

NÚCLEO DE APOIO À PESQUISA EM ETIMOLOGIA E HISTÓRIA DA LÍNGUA PORTUGUESA

CONSIDERAÇÕES SOBRE OS FELINOS DO VELHO MUNDO TRATADOS COMO “ONÇAS”. NOTAS HISTÓRICAS E ETIMOLÓGICAS



NEHiLP

Catálogo na Publicação (CIP)
Serviço de Biblioteca e Documentação
Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas da Universidade de São Paulo

- P213 Papavero, Nelson.
Considerações sobre os felinos do velho mundo tratados como
“onças” [livro eletrônico] : notas históricas e etimológicas / Nelson
Papavero ; [coordenador da série monográfica]: Mário Eduardo Viaro. --
São Paulo : NEHiLP/FFLCH/USP, 2017.
72396,8 Kb ; PDF. -- (Arquivos do NEHiLP, ISSN 2318-2032 ; v.14)

ISBN 978-85-7506-308-8

1. Linguística Histórica. 2. Felinos - Etimologia. I. Viaro, Mário
Eduardo, coord. II. Título. III. Série.

CDD 417.7

Nelson Papavero
Museu de Zoologia, Universidade de São Paulo
Pesquisador Sênior do Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e
Tecnológico (CNPq)

**CONSIDERAÇÕES SOBRE OS FELINOS DO VELHO
MUNDO TRATADOS COMO “ONÇAS”.
NOTAS HISTÓRICAS E ETIMOLÓGICAS**

FFLCH – USP
SÃO PAULO
2018

UNIVERSIDADE DE SÃO PAULO

REITOR: Prof. Dr. Vahan Agopyan

VICE-REITOR: Prof. Dr. Antonio Carlos Hernandes

FACULDADE DE FILOSOFIA, LETRAS E CIENCIAS HUMANAS

DIRETORA: Profa. Dra. Maria Armanda do Nascimento Arruda

VICE-DIRETOR: Prof. Dr. Paulo Martins

COMISSÃO ORGANIZADORA

COORDENAÇÃO GERAL: Mário Eduardo Viaro

PRODUÇÃO GRÁFICA: Érica Santos Soares de Freitas

PREPARAÇÃO E REVISÃO: Érica Santos Soares de Freitas

ARQUIVOS DO NEHILP

Núcleo de apoio à pesquisa em Etimologia e História da Língua Portuguesa

www.usp.br/nehilp/arquivosdonehilp

arquivosdonehilp@usp.br

CONSELHO EDITORIAL:

Aldo Luiz Bizzocchi

Artur Costrino

Bruno Oliveira Maroneze

Carlos Eduardo Mendes de Moraes

Clotilde de Almeida Azevedo Murakawa

Daniel Kölligan

Elis de Almeida Cardoso Caretta

Érica Santos Soares de Freitas

Federico Corriente

Francisco da Silva Xavier

Graça Maria Rio-Torto

José Marcos Mariani de Macedo

Joseni Alcântara de Oliveira

Mamede Mustafa Jarouche

Maria Clara Paixão de Sousa

Manoel Mourivaldo Santiago Almeida

Marcelo Módolo

Marco Dimas Gubitoso

Margarida Maria Taddoni Petter

Mariana Giacomini Botta

Maria Filomena Gonçalves

Mário Eduardo Viaro

Martin Becker

Michael J. Ferreira

Nelson Papavero

Nilsa Areán-García

Paulo Chagas de Souza

Phablo Roberto Marchis Fachin

Safa Alferd Abou Chahla Jubran

Sandra Aparecida Ferreira

Sílvio de Almeida Toledo Neto

Solange Peixe Pinheiro de Carvalho

Valéria Gil Condé

Volker Noll

ISBN 978-85-7506-308-8

ISSN 2318-2032

DOI 10.11606/9788575063088

Arquivos do NEHiLP

Núcleo de apoio à pesquisa em Etimologia e História da Língua Portuguesa

www.usp.br/nehilp/arquivosdonehilp

Volume 14: 1- 467, 2018.

ISBN 978-85-7506-308-8

ISSN 2318-2032

DOI 10.11606/9788575063088

Nelson Papavero

Museu de Zoologia, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, SP
Pesquisador Sênior do Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento
Científico e Tecnológico (CNPq)

CONSIDERAÇÕES SOBRE OS FELINOS DO VELHO MUNDO TRATADOS COMO “ONÇAS”. NOTAS HISTÓRICAS E ETIMOLÓGICAS



Núcleo de apoio à pesquisa em Etimologia e História da Língua Portuguesa (NEHiLP)

Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas (FFLCH)

Universidade de São Paulo (USP)

São Paulo

2017

RESUMO

Os autores europeus promoveram uma considerável confusão sobre a identidade do felino denominado onça (*lonza* e outras variantes). Sob este nome foram incluídos o leopardo ou pantera (*Panthera pardus* (Linnaeus, 1758)), a chita ou guepardo (*Acinonyx jubatus* (Schreber, 1775)), o lince (*Lynx lynx* (Linnaeus, 1758)) e o caracal (*Caracal caracal* (Schreber, 1776)), sendo ainda incluída nessa lista a hiena (*Hyaena hyaena* (Linnaeus, 1758)). O leopardo foi considerado um híbrido entre o leão (*leo*) e um felino mítico, o pardo (*pardus*) e diferente da pantera. Por vezes a *lonza* foi tratada como uma quarta espécie distinta e, por sua vez, atribuída a mais um caso de hibridação. Um apanhado da literatura sobre esses vários animais, desde a Antiguidade, até o século XIX é apresentado. As hipóteses sobre a etimologia dos diversos nomes desses felinos são comentadas. As mais prováveis são as seguintes: (i) para pardo: do sânscrito *pr̥dākuh* (प्रदाकु); (ii) para leopardo: do latim *leo* + *pardus*, baseado na ideia errônea de ser este animal um híbrido dessas duas espécies; (iii) para pantera: do Sânscrito *pun̥darīka* (पुण्डरीक); (iv) para *lonza*: de *leontia*; a derivação de *lynx*, comumente aceita, deve ser descartada, por terem o leopardo (ou pantera) e o lince propriamente dito diferentes folclores e aparências; (v) o nome *chita*, para o *Acinonyx*, foi publicado pela primeira vez por Garcia d'Orta (1563), por ele registrado na Índia; (vi) para *caracal*: do turco *qarah-qoulaq* = orelha preta (قره qarah = preto, قولىق qoulaq = orelha); (vii) finalmente, para *guepardo* - sua designação provém da Língua Franca Mediterrânea ou Sabir *gattopardo*, alterado para *gapardus*, *gapar(d)* e *guépard*, sendo esta última forma devida a Buffon (1765), que a obteve dos peleteiros parisienses; através da influência de Buffon, o vocábulo passou para as línguas latinas modernas.

Palavras-chave: Leopardo, Pantera, Onça, Lince, Caracal, Chita ou Guepardo, Histórico, Hipóteses Etimológicas.

ABSTRACT

A considerable confusion was promoted by European authors concerning the identity of the feline called *lonza* (and variants). Under this name were included the leopard or panther (*Panthera pardus* (Linnaeus, 1758)), the cheetah (*Acinonyx jubatus* (Schreber, 1775)), the lynx (*Lynx lynx* (Linnaeus, 1758)) and the caracal (*Caracal caracal* (Schreber, 1776)), and even the hyaena (*Hyaena hyaena* (Linnaeus, 1758)) was included in that list. The leopard was considered a hybrid between the lion (*leo*) and a mythic feline, the pard (*pardus*) and different from the panther. The *lonza* was sometimes treated as a fourth distinct species and as another case of hybridization. A survey of the literature about those various animals, from the Antiquity up to the 19th century, is presented. The hypotheses about the etymology of the several names of those felines are commented. The most probable ones are the following: (i) for *pard*: from the Sanskrit *pr̥dākuh* (प्रदाकु); (ii) for *leopard*: from the Latin *leo* + *pardus*, based on the erroneous idea that this animal was a hybrid of those two species; (iii) for *panther*: from the Sanskrit *pun̥darīka* (पुण्डरीक); (iv) for *lonza*: from *leontia*; the derivation from *lynx*, commonly accepted, must be discarded, as the leopard (or panther) and the lynx proper have different folklores and appearances; (v) the name *chita* (*cheetah* in English), for the *Acinonyx*, was published for the first time by Garcia d'Orta (1563), registered by him in India; (vi) for *caracal*: from the Turkish *qarah-qoulaq* = black ear (قره qarah = black, قولىق qoulaq = ear); (vii) finally, for the word *guepardo*, it comes from the Mediterranean Lingua Franca or Sabir *gattopardo*, altered into *gapardus*, *gapar(d)* and *guépard*, the latter form due to Buffon (1765), who had it from Parisian furriers; through Buffon's influence, it was incorporated in the modern romance languages.

Keywords: Leopard, Panther, Lonza, Lynx, Caracal, Chita (Cheetah) or Guepardo, History, Etymological hypotheses.

SUMÁRIO

1. Os felinos do Velho Mundo tratados como “onças”: o leopardo ou pantera, o guepardo, os lince e o caracal	8
1.1 O leopardo ou pantera (<i>Panthera pardus</i> (Linnaeus, 1758))	8
1.2 O guepardo ou chita (<i>Acinonyx jubatus</i> (Schreber, 1775))	18
1.3 Os lince (<i>Lynx lynx</i> (Linnaeus, 1758) e <i>Lynx pardinus</i> (Temminck, 1827)) e o caracal (<i>Caracal caracal</i> (Schreber, 1776))	24
2. O “leopardo” e a “pantera” nas antigas civilizações e nos escritos de autores gregos e romanos	30
2.1 O leopardo na iconografia das antigas civilizações	30
2.2 O <i>Épico de Gilgamesh</i>	31
2.3 O <i>Papiro de Ani</i> ou <i>Livro dos Mortos</i>	32
2.4 O leopardo no Antigo Testamento	44
2.5 O leopardo nos escritos gregos e latinos da Antiguidade Clássica	48
2.6 O leopardo no Novo Testamento	91
2.7 O <i>Panchatantra</i> (पञ्चतन्त्र)	91
3. Alguns documentos sobre a “pantera”, o “leopardo” e as “onças” – dos primeiros anos da era comum até 1719	100
3.1 O <i>Physiologus</i> e os bestiários	100
3.2 Autores dos primeiros anos da era comum até 1719	102
4. Sobre a identidade do <i>lanzani/ lanzanius/ lanzanum/ lozanum</i>	330
5. Alguns documentos da Antiguidade clássica, medievais e renascentistas e do Século XVIII sobre o lince ou lobo cervical	334
6. <i>Gapardus, gapar[d], guépard</i> – Nomes aplicados ao <i>Acinonyx jubatus</i> africano	381
7. Hipóteses etimológicas sobre os nomes <i>leopardo, pantera, onça, chita</i> e <i>guepardo</i>	391
7.1 Pardo e leopardo	391
7.1.1 Do hebraico <i>pardes</i> (פַּרְדֵּס) = paraíso (no sentido de jardim, horto)	391
7.1.2 Do hebraico <i>bārōd</i> (בָּרוֹד) = manchado	391
7.1.3 Do grego λέων (leão) e πάρδος (pantera)	393
7.1.4 Do sânscrito <i>pr̥dākuh</i> (पृदाकु)	393
7.2 Pantera	393
7.2.1 Do grego	393
7.2.2 Do sânscrito <i>puṇḍarīka</i> (पुण्डरीक) = tigre	393
7.3. Onça	395
7.3.1 Originado de <i>lynx, lyncem</i>	395
7.3.2 Originado do farsi <i>yūz</i>	396
7.3.3 Derivado do grego corrompido λυγξ, pronunciado <i>lūnx</i> (ù = ou francês)	398
7.3.4 Críticas a esta hipótese	402
7.3.5 A hipótese mais provável – derivado de <i>leontia</i>	404
7.4 Chita	408
7.5 Guepardo	408
Agradecimentos	410
Referências	411

1. OS FELINOS DO VELHO MUNDO TRATADOS COMO “ONÇAS”: O LEOPARDO OU PANTERA, O GUEPARDO, O LINCE E O CARACAL

1.1 O leopardo ou pantera (*Panthera pardus* (Linnaeus, 1758))

O leopardo, ou pantera propriamente dita, *Panthera pardus* (Linnaeus, 1758) [Figuras 1.1 a 1.4], distribui-se amplamente pela África sub-saariana, Oriente Médio, Ásia ocidental e sudeste e sul da Ásia até a Sibéria [Figura 1.7] Registros fósseis achados na Itália mostram que no Pleistoceno ele chegava até a Europa.

Existem as seguintes subespécies:

- na África ao sul do Saara: *Panthera pardus pardus* (Linnaeus, 1758).

- na Região Paleártica: *Panthera pardus nimr* (Hemprich and Ehrenberg, 1833) [Figura 2.14], que ocorre na Península Arábica; *Panthera pardus saxicolor* (Pocock, 1927), habitante do Cáucaso, Turquemenistão e Irã setentrional; *Panthera pardus orientalis* (Schlegel, 1857), do extremo leste da Rússia, da Península Coreana e da China Setentrional; e *Panthera pardus japonensis* (Gray, 1862), do norte da China.

- na Região Oriental: *Panthera pardus fusca* (Meyer, 1794), do subcontinente indiano; *Panthera pardus melas* (Cuvier, 1809), de Java, na Indonésia; e *Panthera pardus delacouri* (Pocock, 1930), do Sudeste Asiático continental (Mianmar, Tailândia, Malásia, Laos, Camboja, Vietnã e China meridional).

Comparado com outros membros de Felidae, o leopardo tem pernas relativamente curtas e um corpo mais longo com uma cabeça grande. O maior exemplar verificado pesou 96,5 kg e chegou a medir 190 cm (cabeça e corpo). Exemplares maiores têm sido assinalados, mas esses dados são considerados não-confiáveis.

É semelhante ao jaguar americano (*Panthera onca* (Linnaeus, 1758)), mas é menor e de compleição mais leve. Sua pelagem é marcada por rosetas semelhantes às do jaguar, mas são menores e mais densamente aproximadas e normalmente não têm uma mancha central como as do jaguar [Figura 1.5]. Tanto o leopardo [Figuras 1.5 e 1.6] como o jaguar possuem formas melânicas. O leopardo apresenta grande variação em sua pelagem. Em geral, sua cor varia de amarelo-claro a um dourado ou fulvo profundos. A cabeça, os membros inferiormente e o ventre têm manchas negras. A cor da pelagem e seus padrões estão intimamente relacionados com o tipo de hábitat. As rosetas são circulares na África Oriental e tendem a tornar-se mais quadradas no sul da África e maiores nas populações asiáticas. A cor de fundo tende a ficar mais pálida e cor de creme nas populações de desertos, mais cinzenta em climas mais frios e com um brilho dourado escuro em regiões de florestas. O pelo do ventre tende a ser de coloração mais clara e de um tipo mais macio e felpudo.



Figura 1.1 Leopardo (Lydekker, 1893: prancha entre as páginas 386 e 387).



Figura 1.2 Fêmea de leopardo com filhotes (Lydekker, 1894: prancha entre as páginas 386 e 387).



Figura 1.3 Leopardo (Lydekker, 1893: 387).



Figura 1.4 Leopardo espreitando a presa (Lydekker, 1893: 391).

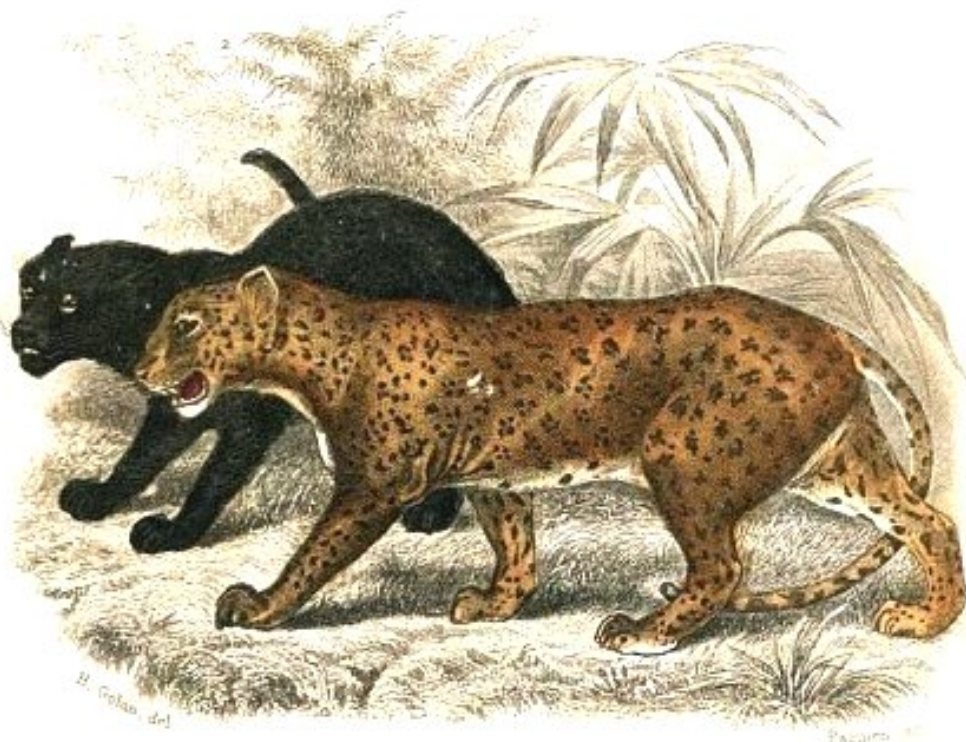
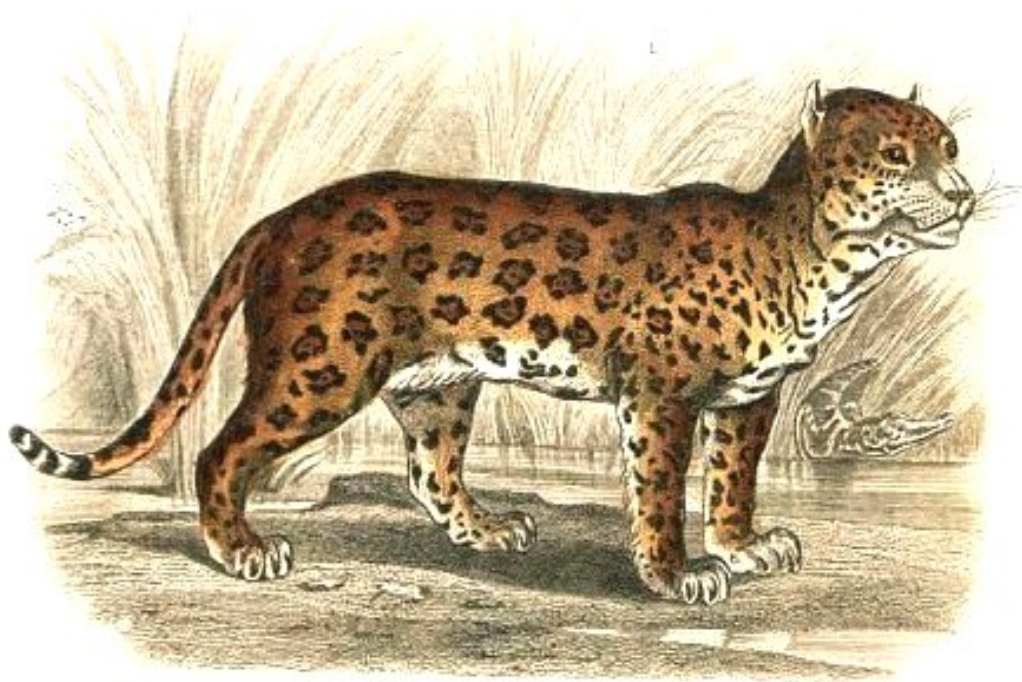


Figura 1.5. Jaguar (acima) e leopardos (Buffon, 1885).

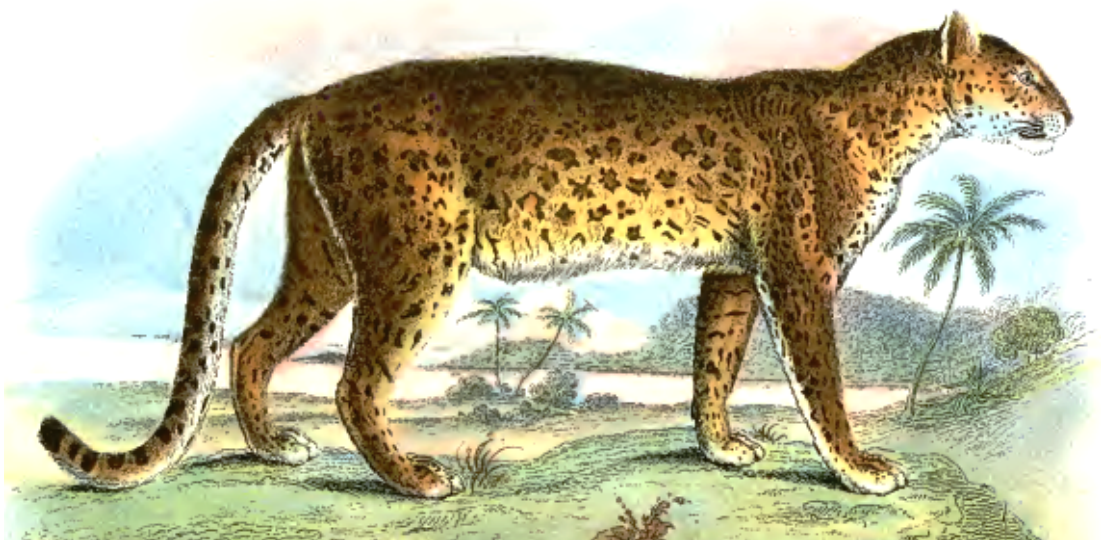


Figura 1.6. Acima: forma melânica do leopardo (Lydekker, 1893: 389). Abaixo: Leopardo (Lydekker, 1896: pl. V).

Os leopardos são animais ágeis e predadores furtivos. Apesar de serem menores do que a maioria dos outros membros do gênero *Panthera*, podem capturar presas maiores graças a seu maciço crânio que lhes permite ter poderosos músculos nas mandíbulas.

A cabeça e o corpo medem geralmente entre 90 e 165 cm. A cauda atinge de 60 a 110 cm de comprimento, quase o mesmo comprimento da do tigre e proporcionalmente longa dentro do gênero. Na altura do ombro mede de 45 a 80 cm.

Os músculos ligados à escápula são excepcionalmente fortes, o que lhes permite a capacidade de trepar em árvores (inclusive carregando grandes presas).

Os machos são em média 30% maiores do que as fêmeas. Machos com até 91 kg já foram documentados no Kruger National Park da África do Sul, mas machos da África do Sul habitantes das montanhas costeiras têm em média 31 kg e as fêmeas da beira do deserto da Somália uma média de 23 a 27 kg. Esta ampla variação de tamanho, pensa-se, é o resultado da quantidade e disponibilidade de presas encontradas em cada hábitat (adaptado de <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Leopard>).

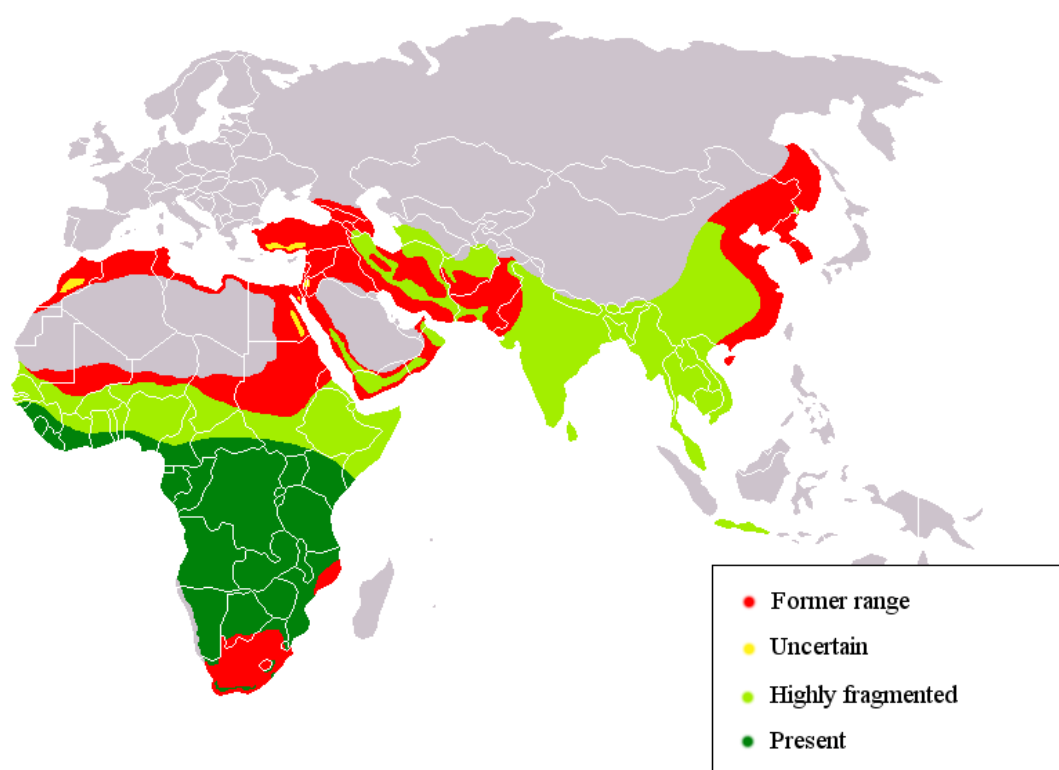


Figura 1.7 Distribuição geográfica de *Panthera pardus*.

Houve sempre grande confusão quanto à identidade do leopardo e da pantera, mesmo entre os naturalistas, como se pode aquilatar do longo trecho de Griffith, Smith & Pidgeon (1827: 459-468):

“We shall treat of the Panther and the Leopard conjointly, necessarily so indeed, as the distinctness of the two on the one hand, or the identity of both subject only to variety on the other, seems still in some degree problematical.

The history, says our author [Cuvier], in his *Ossemens Fossiles* of the great Cats with round spots of the Old World, is more difficult to elucidate than that of the Jaguar, on account of their mutual resemblance, and of the vague manner in which authors have spoken of them.

The Greeks knew one of these from the time of Homer [cf. 2.5.1 abaixo], which they named *Pardalis*, as Menelaus is said in the *Iliad*, to have covered himself with the spotted skin of this animal. This they compared, on

account of its strength and its cruelty to the Lion, and represented as having its skin varied with spots. Its name even was synonymous with spotted. The Greek translators of the Scriptures used the name Pardalis, as synonymous with Namer [cf. 2.4 abaixo], which word, with a slight modification, signifies the Panther, at present, among the Arabians.

The name Pardalis gave place among the Romans to those of Panthera and Varia. These are the words they used during the two first ages, whenever they had occasion to translate the Greek passages which mentioned the Pardalis, or when they themselves mentioned this animal.

They sometimes used the word Pardus, either for Pardalis, or for Namer. Pliny even says, that Pardus signified the male of Panthera, or Varia.

So reciprocally the Greeks translated Panthera by the word Pardalis. The word Panthera, although of Greek root, did not then preserve the sense of the word Πανθηρ, which is constantly marked as different from Pardalis, and by Oppian [cf. 2.5.25 abaixo] is said to be small and of little courage. The Romans, nevertheless, sometimes employed it to translate the word Πανθηρ, and the Greeks of the lower empire, induced by the resemblance of the names, have probably attributed to the Panther some of the characters which they found among the Romans, on the Panthera.

Bocchart [sic], without knowing these animals himself, has collected and compared with much sagacity every thing that the ancients and the orientalisists have said about them [cf. 3.2.176 abaixo]. He endeavours to clear up these apparent contradictions by a passage in which Oppian characterizes two species of Pardalis, the great with a shorter tail than the less.

It is to this smaller species that Bocchart would apply the word Πανθηρ. But there are found in the country known to the ancients, two animals with spotted skins; the common Panther of naturalists, and another animal, which, after Daubenton, is named the Guepard, (the Hunting Leopard).

The Arabian authors have there also known and distinguished two of these animals ; the first under the name of Nemer¹, the other under that of Fehd², and although Bocchart considers the Fehd to be the Lynx, “I rather incline to think” says the Baron [Cuvier], “it is the Hunting Leopard”.

The Guepard, then, would be the Panther, and there is nothing stated by the Greeks repugnant to this idea.

Sometimes they associate it with the great animals, sometimes with the small, which seems to imply that it was of middling stature. Its young were born blind, says Aristotle [cf. 2.5.6 abaixo]; it inhabited Africa with the Thos, according to Herodotus [cf. 2.5.3 abaixo]; its skin was spotted, and its natural disposition tameable, as we are informed by Eustathius [cf. 3.2.8 abaixo].

The two last traits appear inapplicable to any other species than that secondly indicated by the Arabians: it is true, they are silent on the subject of its being employed in hunting, but this is very natural; if, as Eldemiri informs us, the first person who so employed them was Chalib, son of Wail.

As to the word Leopardus, its usage is much more recent, and there is no proof that it indicated a particular species. It is met with only in the authors of the fourth age, and was introduced by the fable of the intercourse between the Lioness and the Pardalis, and by degrees was applied to the Pardalis itself; for, when Vopiscus [cf. 3.2.7 abaixo] says, that Probus, when on occasion of the German triumph, he exhibited one hundred Leopards from Lybia, and one hundred from Syria, he could not, doubtless, have meant to say, that they were the produce of such an unnatural intercourse.

Thus abstracting for a moment the Lynx, the Greeks and Romans appear to have known but two species of these spotted animals, notwithstanding the opportunities, particularly of the latter, of becoming acquainted with them.

We know at present of Africa but the two species of the ancients, the Panther and Leopard, ordinarily understood, and the Hunting Leopard, (Felis jubata.) The Leopard of modern naturalists, according to our latest researches, comes only from the parts of India the least known by the ancients.

Thus far, in effect, the Baron [Cuvier], with his usual learning and research, to which we shall subjoin a few observations.

Pliny [cf. 2.5.16 abaixo] tells us, that in his time the words Variæ and Pardi were applied to all this family; the former to distinguish the females, and the latter the males: and in a previous passage he observes, that these and the Tiger are almost the only spotted or striped beasts, the rest being uniform in colour, though it varies in the

¹ *Namir*. Nome árabe da *Panthera pardus nimr* (Hemprich & Ehrenberg, 1833) (Figura 2.1.4).

