilement par le chas d'une aiguille qu'un riche n'entrerait au royaume de Dieu (Mt 19,24): Nicole Bozon évoque le chameau pour illustrer l'insatiabilité des prélats de l'église. Le même verset se trouve dans l'exemple 276,5 chez Blangez, qui contient également la légende de Côme et Damien. Les chameaux de la légende de saint Jérôme et le lion, quant à eux, ne tiennent qu'un rôle secondaire.

Ausg.: *Les contes de Nicole Bozon*, éd. P. Meyer/L. Toulmin-Smith, 1889, 34; Ciz nous dit. *Recueil d'exemples moraux*, éd. G. BLANGEZ, 1979.

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Reiseliteratur: La littérature de voyage, même si elle décrit l'Orient, ne voit dans le chameau qu'une monture de voyage et un animal de bât. Dans les *Voyages* (~1360) de Mandeville par exemple, le chameau et le dromadaire apparaissent tous deux principalement comme moyen de transport pour les hommes ou les marchandises et si dans la *Description du monde* son évocation est un peu plus fréquente, il y est mentionné pour les mêmes raisons. La richesse matérielle du propriétaire, à laquelle le chameau renvoie, est explicitée par Marco Polo, contrairement aux autres textes de voyage, que ce soit par exemple Mandeville ou Le Bouvier (p. 93).

Ausg: Marco Polo: *La Description du Monde*, éd. et trad. P.-Y. BADEL, 1998; *Mandeville's Travels*, éd. et trad. M. LETTS, 1953, t. 2, 229-413; Gilles le Bouvier: *Le livre de la description des pays*, éd. HAMY, 1908.

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4. Dramatische Texte

[...]

E. Germanische Literaturen

[...]

E.4 Deutsche Literatur

[...]

II. Tierallegorese und Tierkunde

[...]

2. Tierkunde, Enzyklopädien

The relevant sections of Konrad von Megenberg's *Buch der Natur* combine material from various sources, transmitted in the main via Thomas Cantimprans, and offered without any spiritual interpretations. Konrad's principal chapter on the camel (3. A. 8, p. 149) contains various details of its mating habits, whilst also stressing (contrary to some other medieval perceptions) that it is not unchaste – preferring to copulate in private, for example, and intensely hostile to the notion of parent–foal incest. Several other *proprietates* adduced by Konrad are used elsewhere in interpretations of either anger or Christ: the camel has a long memory for wrongs done to it, which it always eventually avenges; it will bear no burden »über reht«; yet, out of compassion, it will fast whenever one member of the herd is too ill to eat. Konrad also tells us, unusually, that young camels are always keen to graze in the field in which they were born. In a discrete chapter on the dromedary (3. A. 23, p. 159), he stresses above all its speed, which enables it to cover 100 miles in a day.

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[...]

III. Tierdichtung

1. Fabel

The fable of the □ flea and the camel appears in the German Aesopic tradition (*Leipziger Äsop*, Steinhöwel's *Esopus*, *Kopenhagener Epimythien*, *Magdeburger Prosa-Äsop* – see Grubmüller/Dicke no. 157, p. 170), as does that of the envious camel and Jupiter (*Leipziger Äsop*, Steinhöwel, *Magdeburger* and *Nürnberger Prosa-Äsop* – Grubmüller/Dicke no. 329, p. 385). None of these differs very significantly from the relevant Latin or other vernacular cognates: even the version of the *Nürnberger Prosa-Äsop* (8, pp. 20–2) does little more than flesh out the story and its interpretation, and give the latter a mildly Christian gloss. Anton von Pforr's *Buch der Beispiele der alten Weisen*, however, has a version of the Eastern fable of the camel sacrificing its life to save the ailing → lion which focuses especially on the → wolf, → horse, and → fox – animals who conspire against the camel to bring about his death, and whose behaviour shows that even the innocent and strong can be overcome by conspiring traitors (Obermaier, p.367).

Lit.: S. OBERMAIER: *Das Fabelbuch als Rahmenerzählung*, 2004.

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2. Tierepos

Heinrich's *Reinhart Fuchs* includes a fascinating variant on the presentation of the camel as a pompous papal legate in its French source. His (female) »olbente von Tuschulan« (Tusculum) essentially saves Reinhart from condemnation by arguing successfully that he must be summoned to defend himself (ll. 1433–57). Later, however, as a reward, the king, at Reinhart's instigation, invites this camel to become Abbess of Erstein. She accepts this with perhaps undue alacrity; her initial attempts to impose her authority are rejected by the other nuns; and eventually they chase her into the Rhine and beat her almost to death – a circumstance the narrator uses to warn us against accepting gifts from untrustworthy people (ll. 2117–56). Many scholars see in this episode an allusion to the disputed and eventually unsuccessful attempt by Emperor Henry VI to place the real convent of Erstein in the hands of the Bishop of Strasbourg in 1191.