² *Fahd*. Buquet (2001) diz: “Le guépard est bien connu en terre d’Islam, mais l’est encore plus, et de façon beaucoup plus ancienne, dans la culture indo-persane. Dans le monde musulman, il n’est jamais confondu avec la panthère. [...] Dans les textes, la panthère est nommée en arabe *namir*, terme proche de l’hébreu *nimr*, que l’on trouve à huit reprises dans la Bible [cf. 2.4 abaixo]. Le guépard est appelé *fahd*”. Nome citado por Rasis (1494, cf. 3.2.17) como *Alpheth* ou *Alfeth*, por Alberto Magno como *alfech* (cf. 3.2.55) e por Alpagu (1544) como *alphed*.

different species. Our author [Cuvier] has noticed Pliny's observations, but it may be as well to refer to the passage more particularly, and by the whole context of the quotation from this writer subjoined, it appears probable, that the moderns have been incorrect in applying the word *Pardus* specifically, as it was originally used only to denote a sexual distinction in the whole genus. “*Panthera et Tigris macularum varietate prope sole bestiarum spectantur, caeteris unus ac suus cujusque generis color est leonum, tantum in Syria niger. Pantherus in candido breves macularum oculi. Ferunt odore earum mire sollicitari quadrupedes cunctas, sed capitis torvitate terreri. Quamobrem occultato eo, reliquas dulcedine invitatas corripunt. Sunt qui tradunt in armo iis similee lunae esse maculam, crescentes in orbem, et cavantem pari modo cornua. Nunc varias, et pardos, qui mares sunt, appellant in eo omni genere, creberrimo in Africa Syriaeque. Quidam ab iis pantheras solo candore discernunt, nee adhuc aliam differentiam inveni*”. Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. x.

In another passage mention is made of the *Pardi*, *Panthers*, *Leones*, et similia. Now, unless *Pardi* and *Pantherae* were applied to the two sexes of the Spotted Cats, they could not have been synonymous, as the moderns have made them.

If we turn to modern zoologists prior to the time of our author [Cuvier], we shall find that they have fallen into so many certain errors in describing these species as distinct, that the probability of their identity is rather strengthened by applying to their authority on this subject. To select a few instances.

Linnaeus gives as the specific characters of the Panther, “*Felis, cauda elongata, corpore maculis superioribus orbiculatis, inferioribus virgatis*”. With a long tail, the upper part of the body covered with orbicular spots, the lower part with stripes. This short description, it has been well observed, is inapplicable to any known species of the genus. Perhaps it is nearer to the Servals than to any other. His characters of the Leopard are, “*Felis, cauda mediocri, corpore fulvo, maculis subcoadunatis nigris*”. With a moderate tail, a fulvous body covered with subcontiguous black spots. Dr. Shaw observes: “In the twelfth edition of the *Systema Naturae*, the Panther and Leopard seem to be confounded by Linnaeus himself, who appears to have considered them as the same species, under the name of *Pardus*”. And if we consider the description given to the Panther to be irrelevant and factitious, it follows, that Linnaeus has only described one species of the large Spotted Cats found in Asia and Africa, which must include the *Variae*, and *Pardi*, and *Leopardi*, of the Romans.

Buffon, the brilliancy of whose work has blinded mankind to his imperfections, imbibed an idea which he never seems to have lost sight of, that the American animals were degenerate, and less in size than the species of the old world belonging to the same order: hence, probably, he was led into a misunderstanding, or too willingly confirmed in error on this subject. He has mistaken the Jaguar, which he describes from an *Ocelot*³; and refers the former animal, because, probably, it was a large species to the Panther of the ancients, transposing his figures accordingly. The furriers and exhibitors of wild beasts have imbibed this error; and the Jaguar of America has altogether usurped the name of Panther from the species of the Old World, to which it was originally applied.

Pennant's description of the Panther so nearly accords with the Jaguar of America, both in person and disposition, that there scarcely seems a doubt of this animal's being the type whence his description was taken.

Dr. Shaw states, that the Leopard is best distinguished from the Panther by its paler yellow colour, and that a true distinctive mark between them is by no means easy to communicate, either by description, or even by figure; but he adds, the Leopard is considerably the smaller of the two. He therefore makes the principal difference to consist in size and colour.

Pliny says further: “*Quidam ab iis Pantheras solo candore discernunt, nee adhuc aliam differentiam inveni*”. It is possible, however, if the *F. Uncia* be really distinct, that Pliny refers to that species⁴. Major Smith believes him to be distinct, and describes him as whitishgray, faintly tinted with buff. “He may”, says the Major, “have been a Syrian and Armenian animal, and I believe him now a resident of the mountains of Northern Persia”. We refer to our figure of the specimen formerly in the Tower. It seems probable, that all those which come from Asia are much brighter in colour than those from Africa, and that the females in general have more white about them than the other sex. Mr. Cross, who has had opportunities of inspecting probably some hundreds of specimens, insists, that he has never observed any specific difference between those brought from Asia and Africa among themselves, except that the Asiatic are generally larger and brighter; and except, also, that some individuals constantly carry their long tail curved outwards, and others inwards, the latter of which they call ring-tailed Leopards. It seems probable, therefore, that Dr. Shaw's leading specific distinctions of size and colour, apply rather to the Asiatic and African varieties, than to distinct species found in both those continents. The figures, however, in the *General Zoology*, neither illustrate the author's position on this subject, nor throw any light on the question; for they are merely copied from Buffon, and that which is called the Panther is properly referable to the Jaguar.

³ Cf. Papavero (2015).

⁴ Referência ao leopardo-das-neves, *Panthera uncia* (Schreber, 1775), que habita as grandes altitudes da Ásia Central, principalmente o Tibete, o Nepal, a Índia, o Paquistão, o Himalaia, o Butão e o monte Everest. Esse felino só foi descoberto no século XVIII, sendo portanto impossível que Plínio o tenha conhecido.

M. Lichtenstein, in a note communicated to Major Smith, draws a specific distinction. He describes the Panther as resembling the Jaguar in having the same number of rows of spots, but differing in having no full spots on the dorsal line. But it does not appear that full spots on the dorsal line always make a specific character of the Jaguar; and the Asiatic Leopard is sometimes distinguished by this peculiarity, though it does not in other respects resemble the American animal. When, therefore, it is said, that the Panther much resembles the Jaguar, it is always to be strongly suspected, that the type, whence the observations are taken, is an American animal.

We have selected two from amongst the several drawings before us, as being most opposed to each other, and, therefore, most illustrative of the differences between the Leopard and Panther of naturalists [Figuras 1.8 e 1.9], whether as species or varieties. The specimen, named the Leopard, was at Exeter Change. Compared both with the Jaguar, and with the Panther of naturalists, it was uniformly of a paler yellow colour, rather smaller, and the spots rose-formed, or consisting of several dots, partially united into a circular figure, - in some instances, and into a quadrangular, triangular, and other less determined forms in others -; there were also, and especially on the outside of the limbs, several single isolated black spots.



Figura 1.8 Leopardo (Griffith, Smith & Pidgeon, 1827: figura entre as páginas 458 e 459).

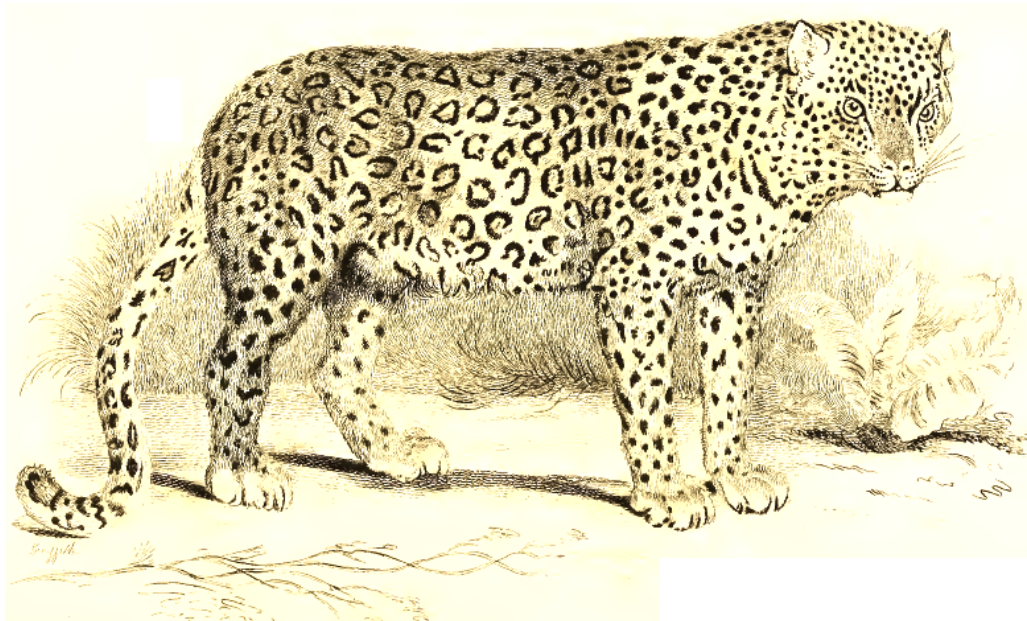


Figura 1.9 Pantera (Griffith, Smith & Pidgeon, 1827: figura entre as páginas 464 e 465).

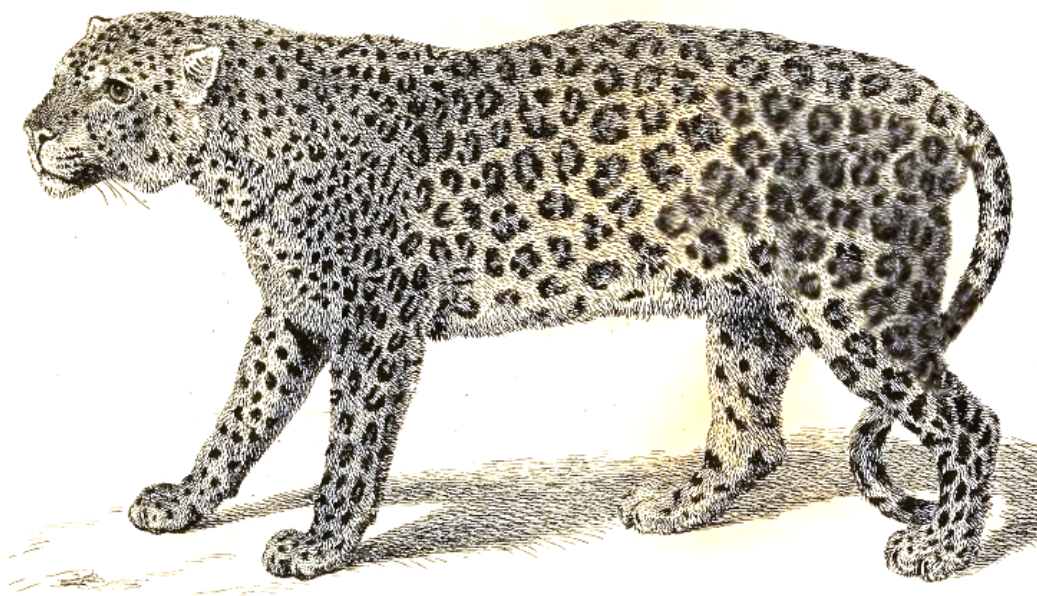


Figura 1.10 “Panther of the ancients” (Griffith, Smith & Pidgeon, 1827: figura entre as páginas 466 e 467).

The other, or Panther, is from Major Smith's drawing of one of the several Felinae, called Panthers, now in the Paris Museum. It is the smallest there, and the most closely marked with spots. These spots make a considerable contrast with those of the other figure, the most so of any of the five or six specimens of Panthers in that celebrated collection. This figure, also, it will be seen, approximates very nearly that of the animal next described, particularly when uncoloured, and also, though less in degree, to that of the large and small Jaguar. The differences which distinguish the former of these, will be observed upon in the description of the animal ; those that mark the latter have been already adverted to.

The animal we have figured under the name, conditionally, of the Panther of the Ancients [Figura 1.10], may deserve particular attention, in ascertaining the diversity of species of its consimulars, especially as it seems to possess traits of a real specific character.

Major Hamilton Smith met with this species, stuffed, at Hesse Cassel. The animal measured five feet three inches from the nose to the insertion of the tail, and stood about two feet nine inches high at the shoulder.

The first and great difference which distinguishes this from all the large-spotted Cats, hitherto described, whose specific characters have been before stated from our author, is that the entire colour of the whole animal is a buff-yellow which assumes a darker tint, approaching to red, on the nose, and more ochery on the back and sides. The belly and insides of the limbs partake of this general colour, but paler, there being no white part about the animal.

There may be said to be seven vertical rows of interrupted or imperfect annuli on the sides of the animal. These, as well as the like open spots which mark all the Panthers, have, as Major Smith observes, the inner surface of the annuli more fulvous than the general colour of the sides. In the Leopards no such distinction appears, nor is there room, as the small congregated dots are too close to admit it. The dorsal line is marked in the same manner, not with close, but open spots. These annuli differ from those of the Jaguar, to which they bear a considerable general similitude, in being all nearly circular, whereas those of the American animal become oblong as they approach the dorsal line; they are also smaller when compared with the size of the animal, and much more numerous, covering not only the back, ribs, and haunches of the animal, but descending on the outside the legs, at least, to the knees.

They differ again from the open annuli of the Jaguar, in being altogether without the spot in the centre, which renders that species so obvious; and the tail is spotted from beginning to end, unlike that of the Jaguar, which has the open oblong marks some way down, and is terminated by annuli of black, yellow, and white, running round it. The forehead, cheeks, sides of the neck, shoulders, throat, and inside of the limbs, are covered with numerous, close, small spots, and there is a narrow black bar crosses the lower part of the throat.

The animal stands higher than the Great Jaguar, though it is lighter and slenderer, in which respect it approaches the *Felis Jubata*, though it is much larger, in proportion, than that species. The head is smaller than that of the Jaguar, and, in that respect, agrees with the known species of the Old World.

Its native country was unknown, but it had lived in the menagerie of the Elector.

The characters of this animal, which seem intermediate between the American Jaguar and its large spotted congeners of the Old World, though diverging from both in the uniformity of the ground colour, seem to accord considerably with the prevailing notion of the Panther of antiquity, when considered as distinct from the Leopard. The present apparent rarity of the animal, however, militates against the idea of its identity with the Panther, hundreds of which were frequently collected together at a time in Rome. It may be observed, however, that none of these animals are now imported from Syria, whence the Romans drew a great number, and where they still are, according to Dr. Clark.

We have felt constrained, with Major Smith's permission, who drew the animal, to apply it to the Panther of antiquity, but with a mark of doubt. After all, the ancients, who were no great zoologists, may have applied the words Panther, and Pard, or Leopard, to all the larger Spotted Cats indifferently, to the Common Panther and Leopard of our menagerie, the present animal, the *Felis Jubata*, the *Felis Uncia*, and even the *Lynx*, in which case, the animal in question, would not be allowed to appropriate to itself, exclusively, the name of Panther. Conjecture must, for the present, supply the place of certainty we have endeavoured to compress together the sum and substance of what has been said upon the subject, but by no means pretend to determine the question, or even to offer an opinion on a mere question of fact, hitherto not satisfactorily ascertained even by Cuvier himself.

The large Spotted Cats of the Old World, though occasionally found in some parts of Asia, are much more common in Africa, and are, to the latter continent, almost as destructive as the Tiger is to the former. They seem, however, to have more respect, dictated by fear, for the human species, and will seldom attack a Man, unless provoked, or much pressed by hunger; but they are cruelly destructive to the inferior animal creation.

For the purpose of taking them, it is usual for the hunter to construct a hiding-place within musket-shot of a tree, on which is suspended some flesh as a bait for the unconscious beast, which receives the ball while in the act of taking it. The hunter, for greater caution, then waits till the following day, when a Dog, properly trained, is sent forward to track the animal to its retreat. If it be still alive, the Dog generally falls a victim, and saves the hunter from exposing himself, until he is satisfied that the beast is no longer capable of mischief.

The female of the Panther or Leopard is gravid nine weeks, and the young, when born, are blind, and remain so about nine days afterward; but the American Jaguar, which appears to have been confounded so much with this animal, is produced with the eyes open, and the mother is pregnant nearly four months".

1.2 O guepardo ou chita (*Acinonyx jubatus* (Schreber, 1775))

As subespécies do guepardo (Figuras 1.11 a 1.14) e sua respectiva distribuição geográfica são as seguintes:

Acinonyx jubatus venaticus (Griffith, 1821), do Norte da África (Argélia, Djibuti, Egito, Mali, Mauritânia, Marrocos, Níger, Tunísia e Saara Ocidental) e da Ásia (Afeganistão, Irã,

Iraque, Israel, Jordânia, Omã, Paquistão, Arábia Saudita, Síria, e em uma pequena parte da Comunidade dos Estados Independentes).

Acinonyx jubatus hecki Hitzheimer, 1913, presente na África Ocidental (Gana, Mali, Mauritânia, Níger, Senegal, Benin e Burkina Faso).

Acinonyx jubatus raineyii (Heller, 1913), encontrada na África Oriental (Quênia, Somália, Tanzânia e Uganda).

Acinonyx jubatus jubatus (Schreber, 1775), do Sul da África (Angola, Botsuana, República Democrática do Congo, Moçambique, Malawi, África do Sul, Tanzânia, Zâmbia, Zimbabué e Namíbia).

Acinonyx jubatus soemmeringii (Fitzinger, 1885), da África Central (Camarões, Chade, República Centro-Africana, Etiópia, Nigéria, Níger e Sudão).

Há guepardos no estado selvagem atualmente em porções da África e Irã, ainda que no passado se distribuíssem desde a costa mediterrânea até os mares de Aral e Cáspio, chegando à Índia, Afeganistão e Usbequistão [Figura 1.15].

Habitam preferencialmente planícies gramadas abertas, mas também são encontrados em vegetações arbustivas, bosques abertos e semidesertos, embora sejam ausentes em florestas tropicais. Uma combinação desses bosques com as planícies abertas é provavelmente o habitat ideal. Também mostram grande adaptação a ambientes áridos. No Monte Quênia, já foram relatadas a até 4.000 metros de altitude.

A maior parte de sua população e de habitats viáveis se concentra no sul e leste da África. A Namíbia, ao sul, concentra a maior população de chitas selvagens com 2000 animais. No total, estima-se que 4500 animais existam na região sul da África que engloba Angola, Moçambique, Namíbia, Botsuana, Malawi, África do Sul, Zâmbia, Zimbábue. Em algumas partes dessa região ocorrem fora de zonas protegidas em fazendas de pecuária, onde grandes predadores como leões e hienas foram extintos, diminuindo a competição.

A região leste da África é outro local de grande concentração da espécie, abrigando cerca de 2500 animais; e a maior população, com cerca de 710 indivíduos, se concentra na região entre o Serengeti, Masai Mara e Tsavo na divisa da Tanzânia e o Quênia. Menos da metade deles, cerca de 1100, habitam zonas protegidas. E apenas 4 das 15 populações conhecidas da região são maiores que 200 animais. Sabe-se que os guepardos habitam apenas 6% de sua ocorrência histórica, embora outros 18% possam também ser habitados e 63% permanecem desconhecidos. Em alguns países, como o Sudão e a Somália, a situação é pouco conhecida devido a guerras civis e violência.

Na região noroeste da África existem cerca de 250 guepardos da subespécie *A. j. hecki*, principalmente na Argélia, Níger, Benin e Burkina Faso. Seu principal refúgio é na Argélia com pouco mais de 50 animais nos parques nacionais Tassili e, especialmente, no Ahaggar. Também foram detectados nas regiões de Tefedest e Eggere. No Níger há registros nas regiões naturais de Aïr, Ténéré e Termit. A região do maciço de Termit e arredores é onde a presença de guepardos foi mais evidenciada ultimamente no Níger, embora a população esteja provavelmente encolhendo e possivelmente não passe de 10 indivíduos atualmente. No Parque Nacional W (dividido entre o Níger, Benin e Burkina Faso) acredita-se que haja de 15 a 25 indivíduos. No Benin, os únicos refúgios onde guepardos ainda podem ser encontrados, em pequenas quantidades, são a Reserva da Biosfera de Pendjari, onde há entre 5 e 13 chitas, e obviamente no Parque Nacional W. Populações de guepardos *A. j. hecki* ainda podem persistir em Burkina Faso no sudeste do país, embora no passado fossem registradas no nordeste, centro-leste e oeste. Estão possivelmente presentes também no leste de Mali, no maciço de Adrar des Ifoghas. Em Togo existem indicações de populações bem pequenas nas reservas de Oti-Kéran e Oti-Mandouri e no Parque Nacional Fazaoulet Mafakassa.

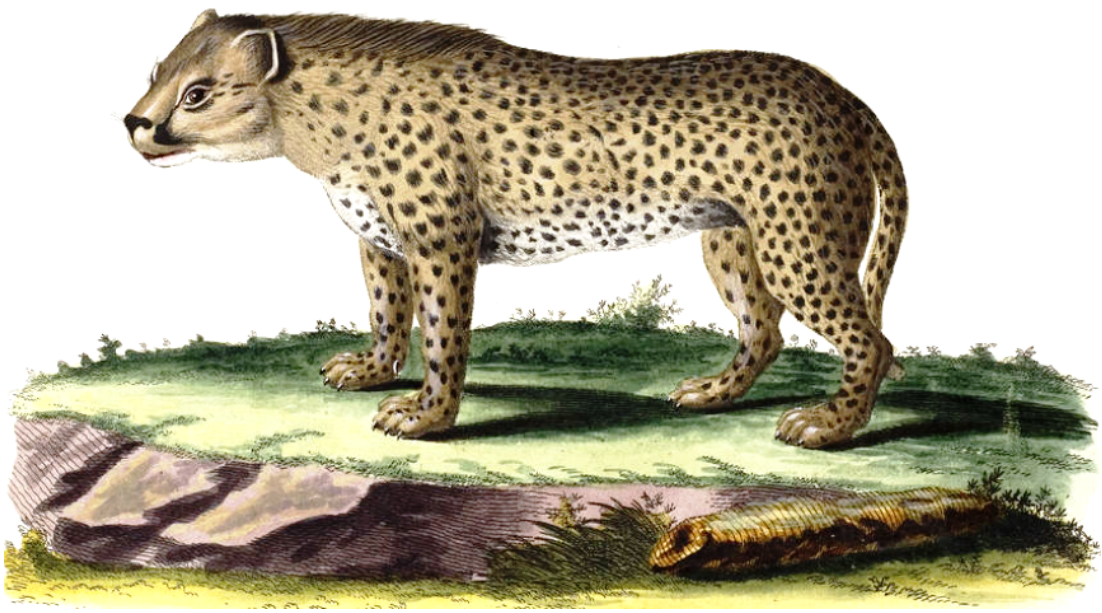


Figura 1.11 Guepardo (*Felis jubata*) (Schreber, 1775).

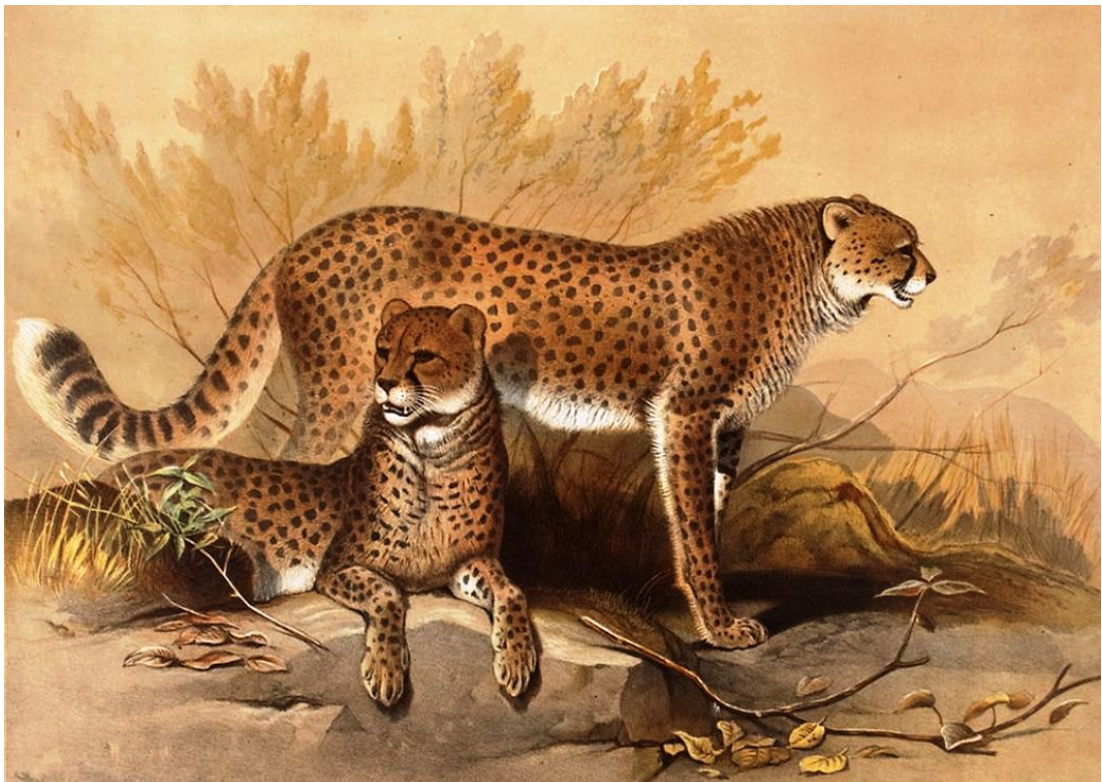


Figura 1.12 Guepardos (Wolf, 1861).

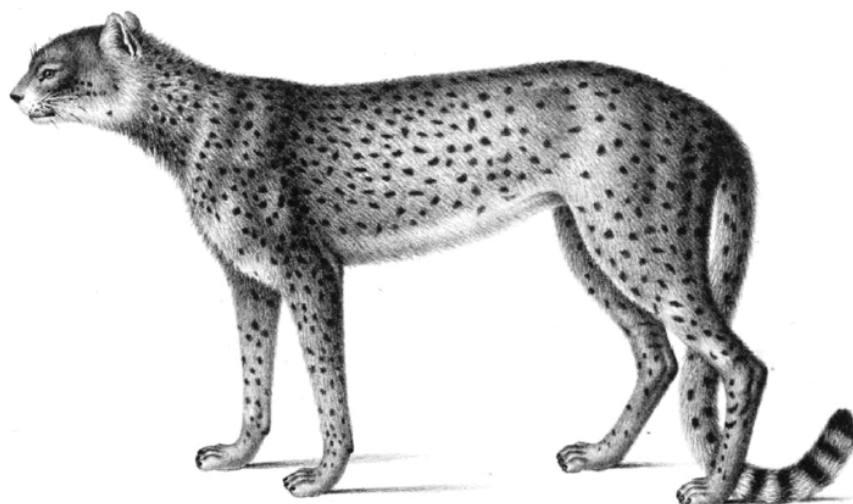


Figura 1.13 Guepardo (Schinz, pl. 59).



Figura 1.14 Guepardo (Lydekker, 1896: pl. XXV).

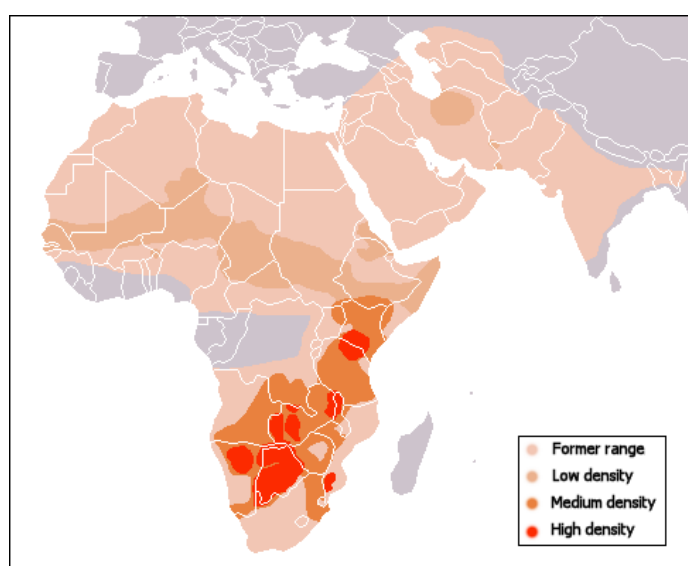


Figura 1.15 Distribuição geográfica de *Acinonyx jubatus*.

Outrossim, a área de ocorrência do chita no Irã está em região remota, próxima à fronteira com o Afeganistão, onde as forças de segurança iranianas têm dificuldade de penetrar, devido à presença de gangues que praticam o contrabando e o tráfico de heroína. As chitas preferem habitar biótopos caracterizados por espaços abertos, como semidesertos, pradarias e a savana africana.

Acinonyx, significa, em grego, “garras imóveis”, já que é o único felídeo que não consegue retrair por completo, permanecendo visíveis mesmo quando recolhidas ao máximo, sendo usadas para permitir uma maior aderência ao solo enquanto corre, acelera e manobra no terreno; os filhotes, porém, conseguem subir em árvores por terem as garras mais finas.

O corpo da chita é esbelto, musculoso e esguio, ainda que de aparência delgada e constituição aparentemente frágil. Tem uma caixa torácica de grande capacidade, um abdômen retraído, uma coluna extremamente flexível, além de pernas longas; - adaptações para a corrida em alta velocidade. Tem uma cabeça pequena, um focinho curto, olhos posicionados na parte superior da face, narinas largas e orelhas pequenas e arredondadas com uma mancha preta na parte de trás. O seu pelo é amarelado, salpicado de pontos negros arredondados, e na face existem duas linhas negras, de cada lado do focinho, que descem dos olhos até a boca, formando de fato um trajeto de lágrimas. Sua função acredita-se ser para proteger do brilho do sol, já que caçam durante a claridade do dia.

O guepardo tem um coração relativamente pequeno, que bombeia apenas uma pequena quantidade de sangue. Um animal adulto pode pesar entre 28 e 65 kg. O comprimento total do corpo varia de 112 a 150 cm. O comprimento da cauda, usada para equilibrar o corpo do animal durante a corrida, pode variar entre 66 e 84 cm. O guepardo-asiático tem uma cabeça menor do que os seus primos africanos. Suas pernas são mais curtas, sua pelagem mais espessa e seu pescoço é mais poderoso.

Guepardos têm uma alta proporção de fibras musculares temporais que puxam horizontalmente. Isso é compensado com caninos curtos e, portanto, menor abertura das mandíbulas quando uma mordida fatal é realizada. A abertura nasal é limitada em ambos os lados por raízes dos caninos superiores, mas dentes menores permitem a abertura alargada. As vias respiratórias têm uma secção transversal larga, particularmente as cavidades nasais e passagens que ligam à faringe e à traqueia. Isso facilita o movimento do ar durante a respiração. O alargamento destes tratos de ligação é uma das principais razões para a pronunciada protuberância do crânio.

A caça dos guepardos envolve uma perseguição das presas a alta velocidade e uma mordida na garganta para sufocá-la [Figura 1.16].

Passagens nasais largas e grandes ajudam a aumentar a concentração de oxigênio no sangue durante a sufocamento da presa, permitindo que o guepardo recupere o fôlego após a captura.

As pernas dos guepardos são estreitas em comparação com outros gatos. As patas da frente têm quatro dedos e um *ergot* (5º dedo situado na parte interna das patas, à altura do metacarpo ou metatarso) e as patas traseiras também têm quatro dedos.

Os filhotes nascem com uma pelagem longa indo da cabeça ao início da cauda. Isso fá-los parecer como ratéis (*Mellivora capensis* (Schreber, 1776), Carnivora, Mustelidae, um animal agressivo) e os camufla na grama alta, protegendo-os de leões, hienas e águias. Eles a perdem gradativamente até a adolescência.



Figura 1.16 Guepardo [?] (notar mordida no pescoço da presa) e leoa caçando gazelas (Villa Romana del Casale, Piazza Armerina, Sicília, século IV).

Os guepardos sempre foram famosos por sua velocidade, mas a velocidade máxima alcançada ainda é controversa. Em distâncias de até 500 m ela é geralmente considerada entre 96 e 104 km/h. Em 78 arrancadas na natureza, a velocidade média foi de 87 km/h. Velocidades de 114, 135 e 145 km/h também já foram relatadas, mas são improváveis. Entretanto, é seguro afirmar que, em condições ideais e ao nível do chão, eles podem atingir velocidades próximas a 112 km/h. Em uma certa ocasião, foi relatado um guepardo que correu atrás de sua presa por 640 metros em 20 segundos (medidos com um cronômetro) e 73 metros em aproximadamente dois segundos – 115,2 e 131,4 km/h respectivamente. [Adaptado de https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Acinonyx_jubatus].

1.3 Os linces (*Lynx lynx* (Linnaeus, 1758) e *Lynx pardinus* (Temminck, 1827)) e o caracal (*Caracal caracal* (Schreber, 1776))

O lince eurasiático (*Lynx lynx* (Linnaeus, 1758)) é um gato de tamanho médio distribuído pela Escandinávia, Europa Central e Oriental, Ásia Central, Sibéria e Ásia Oriental [Figura 1.17].

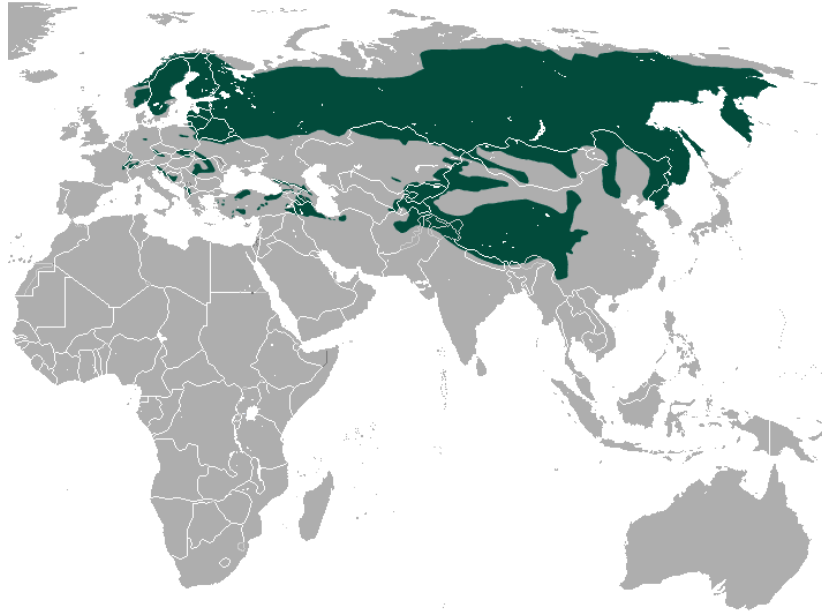


Figura 1.17 Distribuição geográfica [em verde escuro] do *Lynx lynx*.

Tem de 80 a 130 cm de comprimento e de 60-75 cm de altura no ombro. A cauda mede de 11 a 34,5 cm de comprimento. Os machos usualmente pesam entre 18 e 30 kg e as fêmeas de 8 a 21 kg. Os machos da Sibéria, que têm o maior corpo podem pesar até 38 kg; alguns exemplares chegaram a 45 kg. Tem pernas relativamente longas e poderosas. Também possui uma cauda curta com a extremidade preta e tufo de pelos pretos nas orelhas [Figuras 1.18-1.20].



Figura 1.18 *Lynx lynx* (Linnaeus, 1758) (Schreber).



Figura 1.19 *Lynx lynx* (Linnaeus, 1758) (Lydekker, 1896: pl. 24).



Figura 1.20 *Lynx lynx* (Linnaeus, 1758) (Lydekker, 1916: 394).

Durante o verão, o lince eurasiático tem uma pelagem relativamente curta, avermelhada ou marrom, que tende a ser de uma coloração mais brilhante no limite sul de sua distribuição. No inverno, a pelagem é substituída por uma camada muito mais densa de pelos sedosos, variando de um cinza-prateado a um marrom-acinzentado. A parte ventral do animal, incluindo o pescoço e as bochechas, são brancas durante todo o ano. A pelagem é quase sempre marcada com manchas pretas, se bem que seu número e padrão sejam altamente variáveis. Alguns exemplares também possuem faixas marrom-escuras na testa e no dorso. As manchas tendem a ser mais numerosas em animais das populações meridionais, mas lince com pelagem densamente manchada podem existir ao lado de outros com pelagem simples. [Adaptado de <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lynx>].

O lince-ibérico (*Lynx pardinus* (Temminck, 1827)), anteriormente considerado uma subespécie do lince-euroasiático (*Lynx lynx*), é agora classificado como espécie separada. Ambas as espécies percorriam juntas a Europa Central durante o Pleistoceno, separadas apenas por escolhas de habitat.

Apresenta muitas das características típicas dos lince, como orelhas peludas, pernas longas, cauda curta e um colar de pelo que se assemelha a uma barba. Ao contrário dos seus parentes mais próximos, o lince-ibérico tem uma cor castanho-amarelada com manchas [Figura

1.21] O comprimento da cabeça e do corpo é de 85 a 110 centímetros, com a pequena cauda a acrescentar um comprimento adicional de 12 a 30 centímetros. O macho é maior que a fêmea e podem pesar até cerca de 27 kg. A longevidade máxima na natureza é de treze anos.



Figura 1.21 Lince-ibérico (*Lynx pardinus* (Temminck, 1827)).

O lince-ibérico é especialista na caça de coelhos, os quais representam 79,5% a 86,7% da sua dieta, com fraca capacidade de se adaptar a outro tipo de alimentação. Um macho necessita de um coelho por dia; uma fêmea grávida come três coelhos por dia. A queda acentuada das populações da sua principal fonte de alimento, como resultado de duas doenças, contribuiu para o declínio do felino. O lince também foi afectado pela perda do matagal, o seu habitat principal, pelo desenvolvimento humano, incluindo mudanças no uso do solo (como o monocultivo de árvores) e pela construção de barragens e estradas. Os atropelamentos com veículos são a principal causa de morte não-natural do lince-ibérico.

É a espécie de felino mais ameaçada no mundo e o carnívoro em maior perigo na Europa. O lince-ibérico é endémico da Península Ibérica, no sul da Europa [Figuras 1.22 e 1.23]. [Adaptado de <https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lince-ibérico>].

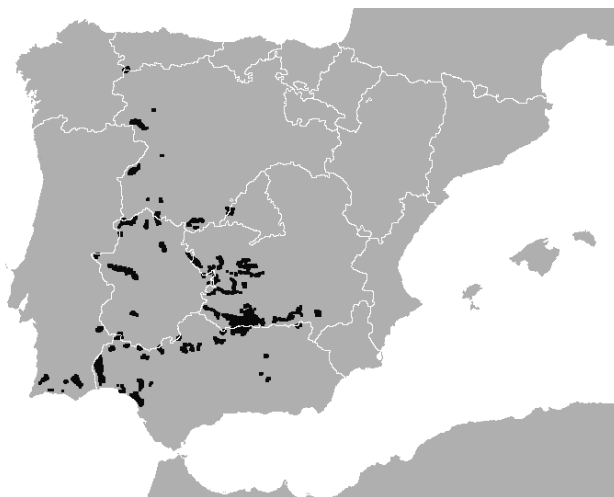


Figura 1.22 Antiga distribuição do lince-ibérico.



Figura 1.23 Distribuição atual do limce ibérico.

O caracal (*Caracal caracal* (Schreber, 1776)) [Figuras 1.24 e 1.25] mede entre 40 e 65 cm; a cauda é curta. É o maior dos “grandes gatos” africanos. Os machos podem pesar até 18 kg e as fêmeas 16 kg. Possui pernas longas e uma aparência esguia. A cor da pelagem pode variar de avermelhado, acinzentado a amarelo torrado, embora até se conheçam casos de indivíduos todos negros; a pelagem é branca no andômen, bochechas e garganta. Tem linhas negras que vão do olho até o nariz. As orelhas possuem coloração clara e são pretas atrás. O traço mais distintivo do caracal é o tufo de longos pelos pretos atrás das orelhas⁵, com quase 4,4 cm [Figuras 1.25 e 1.26].



Figura 1.24 *Caracal caracal* (Schreber, 1776) (Schreber).

⁵ Daí o nome *caracal*, provindo do turco *qarah-qoulaq* = orelha preta (**قَرِه** *qarah* = preto (a), **قَوْلَاق** *qoulaq* = orelha; seg. Klaproth, 1836: 567, no turco de Constantinopla; ver tb. Viguier (1790: 408 (*qarah*) e 410 (*qoulaq*)). Modernamente, em turco, *karakulak*.

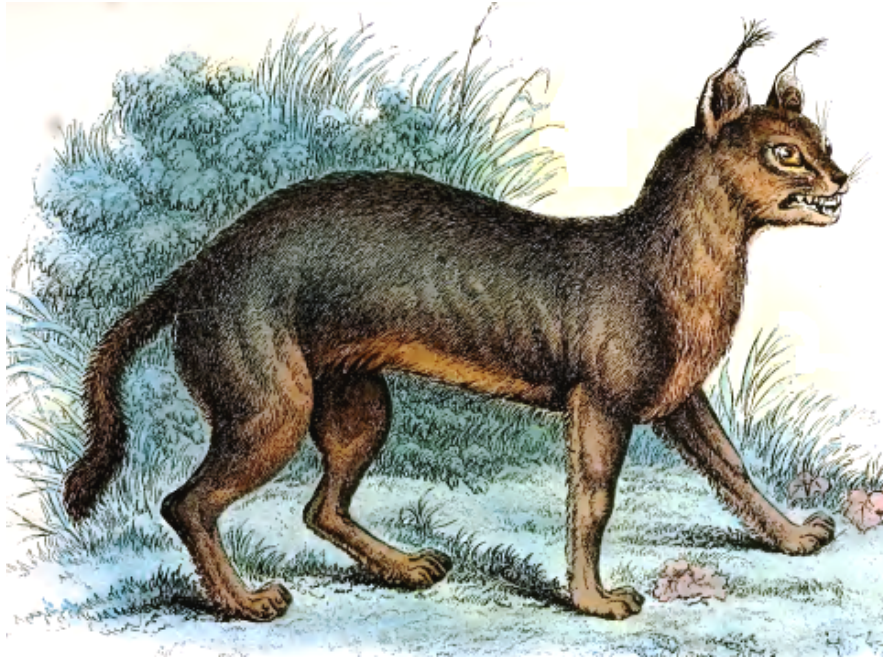


Figura 1.25 *Caracal caracal* (Schreber, 1776) (Lydekker, 1896: pl. XXIII).



Figura 1.26 Cabeça de caracal, mostrando o longo tufo de pelos pretos atrás das orelhas.

Um caracal selvagem vive cerca de 12 anos, mas em cativeiro pode chegar aos 17 anos. Como é um animal fácil de se domesticar, é utilizado na caça em países como o Irã <https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ir%C3%A3> e a Índia.

Distribui-se pela África e pelo Sudoeste Asiático [Figura 1.27]. Seu habitat consiste normalmente de estepes e desertos, mas também aparece em florestas ou savanas. [Adaptado de <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caracal>].

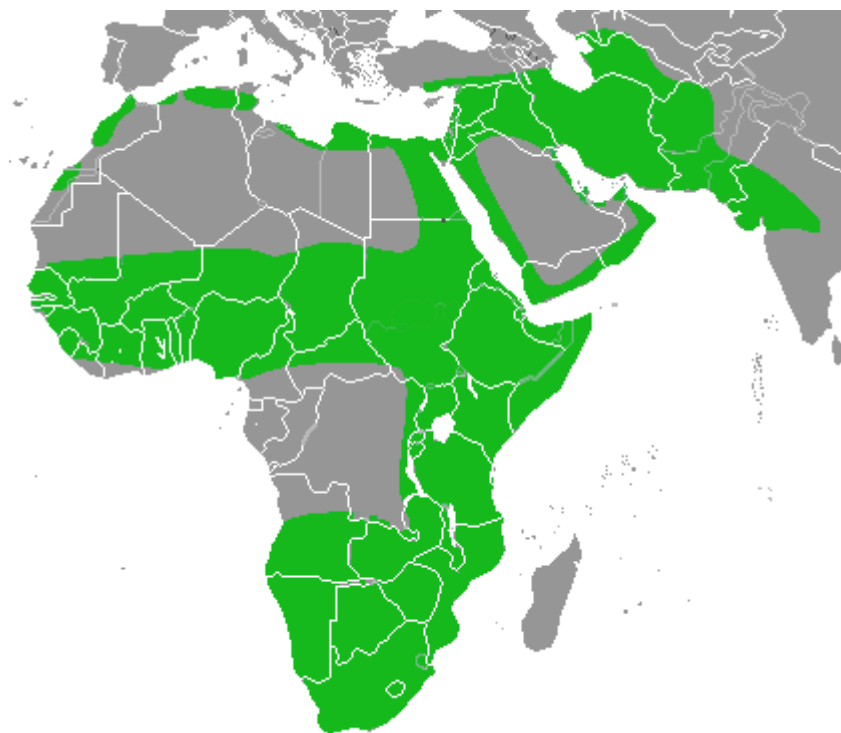


Figura 1.27 Distribuição geográfica [em verde] do *Caracal caracal*.

2. O “LEOPARDO” E A “PANTERA” NAS ANTIGAS CIVILIZAÇÕES E NOS ESCRITOS DE AUTORES GREGOS E ROMANOS

2.1 O leopardo na iconografia das antigas civilizações

Nys & Bretschneider (2008) publicaram um artigo esplêndido sobre a iconografia do leopardo nas antigas civilizações, com preciosas figuras. Conforme a declaração desses autores:

“An attempt has been made to include every known picture of the leopard in the investigation and to exclude all the dubious cases, where the depicted animal can easily be a lion. In total some 175 pictures were found, ranging from the depiction of the animal itself to representations of its skin. Mesopotamia and the Levant brought forth the greatest number of objects (60), but that was solely due to the wide distribution of objects in the so called Intercultural style (...). Next came Egypt (50), then the Aegean (35) and finally Anatolia (28). It is not the intention to include all investigated pictures of leopards in this article. The most important will be treated, others will be only mentioned with a reference”.

Concluíram esses dois autores que:

“It is obvious that the iconography of the leopard is very complex⁶. The leopard seems to play a positive role and its most important task seems to have been to emphasise, protect and enhance the living conditions of men. It is however clear that its iconography is more multifaceted than that and is somewhat depended on the form in which the leopard is depicted, direct or indirect (via its skin), and the region where it occurs.

Most depictions of leopards in Mesopotamia and Levant are related to warfare, combat and hunting. This association exists in the other regions as well, albeit on a much lesser scale. Representations of leopards in Egypt are rare and are only linked with men, but in Anatolia and the Aegean women with leopards dominate. The goddess in a chariot that is drawn by two leopards as represented on a bronze plate that was found in northern Iran is unique in the region and suggests clearly for the first time that the leopard took part in certain religious rites or myths. The greatest fraction of the images from Egypt show people dressed in leopards skins. Two skins were found in the Tomb of Tutankhamen, one real, the other an imitation.

The skin of the leopard does seem to identify priests and deceased in Egypt where it at the same time helps to conquer death. In the Aegean wearing a leopard skin suggests a high status, as it perhaps does in Anatolia, and in Mesopotamia the skin is worn by soldiers for its protective function. This protective function is without doubt present when leopards are depicted at (the entrances of) palaces and temples or on altars, as is the case in Egypt (Avaris) and Mesopotamia (Uqair and Tall Munbāqa) and conceivably even in Anatolia (Çatal Hüyük) and in the Aegean (Knossos). Seals in the shape of leopards, as have been found in both Anatolia and Mesopotamia, certainly have a protective and even apotropaic function, but the same may be assumed with other objects decorated with leopards or with motifs reminiscent of the leopard skins: daggers, knives, axes, chairs and thrones (found in the Aegean and Egypt), war chariots and horses, vases from the so-called Intercultural style, seals with combat-scenes (all these found in Mesopotamia) and people dressed in leopards skins. These last include not only the warriors from Mesopotamia, but also the priests and deceased from Egypt, the dignitaries of the Aegean and of the Zagros-region, some Masters of the Animals as seen on vases from the Intercultural style, and most probably also the hunters/dancers from Çatal Hüyük and the woman and men statuettes from Anatolia.

Next to protection leopards also offer support to man in his struggle against evil. This is obviously the case with the Egyptian pharaoh who is eventually the mediator between men and gods, in the decoration of the objects of the Intercultural style and in the combat-scenes. Mistresses and Masters of the animals receive the same support both when they are dressed in a leopard skin, sitting on leopards or are accompanied by them. Key-objects in this respect are the figurines from Çatal Hüyük and Hacilar and the copper bowl that is kept in Berlin. This last piece is presumably very important for vases of Jiroft, dating from the mid to late 3rd mill. BC. The motif of leopards accompanied by snakes seems to be typical for the Iranian iconography.

Opposite to what seemed to be suggested by some of the oldest depictions of the leopard, (as found in Çatal Hüyük and Hacilar) direct relations between the animal and fertility are rare. At the most an indirect association can be suspected and this connection is shown in very varied ways and seems to have more to do with the general

⁶ Ver também Messedaglia (1941).

notion of the endless cycle of life instead of with the aspect of fertility itself. Examples of a direct relation can be seen with the Hittite gods Tešuba and Hepat(u), the Phrygian goddess Cybele and perhaps, if Gimbutas is correct, the Snake goddess of Knossos. In Egypt the Horizon leopards⁷, the Imuit fetish, the Sem-priests and the deceased dressed in leopard skins can be linked to the Weltkreislauf⁸.

2.2 O Épico de Gilgamesh

Datando da terceira dinastia de Ur (ca. 2100 aC), esse grande poema da antiga Mesopotâmia é conhecido através da versão “babilônica antiga”, do século XVIII aC, conhecido como *Shūtur eli sharrī* (“ultrapassando todos os outros reis”), por causa de seu *incipit*, mas poucos tabletas dela sobrevieram. A versão “standard” data dos séculos XIII-X aC, e tem *Sha naqba īmuru* (“aquele que vê o vazio”) como *incipit*. Quase dois terços dessa versão, escrita em doze tabletas, foram recuperados. Algumas das melhores cópias foram descobertas nas ruínas da biblioteca do rei assírio Assurbanipal (século VII aC).



Figura 2.1 “A damaged masterpiece: the front side of the better preserved tablet of the Gilgamesh epic” (George, 1999: xxix).

Na tradução inglesa existem as seguintes passagens referentes à pantera:

Tablete VIII 15:

“May the bear mourn you, the hyena, the **panther**, the **cheetah**, the stag and the jackal, the lion, the wild bull, the deer, the ibex, all the beasts of the wild!” (George, 1999: 63).

⁷ Nys & Bretschneider referem-se aqui às duas figuras constantes na prancha 7 de Budge [Figura 2.9], identificando-as como leopardo, talvez baseados nas pintas da pele do animal. Mas Budge (1913: 258) identificou-as como leões (pois parece que esses animais possuem juba) [Figura 2.11]:

4. Two lions seated back to back and supporting the horizon ☉, over which extends the sky ☁. The lion on the right is called SER [𒍪], i.e., “Yesterday,” and that on the left TUAU [𒍪], i.e., “To-day”

Tablete VIII 50:


“O my friend, wild ass on the run, donkey of the uplands, **panther** of the wild, my friend Enkidu, wild ass on the run, donkey of the uplands, panther of the wild!” (George, 1999: 65, 77, 80, 84).

Tablete X 260:




“I had yet to reach the tavern-keeper, my clothing was worn out.
[I killed] bear, hyena, lion, **panther, cheetah,**
deer, ibex, the beasts and game of the wild:
I ate their flesh, their pelts I flayed” (George, 1999: 85).

2.3 O Papiro de Ani ou Livro dos Mortos

Budge (1913: 242-243), descrevendo a prancha 5 do *Livro dos Mortos* (Papiro de Ani), disse:

“In the centre of Plate V [Figura 2.2] the mummy of Ani is seen lying in a funerary coffer or shrine mounted on a boat provided with runners, which is drawn by oxen. At the head and foot of the coffer are masses of flowers and branches of trees. In the fore part of the boat is a painted wooden figure of the goddess Nephthys, and in the stern is a similar figure of Isis. Just behind Isis are the two posts to which are fastened steering oars, or paddles. By the side of the mummy kneel Ani’s wife Tutu, with her left hand raised to her forehead in an attitude of lamentation. Her arms and shoulders are bare, and she wears a single garment fastened about her waist. In front of the boat is the SEM  priest, arrayed in white linen garments, over which he wears a leopard skin [Figura 2.3]. **The leopard was always associated with the Land of the Dead, and the skin of the animal was supposed to bestow upon its wearer special powers in dealing with the souls of the dead** [negrito nosso]”.

Na prancha 6 [Figuras 2.4 e 2.5] de Budge vê-se novamente um sacerdote vestindo pele de leopardo. A prancha 12 [Figuras 2.6 e 2.7], segundo Budge (1913: 274, 275), representa :

“The Osiris Ani standing with his hands raised in adoration of the series of gods who preside over the great cities of Egypt. Behind him stands his wife Tutu, holding a sistrum in her right hand and the green head of some plant in her left. (...). **Vignette 2.** A door surmounted by ostrich feathers and urei wearing disks . Before it stands the Anmutef  priest, wearing the lock of hair  symbolic of youth, on the right side of his head. His dress consists of a short white linen loin cloth and a **leopard skin**, his arms coming through holes in the skin where the fore-legs of the **leopard** had been. His left hand clasps the skin of the right hind leg of the animal”.

E na prancha 15 [Figuras 2.8 e 2.9], conforme Budge (1913: 278), há:


“A seated statue of Ani the scribe. Facing it is a figure of the *Sem* priest , who is clad in linen garments over which he has put a **leopard’s skin**”.



Figura 2.3 Detalhe da prancha 5 de Budge (1913).



Figura 2.4 Parte do papiro de Ami (*Livro dos Mortos*) – prancha 6 de Budge (1913)



Figura 2.5 Detalhe da prancha 6 de Budge (1913).

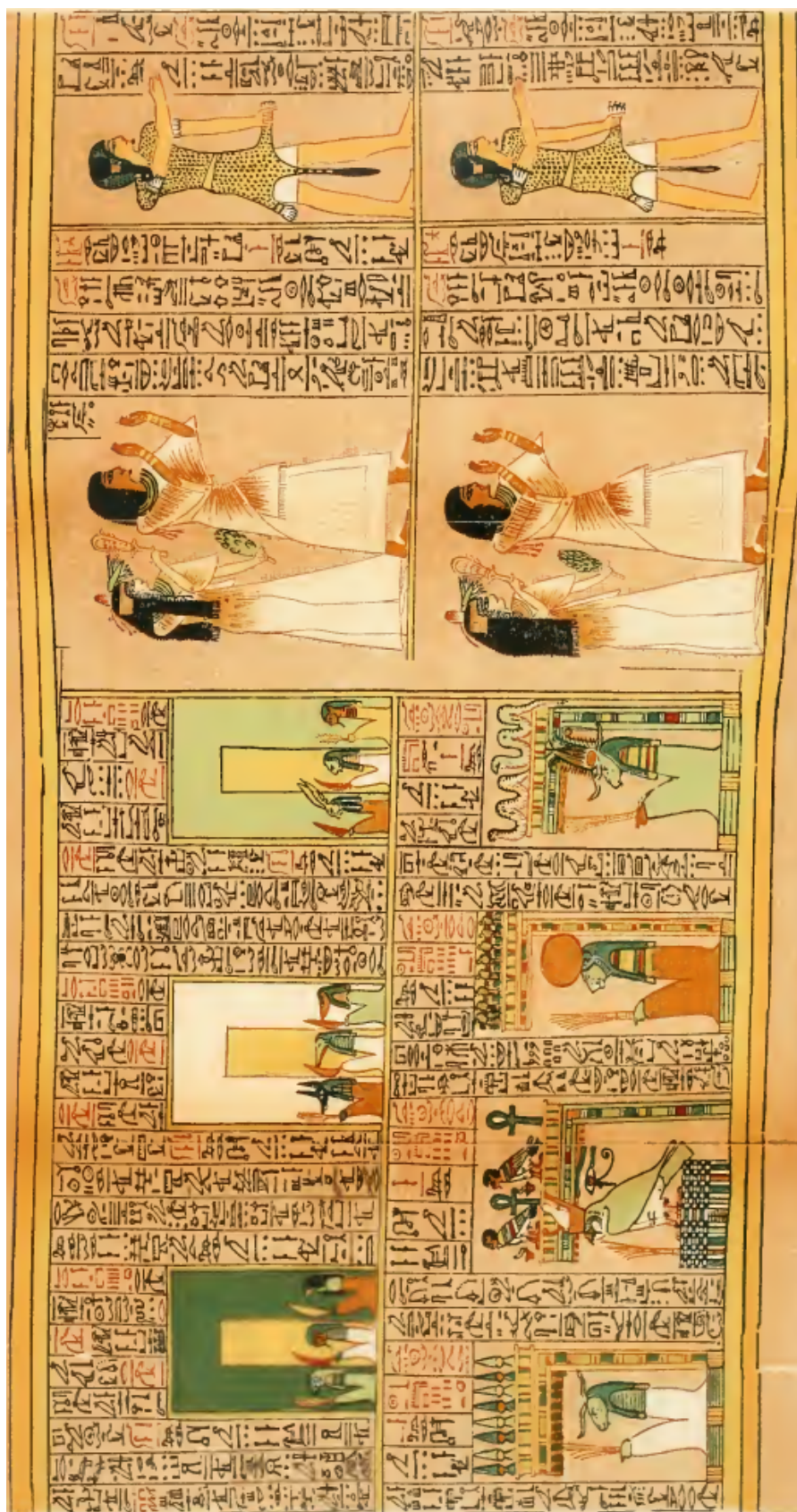


Figura 2.6 Parte do papiro de Ani (*Livro dos Mortos*) – prancha 12 de Budge(1913).



Figura 2.7 Detalhe da prancha 12 de Budge (1913).



Figura 2.8 Parte do Papiro de Ani (*Livro dos Mortos*) – prancha 14 de Budge (1913).



Figura 2.9 Detalhe da prancha 14 de Budge (1913).



Figura 2.10 Parte do papiro Ani (*Livro dos Mortos*) – prancha 7 de Budge (1913).



Figura 2.11 Detalhe da prancha 7 de Budge (1913).

Duas deusas egípcias têm vestes ou partes do corpo relacionadas com leopardos. Uma é Seshat [Figura 2.12], deusa da sabedoria, conhecimento e escrita. A outra é Anmut [Figura 2.13] – a “grande devoradora”, com cabeça de crocodilo, tórax de leopardo e a parte traseira de hipopótamo; ela devorava os corações dos mortos que pesavam mais do que uma pluma na balança...



Figura 2.12 A deusa Seshat.



Figura 2.13 A deusa Anmut, com cabeça de crocodilo, tórax de leopardo e corpo posterior de hipopótamo – detalhe da prancha 3 de Budge (1913).

2.4 O leopardo no Antigo Testamento

Segundo Carpenter (W. M.) (1833: 90-91, 1868: 150-151):

“The Hebrew name (Nimrah) of this animal is taken from its spotted color. (,,).

The scripture references to this animal [**leopard**] are not numerous, but like all its other references they are founded on the strictest propriety. Jeremiah refers in one place to its spotted skin, (ch. XII.23), and in another (ch. V.6) to its artful ambuscades; a feature in its character to which Hosea also alludes, (ch. XIII.7); ‘as a **leopard** by the way will I observe them’ – doubtless, to punish them for their flagrant and unrepented crimes. Habakkuk, describing the rapid march of the Chaldeans upon Jersusalem, compared the movement of their horses to the extraordinary swiftness of this animal: ‘Their horses also are swifter than **leopards**, ch. I.8. But the most beautiful allusion to this creature is in Isaiah’s prophecy of the happy times of the Messiah’s reign:

The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb,
And the **leopard** shall lie with the kid;
And the calf, and the young Lion, and the fatling together;
And a little child shall lead them.

How great and extraordinary must such a change appear, when it is recollected that the **leopard** never can be satiated with prey, and that man has never yet subdued the ferocity of his natural disposition!

It seems that these animals were very numerous in Palestine, as there are places which bear names indicative of having been their haunts. In the tribe of Gad there was a town named Beth-Nimrah⁸ – *leopard’s house*, (Numb. XXXII.36; compare verse 3); Isaiah and Jeremy speak of the ‘waters of Nimrim’, i. e. of the **leopards** – not far

⁸ **Beth-Nimrah** (בֵּית נִמְרָה) era uma cidade da antiga Israel. Localizava-se a leste do rio Jordão e era atribuída à tribo de Gad. O nome é preservado nos topônimos **Tel Nimrin** e **Wadi Nimrin**, mas a localização da antiga cidade acredita-se que ficava no **Tel Bleibil**.

Em Calmet (1830: 275) lê-se:

BETH-NIMRAH, בֵּית-נִמְרָה, Βηθημρά: *the house of the leopard [or tiger];* from נִמְרָה *nemer*: otherwise, *of rebellion*; from מָרָה *marah*: otherwise, *of bitterness*; from מָרַר *marar* [or *of commutation*].

BETH-NIMRAH, a city of Gad, Numb. xxxii. 36; Josh. xiii. 27. We take it to be Nimrim (Jer. xlviii. 34.), or Bethnabris, five miles north from Livias. The difficulty lies in extending the tribe of Gad so far as Nimrim south, or Bethnabris north.

[This appears by Isaiah xv. 6; Jer. xlviii. 34, to have been a place abounding in waters, whence some would derive it from the Arabic, “to find water:” but it might be a temple of Bacchus, accompanied by his proper emblem the Indian tiger. Some render *nimra* rather *panther* than *tiger*: i. e. a beast spotted, not striped.