Lit.: U. SCHWAB: *Zur Datierung und Interpretation des RF*, 1967.

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IV. Tiere in nicht tierbestimmter Literatur

1. Narrative Texte

Numerous German works make brief reference to the roles played by camels in warfare. Ottokar's *Österreichische Reimchronik* states that many dead were removed from the field on camel's backs (ll. 45174–7), that the Sultan's army contained some 30,000 camels (ll. 48723–7), and that »olbendîn«, »dromedi« and »kemmel« were all used as beasts of burden (ll. 49341–4 – here as elsewhere, these terms seem essentially interchangeable, though dromaderies are mentioned less often in German than in French). In Heinrich von Neustadt's *Apollonius von Tyrland* the hero's army is said to contain 20,000 camels (l. 3871), and in *Rennewart* the heathen king Matusalan arrives to join the besiegers of Orange with a tent that needed 30 camels to carry it (ll. 12842–4). In Wolfram's *Willehalm* the field at Aliscans is populated by many well-laden camels following the decimation of the armies (91, 1–3) – and later *Rennewart* is described as having a »surkot von kambelin« (196, 2), a motif which establishes an implicit connection between him and John the Baptist.

Elsewhere the function of the camel as a beast of burden also in peaceful settings is recorded in Rudolf von Ems's *Der guote Gêrhart* (l. 1294f.) and *Weltchronik* (l. 6541), as well as in Albrecht's *Jüngerer Titurel* (862, 1f.); and in *Kudrun* (541, 2f.) there is a metaphorical allusion to this role, when we are told that camels could not carry the reward deserved by the doctor who has healed Hagen. Meanwhile the role of camels being given as presents, as distinct from merely bearing them, is recorded in Pfaffe Konrad's *Rolandslied* (ll. 462–74, 615–20, 845–7) as well as in its source; and in Berthold von Holle's *Crane* (ll. 2446f., 4749–52), camels form part of the Emperor's daughter's dowry.

The other main real-life function of the camel, namely as a mount (not least of messengers) is also pointed to in some German texts; its rider, though, is generally someone unusual and/or of manifestly non-European origin. This is true of the giant who acts as a messenger for King Matur in *Der Stricker's Daniel von dem blühenden Tal* (ll. 426–9), and of the Moor Falech, the dwarf Galiander, and other Saracens in *Apollonius von Tyrland* (ll. 431–40, 17836–9). It applies also to the gargantuan messenger from the King of Persia in *Reinfried von Braunschweig* (ll. 18892–9), to whom *Reinfried* refuses access to his castle, and who in consequence takes matters literally into his own hands by flinging his camel at and through the castle gate, causing numerous fatalities. There is also an interesting scene in *Seifrit's Alexander* (ll. 3253–69), in which, at the siege of Persepolis, Alexander ties large branches to the tails of his camels, so that, when they walk, they will stir up a great deal of dust – which, in turn, will deceive the enemy as to the size of his army. On the whole, however, the narrative (and indeed comic) potential of the camel is rather neglected by German authors, for whom its function seldom extends beyond the provision of some oriental »colour«.

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[...]

3. Diskursive Texte

Occasionally (though less frequently than one might expect) German texts contain interpretations of one or other of Christ's camel parables, such as when, in *Reinfried von Braunschweig* (ll. 16790–9) and *Des Teufels Netz* (ll. 2799–801), polemics against the avaricious rich are based on associations between them and the camel's difficulty in passing through a needle's eye. Meanwhile the author of the thirteenth-century *Mittelhochdeutsche Pilatus-Dichtung* gives this parable an unusual Marian twist, by declaring that it would be easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for him, the poet, adequately to sing Mary's praise (ll. 128–39).

Elsewhere the German versions of the *Etymachia*, like the Latin, use the camel as an emblem of anger (Harris 1994, pp. 125, 127, 195, 239, 241, 261) and the dromedary as an emblem of pride (pp. 109, 111, 174f., 224f., 239f., 260). Two *proprietas* of the former are used: the camel's tendency to remember and avenge grudges, and its habit of drinking only dirty water (and polluting clean water to make it potable). The dromedary's *tertium comparationis* is, inevitably, its speed, reminiscent of the proud person's swiftness to commit superbia.

In Johannes Veghe's *Wyngaerden der sele*, the camel is twice compared to sinners (p. 185, also p. 264). First the events of Gn 24 are recalled, with Rebekah being compared to Mary and Eliezer's camels to the sinners on whom she pours grace; and then the animal's bulk and propensity for carrying heavy loads are related to the burdens of the sinful.

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