E segundo Strong (1890: 20, 79)

1039. בֵּית נִמְרָה **Bêyth Nimrâh**, *bayth nîm-râw'*; from 1004 and the fem. of 5246; *house of (the) leopard*; *Beth-Nimrah*, a place east of the Jordan:

1004. בַּיִת **bayith**, *bah'-yith*; prob. from 1129 abbrev.: *a house*

5246 נִמְרָה **nâmêr**, *naw-mare'*; from an unused root mean. prop. to *fltrate*, i. e. be *limpid* [comp. 5247 and 5249]; and thus to *spot* or *stain* as if by dripping; a *leopard* (from its stripes):—*leopard*.

distant, (Isa. XV.6; Jer. LVIII.34); and Solomon strongly intimates that they were numerous on the mountains of Lebanon, Cant. IV.8”.

Conforme Kitto (1839: 215):

“*Leopard*.”—There is no question that the leopard is intended by the word נָמֵר *namer*, for the same word denotes this animal in the Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic, and in Jer. xiii. 23, there is a distinct allusion to its spotted skin. It would seem that these animals were formerly common in Palestine, as several places bear names which seem to intimate that they were infested by leopards, as “*Nimrah*” (Num. xxxii. 3); “*Beth-Nimrah*” (Num. v. 36; Josh. xiii. 27); and “waters of *Nimrah*” (Isa. xv. 6; Jer. xlviii. 34); and here we read of “the mountains of leopards.” The leopard is still known in Syria and Arabia, though no longer common. It is the most beautiful animal of the lion family; which may be one reason why it is more noticed in Scripture than any other creature of that family, except the lion itself. The ranges of black rosettes, with which its yellow hide is marked, give it an appearance which has always been admired, and supply the comparison in Jeremiah, to which we have referred. It has much resemblance to the tiger, except in having black rosettes, instead of black stripes: but it is a much smaller animal, and of inferior powers. It is however very savage and ferocious; and, in the insidious and stealthy fashion of its kind, assaults all sorts of animals; man himself not being altogether exempted from its attacks.

Hemprich & Ehrenberg (1828; obra não paginada) descreveram da Síria, Arábia Félix e Etiópia o leopardo que chamaram de *Felis nimr* (atualmente *Panthera pardus nimr*) [Figura 2.14]. Registraram os nomes dados a esse felino em árabe, tigrênse e amárico:

Arabia Syriae, Arabiae et Nubiae hodieque vocatur *Nimr* نم aut *el Nimr* النمر i. e. Maculata, Varia. Habessinibus vocatur *Nimr* (Namer ነሞር: Ludolf), Amharnis *Nibr* (Naber ነብር: Ludolf).

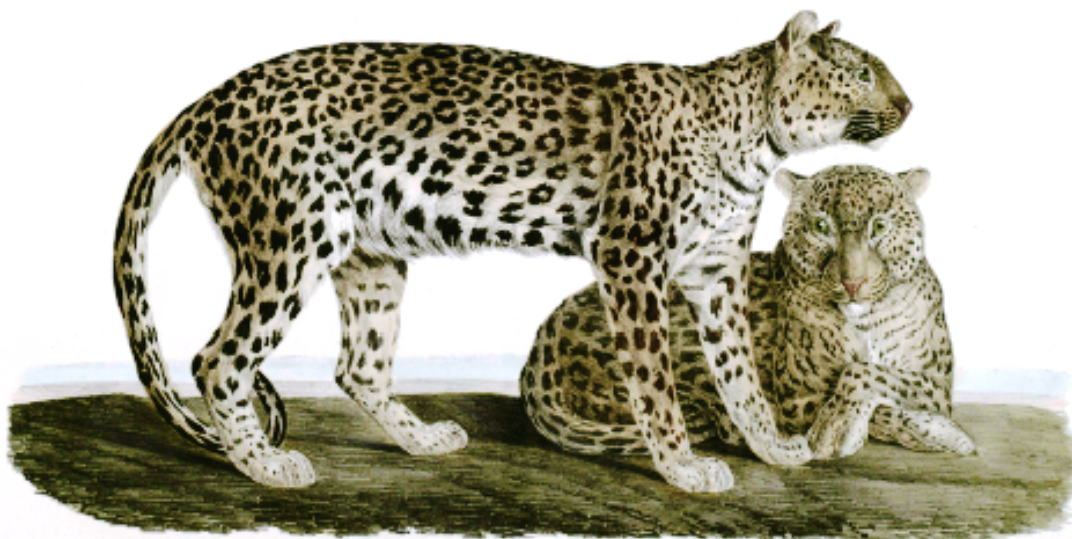


Figura 2.14 *Panthera pardus nimr* (Hemprich & Ehrenberg, 1833) (Hemprich & Ehrenberg, 1828-1833, pl. XVII).

Na sequência, apresentamos as passagens bíblicas referentes ao leopardo segundo a *Septuaginta* (Rahlfs, 1979) e a *Vulgata* (Gryson, 1994):

ΑΡΙΘΜΟΙ/ Liber Numerorum 32: 3

“Αταρώθ και Δαιβών και Ἰαζήρ και **Ναμρὰ** και Ἐσεβών, και Ἐλεαλή και Σεβαμὰ και Ναβαὸ και Βαϊάν”.
“Atharot et Dibon et Iazer et **Nemra** Esbon et Eleale et Sabam et Nebo et Beon”.

ΑΡΙΘΜΟΙ/ Liber Numerorum 32: 36

“και την **Ναμρὰν** και την Βαιθαράν, πόλεις ὄχυράς και ἐπαύλεις προβάτων”.
“et Bethnamrah [Beth-nimrah] et Betharan urbes munitas et caulas pecoribus suis”

ΑΣΜΑ/ Canticum Canticorum 4: 8

“δεῦρο ἀπὸ Λιβάνου, νύμφη, δεῦρο ἀπὸ Λιβάνου· ἐλεύση και διελεύση ἀπὸ ἀρχῆς πίστεως, ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς Σανὶρ και Ἑρμών, ἀπὸ μανδρῶν λεόντων, ἀπὸ ὄρέων **παρδάλεων**”.
“veni de Libano sponsa veni de Libano vni coronaberis de capite Amana de verrice Sanir et Hermon de cubilibus leonum de montibus **pardorum**”.

ΗΣΑΙΑΣ/ Isaias Propheta 11: 6

“και συμβοσκηθήσεται λύκος μετ’ ἀρνός, και **πάρδαλις** συναναπαύσεται ἐρίφω, και μοσχάριον και ταῦρος και λέων ἅμα βοσκηθήσονται, και παιδίον μικρὸν ἄξει αὐτούς”.
“habitabit Ipus 46rovo46ss et **pardus** cum hedo accubabit vitulus et 46ro et ovis simul morabantur et puer paeulus minabit eos”.

ΗΣΑΙΑΣ/ Isaias Propheta 15: 6

“τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς **Νεμρεῖμ** ἔρημον ἔσται, και ὁ χόρτος αὐτῆς ἐκλείψει· χόρτος γὰρ χλωρὸς οὐκ ἔσται”.
“aquae enim Nemrim desertae erunt quia aruit herba defecit germen viror omnis interiit”.

ΙΕΡΕΜΙΑΣ/ Hieremias Propheta 5: 6

“διὰ τοῦτο ἔπαισεν αὐτούς λέων ἐκ τοῦ δρυμοῦ, και λύκος ἕως τῶν οἰκιῶν ὠλόθρευσε αὐτούς, και **πάρδαλις** ἐγρηγόρησε ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν· πάντες οἱ ἐκπορευόμενοι ἀπ’ αὐτῶν θηρευθήσονται, ὅτι ἐπλήθυναν ἀσεβείας αὐτῶν, ἴσχυσαν ἐν ταῖς ἀποστροφαῖς αὐτῶν”.
“idcirco percussit eos 46ro de silva 46rovo ad vesperam vastavit eos **pardus** vigilans super civitates eorum omnis qui egressus fuerit ex eis capietur quia multiplicatae sunt praevaricationes eorum confortatae sunt aversiones eorum”.

ΙΕΡΕΜΙΑΣ/ Hieremias Propheta 13: 23

“εἰ ἀλλάξεται Αἰθίοψ τὸ δέρμα αὐτοῦ και **πάρδαλις** τὰ ποικίλματα αὐτῆς, και ὑμεῖς δυνησεσθε εἶ ποιῆσαι μεμαθηκότες τὰ κακά”.
“si mutare postest Aethiops pellem suam at **pardus** varietates suas et vos poteritis bene facere cum didiceritis malum”. [Figura 2.15].

ΙΕΡΕΜΙΑΣ/ Hieremias Propheta 48: 34

“ἀπὸ κραυγῆς Εσεβων ἕως Ελεαλη αἱ πόλεις αὐτῶν ἔδωκαν φωνὴν αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Ζογορ ἕως Ωρωναιμ και Αγλασαλισια ὅτι και τὸ ὕδωρ **Νεβριμ** εἰς κατάκαυμα ἔσται”.
“de clamore Esebon usque Eleale et Iaesa dederunt vocem suam a Segor usque ad Oronaim vitula contemnente aquae quoque **Namrin** pessimae sunt”.

THE LEOPARD.



Can the Leopard change his spots:
Or the Ethiop his skin?
Then may those do good who bear
Still an Unchang'd Heart within!

Figura 2.15 Desenho de Barton (1856: prancha antes da p. 5), referente ao texto de Jeremias (13: 23).

ΔΑΝΙΗΛ/ Daniel Propheta 7: 6

“ὀπίσω τούτου ἐθεώρουν καὶ ἰδοὺ θηρίον ἕτερον ὡσεὶ **πάρδαλις**, καὶ αὐτῇ πτερὰ τέσσαρα πετεινοῦ ὑπεράνω αὐτῆς, καὶ τέσσαρες κεφαλαὶ τῷ θηρίῳ, καὶ ἐξουσία ἐδόθη αὐτῇ”.

“post hoc aspiciebam et ecce alia quasi **pardus** et alas habebat avis quattuor super se et et quattuor capita erant in bestia et potestas data este i”.

ΩΣΗΕ/ Osee Propheta 13: 7

“καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτοῖς ὡς **πανθήρ** καὶ ὡς **πάρδαλις** κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν Ἀσσυρίων”.

“et erro eis quase leaena sicut **pardus** in via Assyriorum”.

ΑΜΒΑΚΟΥΜ/ Abacuc Propheta 1: 8

“καὶ ἐξαλοῦνται ὑπὲρ **παρδάλις** οἱ ἵπποι αὐτοῦ καὶ ὀξύτεροι ὑπὲρ τοὺς λύκους τῆς Ἀραβίας· καὶ ἐξιπάσονται οἱ ἵππεῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὀρμήσουσι μακρόθεν καὶ πετασθήσονται ὡς ἀετὸς πρόθυμος εἰς τὸ φαγεῖν”.

“leviores **pardis** equi eius et velociores lupis vespertinis et diffidentur equites eius euites namque eius de longe venient volabunt quasi aquila festinans ad comedendum”.

2.5 O leopardo nos escritos gregos e latinos da Antiguidade Clássica

2.5.1 Na *Iliada* de Homero (em grego antigo Ὅμηρος) (século VIII aC) encontram-se as mais antigas referências ao leopardo (πάρδαλις) feitas no Ocidente:

Livro III, 15-2:

Οἱ δ' ὅτε δὴ σχεδὸν ἦσαν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν ἰόντες
Τρωσὶν μὲν προμάχιζεν Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδής,
παρδαλέην ἄμοισιν ἔχων καὶ καμπύλα τόξα
καὶ ξίφος αὐτὰρ ὁ δοῦρε δύω κεκορυθμένα χαλκῷ
πάλλων Ἀργείων προκαλίζετο πάντας ἀρίστους
ἀντίβιον μαχέσασθαι ἐν αἰνῇ δηϊοτήτι.

[Now when they were come near, as they advanced one host against the other, among the Trojans there stood forth as champion godlike Alexander, bearing upon his shoulders a **panther** [*párdalis*] skin and his curved bow, with his sword; and brandishing two spears tipped with bronze he challenged all the best of Argives to fight with him face to face in dread combat]. (Murray, 1928: 117, 118).

Anthon (1848: 245) comentou:

“παρδαλέην. ‘A panther’s skin’. Properly an adjective, with *δοράν* understood. (...). We have here a remnant of an early, and, at one time, very general custom, namely, that of wearing skins or hides for defensive armor. The mode of wearing the lion’s skin, for example, is shown in two small bronzes of very high antiquity [Figura 2.16].



Figura 2.16 Estatuetas de bronze mostrando o modo de vestir peles de leão (Anthon, 1848: 246).

Livro XXI, 571-580:

Ὡς εἰπὼν Ἀχιλλῆα ἀλείς μένεν, ἐν δέ οἱ ἦτορ
 ἄλκιμον ὄρμιᾶτο πολεμίζεω ἠδὲ μάχεσθαι.
 ἤύτε πάρδαλις εἴσι βαθείης ἐκ ξυλόχοιο
 ἀνδρὸς θηρητῆρος ἐναντίον, οὐδέ τι θυμῷ
 ταρβεῖ οὐδὲ φοβεῖται, ἐπεὶ κεν ὑλαγμὸν ἀκούσῃ·
 εἴ περ γὰρ φθάμενός μιν ἢ οὐτάσῃ ἢ βάλῃσιν,
 ἀλλὰ τε καὶ περὶ δουρὶ πεπαρμένῃ οὐκ ἀπολήγει
 ἀλκῆς, πρὶν γ' ἢ ἐξυμβλήμεναι ἢ δαμῆναι·
 ὡς Ἀντήνορος υἱὸς ἀγαυοῦ, δῖος Ἀγήνωρ,
 οὐκ ἔθελεν φεύγειν, πρὶν πειρήσασθαι Ἀχιλλῆος,

[So saying he gathered himself together to abide Achilles' oncoming, and within him his valiant heart was fain to war and to do battle. Even as a **pard** [*párdalis*] goeth forth from a deep thicket before the face of a huntsman, neither is anywise afraid at heart, nor fleeth when she heareth the baying of the hounds; for though the man be beforehand with her and smite her with thrust or with dart, yet even pierced through with the spear she ceaseth not from her fury until she grapple with him or be slain. Even so lordly Antenor's son, goodly Agenor, refused to flee till he should make trial of Achilles...]. (Murray, 1934: 450, 451).

2.5.2 Aesopus (em grego antigo Αἴσωπος) (ca. 620 – 564 aC), célebre por suas fábulas, que vão ser parafraseadas por muitos autores posteriores, legou-nos uma fábula sobre a “raposa e o leopardo (*párdalis*)” (Del Furia, 1809: 26, 27):

Μῦθος γ'. Ἀλώπνηξ καὶ Πάρδαλις.

Ἀλώπνηξ καὶ πάρδαλις περὶ κάλλους ἤριζον. Τῆς δὲ παρδάλειος παρ' ἑκάστα πῆν τῷ σώματος ποικιλίαν ἀποβαλλομένης, ἡ ἀλώπνηξ ὑποτυχῆσα εἶπε· καὶ πόσον ἐγὼ καλλίων ὑπάρχω, ἤ τις ἐπὶ τὸ σῶμα, πῆν δὲ ψυχὴν πεποικιλιμένη τυγχάνω.

Ὁ μῦθος δηλοῖ, ὅτι τοῦ σωματικοῦ κάλλους, ἀμείνων ἐστὶν ὁ πῆς διανοίας κόσμος.

[Fab. XIII. Vulpes et Pardus.

[Vulpes et Pardus de pulcritudine contendebant. Pardus itaque corporis sui varietatem quum continuo praedicaret, Quanto te pulcrior, Vulpes tandem ait, ego sum iudicanda, quae non corpus, sed mentem varie ornatam gero!

Fabula significat, quod mentis decor, pulcritudine corporis praestantior est]⁹.

2.5.3 No livro IV (*Melpomene*) de suas “Histórias”, Heródoto (Ἡρόδοτος) (484 – 425 aC) apresentou uma lista da fauna da Líbia, fazendo breve menção ao *panther* (πάνθηρ):

“Κατὰ τοὺς νομάδας δὲ ἐστὶ τούτων οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἄλλα τοιάδε, πύγαργοι καὶ ζορκάδες καὶ βουβάλιες καὶ ὄνοι, οὐκ οἱ τὰ κέρα εἶχοντες ἀλλ' ἄλλοι ἄποτοι (οὐ γὰρ διή πίνουσι), καὶ ὄρυες, τῶν τὰ κέρα τοῖσι φοινίξι οἱ πήχεες ποιεῦνται (μέγαθος δὲ τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο κατὰ βοῦν ἐστὶ), καὶ βασσάρια καὶ ὑίαινα καὶ ὕστριχες καὶ κριοὶ ἄγριοι καὶ δίκτυες καὶ θῶες καὶ πάνθηρες καὶ βόρυες, καὶ κροκόδειλοι ὅσον τε τριπήχεες χερσαῖοι, τῆσι σαύρησι ἐμπερέστατοι, καὶ στρουθοὶ κατάγαιοι, καὶ ὄφιοι μικροί, κέρας ἐν ἑκάστος ἔχοντες· ταῦτά τε δὴ αὐτόθι ἐστὶ θηρία καὶ τὰ περ τῆ ἄλλῃ, πλὴν ἐλάφου τε καὶ ὑὸς ἀγρίου· ἐλάφος δὲ καὶ ὕς ἄγριος ἐν Λιβύῃ πάμπαν οὐκ ἐστὶ. Μυῶν δὲ γένεα τριζὰ αὐτόθι ἐστὶ· οἱ μὲν δίποδες καλέονται, οἱ δὲ ζεγέριες (τὸ δὲ οὐνομα τοῦτο ἐστὶ μὲν Λιβυτικόν, δύναται δὲ κατ' Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν βουνοί), οἱ δὲ ἐχίνεες. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ γαλαὶ ἐν τῷ σιλιφίῳ γινόμεναι τῆσι Ταρτησσίῃσι

⁹ Na tradução de Rose (1870: 55): “PARD AND FOX. A LEOPARD and a Fox upon the road,/ Discoursed of beauty. And the Leopard showed/ His bright and shining spots, his leopard skin./ ‘Aye’, said the Fox, ‘twere better if within/ We found so varied and so fair a mind’/ The kernel, friend, is worthier than its rind”.

ὁμοιόταται. Τοσαῦτα μὲν νυν θηρία ἢ τῶν νομάδων Λιβύων γῆ ἔχει, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἱστοροῦντες ἐπὶ μακρότατον οἴοι τε ἐγεγόμεθα ἐξικέσθαι” (Godley, 1928: 394, 396)¹⁰.

2.5.4 Xenofonte (Ξενοφῶν) (ca. 430 – 354 aC) dedicou o capítulo XI de seu *Cynegeticus* a vários felinos e aos métodos de caçá-los [Figura 2.16] e considerou o *panther* um animal diferente da *párdalis* (Xenofonte, 1860: 758) [Figura 2.17]¹¹:



Figura 2.17 Caçada de “panteras” (Sarcófago de Alexandre, o Grande, em Istambul).

¹⁰ Na tradução de Godley (1928: 395, 307): “But in the nomad’s country there are none of these; yet there are others, gazelles of divers kinds, asses, not the horned asses, but those that are called undrinking (for indeed they never drink), antelopes of the bigness of an ox, the horns whereof are made into the sides of a lyre, foxes, hyenas, porcupines, wild rams, the dictys and the borys, jackals and **panthers**, land crocodiles three cubits long, most like to lizards, and ostriches and little one-horned serpents; and all these beasts are there besides those that are elsewhere too, save only deer and wild swine; of these two kinds there are none at all in Libya. There are in this country three kinds of mice, the two-footed, the ‘zegeries’ (this is a Libyan word, signifying in our language hills), and the hairy, as they are called. There are also weasels found in the silphium, very like to the weasels of Tartessus. So many are the wild creatures of the nomads’ country, as far as by our utmost enquiry we have been able to learn”.

¹¹ Na tradução de Buchon (1836: 694): “Les lions, les **pardalis**, les lynx, les **panthères**, les ours et autres semblables animaux, se prennent dans les contrées étrangères, sur le mont Pangée, dans le Cittus situé au-delà de la Macédoine, ou sur l’Olympe de Mysie, ou sur le Pinde, ou sur le Nyssa situé au-delà de la Syrie, et autres montagnes qui peuvent les nourrir. Dans les montagnes on les prend avec un appât préparé d’aconit; les difficultés des lieux ne permettent pas d’autre chasse: à cet appât qui l’on jette le long des eaux et dans tout autre endroit dont ils approchent, on mêle ce qui est du goût de chacun de ces animaux.

Ceux d’entre eux qui descendent de nuit dans la plaine s’y trouvent enfermés par une troupe de gens à cheval et armés, qui s’en rendent maîtres, mais non sans danger. Quelquefois on fait pour les prendre de grandes fosses rondes, laissant au milieu une élévation de terre qui forme une espèce de colonne depuis le fond de la fosse jusqu’à la superficie. Aux approches de la nuit on y pose une chèvre qu’on y attache: l’on forme autour de la fosse une enceinte circulaire de branchages qui cache l’intérieur de la circonférence et ne laisse aucune entrée. Ces animaux, au bêlement de la chèvre pendant la nuit, viennent rôder autour de ces bois qui bouchent la fosse; mais ne trouvent pas d’entrée, ils s’élancent dedans et son pris”.

Λέοντες δὲ, παρδάλεις, λύγκες, πάνθηρες, ἄρκτοι καὶ τᾶλλα θσα ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα θηρία, ἀλίσκεται ἐν ξέναις χώραις περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος καὶ τὸν Κιττὸν τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς Μακεδονίας, τὰ δ' ἐν τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ τῷ Μυσίῳ καὶ ἐν Πινδῷ, τὰ δ' ἐν τῇ Νύσῃ τῇ ὑπὲρ τῆς Συρίας, καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ὄρεσιν ὅσα οἷά τ' ἐστὶ τρέφειν τοιαῦτα. (2) Ἀλίσκεται δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι φαρμάκῳ διὰ δυσχωρίαν ἀκονιτικῷ. Παραβάλλουσι δὲ τοῦτο οἱ θηρώμενοι, συμμιγνύντες εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ θῖω ἂν ἕκαστον χαίρη περὶ τὰ ὕδατα καὶ πρὸς ὅ,τι ἂν ἄλλο προσίη. (3) Τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν καταβαίνοντα εἰς τὸ πεδῖον τῆς νυκτὸς ἀποκλεισθέντα μετὰ ἔππων καὶ ὄπλων ἀλίσκεται εἰς κίνδυνον καθιστάντα τοὺς αἰροῦντας. (4) Ἔστι δὲ οἷς αὐτῶν καὶ ὄρυγματα ποιοῦσι περιφερῆ, μεγάλα, βαθέα, ἐν μέσῳ λείποντες κίονα τῆς γῆς. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦτον εἰς νύκτα ἐπέθεσαν δήσαντες αἴγα, καὶ ἔφραξαν κύκλῳ τὸ ὄρυγμα ὅλη ὥστε μὴ προσρῆν, εἰσοδὸν οὐ λείποντες. Τὰ δὲ ἀκρούοντα τῆς φωνῆς ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ κύκλῳ τὸν φραγμὸν περιθέουσι, καὶ ἐπειδὴν μὴ εὐρίσκη δίοδον, ὑπερπηθᾶ καὶ ἀλίσκεται.

At leones, pardi, lynces, pantheræ, ursi, et aliæ quæcumque sunt ejusmodi feræ, partim peregrinis in locis capiuntur, circa Pangæum montem, et Cittum qui supra Macedoniam est; partim in Olympo Mysio, et in Pindo; aliæ in Nysa supra Syriam, et juxta montes alios, quotquot idonei sunt alendis hujus generis belluis. Capiuntur vero partim in montibus aconitico veneno, propter asperitatem regionum. Hoc autem venatores rebus his miscentes, quibus quoque delectatur fera, secus aquas illis objiciunt, et si quid aliud adire consueverint. Partim etiam illæ, quæ noctu in plana descendunt, equis et armis interclusæ et circumventæ, nec sine venatorum discrimine, capiuntur. Sunt quibus et foveas amplas et profundas orbiculari forma conficiunt, in medio relinquentes terræ columnam, cui sub noctem capram religatam imponunt, et undique foveam materiæ silvestri circumsepunt et obstruunt, ne inspiciendi facultas sit, aditu ad ingrediendum nullo relicto. Illæ vocem noctu audientes, sepe circumcursitant; et quum nusquam inveniunt aditum, transiliunt, et capiuntur.

Figura 2.18. Trecho sobre a *párdalis* (Xenofonte, 1860: 758).

2.5.5 Aristophanes (Ἀριστοφάνης) (ca. 446 – ca. 386 aC), em sua *Lysistrata* (Bergler, 1760: 1162, 1163) citou a *párdalis*

ΧΟΡ. ΑΝΔΡ. Οὐδέν' ἔστι θηρίον γυναικὸς ἀμαχώτερον,
Οὐδέ πῦρ, ἢ δ' αἶψ' ἀναιδέως ἐδεμίει πάρδαλις.

[Ch. Vir. Nulla est bestia muliere immitior,
Nec ignis, nec ulla **pardalis** tam impudens].

2.5.6 Aristóteles (Ἀριστοτέλης) (384 – 322 aC). Em seu tratado sobre as *Partes dos Animais* constam as seguintes passagens que citam a *párdalis*:

III.iv, 20-23:

μεγάλας δὲ τὰς καρδίας ἔχουσι λαγώς,
ἐλαφος, μῦς, ὕαινα, ὄνος, πάρδαλις, γαλῆ, καὶ
τᾶλλα σχεδὸν πάνθ' ὅσα φανερῶς δειλὰ ἢ διὰ
φόβον κακοῦργα.

[The following creatures have large hearts: the hare, the deer, the mouse, the hyena, the ass, the **leopard**, the marten, and practically all other animals whose cowardice is either outright or else betrayed by their mischievous behavior]. (Peck, 1961: 214, 215).

IV.x, 5-8:

τῶν δὲ πολυδακτύλων
ἕνια καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πενταδακτύλους ἔχει τοὺς
προσθίους πόδας, τοὺς δ' ὀπισθεν τετραδακτύλους,
οἷον λέοντες καὶ λύκοι, ἔτι δὲ κύνες καὶ παρδάλεις·
ὁ γὰρ πέμπτος ὡσπερ ὁ τῆς χειρὸς γίνεται μέγας
[πέμπτος].

[This explains why some polydactylous quadrupeds actually have five toes on their forefeet (lions, wolves, dogs and **leopards**, for instance), although there are only four on the hind feet; the fifth one, like the fifth digit on the hand, is a 'big' one]. (Peck, 1961: 376, 377).

E na sua *História dos Animais*, estas outras:

I, 1, 27-29 (Bekker, 1837: 6)¹²:

Ἔτι τοῖς τόποις τὰ μὲν τρωγλοδυτικά, οἷον σαύρα, ὄφεις, τὰ δ' ὑπεργεῖα, οἷον ἵππος, κύων. Καὶ τὰ μὲν τρηματώδη τὰ δ' ἄτρητα. Καὶ τὰ μὲν νυκτερόβια, οἷον γλαύξ, νυκτερίς, τὰ δ' ἐν τῷ φωτὶ ζῆ. Ἔτι δὲ ἡμερα καὶ ἄγρια, καὶ τὰ μὲν αἰεῖ, οἷον ἄνθρωπος καὶ ὄρεὺς αἰεῖ ἡμερα, τὰ δ' ἄγρια, ὥσπερ πάρδαλις καὶ λύκος· τὰ δὲ καὶ ἡμεροῦσθαι δύναται ταχύ, οἷον ἐλέφας. Ἔτι ἄλλον τρόπον· πάντα γὰρ ὅσα ἡμερά ἐστι γένη, καὶ ἄγριά ἐστίν, οἷον ἵπποι, βόες, ὄες, πρόβατα, αἰγες, κύνες.

II, 1, 30 (Bekker, 1837: 34)¹³:

Τῶν δὲ τετραπόδων καὶ ἐναίμων καὶ ζωοτόκων τὰ μὲν ἐστὶ πολυσχιδῆ, ὥσπερ αἱ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου χεῖρες καὶ οἱ πόδες (πολυδάκτυλα γὰρ ἐνία ἐστίν, οἷον κύων, λέων, πάρδαλις), τὰ δὲ δισχιδῆ, καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν ὀνύχων χηλὰς ἔχει, ὥσπερ πρόβατον καὶ αἶξ καὶ ἔλαφος καὶ ἵππος ὁ ποτάμιος·

II, 1, 41 (Bekker, 1837: 36)¹⁴:

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα πλείους ἔχει, ἢ δὲ πάρδαλις τέτταρας ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ, ἢ δὲ λέαινα δύο ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ. Ἐχει δὲ καὶ ἡ κάμηλος μαστοὺς δύο καὶ θηλὰς τέτταρας, ὥσπερ ὁ βούς.

II, 1, 51 (Bekker, 1837: 38)¹⁵:

¹² Na tradução de Cresswell (1862: 5): “With regard to situation, some are troglodyte, as lizards and serpents, others, as the horse and dog, live upon the surface of the earth. Some kinds of animals burrow in the ground, other do not; some animals are nocturnal, as the owl and the bat, others use the hours of daylight. There are tame animals and wild animals. Man and the mule are always tame, the **leopard** and the wolf are invariably wild, and others, as the elephant, are easily tamed. We may, however, view them in another way, for all the genera that have been tamed are found wild also, as horses, oxen, swine, sheep, goats, and dogs”.

¹³ Na tradução de Cresswell (1862: 27): “Some sanguineous and viviparous quadrupeds have many divisions in the foot, like the hands and feet of man; for some, as the lion, the dog, and the **panther**, have many divisions of the foot; other are cloven-footed, and instead of nails have hoofs, as the sheep, the goat, the stag, and the river-horse”.

¹⁴ Na tradução de Cresswell (1862: 29): “Other animals also have more [mammas] than two, as the **panther**, which has four on the abdomen; the lioness has two on the abdomen, the camel has two mammas and four nipples, like the cow”.

¹⁵ Na tradução de Cresswell (1862: 30): “some have pointed teeth, as the lion, **panther**, and dog”.

Ἔτι δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐστὶ καρχαρόδοντα αὐτῶν,
οἶον λέων καὶ πάρδαλις καὶ κύων

II, 11, 6 (Bekker, 1837: 44)¹⁶:

Τῆς δὲ χροιάς
ἡ μεταβολὴ ἐμφυσωμένῳ αὐτῷ γίγνεται· ἔχει δὲ καὶ μέ-
λαιναν ταύτην, οὐ πόρρω τῆς τῶν κροκοδείλων, καὶ ὠχρὰν
καθάπερ οἱ σαῦροι, μέλανι ὥσπερ τὰ παρδάλια διαπεποι-
κιμένην. Γίνεται δὲ καθ' ἅπαν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἢ τοιαύτη
μεταβολή· καὶ γὰρ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ συμμεταβάλλουσιν ὁμοίως
τῷ λοιπῷ σώματι καὶ ἡ κέρκος.

VI, 25, 3 (Bekker, 1837: 235)¹⁷

Οἱ δ' αἴλουροι καὶ οἱ ἰχνεύμονες τίκτουσιν ὅσαπερ καὶ
οἱ κύνες, καὶ τρέφονται τοῖς αὐτοῖς· ζῶσι δὲ περὶ ἕτη ἕξ.
Καὶ ὁ πανθῆρ δὲ τίκτει τυφλὰ ὥσπερ λύκος, τίκτει δὲ τὰ
πλείστα τέτταρα τὸν ἀριθμὸν.

VIII, 28, 11 (Bekker, 1837: 301)¹⁸

Ἔτι δὲ λέοντες μὲν ἐν τῇ
Εὐρώπῃ μᾶλλον, καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τόπῳ τοῦ
Ἀχελφίου καὶ Νέσσου· παρδάλις δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, ἐν δὲ τῇ
Εὐρώπῃ οὐ γίγνονται.

IX, 1, 5 (Bekker, 1837: 305)¹⁹

Ἄθν-
μότερα δὲ τὰ θήλεια πάντα τῶν ἀρρένων πλὴν ἄρκτου καὶ
παρδάλεως· τούτων δ' ἡ θήλεια δοκεῖ εἶναι ἀνδρειοτέρα.

IX, 5, 3-4 (Bekker, 1837: 315-315)²⁰

¹⁶ Na tradução de Cresswell (1862: 34): “The change in the colour of its [chameleon] skin takes place when it is filled with air. It can acquire either a black colour, like that of the crocodile, or ochreous, like that of the lizard, or spotted with black, like the **panther**; and this change takes place over the whole body, for the eyes also change like the rest of the body, and so does the tail”.

¹⁷ Na tradução de Cresswell (1862: 177): “Cats and ichneumons produce their young in the same manner as dogs, and live upon the same things. They live about six years. The young of the **panther** are born blind. They are never more than four in number”.

¹⁸ Na tradução de Cresswell (1862: 226): “There are more lions in Europe, and especially in the country between the Achelous and the Nessus. In Asia there are **leopards** which are not found in Europe”.

¹⁹ Na tradução de Cresswell (1862: 230): “The females of all animals are less violent in their passions than the males, except the female bear and **pardalis**, for the female of these appear more courageous than the male”.

²⁰ Na tradução de Cresswell (1862: 238): “And dogs, when they are ill, provide themselves with an emetic from a certain kind of grass. The **panther**, when it has eaten the poison called *pardalianches*, seeks for human ordure, for

Καὶ αἱ κύνες δ' ὅταν τι πονῶσιν, ἔμετον ἢ ποι-
οῦνται φαγοῦσαί τινα πόαν. Ἡ δὲ πάρδαλις ὅταν φάγη
τὸ φάρμακον τὸ παρδαλιαγχῆς, ζητεῖ τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
κόπρον· βοηθεῖ γὰρ αὐτῇ. Διαφθείρει δὲ τοῦτο τὸ φάρμα-
κον καὶ λέοντας. Διὸ καὶ οἱ κυνηγοὶ κρεμαννύουσιν ἐν
ἀγγείῳ ἕκ τινος δένδρου τὴν κόπρον, ὅπως μὴ ἀποχωρῇ μα-
κρὰν τὸ θηρίον· αὐτοῦ γὰρ προσαλλομένη ἡ πάρδαλις καὶ
ἐλπίζουσα λήψασθαι τελευτᾷ. Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ κατανε-
νοηκίαν τὴν πάρδαλιν ὅτι τῇ ὁσμῇ αὐτῆς χαίρουσι τὰ θη-
ρία, ἀποκρύπτουσιν ἑαυτὴν θηρεύειν· προσιέναι γὰρ ἐγγύς,
καὶ λαμβάνειν οὕτω καὶ τὰς ἐλάφους.

2.5.7 Titus Maccius Plautus (ca. 254 – 184 dC), em sua comédia *Epidicus*, põe a seguinte sentença na boca desse personagem:

“Qui variè valent
Cáprigenum hominum nón placet mihi néque **pantherinúm** genus” (Goetz, 1878: 8)²¹.

2.5.8 Nicandro de Cólofon (Νίκανδρος ὁ Κολοφώνιος) (fl. século II aC), poeta, médico e gramático grego, em seu *Alexipharmaca* tratou brevemente do *pardalianches* e da *pantera*:

Na edição em grego de Schneider (1856: 277):

Τὴν μὲν τε κλείουσι μυοκτόνον, ἧ γὰρ ἀνιγροὺς
παμπήδην ὕρακας λιχημόνας ἠρήμωσεν,
οἱ δὲ τε πορδαλιαγχῆς, ἐπεὶ θήρεσσι πελώροις
πότμον βουπελάται τε καὶ αἰγινομηῆες ἔθεντο
Ἴδης ἐν νεμέεσσι Φαλακραίῃ ἐνὶ βήσση,
πολλάκι θηλυφόνον καὶ κάμμαρον· ἐν δ' Ἀκοναίοις
δηλήειν ἀκόνιτον ἐνεβλάστησεν ὀρόγκοις.

Na edição latina de Lonicer (1531: 71) consta:

Sunt qui pardalianches nominant, postquam be-
ftis illis monstrosis & bubulci & caprarii interitum
struxere, in iugis Idæ in Phalacræis uallibus.

this relieves it. The poison also will kill lions, the hunters, therefore, suspend ordure in a vessel from the trees, in order that the animal may not wander far from them; for the **panther** jumps at it and attempts to seize it, and dies before it can reach it. They say that the **panther** is aware that its peculiar scent is grateful to other wild animals, and that it preys upon them in concealment, and when deer approach near, it catches hinds”.

²¹ Na tradução de Riley (1852: 422): “those who are well in a varied way, a race of men of the goat kind or of the **panther** kind, don’t please me”.

E na mesma página Lonicer comentou:

Pardalianches, i. pardalies suffocans, & ab effectu & euentu dicit, quod **Pardaliūber.**
pardalies gustato aconito eo suffocentur enecentque: quibus tñ ne intereat,
humanū ihercus adinicationi est: unde non antea uescunt aconito, q̄
præfens oletū perspexerint, quo ueluti antipharmaco utant. Pastores id
intelligentes, oletū ex arbore suspendunt, tam altē, ut pardalies assequi ne
queant. Quare conspecto hois fimo, etsi in alto, tñ confidens sese eo poti-
turū, aconitū edit. Statim deinde ad oletū magno impulsu profilit, sed cū **In Idæ iugis.**
propter altitudinē non attingat, uel moriē, uel uiribus delituit. Idæ mō-
tes seu uertices sunt quatuor: Phalacra, Lecton, Sigeum, Gargaz. Idæ er-
go promontoriū Phalacra est, cuius Lycophron etiā meminit dū inquit:
δὲ φασλακρῶσαι κήρασι. id est. Phalacrææ uel ex monte Phalacra nymphæ. Sed **Telyphonon.**
quor thelyphonon appellat. θύλυ φοερινῆ, φόν & eadem ualer: hinc θιλύ-
φοριν φοερινῆς occidēs: ideo, ut scholia, quod quorūuis foemine i sexus ani-
maliū genitalibus admotū, eodē die scdm Theophrastū, interitū eis adfe-
rat. Cammoron, quasi κακόμερον. ἢ κακὸν μέρω ἀνακίρουσα, malo fato, malo in- **Cammoron.**
teritu perimens. Aconæos montes, seu excelsa loca, ubi ἀκόναι aconæ. i.
cotes nascuntur, uocat, quas alij in Heraclia Pontica, alij Hermionæ, alij in **Aconæi mōtes**
Tanagra nasci ferunt. Diosco. fere eadem aconiti noia recenset lib. 4. c. 75;
qui adijcit illud de aconito memorabile, q̄ radix huius scorpionis admota,
torpore eū resoluat, & ediuerso, admotū ueratrū excitet. Enecare itē aco-
nitū pantheras suos lupos bestiasque omnes insperum carnibus, & illis in
eibo appositu testatur: cuius alterā etiā speciem eo loci describit.

Na edição de Gorrée (1557: 130):

**Pardalianches & huic nomen posuere, quod illo
Pastorum infidijs infecta carne ueneno
Pantheræ pereant celsis in collibus Idæ.**

2.5.9 Marcus Terentius Varro (116 – 27 aC), em sua obra sobre a língua latina, fez três comentários:

V.xx. “Ferarum uocabula item partim peregrina, ut **panthera**, leo: utraque Greca, a quo etiam et rete quoddam **panther** et leaena et mulierculis **Pantheris** et **Leaena**”.

[The names of wild beasts are likewise some of them foreign, such as **panther** panther, **leo** ‘lion’: both Greek, whence also certain nets called panther and lioness, and there are courtesans named Pantheris and Leaena”]. (Kent, 1938a: 94, 95).

VII.i. 39-40. “Luca bos elephans; cur ita sit dicta, duobus modis inuenit scriptum. Nam et in Cornelii Commentario era tab Lybicis Lucas, et in Vergilii ab Lucanis Lucas; ab eo quod nostri, cum maxime quadrupedem quam ipsi haberent uocarent bovem et in Lucanis Pyrrhi bello primum uidissent apud hostis elephantos, id est item quadrupedes cornutas (nam quos dentes multi dicunt sunt cornua), Lucanam bovem quod putabant, Lucam bovem appellasent.

Si ab Lybia dictae essent Lucae, fortasse an **pantherae** quoque et leones non Africae bestiae dicerentur, sed Lucae; neque ursi potius Lucani quam Luci. Quare ego arbitror potius Lucas ab luce, quod longe relucebant propter inauratos regios clupeos, quibus eorum um ornatae erant turres”.

[*Luca bos* is an elephant; why it is thus called, I have found set forth by the authors in two ways. For in the *Commentary* of Cornelius²² was the statement that *Lucas* is from *Libyci* ‘the Libyans’, and in that of Vergilius that *Lucas* was from *Lucani* ‘the Lucanians’: from the fact that our compatriots used to call the largest quadruped that they themselves had, a *bos* ‘cow’; and so, when among the Lucanians, in the war with Pyrrhus, they first saw elephants in the rank of the enemy – that is, horned quadrupeds likewise (for what many call teeth are really horns [sic]), they called the animal a *Luca bos*, because they thought it a *Lucana bos* ‘Lucanian cow’.

²² Cf. Cornelius a Lapide (1848).

If the *Lucae boves* were really named from Libya, quite probably **panthers** also and lions would be called not African beasts, but *Lucae* ‘Lucan’; and bears are no more Lucanian than Lucan, though they are called Lucanian, Therefore I rather think that *Lucas* is from *lux* ‘light’, because the elephants glistened afar on account of the gilded royal shields, with which their towers at that time were adorned]. (Kent, 1938a: 304, 306 e 305, 307).

III. Fragmento 3. “Hoc nomen licet veteres Latinum negent, auctoritate tamen valet. Dicebant enim leonem masculum et feminam... Leam vero Varro ad Ciceronem dicit libro III: ‘Sicut non est **panthera** et lea’.

[Though old writers say that the name *leaena* ‘lioness’ is not good Latin, still it has the force of authority. For they used to say *leo* ‘lion’ both as masculine and as feminine... But *lea* ‘lioness’ Varro has, in the third book of the treatise addressed to Cicero: ‘Just as **panther** ‘panther’ and *lea* ‘lioness’ are not]. (Kent, 1838b: 599, 600).

2.5.10 Marcus Tullius Cicero (107 – 43 aC) foi designado procônsul da Cilícia durante os anos de 51 e 50 aC. Seu amigo Marcus Caelius Rufus (82 – 48 aC) havia sido nomeado *aedile*²³ no ano 50 e pediu a Cícero que lhe enviasse panteras para os espetáculos (*venationes*²⁴) do circo, em cartas datadas de Roma, de fevereiro de 51 aC (704 *ab urbe condita*) e junho de 51 aC (703 *ab urbe condita*):

“Turpe tibi erit, **pantheras** Graecas me non habere”.

[It will be a disgrace to you if I have to go without any Greek* (*because Asia Minor was now Hellenized) **panthers**”. (Williams, 1952: 124 e 125).

“Tu tamen simul ac me designatum audieris, ut tibi curae sit, quod ad **pantheras** attinet, rogo”.

[Anyhow, as soon as you hear that I am consul-designate, I beg you to interest yourself in the matter of the **panthers*** (*Caelius was anxious to get these animals for the *venations* in the games he was giving as *aedile*)”]. (Williams, 1952: 106 e 107).

Cícero respondeu-lhe numa carta datada de Leodiceia a 4 de abril de 50 aC (ano 704 *ab urbe condita*):

“De **pantheris**, per eos, qui venari solent, agitur mandato meo dilligenter; sed mira paucitas est, et eas, quae sunt, valde aiunt queri, quod nihil cuiquam insidiarum in mea provincia, nisi sibi, fiat; itaque constituisse dicuntur in Cariam ex nostra provincia decedere. Sed tamen sedulo fit et in primis a Patisco. Quidquid erit, tibi erit; sed quid esset, plane nesciebamus”.

[About the **panthers**, the business is being carefully attended to according to my orders with the aid of those who hunt them regularly. But it is surprising how few **panthers** there are; and they tell me that those there are bitterly complain that in my province no snares are set for any living creature but themselves; and so they have decided, it is said, to emigrate from this province into Caria. Still my people are busy in the matter, and nobody more so than Patiscus. All the animals caught will be at your service. But how many there are, I have no idea”]. (Williams, 1958: 126, 128 e 129)²⁵.

²³ *Aedile* - um oficial da antiga Roma responsável pelas obras públicas, pelos jogos do Circo, supervisor dos mercados, suprimento de grãos e água.

²⁴ Panvinio (1681: 63, 76, 96, 100; *in* Graeff, 1699: coluna 377) e Boulenger (1598, 1699: colunas 763, 769, 782, 803 e 810) citam pantera e pardalis nos espetáculos do circo romano.

²⁵ Em sua biografia de Cícero, Plutarco registrou (Perrin, 1958: 174, 175):

Καιλίου δὲ τοῦ ῥήτορος δεομένου παρδάλεις αὐτῷ πρὸς τινα θεῶν εἰς Ῥώμην ἐκ Κιλικίας ἀποστεῖλαι, καλλωπιζόμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις γράφει πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐκ εἶναι παρδάλεις ἐν Κιλικίᾳ· πεφευγέναι γὰρ εἰς Καρίαν ἀγανακτούσας ὅτι μόναι πολεμοῦνται, πάντων εἰρήνην ἐχόντων.

Em outra carta (Roma, 1º. De agosto de 51 aC, *703 ab urbe condita*), Caelius insistiu:

“Item de **pantheris**, ut Cibyratas arcessas, curesque, ut mihi vehantur”.

[Also about the **panthers*** (*which Rufus required for his *venationes* as *aedile*), that you should send for some men from Cibyra* (*a town on the borders of Phrygia and Cilicia), and see that the animals are shipped to me”. (Williams, 1952: 116 e 117).

Em longa carta datada de Roma de outubro de 51 aC (*703 ab urbe condita*), Marcus Caelius Rufus mostrava-se aliviado por haver recebido vários animais:

“Me tractat liberaliter Curio²⁶, et mihi suo munere negotium imposuit. Nam si mihi non didisset eas, quas ad ludos ei advectae erant Africanas, potuit supersederi. Nunc, quoniam dare necessae est, velim tibi curae sit, quod a te semper petit, ut aliquid istinebeatiarum habeamus”.

[For myself, Curio treats me generously, and by his bounty has put a burden on my back; for had he not made me a present of the wild beasts which had been shipped to him from Africa for his games, my games might have been altogether dispensed with; as it is, since give them I must, I should be glad if you would take the trouble – I have been perpetually asking you this favour – to let me have something in the way of beasts from where you are”. (Williams, 1952: 142 e 143).

E em outra carta de 2 de setembro de 51 aC, o *aedile* acrescentou, algo irritado:

“Fere litteris omnibus tibi de **pantheris** scripsi. Turpe tibi erit Patiscum Curioni decem **pantheras** misisse, te non multis partibus plures; quas ipsas Curio mihi, et alias Africanas decem donavit, ne putes illum tantum praedia rustica dare scire. Tu, si modo memoria tenueris, et Cibyratas arcessieris, itemque in Pamphylia litteras miseris (nam ibi plures capi aiunt) quod voles efficies. Hoc vehementius laboro nunc, quod seorsum a collega puto mihi omnia paranda. Amabo te, impera tibi hoc. Curare soles libenter, ut efo maiorem partem nihil curare. In hoc negotio nulla tua, nisi loquendi, cura est, hoc est imperandi et mandandi. Nam simul atque erunt captae, qui alant eas et deportent, habes eos, quos ad Sittianam syngrapham misi. Puto etiam, si ullam spem mihi litteris ontenderis, me isto missurum alios”.

[In almost all my letters to you I have mentioned the **panthers**. That Patiscus has sent Curio ten **panthers** and that you should have failed to send ever so many more, will reflect no credit upon you. Curio has made me a present of that same ten, and another ten from Africa; so you must not think that landed estates are the only gifts he knows how to bestow. If you only remember to do so, and send for some hunters from Cibyra, and also write a letter of instructions to Pamphylia (for they tell me that more of them are caught there), you will accomplish all you want. My anxiety on this point is all the greater now, because I expect that I shall have to provide everything myself, quite apart from my colleague. For love’s sake, lay this charge upon yourself. You are usually as fond of taking trouble, as I for the most part am of taking none. In this matter you will have no trouble except to say a few words – that is, to give orders and instructions. For as soon as the animals are caught, you have the men I sent to deal with Sittius’ bond available to feed them and see to their being shipped to Rome. I also think, that, if you hold out any hopes to me in your letter, I shall send some more men over to you”. (Williams, 1952: 144, 146 e 145, 147).

2.5.11 O historiador grego Diodorus Siculus ou Diodoro da Sicília (Διόδωρος ὁ Σικελός) ([ca.](#) 90 aC) [Figura 2.19], em sua grandiosa obra *ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗΣ ἹΣΤΟΡΙΚΗΣ* (em latim *Bibliotheca Historica*) mencionou a *párdalis* em várias passagens, por exemplo

“When Caelius the orator asked Cicero to send him **panthers** from Cilicia for a certain spectacle at Rome, Cicero, pluming himself upon his exploits, wrote to him that there were no **panthers** in Cilicia; for they had fled to Caria in indignation because they alone were warred upon, while everything else enjoyed peace”.

²⁶ *Gaius Scribonius Curio* (90 aC — 49 aC) foi um orador e político romano, filho do cônsul Gaius Escribonius Curio. Foi amigo de Pompeu, Júlio César, Marco Antônio e Cícero.

- II.8.13-19 (Bekker, 1853: 143)²⁷:

τὸ δ' ὅλον ἐπεποιήτο κυνήγιον,
παντοίων θηρίων ὑπάρχον πλήρες, ὧν ἦσαν τὰ μεγέθη
πλείον ἢ πηγῶν τετάρων. κατεσκευάστο δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς
καὶ ἡ Σεμίραμις ἀφ' ἵππου πάρδαλιν ἀκοντίζουσα, καὶ
πλησίον αὐτῆς ὁ ἀνὴρ Νίνος παίων ἐκ χειρὸς λέοντα
λόγχῃ.



Figura 2.19 Diodorus Siculus.

- II.50.2 (Oldfather, 1967: 50, 51):

θηρίων τε
πλήθος ἀλκίμων ἢ προσορίζουσα τῇ Συρίᾳ τρέφει·
καὶ γὰρ λέοντας καὶ παρδάλεις ἐν αὐτῇ πολλῶ
πλείονας καὶ μείζους καὶ ταῖς ἀλκαῖς διαφόρους
πεφυκέναι ἤπερ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ συμβέβηκε· πρὸς
δὲ τούτοις οἱ καλούμενοι Βαβυλώνιοι τίγρεις.

[That part of the country [Arabia] which borders upon Syria breeds a multitude of fierce wild beasts; for the lions and **leopards** there are far more numerous and larger and superior in ferocity as compared with those of Libya, and in addition to these there are the Babylonian tigers].

- III.25.1 (Oldfather, 1967: 152, 153)

²⁷ Na tradução de Booth (1814: 107): “Especially was represented a general hunting of all sorts of wild beasts, each four cubits high and upwards; amongst these there was to be seen Semiramis on horseback, striking a **leopard** through with a dart; and next to her, her husband Ninus in close fight with a lion, piercing him with his lance”.

Τὴν δὲ ἐξῆς χώραν τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν ἐπέ-
 χουσιν οἱ καλούμενοι Κυνηγοί, σύμμετροι μὲν κατὰ
 τὸ πλῆθος, βίον δ' οἰκεῖον ἔχοντες τῇ προσηγορίᾳ.
 θηριώδους γὰρ οὐσῆς τῆς χώρας καὶ παντελῶς
 λυπρᾶς, ἔτι δὲ ὑδάτων ῥύσεις ναματιαίων ἐχούσης
 ὀλίγας, καθεύδουσι μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν δένδρων διὰ τὸν
 ἀπὸ τῶν θηρίων φόβον, ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἑωθινήν πρὸς
 τὰς συρρύσεις τῶν ὑδάτων μεθ' ὄπλων φοιτῶντες
 ἑαυτοὺς ἀποκρύβουσι εἰς τὴν ὕλην καὶ σκοπεύου-
 σιν ἐπὶ τῶν δένδρων. κατὰ δὲ τὸν τοῦ καύματος
 καιρὸν, ἐρχομένων βοῶν τε ἀγρίων καὶ παρδάλεων
 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θηρίων πλῆθους πρὸς τὸ ποτόν,
 ταῦτα μὲν διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ τε καύματος καὶ
 δίψους λάβρως προσφέρεται τὸ ὑγρόν, μέχρι ἂν
 ἐμπλησθῆ, οἱ δ' Αἰθιοπεῖς, γενομένων αὐτῶν
 βαρέων καὶ δυσκινήτων, καταπηδῶντες ἀπὸ τῶν
 δένδρων καὶ χρώμενοι ξύλοις πεφυρακτωμένοις
 καὶ λίθοις, ἔτι δὲ τοξεύμασι, ῥαδίως καταπονοῦσι.

[The next part of the country of the Ethiopians is occupied by the Cynegi [Hunters], as they are called, who are moderate in number and lead a life in keeping with their name. For since their country is infested by wild beasts and is utterly worthless, and has few streams of spring water, they sleep in the trees from fear of the wild beasts, but early in the morning, repairing with their weapons to the pools of water, they secrete themselves in the woods and keep watch from their positions in the trees. And at the time when the heat becomes intense, wild oxen and **leopards** and a multitude of every other kind of beast come to drink, and because of the excessive heat and their great thirst they greedily quaff the water until they are gorged, whereupon the Ethiopians, the animals having become sluggish and scarcely able to move, leap down from the trees, and by the use of clubs hardened in the fire and of stones and arrows easily kill them].

- III.43.6-7 (Oldfather, 1967: 214, 215):

διὰ δὲ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὴν
 ἀρετὴν τῆς νομῆς οὐ μόνον κτηνῶν παντοδαπῶν
 ἀμύθητον ἐκτρέφει πλῆθος, ἀλλὰ καὶ καμήλους
 ἀγρίας, ἔτι δ' ἐλάφους καὶ δορκάδας. πρὸς δὲ τὸ
 πλῆθος τῶν ἐντρεφομένων ζώων φοιτῶσιν ἐκ τῆς
 ἐρήμου λεόντων καὶ λύκων καὶ παρδάλεων ἀγέλαι,
 πρὸς ἃς οἱ κτηνοτροφοῦντες ἀναγκάζονται καὶ
 μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ θηριομαχεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν
 θρεμμάτων· οὕτω τὸ τῆς χώρας εὐτύχημα τοῖς
 κατοικοῦσιν ἀτυχίας αἷτιον γίνεται διὰ τὸ τὴν
 φύσιν ὡς ἐπίπαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μετὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν
 διδόναι τὰ βλάπτοντα.

[And because of the abundance and excellent quality of the pasturage, not only does it support every manner of flocks and herds in multitude beyond telling, but also wild camels, deer, and gazelles. And against the multitude of animals which are nourished in that place there gathering from the desert bands of lions and wolves and **leopards**, against which the herdsmen must perforce battle every day and night to protect their charges; and in this way the land's good fortune becomes a cause of misfortune for its inhabitants, seeing that it is generally Nature's way to dispense to men along with good things what is hurtful as well].

- 3.58.1-2 (Oldfather, 1967: 268, 270 e 269, 271):

Παραδέδοται δὲ τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης καὶ κατὰ
 τὴν Φρυγίαν γένεσις. οἱ γὰρ ἐγχώριοι μυθολο-
 γοῦσι τὸ παλαιὸν γενέσθαι βασιλέα Φρυγίας καὶ

Λυδίας Μηίονα· γήμαντα δὲ Δινδύμημ γεννηῆσαι μὲν παιδίον θῆλυ, τρέφειν δ' αὐτὸ μὴ βουλόμενον εἰς ὄρος ἐκθεῖναι τὸ προσαγορευόμενον Κύβελον. ἐνταῦθα τῷ παιδίῳ κατὰ τινα θείαν πρόνοιαν τὰς τε παρδάλεις καὶ τινα τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀλκῆ διαφερόντων θηρίων παρέχεσθαι τὴν θηλήν καὶ διατρέφειν, γυναῖα δὲ τινα περὶ τὸν τόπον ποιμαίνοντα κατιδεῖν τὸ γινόμενον, καὶ θαυμάσαντα τὴν περιπέτειαν ἀνελέσθαι τὸ βρέφος, καὶ προσαγορευῆσαι Κυβέλην ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου.

[However, an account is handed down also that this goddess was born in Phrygia. For the natives of that country have the following myth: In ancient times Meion became king of Phrygia and Lydia; and marrying Dindymê he begat an infant daughter, but unwilling to rear her he exposed her on the mountain which was called Cybelus. There, in accordance with some divine providence, both the **leopards** and some of the other especially ferocious wild beasts offered their nipples to the child and so gave it nourishment, and some women who were tending the flocks in that place witnessed the happening, and being astonished at the strange event took up the babe and called her Cybelê after the name of the place].

2.5.12 Na *Geografia* de Strabo (Στράβων) (64/63 aC – ca. 24 dC) existem as seguintes passagens:

- XV.1.69:

Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν συγγραφέων, ὅτι σέβονται μὲν τὸν ὄμβριον Δία Ἴνδοι καὶ τὸν Γάγγην ποταμὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐγχωρίους δαίμονας. ὅταν δὲ βασιλεὺς λούῃ τὴν τρίχα, μεγάλην ἑορτὴν ἄγουσι καὶ μεγάλα δῶρα πέμπουσι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πλοῦτον ἕκαστος ἐπιδεικνύμενος κατὰ ἄμιλλαν. τῶν τε μυρμηκῶν τινὰς καὶ πτερωτοὺς λέγουσι τῶν χρυσορῦχων· ψήγματά τε χρυσοῦ καταφέρειν τοὺς ποταμούς, καθάπερ τοὺς Ἰβηρικούς· ἐν δὲ ταῖς κατὰ τὰς ἑορτὰς πομπαῖς πολλοὶ μὲν ἐλέφαντες πέμπονται χρυσῷ κεκοσμημένοι καὶ ἀργύρῳ, πολλὰ δὲ τέθριππα καὶ βοικὰ ζεύγη· εἴθ' ἢ στρατιὰ κεκοσμημένη· καὶ χρυσώματα δὲ τῶν μεγάλων λεβήτων καὶ κρατήρων ὀργυαίων· καὶ τοῦ Ἰνδικοῦ χαλκοῦ τράπεζαι τε καὶ θρόνοι καὶ ἐκπώματα καὶ λουτήρες, λιθοκόλλητα τὰ πλεῖστα σμαράγδοις καὶ βηρύλλοις καὶ ἄνθραξιν Ἰνδικοῖς· καὶ ἐσθῆς δὲ ποικίλη χρυσοπάστος, καὶ βόνασοι καὶ παρδάλεις καὶ λέοντες τιθασοὶ καὶ τῶν ποικίλων ὀρνέων καὶ εὐφθόγων πλήθος.

[The following statements are also made by the historians: that the Indians worship Zeus and the Ganges River and the local deities. And when the king washes his hair, they celebrate a great festival and bring big presents. Each man making rivalry in display of his own wealth. And they say that some of the ants that mine gold have wings; and that gold-dust is brought down by the rivers, as by the rivers in Iberia. And in the procession at the time of festivals many elephants are paraded, all adorned with gold and silver, as also many four-horse chariots and ox-teams; and then follows the army, all in military uniform; and then golden vessels consisting of large basins and bowls a fathom in breadth; and tables, high chairs, drinking-cups, and bath-tubs, all of which are made of Indian copper and most of them are set with precious stones – emeralds, beryls, and Indian anthracites; and also variegated garments spangled with gold, and tame bisons* (*aurochs), **leopards**, and lions, and numbers of variegated and sweet-voices birds"]. (Jones, 1930: 120, 122 e 121, 123).

- XVI.4.15:

Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ στῆλαι καὶ βωμοὶ Πυθολάου καὶ Λίχα καὶ Πυθαγγέλου καὶ Λέοντος καὶ Χαριμόρτου κατὰ τὴν γνῶριμον παραλίαν τὴν ἀπὸ Δειρῆς μέχρι Νότου κέρως, τὸ δὲ διάστημα οὐ γνῶριμον. πληθύνει δ' ἐλέφασιν ἢ χώρα καὶ λέουσι τοῖς καλουμένοις μύρμηξιν· ἀπεστραμμένα δ' ἔχουσι τὰ αἰδοῖα, καὶ χρυσοειδεῖς τὴν χροάν, ψιλότεροι δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀραβίαν· φέρει δὲ καὶ παρδάλεις ἀλκίμους καὶ ῥινοκέρωτας.

[One comes also to the pillars and altars of Pytholäus and Lichas and Pythangelus and Leon and Charimortus along the known coast, extending from Deirê as far as Notu-ceras, but the distance is unknown. The country abounds in elephants, and also in lions called ants, which have their genital organs reversed, and are golden in colour, but less hairy than those in Arabia. It also produces fierce **leopards** and the rhinoceros”]. (Jones, 1930: 334, 335).

- XVI.4.18:

ἐξῆς δ' ἐστὶ πεδίον εὐδενδρόν τε καὶ εὐνδρον καὶ βοσκημάτων παντοίων μεστόν, ἄλλων τε καὶ ἡμιόνων· καὶ καμήλων ἀγρίων καὶ ἐλάφων καὶ δορκάδων πλήθος ἐν αὐτῷ, λέοντες τε καὶ παρδάλεις καὶ λύκοι συχνοί.

[One comes next to a plain which is well supplied with trees and water and is full of all kinds of domestic animals – mules among others; and it has a multitude of wild camels, deer and gazelles, as also numerous lions, **leopards**, and wolves* (*jackals, perhaps)]. (Jones, 1930: 342, 343).

- XVII.2.2:

θήρα δὲ καὶ ἐλεφάντων ἐστὶ καὶ λεόντων καὶ παρδάλεων· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ δράκοντες οἱ ἐλεφαντομάχοι καὶ ἄλλα θηρία πλείω· καταφεύγει γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμπυρωτέρων καὶ αὐχμηροτέρων ἐπὶ τὰ ὑδρῆλα καὶ ἐλώδη.

[And they have, not only elephants to hunt, but also lions and **leopards**. They also have serpents, the elephant-fighters, as also many other animals; for the animals flee for refuge from the hotter and more arid regions to those that are watery and marshy]. (Jones, 1967: 144, 145);

- XVII.3.4:

καὶ δρακόντων δὲ καὶ ἐλεφάντων καὶ δορκάδων καὶ βουβάλων καὶ τῶν παραπλησίων ζώων, λεόντων τε καὶ παρδάλεων, παντοδαπὴ τροφὸς ἢ χώρα ἐστὶ. φέρει δὲ καὶ γαλαῶν αἰλουροῖς ἴσας καὶ ὁμοίας, πλὴν ὅτι τὰ ῥύγχη προπέπτωκε μᾶλλον, πιθήκων τε πύμπολυ πλήθος, περὶ ὧν καὶ Ποσειδώνιος εἴρηκεν, ὅτι πλέων ἐκ Γαδείρων εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν προσενεχθεῖη τῇ Λιβυκῇ παραλίᾳ καὶ ἴδοι τῶν θηρίων μεστόν τινα τούτων ἀλιτενῆ δρυμόν, τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς δένδροισι, τῶν δ' ἐπὶ γῆς, ἐχόντων ἐνίων καὶ σκύμνους καὶ ἐπεχόντων μαστόν· γελᾶν οὖν ὀρῶν βαρυμίστους, ἐνίους δὲ φαλακρούς, τοὺς δὲ κηλήτας καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα ἐπιφαίνοντας σίγη.

[And for serpents also, and elephants and gazelles and *bubali** (*apparently the antelope *bubalis*) and similar animals, as also for lions and **leopards**, the country is a nurse in every way. It also produces ferrets equal in size to cats, and like them, except that their noses project further; and also a very great number of apes, concerning which Poseidonius states that, when he was sailing from Gadeira to Italy, he was carried close to the Libyan coast and saw on a low-lying shore a forest full of these animals, some in the trees and others on the ground, and some having young and suckling them; that he fell to laughing, however, when he saw some with heavy udders, some with bald heads, and others ruptured or displaying other disabilities of that kind]. (Jones, 1967: 162,163).

- XVII.3.6:

Οὕτω δ' εὐδαίμονα χώραν οἰκοῦντες τὴν πλείστην οἱ Μαυρούσιοι διατελοῦσιν, ὅμως καὶ μέχρι δεῦρο τοῦ χρόνου νομαδικῶς ζῶντες οἱ πολλοί. καλλωπίζονται δ' ὅμως κόμης ἐμπλοκῇ καὶ πώγωνι καὶ χρυσοφορία σμήξει τε ὀδόντων καὶ ὀνυχισμῶ· σπάνιον τε ἂν ἴδοις ἀπτομένους ἀλλήλων ἐν τοῖς περιπάτοις τοῦ παραμένειν αὐτοῖς ἄθικτον τὸν κόσμον τῶν τριχῶν. μάχονται δ' ἵπποταὶ τὸ πλεον ἀπὸ ἄκοντος, σχοινοχαλίνοις χρώμενοι τοῖς ἵπποις καὶ γυμνοῖς, ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ μαχαίρας· οἱ δὲ πεζοὶ τὰς τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἑσπέραις ὡς ἄσπίδας προβάλλονται· τὰς δὲ τῶν λεόντων καὶ παρδάλεων καὶ ἄρκτων ἀμπέχονται καὶ ἐγκοιμῶνται.

[Although the most of the country inhabited by the Maurusians is so fertile, yet even to this time most of the people persist in living a nomadic life. But nevertheless they beautify their appearance by braiding their hair, growing beards, wearing golden ornaments, and also by cleaning their teeth and pairing their nails. And only rarely can you see them touch one another in walking, for fear that the adornment of their hair may not remain intact. Their horsemen fight mostly with a javelin, using bridles made of rush, and riding bareback; but they also carry daggers. The foot-soldiers hold before them as shields the skins of elephants, and clothe themselves with the skins of lions, **leopards**, and bears, and sleep in them]. (Jones, 1967: 166, 167).

2.5.13 Titus Livius Patavinus (64 ou 59 aC – 17 dC), escreveu uma monumental história de Roma (*Historiarum ab urbe condita*), desde as mais antigas lendas da fundação de Roma em 735 aC até o reino de Augusto. No Livro XXXIX, cap. 22, mencionou brevemente leões e panteras oferecidos em espetáculo por Marcus Fulvius Noblior, em 186 aC:

“Per eos dies quibus haec ex Hispania nunciata sunt, ludu Taurilia per biduum facta religionis causa. per dies decem apparatus deinde ludos M. Fulvius, quos voverat Aetolico bello, fecit. Multi artifices ex Graecia venerant honoris ejus causa. Athletarum quoque certamen tum primo Romanis spectaculo fuit: & venatio data leonum & **pantherarum**” (Titus Livius, 1740: 587).²⁸

2.5.14 Ovídio (Publius Ovidius Naso) (43 aC – 17/18 dC), em suas *Metamorphoses*, mencionou:

- Livro III:

“ipse ramiferis frontem circumdatus uvis pampineis agitat velatam frondibus hastam; quem circa tigres simulacraque inania **lynxum** picturumque iacent fera corpora **pantherarum**”,

[The god himself, with his brow garlanded with clustering berries, waves a wand wreathed with ivy-leaves. Around him lie tigers, the forms (though empty all) of lynxes and of fierce spotted **panthers**”. (Miller (F. J.), 1951: 170, 171).

²⁸ Na tradução de Freinsheim (1761: 28-29): “About the time that these advices arrived from Spain, the Taurilian games* (*According to Festus, a contagious distemper spread itself in Rome, among women with child, in the reign of Tarquin the Proud. It was ascribed to their eating the flesh of sacrificed bulls, the overplus of which the sacrificers sold; and then the Taurian or Taurilian games are instituted, in order to appease the anger of the infernal gods) were celebrated for two days, because the people’s superstitious fears were alarmed. At the same time M. Fulvius celebrated during ten days the games he had vowed in the Aetolian war. To exhibit them with greater splendour, he had sent for a great number of curious actors from Greece. This was the first time that combats of wrestlers were seen in Rome. Lions and **panthers** were also then baited”.

2.5.15 Gaius Julius Phaedrus (Φαῖδρος) (ca. 15 aC – ca. 50 dC), fabulista romano, nasceu provavelmente como um escravo trácio em Pydna, na Macedônia romana, e viveu sob os reinos de Augusto, Tibério, Calígula e Cláudio. Foi o primeiro autor a escrever em latim livros inteiros de fábulas, compondo em metro jâmbico a prosa grega dos contos de Esopo. Em Anôn. (1785: 78. 79) há sua fábula *Panthera, et Pastores*, com tradução italiana:

“Solet a despectis per referri gratia,
Panthera imprudens olim in foveam decidit;
 Videre agrestes: alii fustes congerunt,
 Alii onerant saxis; quidam contra miseriti,
 Periture quippe, quamvis nemo laederet,
 Misère panem, ut sustineret spítium.
 Nox insecuta est; abeunt securi domum,
 Quase inventuri mortuam postridie.
 At illa vires ut refecit languidas,
 Veloci saltu fovea se se liberat,
 Et in cubile concuto properat gradu.
 Paucis diebus interpositis. Provolat,
 Pecus trucidat, ipsos Pastores necat,
 Et cuncta vastans, saevit irato impetu.
 Tum sibi timentes, qui ferae perpercerant,
 Damnum haud recusant, tantum pro vita rogant,
 At illa: Memini qui me saxo petierint,
 Qui panem dederint; vos timere abistite,
 Illis revertor hostis, qui me laeserant”.

“Sogliono gli offesi il contracambio rendere./ Inavvedutamente una **Pantera**/ Sdruciolò nella fossa: de’ Villani./ Chi pietre contra, e chi legni le avventa./ Altri però di lei mossi a pietade./ (Poichè, s’alcun non le portasse offesa./ Pur la trarrebbe sua sventura a morte)/ Le gittan pane, onde alcun tempo viva./ Notte si fa: ciascun, che si lusinga/ Di morta ritrovarla il dì vegnente./ Ogni Timor sbandito, a casa riede./ Ma la **Pantera** poi ch’ebbe col cibo/ Ristorate le forze, un lieve salto/ Dalla fossa spiccando, al suo covile/ Veloce torna. Indi a non molti giorni/ Repente uscendo Uomini, e gregge assale;/ E ruine all’intorno, e morti arrega./ Allor quei, ch’alla fiera dier perdono./ La vita in don le chieggiono; ed ogni altro/ Danno a patir son pronti. E ben sovviemmi,/ E chi fassi avventommi, ella risponde./ E chi pan mi gettò. Voi non temete:/ Di quei, che m’oltraggiar, nemica io riedo”.

2.5.16 Plínio, o Velho (Gaius Plinius Secundus) (23 – 79), em sua *História Natural*, discorreu amplamente sobre o leopardo/pantera:

- (i) VII.i:

“ne pavones ac tigrium **pantherarumque** maculas et tot animalium picturas commemorem, parvum dictu sed immensum aestimatione, tot gentium sermones, tot linguae, tanta loquendi varietas ut externus alieno paene non sit hominis vice!”.

[Not to mention peacocks, or the spotted skins of tigers and **panthers** and the colouring of so many animals, a small matter to tell or but one of measureless extent if pondered on is the number of national languages and dialects and varieties of speech, so numerous that a foreigner scarcely counts as a human being for someone of another race”]. (Rackham. 1961: 510, 511).

- (ii) VIII.xvii:

“Mirum **pardos**²⁹, **pantheras**, leones e similia condito in corporis vaginas unguium mucrone, ne refringantir hebetenturve, ingredi, aversisque falculis currere nec nisi in adpetendo protendere.

²⁹ Marcus Annaeus Lucanus (39 – 65) teria sido o primeiro a citar a palavra **pardus** (fide Toynbee, 1973: 82). Em suas *Pharsaliae* (VI, 189-183) (Weise, 1835: 192) lê-se:

Leoni praecipua generositas tum cum colla armosque vestiunt iubae; id enim aetate contingit e leones conceptis, quas vero **pardi** generavere semper insigni hoc carent; simili modo feminae, magna his libido coitus et ob hoc marbus ira; Africa haec maxime spectat inopia aquarum ad paucos amnes congregantibus se feris. ideo multiformes ibi animaliuspartus varie feminis cuiusque generis mares aut vi aut voluotate miscente. unde etiam vulgare Graeciae dictum semper aliquid novi Africam adferre. Odore **pardi** coitum sentit in adultera Leo totaque vi consurgit in poenam. Idcirco ea culpa flumine abluitur, aut longius comitatur”.

[It is remarkable that **leopards, panthers**, lions and similar animals walk with the point of their claws sheathed inside the body so that they may not get broken or blunted, and run with their talons turned back and do not extend them except when attempting to catch something.

The lion is specially high-spirited at the time when its neck and shoulders are clothed with a mane – for this occurs at maturity in the case of those sired by a lion, though those begotten by **leopards** always lack this characteristic; and the femakes likewise. Sexual passion is strong in this species, with its consequence of quarrelsomeness in the males; this is most observed in Africa, where the shortage of water makes the animals flock to the few rivers. There are consequently many varieties of hybrids in that country, either violence or lust mating the males with the females of each species indiscriminately. This is indeed the origin of the common saying of Greece that Africa is always producing some novelty. A lion detects intercourse with a **leopard** in the case of an adulterous mate by scent, and concentrates his entire strength on her chastisement; consequently this guilty stain is washed away in a stream, or else she keeps her distance when accompanying him]. (Rackham, 1967: 32, 33).

- (iii) VIII.xxi:

“Aequae memorandum et de **panthera** tradit Demetris physicus, iacentem in media via hominis desiderio repente apparuisse patri cuiusdam Philini adsectatoris sapientiae. Illum pavorem coepisse regredi, feram vero circumvolitari non dubie blandientem seseque conflictantem maerore qui etiam in **panthera** intellegi possit: feta erat catulis procul in foveam delapsis. Primum ergo miserationis fuit non expavescerem proximum et curam intendere; secutusque qua trahebat restem unguium Levi iniectu, ut causam dloris intellexit simulque salutis suae mercedem, exemit catulos, ea cum prosequente usque extra solitudinesdeductus laetaatque gestiente, ut facie appareret gratiam referre et bihik in vicem inoutare, quod etiam in homine rarum est”.

[The natural philosopher Demetrius also records an equally remarkable story about a **panther**, which out of desire for human aid lay in the middle of a road, where the father of a certain student of philosophy named Philinus suddenly came in sight of it. The man, so the story goes, began to retreat, but the animal rolled over on its back, obviously trying to cajole him, and tormented by sorrow that was intelligible even in a **panther**: she had a litter of cubs that had fallen into a pit some distance away. The first result of his compassion therefore was not to be frightened, and the next to give her his attention; and he followed where she drew him by lightly touching his clothes with her claws, and when he understood the cause of her grief and at the same time the recompense due for his own security, he got the cubs out of the pit; and the **panther** with her young escorted him right to the edge of the desert, guiding him with gestures of delight that made it quite clear that she was expressing gratitude and not reckoning on any recompense, which is rare even in a human being” (Rackham, 1967: 44, 46 e 45, 47).

- (iv) VIII.xxiii:

“**Panthera** et tigris macularum varietate prope solae bestiarum spectantur, ceteris unus ac suus cuique generi color est, leonum tantum in Syria niger. **pantheris** in candido breves macularum oculi. ferunt odore earum mire sollicitari quadripedis cunctas, sed capitis torvitate terreri; quamobrem occultato eo reliqua dulcedine invitatas corripunt. sunt qui tradant in armo iis similem lunae esse maculam crescentem in ordem seque cavanten pari modo nunc **varias**, et **pardos** qui mares sunt, appellant in eo omni genere, creberrimo in Africa Syriaque. quidam ab his **pantheras** candore solo discernunt, nec adhuc aliam differentiam inveni”.

[The **panther** and the tiger almost alone of the beasts are distinguished by a variety of markings, whereas the rest have a single colour, each kind having its own – black in the case of lions in Syria only. **Panthers** have small spots like eyes on a light ground. It is said that all four-footed animals are wonderfully attracted by their smell, but frightened by the savage appearance of their head; for which reason they catch them by hiding their head and enticing them to approach by their other attractions. Some authorities report that they have a mark on the shoulder resembling a moon, expanding into a circle and hollowed out in a similar manner. As it is, people use the

Ut primum, cumulo crescente, cadavera murum 180
Admovere solo: non signior extulit illum
Saltus, et in medias iecit super arma catervas,
Quam per summa rapit celerem venabula pardum.

name ‘spotted ladies’, and for the males ‘pards’, in the whole of this genus, which occurs most frequently in Africa and Syria. Some persons distinguish **panthers** from these by their light colour only, nor have I hitherto discovered any other difference]. (Rackham, 1967: 48, 49).

- (v) VIII.xxiv:

“Senatus consultum fuit vetus ne liceret Africanas in Italiam advehere. Contra hoc tulit ad populum C. Aufidius tribunus plebis, permisitque circensium gratia importare. Primus autem Scaurus in aedilitate sua varias CL universas misit, dein Pompeius Magnus CCCX, divus Augustus CCCXX”.

[There was an old Resolution of the State prohibiting the importation of African elephants into Italy. Gnaeus Aufidius [Gnaeus Aufidius Orestes] when Tribune of the Plebs [71 aC] carried in the Assembly of the People a resolution repealing this and allowing them to be imported for shows in the Circus. But Scaurus [Marcus Aemilius Scaurus, ca. 163 – 89 aC, tribuno em 115 aC] in his aedileship first sent in procession 150 female **leopards** in one flock, then Pompey the Great [Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus, 106 – 48 aC] 140, and the late lamented Augustus [63 – 14 aC] 420]. (Rackham, 1967: 48, 49).



Figura 2.20 Panteras envenenadas por acônito tentando alcançar cestos com excremento humano (Straet, Galle & Kiel, 1634).

- (vi) VIII.xli:

“**pantheras** perfricata carne aconito [venenum id est] barbari venantur; occupat ilico fauces earum angor (quare pardalianches id venenum appellatur quidam), at fera contra hoc excrementis hominis sibi medetur, et alias tam avida eorum ut a pastoribus ex industria in aliquo vase suspensa altius quam ut queat saltu attingere iaculando se appetendoque deficiat et postremo expiret, alioqui vivacitatis adeo lentae ut eiectis interaneis diu pugnat”.

[Barbarian hunters catch **leopards** by means of meat rubbed with wolf’s-bane; their throats are at once attacked by violent pain (in consequence of which some people have given this poison a Greek name meaning choke-leopard), but to cure this the creature doses itself with human excrement, and in general it is so greedy for this that shepherds have a plan of hanging up some of it in a vessel too high for the leopard to be able to reach it by jumping up, and the animal keeps springing up and trying to get it till it is exhausted and finally dies, although otherwise its vitality is so persistent that it will go on fighting for a long time after its entrails have been torn out”. (Rackham, 1967: 72, 73). [Figura 2.20].

- (vii) X.lxxxiii:

“sed superior omnia perfectos edunt partus, haec inchoatos, in quo sunt genere leaenae, ursae; et vulpes informe etiam magis quam supradicta parit, rarumque est videre parientem. Postea lambendo calefaciunt fetus omnia ea et figurant. pariunt plurimum quaternos. Caecos autem gignunt canes, lupi, **pantherae**, thoes”.

[But whereas all those above bear their offspring fully formed, these produce them unfinished – in this class being lionesses and bears; and a fox bears its young in an even more unfinished state than the species above-mentioned, and it is rare to see one in the act of giving birth. Afterwards all these species warm their offspring and shape them by licking them. Their litters number four at the most. Dogs, wolves, **panthers** and jackals bear their young blind” (Rackham, 1967: 404, 405)

- (viii) X.xciv, xcv:

“Insidunt in eadem Africa pardii condensas arbores occultatique earum ramus in practereuntia deiliunt, atque e volucrum sede grassantur. Feles quidem quo silentio, quam levibus vestigiis obrepunt avibus! Quam occulte speculatae in musculus exiliunt! Excrementa sua effossa obruunt terra intellegentes odorem illum indicem sui esse. ergo et alios quodam sensus esse quam supra dictos haud difficulter apparet”.

[In Africa also **leopards** crouch in the thick foliage of the trees and hidden by their boughs leap down on to animals passing by, and stalk their prey from the perches of birds. Then how silently and with what a light tread do cats creep up to birds! how stealthily they watch their chance to leap out on tiny mice! They scrape up the earth to bury their droppings, realizing that the smell of these gives them way. Consequently it is easily manifest that there are also certain senses other those mentioned above”. (Rackham, 1967: 420, 422 e 421, 423).

- (ix) XI.lxv:

“leonibus, **pardis** omnibusque generis eius, etiam felibus, imbricatae asperitatis ac limae similis attenuansque lambendo cutem hominis, quae causa etiam mansuefacta, ubi ad vicinum sanguinem pervenit saliva, invitat ad rabiem”.

[With lions, **leopards**, and all the species of that genus, even cats, the tongue is rough and corrugated like a file, and can scrape away the human skin by licking, which provokes even those that have been tamed to madness when their saliva gets through to the blood”. (Rackham, 1967: 538, 540 e 539, 541).

- (x) XI.lxx:

“Bruta existimantur animalium quibus durum riget, audácia quibus parvum est, pavida quibus prae grande; maximum autem est portione muribus, lepori, asino, cervo, **pantherae**, mustelis, hyaenis et omnibus aut timidis aut propter metum maleficis”.

[The view is held that dull creatures are those whose heart is stiff and hard, bold ones those whose heart is small, and cowardly ones those in which it is specially large; but it is largest in proportion to their size in mice, the hare, the ass, the stag, the **leopard**, weasels, hyenas, and all the species that are either timid or rendered dangerous by fear”. (Rackham, 1967: 546, 547).

- (xi) XI.xcv:

“alia ventre medio quaternas, ut **pantherae**, alias binas, ut leaenae”;

[Some species have four dugs in the middle of the belly, for instance, **leopards**, others two, for instance, lionesses”. [Rackham, 1967: 578, 579].

- (xii) XI.c:

“leones, lupi, canes, **panthera** in posterioribus quoque quinos ungues habentem uno iuxta cruris articulum dependente; reliqua, quae sunt minora, et digitos quinos”.

[Lions, wolves, dogs and the **leopard** have five claws on the hind feet as well, with the one next the joint of the leg hanging down; the other species, which are smaller, have five toes also”. [Rackham, 1967: 586, 587).

- (xiii) XI.cxi:

“boum caudis longissimus caulis atque in ima parte hirtus; idem asinis longior quam equis, sed saetosus vterinis: leoni in prima parte ut bubus et soricibus, **pantheris** non item; vulpibus et lupis villosus ut ovibus, quibus procerior. Sues intorquent, canum degeneres sub alvom reflectunt”.

[Oxen’s tails have a very long stem, with a tuft at the end, and in asses it is longer than in horses, but it is bristly in beasts of burden. A lion’s tail is shaggy at the end, as with oxen and shrew-mice, but not so with **leopards**; foxes and wolves have a hairy tail, as have sheep, with which it is longer. Pigs curl the tail, dogs of low breed keep it between their legs”. (Rackham, 1967: 598, 599).

2.5.17 Marcus Valerius Martialis (38/41 – 102/104) [Figura 2.21], poeta romano da Hispania, foi autor dos *Epigrammata*, em doze livros, escritos durante os reinos dos imperadores Domiciano, Nerva e Trajano. No Livro I, Epigrama CIV (cf. Ker, 1919: 94, 95) lê-se:

“Picto quod iuga delicata collo
pardus sustinet improbaeque tigres
indulgent patientiam flagello.
Mordent aurea quod lupata cervi,
quod frenis Libyci domantur ursi
et, quantum Calydon tulisse fertur,
paret purpureis aper capistris,
turpes esseda quid trahunt visontes
et molles dare iussa quod cohreas
nigto belua non negat magistro:
quis spectacular non putet deorum?
Haec transit tamen, ut minora, quisquis
venatus humiles videt leonum,
quos velox leporeum timor fatigat.
Dimittunt, repetunt, amantque captos,
et securior est in ore praeda,
laxos cui dare perviosque rictus
gaudent et tímidos tenere dentes,
mollem frangere dum pudet rapinam,
stratis cum modo venerint iuvcncis.
Haec clementia non paratur arte,
sed norunt cui serviant leones”.

[The **leopard** carries a spangled yoke on its spotted neck, and savage tigers give obedience to the whip; stags champ jagged golden bits; Libyan bears are cowed by the rein; a boar, as huge as the Calydonian of the legend, yields to a purple halter; ugly bisons draw two-wheeled Gallic cars, and the elephant, bid lightly to dance, does not say nay to its black master. Who would not think here were sights fit for the gods? Yet he passes these by as lesser marvels, who sees lions hunting humble quarry and wearied by the timorous speed of the hares. They let them go, they retrieve them and fondle their catch, and the prey is safer in their mouths. To receive it the lions delight to offer their jaws loose and gaping, and to keep their teeth careful not to wound, ashamed as they are to crunch such gentle booty when they have just come from laying low steers. Such mercy is not won by training, but the lions know whom they serve!”].



Figura 2.21 Marcus Valerius Martialis.

2.5.18 Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus, nascido Gaius Caecilius ou Gaius Caecilius Cilo (61 – ca. 113) [Figura 2.22], sobrinho de Plínio, o Velho, e por isto conhecido como Plínio, o Jovem, em carta escrita a um certo Maximus mencionou panteras:



Figura 2.22 Estátua de Plínio, o Jovem, na fachada da catedral de S. Maria Maggiore, em Como.

“Recte fecisti, quod gladiatorium munus Veronensibus nostris promisisti, a quibus olim amaris, suspiceris, ornaris. Inde etiam uxorem carissimam tibi et probatissimam habuisti, cuius memoriae aut opus aliquod aut spectaculum atque hoc potissimum quod máxime funeri debebatur. Praeterea tanto consensu rogabar, ut negare non constans, sed durum videretur. Illus quoque egregie, quod tam facilis, tam liberalis in edendo fuisti. Nam per haec etiam Magnus animus ostenditur. Vellem Africanas, quas coëmeras plurimas, ad praefinitum diem occurrerent. Sed, licet cessaverint illac tempestate detentae, tu tamen meruisti, ut acceptum tibi fieret, quod quominus exhiberes, non per te stetot. Vale”.

[You did extremely right to promise a combat of gladiators to our good friends the citizens of Verona, not only since you have long enjoyed from them regard, veneration, and marks of honour, but as it was from thence also you received your most tenderly beloved and excellent wife. And since you owed some monument or public

show to her memory, what other spectacle could you have exhibited more proper to a funeral occasion? Besides, you were so unanimously pressed to do so, that to have refused would have had the appearance rather of obstinacy than resolution. The readiness with which you granted this request, and the magnificent manner in which you performed it, is also much to your honour; for a greatness of soul is seen in these smaller instances, as well as in matters of higher moment. I am sorry the African **Panthers**, which you had largely purchased for the occasion, did not arrive time enough; but though they were delayed by the tempestuous season, the obligation to you is equally the same, since it was not your fault that they were not exhibited. Farewell". (Melmoth, 1931: 534, 535).

2.5.19 Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus ou, como é comumente chamado, Suetonius (ca. 69 – post 122 dC) [Figura 2.23], historiador romano, em sua biografia de Calígula mencionou a pantera sob a designação de *africanarum*:



Figura 2.23 Suetonius.

“Neque spectaculis semper ipse praesedit, sed interdum at magistratibus aut amicis praesidendi munus iniunxit. Scaenicos ludos et assidue et varii generis ac multifariam fecit, quondam et nocturnos accensis tota urbe lucibus. Sparsit et missilia variarum rerum et panaria cum obsonio viritim divisit; qua epulatione equiti R. contra se hilarius avidiusque vescenti partes suas misit, sed et senatori ob eandem causam codicillos, quibus praetorem cum extra ordinem designabat. Edidit et circenses plurimus a mane ad vesperam interiecta modo **Africanarum** venatione modo Troiae decursione, et quosdam praecipuos. Minio et chrysocolla constrato Circo Nec ullis nisi ex senatorio ordine aurigantibus. Commisit et subitos, cum e Gelotiana apparatus Circi prospicientem pauci ex proximis Maenianis postulassent”.

[He did not always preside at the games in person, but sometimes assigned the honour to the magistrates or to friends. He exhibited stage-plays continually, of various kinds and in many different places, sometimes even by night, lighting up the whole city. He also threw about gifts of various kinds, and gave each man a basket of victuals. During the feasting he sent his share to a Roman knight opposite him, who was eating with evident relish and appetite, while to a senator for the same reason he gave a commission naming him praetor out of the regular order. He also gave many games in the Circus, lasting from early morning until evening, introducing between the races now a baiting of **panthers** and now the manoeuvres of the game called Troy; some, too, of special splendor, in which the Circus was strewn with red and green, while the charioteers were all men of senatorial rank. He also started some games off-hand, when a few people called for them from the neighbouring balconies, as he was inspecting the outfit of the Circus from the Gelotian house]. (Rolfe, 1979: 430, 431).

“Circenses frequenter etiam in Vaticano commissit, nonnumquam interiecta per quinos missus venatione. Circo vero Maximo marmoreis carceribus auratisque metis, quae utraque et tofina ac lignea antea fuerant, exculto propria senatoribus constituit loca promiscue spectare solitis; ac super quadrigarum certamina Troiae lusum exhibuit et **Africanas**, conficiente turma equitum praetorianorum, ducibus tribunis ipsoque praefecto; praeterea Thessalos equites, qui feros tauros per spatia circi agunt insiliuntque defessos et ad terram cornibus detrahunt”.

[He often gave games in the Vatican Circus also, at times with a beast-baiting between every five races. But the Great Circus he adorned with barriers of marble and gilded goals, whereas before they had been of tufa and wood, and assigned special seats to the senators, who had been in the habit of viewing the games with the rest of the people. In addition to the chariot races he exhibited the game called Troy and also **panthers**, which were hunted down by a squadron of the praetorian cavalry under the lead of the tribunes and the prefect himself; likewise Thessalian horsemen, who drive wild bulls all over the arena, leaping upon them when they are tired out and throwing them to the ground by the horns]. (Rolfe, 1959: 40, 42 e 41, 43).

2.5.20 Arrianus da Nicomédia (Lucius Flavius Arrianus, em grego Ἀρριανός) (ca. 86 – ca. 160), de etnia grega, nasceu na cidade costeira da Nicomédia (hoje Izmit), capital da província romana da Bitínia (atual parte norte-ocidental da Turquia, a cerca de 70 km de Istanbul). Escreveu várias obras inspiradas nos livros de Xenofonte, entre elas o *Cynegeticus*, onde (IV, 5) fez uma breve menção à pantera, ao tratar das qualidades dos cães de caça (Dindorf (L.), 1866: 268)³⁰:

τὰ δὲ ὄμματα ἔστω
μεγάλα, μετέωρα, καθαρὰ, λαμπρὰ, ἐκπλήττοντα τὸν
θεώμενον, καὶ κράτιστα μὲν τὰ πυρωπὰ καὶ ὑπεραστράπ-
τοντα, οἷα πορδάλεων ἢ λεόντων ἢ λυγκῶν

2.5.21 Pausânias (Παυσανίας) (ca. 110 – ca. 180) [Figura 2.24], viajante e geógrafo grego que viveu nos tempos de Adriano, Antonino Pio e Marco Aurélio, redigiu uma *Descrição da Grécia* (ἙΛΛΑΔΟΣ ΠΕΡΙΗΓΗΣΙΣ).

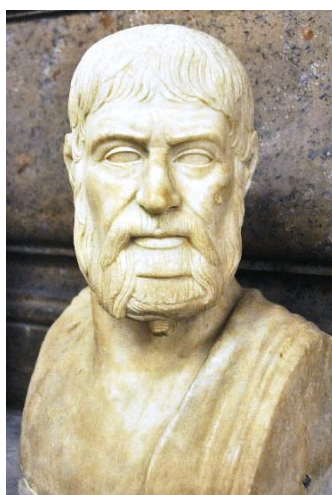


Figura 2.24 Pausânias.

³⁰ Na tradução de Dansey (1831: 77): “Their eyes should be large, up-raised, clear, strikingly bright. The best look fiery, and flash like lightning, resembling those of **leopards**, lions, or lynxes”.

No capítulo *Attica* (xxi.7) disse:

οἱ δὲ θώρακες οἱ λινοῖ μαχομένοις
μὲν οὐχ ὁμοίως εἰσὶ χρήσιμοι, διῶσι γὰρ καὶ
βιαζόμενοι τὸν σίδηρον· θηρεύοντας δὲ ὠφελού-
σιν, ἐναποκλῶνται γὰρ σφισι καὶ λεόντων ὀδόν-
τες καὶ παρδάλεων.

[Linen breastplates are not so useful to fighters, for they let the iron pass through, if the blow be a violent one. They aid hunters, however, for the teeth of lions and **leopards** break off in them]. (Jones & Ormerod, 1918: 106, 107).

No capítulo *Laconia* (xviii.13), ao descrever a decoração de um trono, disse haver

τοῦ θρόνου δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ἄνω πέρασιν
ἐφ' ἵππων ἐκατέρωθεν εἰσιν οἱ Τυνδάρεω παῖδες·
καὶ σφίγγες τέ εἰσιν ὑπὸ τοῖς ἵπποις καὶ θηρία
ἄνω θέοντα, τῇ μὲν πάρδαλις, κατὰ δὲ τὸν
Πολυδεύκη λείαινα.

[At the upper edge of the throne are wrought, one on each side, the sons of Tyndareus on horses. There are sphinxes under the horses, and beasts running upwards, on the one side a **leopard**, by Polydeuces a lioness]. (Jones & Ormerod, 1926: 116, 117).

E no capítulo *Elis I* (xix.5), comentando minuciosamente as figuras existentes num baú de cedro encontrado num templo de Hera, feitas de marfim ou ouro ou esculpidas na própria madeira, mencionou outra vez a pantera:

Ἄρτεμις δὲ οὐκ οἶδα ἐφ' ὅτῳ λόγῳ πτέρυγας
ἔχουσα ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων, καὶ τῇ μὲν δεξιᾷ
κατέχει πάρδαλιν, τῇ δὲ ἑτέρα τῶν χειρῶν λέοντα.

[On what account Artemis has wings on her shoulders I do not know; in her right hand she grips a **leopard**, in her left a lion]. (Jones & Ormerod, 1926: 492, 493). [Figura 2.25].



Figura 2.25 Ártemis com veado e pantera.

2.5.22 Babrius (ou Babrias; em grego Βάβριος ou Βαβρίας) (*fl.* século II), um romano helenizado cujo nome original talvez fosse Valerius, viveu provavelmente na Síria e coligiu fábulas normalmente atribuídas a Esopo. Rutherford (1883) publicou sua obra (*BABPIOY MYΘIAMBOI AΙΣΩΠΕΙΟΙ*), com os seguintes trechos:

P. 89³¹:

σὺς μὲν ἐστὶν ἀγνώμων,
ἄρκος δὲ νωθὴς, πάρδαλις δὲ θυμώδης,
τίγρις δ' ἀλαζὼν καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἐρημαίη.

Pp. 98-99³²:

Λέων τις ἐβασίλευεν οὐχὶ θυμώδης
οὐδ' ὤμος οὐδὲ πάντα τῇ βίῃ χαίρων,
πρᾶος δὲ καὶ δίκαιος ὡς τις ἀνθρώπων.
ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου φασὶ δὴ δυναστείης
τῶν ἀγρίων ἀγυρμὸς ἐγεγόνει ζῶων,
δίκας τε δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν παρ' ἀλλήλων.
τὰ ζῶα πάντα δ' ὡς ὑπέσχον εὐθύνας,
λύκος μὲν ἄρνι, πάρδαλις δ' ἐπ' αἰγίγρω,
ἐλάφῳ δὲ τίγρις, πάντα δ' εἶχεν εἰρήνην,
ὁ πτωχὸς λαγῶς εἶπεν 'ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ταύτην
τὴν ἡμέρην αἰεὶ ποτ' ἠνυχόμεν ἦτις
καὶ τοῖς βιαίοις φοβερὰ τᾶσθενῆ θήσει.'

2.5.23 Sextus Pompeius Festus (*fl.* final do século II) redigiu uma epítome da obra quase totalmente perdida de Marcus Verrius Flaccus (55 aC – 20 dC) – a *De verborum significatione*. Nela definiu:

“Bigenera dicuntur animalia ex diverso genere nata. ut **leopardus** ex leone & panthera;
(cicur sus ex apro & scropha domestica; mulus ex equa & asino”. (Dacier, 1699: 52).

2.5.24 Lucius (ou Claudius) Cassius Dio (Δίων Κάσσιος Κοκκηϊανός) (ca. 155 – 235) foi cônsul romano e notável historiador que escrevia em grego. Em sua *História de Roma* (Livro LXXVII, 1, 1-5) descreveu os suntuosos festins e espetáculos oferecidos por Severus e Plautianus (Cary, 1955: 238, 240 e 239, 241):

³¹ Segundo Rose (1870: 61), parte da fábula “O leão doente”, que ele assim traduziu: “The Hog is stupid and the Bear is dull...”.

³² Na tradução de Rose (1870: 72): “LION RULING JUSTLY. A LION ruled, no brawling monarch, he./ Beneath his rule the forest was all free,/ Mild and benignant as the reign of man./ The wild beasts met in congress from each clan/ To render justice and dispense the law/ And wolves and **Pards** and Tigers kept in awe;/ And peace pervaded all. Then said a Hare;/ ‘Surely the gods above have heard my prayer./ Long have I prayed to them, importuned long,/ To make the weak a terror to the strong”.

Ὁ δὲ Σεουήρος ἐπὶ τῆς δεκετηρίδος τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ ἔδωρήσατο τῷ τε ὀμίλῳ παντὶ τῷ σιτοδοτουμένῳ καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις τοῖς δορυφόροις ἰσαρίθμους τοῖς τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἔτεσι χρυσοῦς. ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ μέγιστον ἠγάλλετο· καὶ γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς οὐδεὶς πώποτε τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς ἀθρώοις ἐδεδώκει· ἐς γὰρ τὴν δωρεὰν ταύτην πεντακισχίλιαι μυριάδες δραχμῶν ἀναλώθησαν. ἐποιήθησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ γάμοι τοῦ τε Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Σεουήρου καὶ τῆς Πλαυτίλλης τῆς τοῦ Πλαυτιανοῦ θυγατρὸς· καὶ τσαῦτα τῇ θυγατρὶ οὗτος ἔδωκεν ὅσα καὶ πεντήκοντα γυναιξὶ βασιλίσσαις ἤρκεσεν ἄν. εἶδομεν δὲ αὐτὰ διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐς τὸ παλάτιον κομιζόμενα. εἰστιάθημεν δὲ ἐν ταύτῳ³ ἅμα, τὰ μὲν βασιλικῶς τὰ δὲ βαρβαρικῶς, ἐφθά τε πάντα ὅσα νομίζεται, καὶ ὠμὰ ζῶντά τε ἄλλα λαβόντες. ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ θεαὶ τηνικαῦτα παντοδαπαὶ ἐπὶ τε τῇ ἀνακομιδῇ τοῦ Σεουήρου καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ δεκετηρίδι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις. ἐν ταύταις ταῖς θεαῖς καὶ σῦες τοῦ Πλαυτιανοῦ ἐξήκοντα ἄγριοι ἐπάλαισαν ἀλλήλοις ὑπὸ παραγγέλματος, ἐσφάγησαν δὲ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ θηρία καὶ ἐλέφας καὶ κοροκότας· τὸ δὲ ζῶον τοῦτο Ἰνδικόν τέ ἐστι, καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, ὅσα καὶ ἐγὼ ἐπίσταμαι, ἐσήχθη, ἔχει δὲ χροιάν μὲν λεαίνης τίγριδι μεμιγμένης, εἶδος δὲ ἐκείνων τε καὶ κυνὸς καὶ ἀλώπεκος ἰδίως πως συγκεκραμένον. τῆς δὲ δεξαμενῆς ἀπάσης τῆς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἐς πλοίου σχῆμα κατασκευασθείσης ὡς τετρακόσια θηρία καὶ δέξασθαι καὶ ἀφεῖναι ἀθρώως, ἔπειτα ἐξαίφνης διαλυθείσης ἀνέθορον ἄρκτοι λέαιναι πάνθηρες λέοντες στρουθοὶ ὄναγροι βίσωνες (βοῶν τι τοῦτο εἶδος, βαρβαρικὸν τὸ γένος καὶ τὴν ὄψιν), ὥστε ἑπτακόσια τὰ πάντα καὶ θηρία καὶ βοτὰ ὁμοῦ καὶ διαθέοντα ὀφθῆναι καὶ σφαγῆναι· πρὸς γὰρ τὸν τῆς ἑορτῆς ἀριθμὸν ἑπταήμερου γεγονυίας καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐπτάκις ἑκατὸν ἐγένετο.

[On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of his coming to power Severus presented to the entire populace that received the grain dole and to the soldiers of the pretorian guard gold pieces equal in number to the years of his reign. He prided himself especially on this largess, and, in fact, no emperor had ever before given so much to the whole population at once; the total amount spent for the purpose was two hundred million sesterces. The nuptials of Antoninus, the son of Severus, and Plautilla, Plautianus' daughter, were also celebrated at this time; and Plautianus gave as much for his daughter's dowry as would have sufficed for fifty women of royal rank. We saw the gifts as they were being carried through the Forum to the palace. And we were all entertained together at a banquet, partly in royal and partly in barbaric style, receiving not only all the customary cooked viands but also uncooked meat and sundry animals still alive. At this time there occurred, too, all sorts of spectacles in honour of Severus' return, the completion of his first ten years of power, and his victories. At these spectacles sixty wild boars of Plautianus fought together at a signal, and among many other wild beasts that were slain were an elephant and a corocotta. This last animal is an Indian species, and was then introduced into Rome for the first time, so far as I am aware. It has the colour of a lioness and tiger combined, and the general appearance of those animals, as also of a dog and a fox, curiously blended* (*Pliny (*N. H.* viii.21, 30) described the corocotta as the offspring of

a dog and wolf, and again (viii.30, 45) as the offspring of a hyena and lioness. Capitolinus (*Vit. Antonin.* 10.9) states that the first Antoninus had exhibited the animal in Rome). The entire receptacle in the amphitheater had been constructed so as to resemble a boat in shape, and was capable of receiving or discharging four hundred beasts at once; and then, as it suddenly fell apart, there came rushing forth bears, lionesses, **panthers**, lions, ostriches, wild asses, bisons (this is a kind of cattle foreign in species and appearance), so that seven hundred beasts in all, both wild and domesticated, at one and the same time were seen running about and were slaughtered. For to correspond with the duration of the festival, which lasted seven days, the number of the animals was also seven times one hundred].

2.5.25 Oppianus (Ὀππιανός) foi um poeta greco-romano do século II, durante os reinos dos imperadores Marco Aurélio e Cômmodo. Compôs um poema em hexâmetro grego sobre a caça – a *Cinagética* (Κυνηγετικά). Nele encontramos as seguintes citações:

- II, 570-574:

Μοῦσα φίλη, βαιῶν οὐ μοι θέμις ἀμφὶς αἰεῖδεν·
οὐτιδανούς λῆπε θήρας, ὅσοις μὴ κάρτος ὄπηδεῖ,
πάνθηρας χαροπούς ἤδ' αἰλούρους κακοεργούς,
τοῖ τε κατοικιδίῃσιν ἐφωπλίσσαντο καλιαῖς,
καὶ τυτθούς ἀταλούς ὀλιγοδρανέας τε μυαξούς·

[Dear Muse, it is not meet for me to sing of small creatures. Leave thou the feeble beasts which have no strength in them – the grey-eyed **Panthers** and the villain Cats which attack the nests of domestic fowls; and leave thou the tiny, tender, weakling Dormice”. (Mair, 1928: 104, 106 e 105, 107).

- III, 63-83:

Πορδάλιες δ' ὄλοαὶ δίδυμον γένος· αἱ μὲν ἕασιν
μείζους εἰσιδέειν καὶ πάσσονες εὐρέα νῶτα,
αἱ δέ τ' ὀλιζότεραι μὲν ἀτὰρ μένος οὔτι χερείου·
εἶδεα δ' ἀμφοτέρησιν ὁμοίῃα δαιδάλλονται,
νόσφι μόνης οὐρῆς, τῇ τ' ἔμπαλιν εἰσοράαται·
μείοσι μὲν μείζων τελέθει, μεγάλῃσι δὲ μείων.
εὐπαγέες μηροί, δολιχὸν δέμας, ὄμμα φαεινόν·
γλαυκίωσι κόραι βλεφάροις ὑπο μαρμαίρουσαι,
γλαυκίωσιν ὁμοῦ τε καὶ ἔνδοθι φοινίσσονται,
αἰθομέναις ἴκελαι, πυριλαμπέες· αὐτὰρ ἔνερθεν
ῶχροί τ' ἰοτόκοι τε περὶ στομάτεσσιν ὀδόντες.
ρίνὸς δαιδαλέος, χροίῃ τ' ἐπὶ παμφανοώσῃ
ἡερόεις, πυκινῆσι μελαινομένῃσιν ὀπωπαῖς.
ᾠκύτατον θείει, καὶ τ' ἄλκιμον ἰθύς ὀρούει·
φαίης, ὅπποτ' ἴδοιο, διηερίην φορέεσθαι.
ἔμπης καὶ τόδε φῦλον ἐπικλείουσιν αἰοῖδοι
πρόσθ' ἔμναι Βάκχοιο φερεσταφύλοιο τιθήνας·
ταῦνεκεν εἰσέτι νῦν οἴνω μέγα καρχαλόωσι,
δεχνύμεναι στομάτεσσι Διωνύσου μέγα δῶρον.
τί χρέος ἐκ μερόπων δὲ κλυτὰς ἡμίψε γυναῖκας
εἰς τόδε πορδαλίῳ γένος ἄγριον, αἴθις αἰείσω.

[Next the deadly **Leopards** are a double race. The one sort are larger to look on and stouter as to their broad backs, while the other sort are smaller but no whit inferior in valiance. The daedal forms of both are alike, apart only from the tail, where a perversity is seen; the lesser **Leopards** have the larger, the large the lesser tail. The thighs are well built, the body is long, the eye bright: the shining pupils show grey-green beneath their brows, grey-green at once and red within, flaming as if on fire; but in the mouth beneath the teeth are pale and venomous. The hide is variegated and on a bright ground is dark with close-set black spots. Very swift it is in running and valiant in a straight charge. Seeing it thou wouldst say that it sped through the air. Notwithstanding minstrels celebrate the race of beasts as having been aforesaid the nurses of Bacchus, giver of the grape; wherefore even now they greatly exult in wine and receive in their mouths the great gift of Dionysus. What matter it was that changed glorious women from the race of mortals into this wild race of **Leopards** I shall hereafter sing". (Mair, 1928: 118, 119).³³

2.5.26 Philostratus ou Lucius Flavius Philostratus (Φλάβιος Φιλόστρατος) (ca. 170/172 – 247/250), cognomindo “o Atenense”, foi um sofista grego do período da Roma Imperial. Em sua obra intitulada *EIKONEΣ* (*Imagines*) tratou do *párdalis* em dois capítulos:

- Livro I. 15. ARIADNE [Figuras 2.26-2.28]:

ιε' ΑΡΙΑΔΝΗ

15 (1) "Ὅτι τὴν Ἀριάδνην ὁ Θησεὺς ἄδικα δρῶν—
οἱ δ' οὐκ ἄδικά φασιν, ἀλλ' ἐκ Διονύσου—κατέ-
λιπεν ἐν Δία τῇ νήσῳ καθεύδουσαν, τάχα που
καὶ τίτθης διακήκοας· σοφαὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖναι τὰ
τοιαῦτα καὶ δακρύουσιν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ὅταν ἐθέλωσιν.
20 οὐ μὴν δέομαι λέγειν Θησεῖα μὲν εἶναι τὸν ἐν τῇ
νηί, Διόνυσον δὲ τὸν ἐν τῇ γῆ, οὐδ' ὡς ἀγνοοῦν-
τα¹ ἐπιστρέφοιμ' ἂν ἐς τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν πετρῶν,
ὡς ἐν μαλακῷ κεῖται τῷ ὕπνῳ.

Figura 2.26 Página 60 de Fairbanks (1931).

³³ Camus (1909: 21) comentou: “Le poète syrien Oppian, qui semble avoir appris à connaître la faune de son pays, par ses propres observations, décrit deux sortes de panthères (πόρδαλιες), en notant que ces fauves passaient pour avoir été les nourrices de Bacchus; puis il mentionne, outre le caracal, un λύνξ de grande taille, qui chasse les gazelles aux cornes acuminées (ὄξυκέρατοι ορύγες). Il ne s’agit certainement pas ici du loup cervier, puisque ce lynx n’habite en Asie que les régions froides de la Sibérie, la Mandchourie etc. Le grand λύνξ d’Oppien ne pouvait être que le guépard”.

(2) οὐδ' ἀπόχρη τὸν ζωγράφον ἐπαινεῖν, ἀφ'
 25 ὧν κἂν ἄλλος ἐπαινοῖτο· ῥάδιον γὰρ ἅπαντι
 καλὴν μὲν τὴν Ἀριάδην γράφειν, καλὸν δὲ τὸν
 Θησεῖα, Διονύσου τε μυρία φάσματα τοῖς γράφειν
 ἢ πλάττειν βουλομένοις, ὧν κἂν μικροῦ τύχη τις,
 ἤρηκε τὸν θεόν. καὶ γὰρ οἱ κόρυμβοι στέφανος
 30 ὄντες Διονύσου γνώρισμα, κἂν τὸ δημιουργήμα
 φαύλως ἔχη, καὶ κέρασ ὑπεκφνόμενον τῶν κρο-
 τάφων Διονύσου δηλοῖ, καὶ πύρδαλις ὑπεκφαινο-
 μένη αὐτοῦ θεοῦ σύμβολον· ἀλλ' οὗτός γε ὁ
 17 K. Διόνυσος ἐκ μόνου τοῦ ἐρᾶν γέγραπται. σκευὴ
 μὲν γὰρ ἠνθισμένη καὶ θύρσοι καὶ νεβρίδες,
 ἔρριπται ταῦτα ὡς ἔξω τοῦ καιροῦ, καὶ οὐδὲ
 κυμβάλοις αἱ Βάκχαι χρῶνται νῦν οὐδὲ οἱ
 5 Σάτυροι αὐλοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Πᾶν κατέχει τὸ
 σκίρτημα, ὡς μὴ διαλύσειε τὸν ὕπνον τῆς κόρης,
 ἀλουργίδι τε στείλας ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν
 ῥόδοις ἀνθίσας ἔρχεται παρὰ τὴν Ἀριάδην ὁ
 Διόνυσος, μεθύων ἔρωτι φησὶ περὶ τῶν ἀκρατῶς
 10 ἐρώντων ὁ Τῆιος. (3) ὁ Θησεύς δὲ ἐρᾶ μὲν,
 ἀλλὰ τοῦ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καπνοῦ, Ἀριάδην δὲ
 οὔτε οἶδεν ἔτι οὔτε ἔγνω ποτέ, φημὶ δ' αὐτὸν
 ἐκλελῆσθαι καὶ τοῦ λαβυρίνθου καὶ μηδὲ εἰπεῖν
 ἔχειν, ἐφ' ὅτῳ ποτὲ ἐς τὴν Κρήτην ἐπλευσεν
 15 οὔτῳ μόνον τὰ ἐκ πρώρας βλέπει. ὄρα καὶ τὴν
 Ἀριάδην, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸν ὕπνον· γυμνὰ μὲν εἰς
 ὀμφαλὸν στέρνα ταῦτα, δέρη δὲ ὑπτία καὶ ὑπαλῆ

Figura 2.27 Fairbanks (1931, p. 62).

φάρυγγι, μασχάλη δὲ ἡ δεξιὰ φανερά πᾶσα, ἡ δὲ
 ἐτέρα χεὶρ ἐπίκειται τῇ χλαίνῃ, μὴ αἰσχύνῃ τι ὁ
 20 ἄνεμος. οἶον, ὦ Διόνυσε, καὶ ὡς ἡδὺ τὸ ἄσθμα.
 εἰ δὲ μῆλων ἢ βοτρύων ἀπόζει, φιλήσας ἐρεῖς.

Figura 2.28 Fairbanks (1931, p. 64).

Na tradução de Fairbanks (1931: 61, 63, 65):

“That Theseus treated Ariadne unjustly – though some say not with unjust intent, but under the compulsion of Dionysus – when he abandoned her while asleep on the island of Dia* (*The ancient name of Naxos), you must have heard from your nurse; for those women are skilled in telling such tales and they weep over them whenever they will. I do not need to say that it is Theseus you see here on the ship and Dionysus yonder on the lead, now will I assume you to be ignorant and call your attention to the woman on the rocks, lying there in gentle slumber.

Nor yet is it enough to praise the painter for things for which someone else too might be praised; for it is easy for anyone to paint Ariadne as beautiful and Theseus as beautiful; and there are countless characteristics of Dionysus for those who wish to represent him in painting or sculpture, by depicting which even approximately the artist has captured the god. For instance, the ivy clusters forming a crown are a clear mark of Dionysus, even if the workmanship is poor; and a horn jut springing from the temples reveals Dionysus, and a **leopard**, though but just visible, is a symbol of the god [Figura 2.29]; but this Dionysus the painter has characterized by love alone. Flowered garments and thyrsi and fawn-skins have been cast aside as out of place for the moment, and the Bacchantes are not clashing their cymbals now, nor are the Satyrs playing the flute, nay, even Pan checks his wild dance that he may not disturb the maiden’s sleep. Having arranged himself in fine purple and wreathed his head with roses, Dionysus comes to the side of Ariadne, ‘drunk with love’ as the Teian poet says of those who are overmastered by love. As for Theseus, he is indeed in love, but with the smoke rising from Athens, and he no

longer knows Ariadne, and never knew her, and I am sure that he has even forgotten the labyrinth and could not tell on what possible errand he sailed to Crete, so singly is his gaze fixed on what lies ahead of his prow. And look at Ariadne, or rather at her sleep; for her bosom is bare to the waist, and her neck is bent back and her delicate throat, and all her right side is visible, but her left hand rests on her mantle that a gust of wind may not expose her. How fair a sight, Dionysus, and how sweet her breath! Whether its fragrance is of apples or of grapes, you can tell after you have kissed her!”.



Figura 2.29 Baco (Dionísio) e Ariadne, com leopardos, por Ticiano.

- Livro I.19. Os piratas do Tirreno [Figura 2.30]:

τὴν δὲ πρῶραν ἐς χρυσοῦν
 πάρδαλιν εἵκασται τε καὶ ἐξήκται. φίλια δὲ
 τῷ Διονύσῳ πρὸς τὸ ζῶον, ἐπειδὴ θερμότατον
 τῶν ζώων ἐστὶ καὶ πηδᾷ κοῦφα καὶ ἴσα εὐάδι.

Figura 2.30 Trecho de Philostratus (I.19) (Fairbanks, 1931: 78).

Na tradução de Fairbanks (1931: 79):

“...its prow is drawn out in the semblance of a golden **leopardess**. Dionysus is devoted to this animal because it is the most excitable of animals and leaps lightly like a Bacchante”.

Em sua “Vida de Apolônio de Tyana” (*TA ES TON TYANEA AΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΝ*), Philostratus completou (Conybeare, 1912: 154) [Figura 2.31]:

τάς τε παρδάλεις ὡσαύ-
 τως, αἱ διὰ θερμότητα χαίρουσι τῷ γίγνεσθαι
 μητέρες, δεσπόζειν γὰρ δὴ τότε βούλονται τῶν
 ἀρρένων καὶ τοῦ οἴκου ἄρχειν, οἱ δὲ ἀνέχονται τὸ
 ἐξ αὐτῶν πᾶν ἠττώμενοι τοῦ τόκου. λέγεται δέ τις
 καὶ περὶ τῶν λεαινῶν λόγος, ὡς ἐραστὰς μὲν ποι-
 οῦνται τοὺς παρδάλεις καὶ δέχονται αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ
 τὰς εὐνάς τῶν λεόντων ἐς τὰ πεδία, τῆς δὲ γαστρὸς
 ὄραν ἀγούσης ἀναφεύγουσιν ἐς τὰ ὄρη καὶ τὰ τῶν
 παρδάλεων ἤθη, στικτὰ γὰρ τίκτουσιν, ὅθεν
 κρύπτουσιν αὐτὰ καὶ θηλάζουσιν ἐν σκολιαῖς
 λόχμαις πλασάμεναι ἀφημερεύειν πρὸς θήραν. εἰ
 γὰρ φωράσειαν τουτὶ οἱ λέοντες, διασπῶνται τοὺς
 σκύμνους καὶ ξαίνουσι τὴν σπορὰν ὡς νόθον.

Figura 2.31 Trecho da “Vida de Apollonius de Tyana” (II.xiv) de Philostratus (Coneybeare, 1912: 154).

Na tradução de Coneybeare (1912: 155):

“And I also equally have in mind the **panther**, which, from the warmth of its temperament, delights to become a mother, for that is the time when it is determined to rule the male and be mistress of the household; and the male puts up with anything to the welfare of the offspring. And there is also told a story of the lioness, how she will make a lover of the **panther** and receive him in the lion’s lair in the plain; but when she is going to bring forth her young she flees into the mountains to the haunts of the **panthers**; for she brings forth young ones that are spotted, and that is why she hides her young and nurses them in winding thickets, pretending that she is spending the day out hunting. For if the lion detected the trick, he would tear the whelps in pieces and claw her offspring as illegitimate”.

2.5.27 Claudius Aelianus (em grego Κλαύδιος Αἰλιανός) (175 – 235), autor romano, escreveu em grego uma história dos animais, na qual tratou abundantemente da *párdalis*:

- (i) I.31:

Ἐνίσχυον ἀκμαῖς καὶ ὀδόντων διατομαῖς θαρ-
 ροῦσι καὶ ἄρκτοι καὶ λύκοι καὶ πάρδοι καὶ λέοντες·
 τὴν δὲ ὕστριχα ἀκούω ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ἔχειν, οὐ
 μὴν ὄπλων ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀμυντηρίων ἀπολε-
 λείφθαι ἐρήμην.

[Strength of claws and sharpness of fangs make bears, wolves, **leopards**, and lions bold, whereas the Porcupine, which (I am told) has not these advantages, none the less has not been left by Nature destitute of weapons wherewith to defend itself”. (Scholfield, 1958: 48, 49).

- (ii) IV.49:

Ἡ πάρδαλις πέντε ἔχει δακτύλους ἐν τοῖς
 ποσὶ τοῖς προσθίοις, ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατόπιω τέτταρας.
 ἡ δὲ θήλεια εὐρωστοτέρα τοῦ ἄρρενος. εἰ δὲ
 γεύσῃται ἀγνοοῦσα τοῦ καλουμένου παρδαλιάγχου
 (πόα δὲ ἐστίν), ἀποπάτημα ἀνθρώπου ποθὲν
 λιχνεύσασα διασώζεται.

[The **Leopard** has five toes on its fore-paws and four on its hind paws. But the female is stronger than the male. If it unwittingly eats what is called ‘leopard’s-choke’* (*aconite) (this is a herb), it licks some human excrement and preserves its life”. (Scholfield, 1958: 280, 271).

- (iii) V.40:

ἡ πάρδαλις
 τροφῆς δεομένη ἑαυτὴν ὑποκρύπτει ἢ λόχη πολλῇ
 ἢ φυλλάδι βαθείᾳ, καὶ ἐντυχεῖν ἔστιν ἀφανής,
 μόνον δὲ ἀναπνεῖ. οὐκοῦν οἱ νεβροὶ καὶ <αἱ>
 δορκάδες καὶ οἱ αἶγες οἱ ἄγριοι καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα
 τῶν ζώων ὡς ὑπὸ τινος ἕγγος τῆς εὐωδίας
 ἔλκεται, καὶ γίνεται πλησίον· ἢ δὲ ἐκπηδᾷ καὶ
 ἔχει τὸ θήραμα.

[When the **Leopard** needs food it conceals itself in a dense thicket or in deep foliage and is invisible; it only breathes. And so fawns and gazelles and wild goats and suchlike animals are drawn by the spell, as it were, of its fragrance and come close up. Whereat the **Leopard** springs out and seizes its prey". (Scholfield, 1958: 336, 337).

- (iv) V.50 (ii):

Ἡ δὲ ποίμνη καὶ ὁ ἔριφος καὶ πώλιον πᾶν ἐπὶ
 τὰς μητρώας θηλὰς ἔρχεται γεννηθέντα παραχρῆμα,
 καὶ μέντοι καὶ τῶν οὐθάτων σπῶντα ἐμπίπλονται·
 πολυπραγμονεῖ δὲ τὸ τεκὸν οὐδὲ ἔν, ἀλλὰ ἔστηκεν.
 ὑπτία δὲ παραβάλλει τὰς θηλὰς τοῖς βρέφεσι τὰ
 σχιζόποδα πάντα, λύκοι καὶ κύνες καὶ λέαιναι
 καὶ παρδάλις.

[The lamb, the kid, and every foal directly it is born goes for its dam's teats and sucks the dugs until it is full. And the parent shows no concern but stands still. Whereas all animals with parted toes, wolves, hounds, lions, **leopards**, lie down to give their young suck". (Scholfield, 1958: 350, 351).

- (v) V.54:

Ἐν τῇ Μαυρουσίᾳ γῆ αἱ παρδάλις τοῖς
 πιθήκοις οὐ κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν οὐδὲ ὅπως ἂν
 ἔχουσιν ἀλκῆς τε καὶ βίωμης ἐπιτίθενται. τὸ δὲ
 αἴτιον, οὐ χωροῦσιν ὁμόσε, ἀλλὰ ἀποδιδράσκουσιν
 αὐτὰς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ δένδρα ἀναθέουσι καὶ ἐκεῖ
 κάθηνται, τὴν ἐξ ἐκείνων ἐπιβουλήν φυλαττόμενοι.
 ἦν δὲ ἄρα ἡ πάρδαλις καὶ τοῦ πιθήκου δολερώτε-
 ρον. οἷας γοῦν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς παλαμᾶται τε καὶ
 ράπτει τὰς πάγας. ὅπου πλήθος πιθήκων κάθην-
 ται, ἐνταῦθα ἐλθοῦσα ἑαυτὴν ὑπέρριψε τῷ δένδρῳ,
 καὶ κεῖται κατὰ τοῦ δαπέδου ὑπτία, καὶ τὴν μὲν
 γαστέρα διώγκωσε, παρήκε δὲ τὰ σκέλη, τὰ δὲ
 ὀφθαλμῶν κατέμυσε, πιέζει γὰρ μὴν τὸ ἄσθμα,
 καὶ κεῖται νεκρὰ δῆ. οἱ δὲ ἄνωθεν τὴν ἐχθίστην
 ἰδόντες τεθνάναι νομίζουσιν αὐτήν, καὶ ὁ μάλιστα
 βούλονται, τοῦτο καὶ οἶονται. οὐ μὴν θαρροῦσιν
 ἦδη, ἀλλὰ πείραν καθιάσι, καὶ ἔστιν ἡ πείρα, ἕνα
 ἑαυτῶν τὸν δοκοῦντα ἀδεέστατον καταπέμ-
 πουσι, βασανίσοντα καὶ κατασκεψόμενον τὸ τῆς
 παρδάλεως πάθος. ὁ δὲ κάτεισιν οὐ παντελῶς
 ἀδεής, ἀλλὰ ὀλίγον καταδραμὼν εἶτα ὑπέστρεψεν,
 τοῦ φόβου ἀναστειλάντος αὐτόν· καὶ κατήλθε
 πάλιν, καὶ πλησίον γενόμενος ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ
 ὑπέστρεψεν αὐθις, καὶ τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ κατεσκεψάτο,
 καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα εἰ μεθίσιν ἐξήτασεν. ἢ δὲ
 ἀτρεμοῦσα καὶ μάλα ἐγκρατῶς ἐντίθησιν οἱ τὸ
 κατὰ μικρὰ ἀδεές. προσελθόντος δὲ καὶ παραμέ-
 νοντος ἀπαθοῦς καὶ οἱ μετέωροι πίθηκοι θαρροῦσιν
 ἦδη, καὶ καταδραμόντες ἐκ τε ἐκείνου τοῦ δένδρου
 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα πλησίον παραπέφυκεν, ἀθρόοι

γενόμενοι περιέρχονται τε καὶ περιχορεύουσιν αὐτήν. εἶτα ἐμπηδήσαντες αὐτῇ καὶ ἐπιβάντες κατεκυβίστησαν καὶ καταρχήσαντο κέρτομόν τινα καὶ πιθήκοις πρέπουσαν ὄρχησιν, καὶ ποικίλως ἐνυβρίσαντες, ἦν ἔχουσιν ὡς ἐπὶ νεκρᾷ χαρὰν καὶ ἡδονὴν ἐμαρτύραντο. ἡ δὲ ὑπέμεινε πάντα, εἶτα ὅταν ἐννοήσῃ κεκμηκέναι ὑπὸ τε τῆς χορείας αὐτοῦς καὶ τῆς ὕβρεως, ἀδοκῆτως ἀναπηδήσασα καὶ ἐσθοροῦσα τοὺς μὲν τοῖς ὄνυξι διέξηγε, τοὺς δὲ τοῖς ὀδοῦσι διεσπάσατο, καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων πανθωϊάν τε καὶ πανδαισίαν ἀφθονώτατα ἔχει. τλημόνως δὲ ἔχει καὶ καρτερῶς καὶ γεννικῶς ἢ φύσις κελεύει τὴν πάρδαλιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων ἐνυβρισάντων περιγενέσθαι καρτερικώτατα ἐναθλοῦσαν καὶ μὴ δεομένην εἰπεῖν τέτλαθι δὴ κραδίη. ὃ γε μὴν τοῦ Λαέρτου ἑαυτὸν ἐξεκάλυψε ὀλίγου πρό τοῦ καιροῦ, τὴν ἐκ τῶν παιδικῶν ὕβριν μὴ φέρων.

[In Mauretania **Leopards** do not attack Monkeys with force nor with all the strength and power at their command, the reason being that the Monkeys do not face them but escape from them and run up trees and sit there on guard against the designs of the **Leopards**. Yet it seems that after all the **Leopard** is craftier than the Monkey, for such designs and traps does it contrive for the Monkeys. It comes to the place where a gathering of Monkeys is seated, throws itself down beneath a tree, lies on the ground on its back, inflates its belly, relaxes its legs, closes both eyes, and even holds its breath, and lies there like one dead. And the Monkeys looking down upon their most hated enemy, fancy it to be dead; and what they most fervently desire, that they believe. For all this, they do not as yet take courage but make an experiment, and the experiment is this: they send down one of their number whom they regard as the most fearless to test and to scrutinize the state of the **Leopard**. So the Monkey descends not altogether unafraid; but after running down a little way he turns back, fear causing him to retreat. And a second time he descends and having approached, withdraws; and a third time he returns and observes the **Leopard**'s eyes and examines it to see if it is breathing. But the **Leopard**, by remaining motionless with the utmost self-control, inspires a gradual fearlessness in the Monkey. And since it approaches and remains close by and takes no harm, the Monkeys up aloft also now gather courage and run down from that particular tree and from all others that grow near by, and assembling in a mass encircle the **Leopard** and dance round it. Then they leap upon it and turn somersaults on its body and by dancing in triumph a dance appropriate to monkeys, and by a variety of insults testify to the joy and delight they feel over the supposed corpse. But the **Leopard** submits to all his until it realizes that the Monkeys are tired by their dancing and their insolence, when it leaps up unexpectedly and springs at them. And some it lacerates with its claws, others it tears to pieces with its teeths, and enjoys without stint the ample and sumptuous banquet provided by its enemies. It is Nature that bids the **Leopard** endure with heroic fortitude, so that it may rise superior to the insults of its enemies, bearing up with the utmost patience and finding no need to say 'endure, my heart' [Hom. *Od.* 20,18]. Indeed the son of Laertes was within an ace of revealing himself prematurely though being unable to tolerate the insults of the maidservants]. (Scholfield, 1958: 354, 356 e 355, 357).

- (vi) VI.2:

Τὰ ἄλογα καὶ τῶν συνήθων σφίσι γενομένων ἀπέχεσθαι φιλεῖ καὶ φεῖδεσθαι πολλάκις. ἀκούω γοῦν τὸν λόγον ἐκείνον. πάρδαλιν ἐκ νηπίου θηρατῆς ἀνὴρ ἡμερώσας εἶχεν, οἷα δῆπου φίλην ἢ ἐρωμένην ἀγαπῶν καὶ περιέπων ἰσχυρῶς. οὐκοῦν ἐρίφον αὐτῇ φέρων ζῶντα ἐδίδου, τροφήν ἐν ταύτῳ καὶ ἡδονὴν τινα ἐπινοήσας τῷ θηρίῳ ἐν τῷ διασπᾶν τὸν ἐρίφον, ἀλλὰ μὴ δοκεῖν ἐσθίειν κενέβρειόν τε καὶ θνησείδιον. καὶ δὴ κομισθέντος <τοῦ> ἐρίφου ἡ δὲ ἐγκρατῶς ἔσχε, δεομένη ἀπόσιτος εἶναι διὰ πλησμονήν. ἔδρασε δὲ καὶ τῇ δευτέρῳ τοῦτο· ἐδεῖτο γὰρ ἔτι ὡς φαρμάκου τοῦ λιμοῦ. τῆς δὲ τρίτης ἐπιστάσης ἡμέρας ἐπεινή μὲν καὶ συνήθως ἐπεδείκνυτο τοῦτο τῷ φθέγματι, οὐ μὴν τοῦ ἐρίφου γενομένου δύο ἡμερῶν ἑαυτῇ φίλου ἔτι προσήψατο, ἀλλὰ ἐκείνον μὲν εἶασεν, ἄλλον δὲ ἔλαβεν. ἄνθρωποι δὲ καὶ ἀδελφοὺς προὔδοσαν καὶ τοὺς γειναμένους καὶ φίλους ἀρχαίους, καὶ πολλοὶ πολλάκις.

[Brute beasts are in the habit of not molesting their companions and of frequently sparing them. For instance, I have heard the following story. A hunter had a **Leopard** which he had tamed from its earliest days and which he loved and tended assiduously as though it were his friend or darling. Now he brought a kid and gave it to the **Leopard** alive, thinking to provide it at once with food and with the pleasure of tearing the kid to pieces, and supposing that it would refuse to eat dead meat. In fact when the kid was brought the **Leopard** controlled itself: being full-fed it needed to abstain from food. And it did the same on the second day, for it still needed the medicine of starvation. But when the third day came it began to grow hungry and, as usual, showed that it was by the sound of its voice; for all that, it still would not touch the kid which had been its friend for two days, but left it alone, though it accepted another one. Men however have betrayed even their brothers and their parents and old friends; there have been many and frequent cases]. (Scholfield, 1959a: 12, 14 e 13,15).

- (vii) VI.22:

Ἐχθιστα δὲ τῷ μὲν λέοντι πῦρ καὶ ἀλεκ-
 τρυῶν, ὕαινα δὲ τῇ παρδάλει, σκορπίῳ δὲ
 ἀσκαλαβώτης· νάρκη γοῦν τὸν σκορπίον κατα-
 λαμβάνει προσαχθέντος οἱ τοῦ ζώου τοῦ προει-
 ρημένου. δράκοντα δὲ ἐλέφας ὀρρωδεῖ· ὑποζύγιον
 δὲ πᾶν τὴν μυγαλὴν οὐ θαρρεῖ, ἀστακὸς δὲ
 πολὺποδα. καὶ μέντοι <καὶ> προωθούμενοι ἐκ
 τῶν τεγῶν οἱ κύνες, οὐκ ἂν αὐτοὺς ῥύψειας· τοῦ
 γὰρ τοι κινδύνου δεδοίκασι τὸ μέγεθος.

[To the lion fire and a cock are utterly hateful; to the **leopard** a hyena, to the scorpion a gecko; Thus, if the aforesaid creature is brought near to a scorpion, the latter is seized with numbness. And the elephant shrinks from the python; and every beast of burden dreads the shrew-mouse; the lobster, the octopus. Furthermore if you were to try to push dogs off the roof, you would not succeed in throwing them down: they are afraid of the great danger involved]. (Scholfield, 1959a: 38, 39).

- (viii) VII.47:

Τῶν ἀγρίων ζώων τὰ ἔκγονα τὰ νέα διαφό-
 ρως ὀνομάζεται, καὶ τὰ γε πλείω διπλὴν τὴν
 ἑπωνυμίαν ἔχει. λεόντων γοῦν σκύμνοι καὶ λεοντι-
 δεῖς ὀνομάζονται, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ Βυζάντιος
 μαρτυρεῖ, παρδάλεων δὲ σκύμνοι τε καὶ ἀρκηλοῖ·
 εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ φασὶ γένος ἕτερον τῶν παρδάλεων τοὺς
 ἀρκήλους εἶναι. θύων δὲ μόνον· σκύμνοι φιλοῦσι
 καλεῖσθαι, καὶ τίγρεων ὁμοίως, καὶ μυρμηκῶν
 δὲ καὶ πανθήρων. ἔοικε δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν λυγκῶν
 ἔκγονα ὁμοίως ὀνομάζεσθαι. ἐν γοῦν τοῖς Λάσου
 λεγομένοις Διθυράμβοις οὕτως εὐρίσκεται εἰρη-
 μένον τὸ βρέφος τὸ τῆς λυγκός.

[The young offspring of wild animals have different appellations, and the majority at any rate have two names. The young of Lions, for instance, are called *σκύμνοι* or *λεοντιδεῖς*, as Aristophanes of Byzantium testifies; and of **Leopards**, *σκύμνοι* and *ἀρκηλοῖ*, although there are those who assert that *ἀρκηλοῖ* are a different kind of **leopard**. But the young of Jackals are habitually called *σκύμνοι* only. And the same with Tigers and Ants* (*Perhaps *μύρμηξ* is here to be interpreted as ‘marmot’) and **Panthers**. And it appears that the young of Lynxes are similarly spoken of]. (Scholfield, 1959a: 172, 163).



Figura 2.32 Ándrocles e o leão.

- (ix) VII.48:

Μνήμην δὲ παρακολουθεῖν καὶ τοῖς ζώοις, καὶ ἴδιον αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι χωρὶς τῆς ἐς αὐτὴν τέχνης τε καὶ σοφίας, ἣν τεραπευόμενοι τινες ἐπινοήσαι κομπάζουσι, τεκμηριοῖ καὶ ἐκεῖνα. τὸν δεσπότην ὄντα τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς ἀπέδρα Ἀνδροκλῆς ὄνομα, οἰκέτης τὴν τύχην, ὃ τι κακουργήσας καὶ ἠλίκον οὐκ οἶδα εἰπεῖν. ἦκε δ' οὖν ἐς τὴν Λιβύην, καὶ τὰς μὲν πόλεις ἀπελίμπανε, καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ λεγόμενον ἄστροις αὐτὰς ἐσημαίνετο, προῆει δὲ ἐς τὴν ἐρήμην. φρυγόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῆς <καὶ> διαπύρου τῆς ἀκτίνος, ἀσμένως ὑπαντρὸν τινα πέτραν ὑποδραμῶν ἠσύχαζε· λέοντος δὲ ἄρα κοίτη ἦδε ἡ πέτρα ἦν. ἐπάνεισι τοίνυν ἐκ θήρας ὁ λέων, σκόλοπι βιαίῳ περιπαρεῖς καὶ κολαζόμενος, καὶ ἐντυχῶν τῷ νεανίᾳ εἶδεν αὐτὸν πράως, καὶ σαίνειν ἤρξατο, καὶ προύτεινε τὸν πόδα, καὶ ἔδειτο ὡς ἠδύνατο ἐξαιρεθῆναι τὸν σκόλοπα. ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα κατέπηξεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ πρᾶον τὸν θῆρα ἐθεάσατο καὶ τὸ κατὰ τὸν πόδα συνείδε πάθος, ἐξείλε τὸ λυποῦν τοῦ ποδός, καὶ τῆς ὀδύνης ἀπήλλαξεν. ἦσθεις οὖν τῇ θεραπείᾳ ὁ λέων ἰατροῖα οἱ ἐκτίνων ξένον τε ἐνόμιζε καὶ φίλον, καὶ ὧν ἐθήρα ἐκοινώνει. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐσιτεύτο ὡμὰ ἢ λεόντων νόμος, ὁ δὲ ἐαυτῷ ὦπτα· καὶ κοινῆς ἀπέλαυον τραπέζης

κατὰ φύσιν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἑκάτερος. καὶ τριῶν μὲν ἐτῶν τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον διεβίωσεν ὁ Ἄνδροκλῆς· εἶτα ὑπεράγαν κουριῶν καὶ ὀδαξισμῶ βιαίῳ κατειλημμένος τὸν μὲν λέοντα ἀπολιμπάνει, ἑαυτὸν δὲ μεθίσει τῇ τύχῃ. εἶτα ἀλώμενον αὐτὸν συλλαβόντες καὶ ὄτου εἶη πυθόμενοι ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην τῷ δεσπότῃ δῆσαντες ἀποπέμπουσιν. ὁ δὲ ἐφ' οἷς ἡδικήθη εὐθύνει τὸν οἰκέτην, καὶ κατεγνώσθη ἐκεῖνος θηρίοις βορὰ παραδοθῆναι. ἐθηράθη δὲ πῶς καὶ ὁ Λίβυς ἐκεῖνος λέων καὶ ἀφείθη ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, καὶ ὁ νεανίας δὲ ὡς ἀπολούμενος ὁ ποτε αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ τῷ λέοντι σύνοικός τε καὶ σύσκημος γεγεννημένος. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἐγνώρισε τὸν θῆρα, ἐκεῖνος δὲ παραχρήμα ἀνέγνω τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἔσαιεν αὐτόν, καὶ ὑποκλίνας τὸ πᾶν σῶμα ἔρριπτό οἱ παρὰ τοῖς ποσί. ὄψῃ δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἄνδροκλῆς ἐγνώρισε τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ξένον, καὶ περιλαβὼν τὸν λέοντα ὡς ἤκοντα ἑταῖρον ἐξ ἀποδημίας κατησπάζετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔδοκει γόσῃ, ἐφέθη οἱ καὶ πάρδαλις. ὀρμώσης δὲ αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄνδροκλέα, ὁ λέων ἀμύνων τῷ ποτε ἰασαμένῳ, καὶ κοινῆς τραπέζης μεμνημένος διασπᾷ τὴν πάρδαλιν. οἶα τοῖνυν εἰκὸς οἱ θεώμενοι ἐκπλήττονται, καὶ ὁ διδοὺς τὰς θέας καλεῖ τὸν Ἄνδροκλέα, καὶ τὸ πᾶν μανθάνει. καὶ θροῦς ἐς τὸ πλήθος διαρρεῖ, καὶ τὸ σαφὲς ὁ δῆμος μαθόντες ἐλευθέρους ἐκβοῶσιν ἀφεῖσθαι καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν λέοντα. ἴδιον δὲ τῶν ζώων καὶ ἡ μνήμη.

[That memory is an attribute even of animals, and that this is a characteristic acquired without the system and science of mnemonics which certain wonder-workers claim to have invented, the following facts demonstrate. One Androcles by name, who happened to be a slave in the household of a Roman senator, ran away from his master after committing some offence, the nature and extent of which I am unable to state. Well, he arrived in Libya and was for avoiding towns and, as the saying is, ‘marked their places only by the stars’ and went on into the desert. And being parched by the expressive and fiery heat of the sun, he was glad to take refuge and to rest under a caverned rock. This rock, it seems, was the lair of a Lion. Now the Lion returned from hunting, injured from having being pierced with a sharp stake, and when it encountered the young man it looked at him in a gentle manner and began to fawn upon him, extending its paw and imploring him as best it could to have the stake plucked out. Androcles at first shrank back. But when he saw that the beast was in gentle mood, and realized what was the matter with its paw, he extracted what was hurting it and rid the Lion of its pain [Figura 2.32]. The Lion therefore in joy at being healed paid him his fee by treating him as its guest and friend, and shared with him the spoils of its chase. And while the Lion ate its food raw, as is the custom of lions, Androcles used to cook his for himself. And they enjoyed a common table each as was his nature. And this was how Androcles lived for the space of three years. After a time, as his hair grew to an excessive length and he was troubled with a violent itching, he forsook the Lion and trusted himself to fortune. Then as he was wandering about he was caught, questioned as to whom he belonged to, and sent bound to his master in Rome. The master punished his servant for the injury he had done him and he was condemned to be given to the wild beasts to eat. It chanced that the same Libyan lion had also been caught and was let loose in the arena together with the young man destined for death, him who had shared that very Lion’s home and dwelling. The man for his part did not know the Lion again, but the animal immediately recognized the man, fawned upon him, and letting its whole body sink down, threw himself at his feet. And at last Androcles recognized his host and throwing his arms round it, greeted it like a comrade returned after absence. But as he was thought to be a magician, a **leopard** also was let loose upon him. And when it rushed at Androcles the Lion came to the rescue of its former healer and remembering how they used to feed together tore the **leopard** to pieces [Figura 2.33]. The spectators, as was natural, were dumbfounded, and the man who was giving the shows summoned Androcles and learnt the whole story. And the report spread through the multitude, and the populace on learning the truth shouted aloud that both man and Lion must be set free. Memory is indeed one of the attributes of animals]. (Scholfield, 1959a: 166, 168 e 167, 169).



Figura 2.33 Enfrentamento entre leão e pantera (terracota antiga romana).

- (x) VIII.6:

Ἦν δὲ ἄρα εὐχείρωτα καὶ αἰρεῖν ῥᾶστα ὄνοι
 μὲν τοῖς λύκοις, τοῖς μέροσι δὲ αἱ μέλιτται, ταῖς
 γε μὴν χελιδόσι οἱ τέττιγες, τοῖς δὲ ἐλάφοις οἱ
 ὄφεις. ἡ πάρδαλις δὲ αἰρεῖ τῇ ὁσμῇ τὰ πλείστα,
 καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον τὸν πίθηκον.

[It seems that donkeys are easily overcome and seized by wolves, and bees by bee-eaters, cicadas by swallows, and snakes by deer. And the **leopard** captures most animals, especially the monkey, by its odour]. (Scholfield, 1959a: 186, 187).

- (xi) X.39:

Ἄμπελον ὁμώνυμον τῷ φυτῷ πάρδαλιν τινα
 οὕτω καλεῖσθαι φασὶ φύσεως ἰδίας παρὰ τὰς
 λοιπὰς μετεληχλίαν, καὶ οὐρὰν οὐκ ἔχειν ἀκούω
 αὐτήν. ἤπερ οὖν εἰ ὀφθείη γυναιξίν, ἐς νόσον
 ἐμβάλλει ἀδόκητον αὐτάς.

[They say that there is a **leopard** called the *Ampelus*, like the plant (i. e., grape-vine), and that its nature is peculiar compared with other **leopards**; and I have heard that it has no tail. If it is seen by women it afflicts them with an unexpected ailment]. (Scholfield, 1959a: 334, 335);

- (xii) XI.37:

καρ-
 χαρόδοντα δὲ λύκος κύων λέων πάρδαλις. ταῦτά
 τοι καὶ σαρκῶν ἐσθίει.

[‘Saw-toothed’ animals are the wolf, the dog, the lion, the **leopard**; these, you know, are carnivorous]. (Scholfield, 1959a: 408, 409).

- (xiii) XIII.10:

Θήρα δὲ παρδάλεων Μαυρουσία εἶη ἄν.
καὶ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς οἰκοδομία λίθων πεποιημένη, καὶ
ἔοικε ζωγρείῳ τινί, καὶ ἔστι μὲν ὁ λόγος ἃδε ὁ
πρῶτος· ὃ γε μὴν δεύτερος, εὐδοτέρῳ σαπροῦ
κρέως καὶ ὀδωδέτος μοῖραν μηρίνθου τινὸς μακρο-
τέρας ἐξαρτῶσι, θύραν δὲ ἐκ ῥιπίδων καὶ τινων
καλάμων ἀραιὰν ἐπέστησαν, καὶ μέντοι καὶ δι'
αὐτῶν ἐκπνεῖται ἢ τοῦ κρέως τοῦ προειρημένου
ὀσμῆ διαρρέουσα. αἰσθάνονται δὲ αἱ θῆρες, καὶ
γὰρ πως τοῖς κακόσμοις φιληθοῦσι· προσβάλλει
γὰρ αὐτὰς ὁ τῶν προειρημένων ἀήρ, εἴαν τε ἐν
ἄκροις τοῖς ὄρεσιν εἴαν τε ἐν φάραγγι, καὶ
μέντοι καὶ ἐν αὐλῶνι, εἶτα ἀνεφλέχθη τῇ ὀσμῇ
ἐντυχοῦσα, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἄγαν ὀσμῆς ἐς τὴν θοίνην
τὴν φίλην ἄττει φερομένη· ἔλκεται δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῆς
ὡς ὑπὸ τινος ἰγγυός. εἶτα ἐμπίπτει τῇ θύρᾳ καὶ
ἀνατρέπει αὐτὴν καὶ ἔχεται τοῦ δυστυχοῦς δείπνου.
τῇ γὰρ τοι μηρίνθῳ τῇ προειρημένῃ συνυφάνθη
πάγη καὶ μάλα σοφῆ, ἥπερ οὖν ἐσθιομένου τοῦ
κρέως κινεῖται, καὶ περιλαμβάνει τὴν λίχνον
πάρδαλιν. καὶ ἐάλω, γαστρὸς ἀδηφάγου καὶ
μυσαρᾶς ἐστιάσεως δίκας ἐκτίουσα ἢ δυστυχῆς.

[The hunting of **Leopards** seems to be a Moorish practice. The people build a stone structure, and it resembles a kind of cage: this is the first part of the ambush; and the second part is this: inside they fasten a piece of meat that has gone bad and smells, by a longish cord and set up a flimsy door made of plaited reeds of some kind, and through them the smell of the aforesaid meat is exhaled and spreads abroad. The animals notice it, being for some reason fond of ill-smelling objects, because the scent from them assails them whether they are on mountain tops or in a ravine or even in a glen. Then when the **Leopard** encounters the small it gets excited and in its excessive desire comes rushing to the feast it loves: it is drawn to it as though by some spell. Then it dashes at the door, knocks it down, and fastens upon the fatal meal – fatal, because on to the aforesaid cord there has been woven a noose most dexterously contrived, and as the meat is being eaten this is dislodged and encircles the gluttonous **Leopard**. So it is caught and pays the penalty for its ravenous belly and its foul festing, the poor wretch]. (Scholfield, 1959b: 92, 94 e 93, 95).

- (xiv) XV.14

Κομίζουσι δὲ ἅρα τῷ σφετέρῳ βασιλεῖ οἱ
Ἰνδοὶ τίγρεις πεπωλευμένους καὶ τιθασοὺς πάνθη-
ρας καὶ ὄρυγας τετράκερας, βοῖον δὲ γείη δύο,
δρομικοὺς τε καὶ ἄλλους ἀγρίους δεινῶς. ἐκ
τούτων γε τῶν βοῖον καὶ τὰς μιμοσάβας· ποιῶν-
ται, καὶ τὸ μὲν (ἄλλο) σῶμα παμμέλανές εἰσι
σῆδε, τὰς δὲ οὐρὰς ἔχουσι λευκὰς ἰσχυρᾶς, καὶ
περιστερὰς ἀχρᾶς κομίζουσιν, ἄσπερ οὖν καὶ
λέγουσι μῆτε ἡμεροῦσθαι μῆτε πυτί πραῖνεσθαι,
καὶ ὄρυγας δὲ, οὗς κερκαρώνους φιλοῦσιν ὀνο-
μάζειν, καὶ κύνες γενναίους, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἄνω μοι λέ-
λεκται, καὶ πιθήκους λευκοὺς καὶ μελαντάτους
ἄλλους· τοὺς γὰρ τοι πυρροὺς ὡς γυναιμανεῖς ἐς
τὰς πόλεις οὐκ ἄγουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποθεν ἐπιπηδή-
σαντες ἀναιροῦσιν, ὡς μοιχοὺς μεμισσηκότες.

[The people of India bring to their king tigers that they have trained, tame **panthers**, four-horned antelopes, two kinds of oxen, the one swift of foot, the other exceptionally wild. From these oxen they contrive fly-whisks, and whereas the rest of their body is entirely black, their tails are dazzlingly white. They bring also pale-yellow doves which are said never to become domesticated, never to be tamed; those birds too which they are accustomed

to call *Cercorônoi* (mynahs); and hounds of good pedigree (...), and apes, some white, some the deepest black. The reddish ones* (*the orang-utan), which are too found of women, they do not introduce into their towns, but if they can contrive somehow to spring upon them, they put them to death, because they detest them as adulterers”]. (Scholfield, 1959b: 234, 235).

- (xv) XVII.31:

λέοντας δὲ καὶ
παρδάλεις καὶ λύκους σαρκοφάγα ἄντα ἐτέρως
ἀναιροῦσι. τῶν γὰρ οἴων τῶν ἡμέρων καὶ τῶν
αἰγῶν παρασχίσαντες τὴν πλευρὰν ἐς ὅσον καθεῖναι
τὴν χεῖρα, ἐμπάπτουσι τῶν αὐτῶν ἀλεύρων,
προκείσθαι κακὸν καὶ μὰ Δία δέλεαρ τοῖς προειρημέ-
νοις. ὅταν οὖν ἢ λέων ἢ πάρδαλις ἢ λύκος ἢ ἄλλο
τι τοιοῦτον ἐντύχη καὶ γεύσῃται, τέθνηκε παρα-
χρήμα. καὶ πᾶσα μὲν οὖν ἢ Ἀρμενία θηρίων
ἀγρίων τροφός τε ἅμα καὶ μήτηρ ἐστίν, ἢ δὲ
πεδιάς ἐτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ.

[But they adopt a tame device for killing lions, **leopards**, and wolves, which are carnivorous. They make a slit in the side of a tame sheep or goat deep enough to admit a hand, and sprinkle in some of that selfsame meal [um preparado de peixe], and deadly indeed is the bait which is set before the above-mentioned animals. And so whenever a lion or a **leopard** or a wolf or other savage beast comes across the body and tastes it, it dies immediately. The whole country of Armenia is in fact the nurse and mother of wild animals, especially the plainlands bordering the river”]. (Scholfield, 1959b: 362, 363).

- (xvi) XVII.43:

Πάρδαλις Καρικὴ καὶ Λυκιακὴ οὐκ ἔστι
μὲν θυμικὴ, οὐδὲ οἷα σφόδρα ἀλτικὴ εἶναι, τὸ σῶμα
δὲ μακρὰ· τιτρωσκομένη δὲ καὶ δόρασι καὶ
αἰχμαῖς ἀντίτυπός ἐστι, καὶ οὐ ῥαδίως τῷ σιδήρῳ
εἴκει, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ Ὀμηρικὸν δρῶσα

ἢ ῥά τε καὶ περὶ δουρὶ πεπαρμένη οὐκ ἀπολήγει.

[The **Leopard** of Caria and Lycia is not fierce-tempered, nor of a kind that can leap high, though its body is long. But when wounded with pikes and spears it offers resistance and does not readily yield to the steel [Figuras 2.35 e 2.36], behaving as Homer describes [*Il.* 21.577]:

‘Yet though pierced with spear she does not cease’]. (Scholfield, 1959b: 376, 377).



Figura 2.34 Leopardos sendo atacados no circo.



Figura 2.35 Pantera sendo atacada (Mosaico em uma vila romana em Nennig, Alemanha).

2.5.28. Athenaeus de Naucrátis (Ἀθηναῖος Ναυκρατίτης ou Ναυκράτιος), que viveu entre o fim do século II e o início de século III, disse em seu *Deipnosophistarum libri XV* (ΔΕΙΠΝΟΟΦΙΣΤΩΝ ΒΙΒΛΙΑ ΠΕΝΤΑΚΑΙΔΕΚΑ) (II.7) [Figura 2.36]:

Πλά-

των δ' ἐν δευτέρῳ Νόμων τὴν τοῦ οἴνου χρῆσιν φησὶν ὑγιείας ἕνεκα ὑπάρχειν. Ἄπο τοῦ κατὰ μέθην δὲ καταστήματος καὶ ταύρω παρεικάουσι τὸν Διόνυσον, καὶ παρδάλει, διὰ τὸ πρὸς βίαν τρέπεσθαι τοὺς ἐξοικωθέντας. Ἄλκαῖος· „Ἄλλοτε μὲν μελιαδέος, ἄλλοτε δ' ὄξυτέρου τριβόλων ἀρητυμένοι.“ Εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ θυμικοὶ γίνονται· τοιοῦτος δ' ὁ ταῦρος. Εὐριπίδης·
 Ταῦροι δ' ὑβρισταὶ, κείς κέρας θυμούμενοι.
 Διὰ δὲ τὸ μάχμον καὶ θηριώδεις ἔνιοι γίνονται· ὄθεν καὶ τὸ παρδαλώδες.

Figura 2.36 Trecho sobre o *párdalis* do *Dipnosophistae* de Athenaus (1868: 70)³⁴.

2.5.29 Gaius Iulius Solinus, gramático e compilador do século III, foi o autor do livro *De Mirabilibus Mundi*, também chamado *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium* ou *Polyhistor* [Figura

³⁴ Na tradução de Yonge (1854: 63): “But Plato, in his second book of the Laws, says that the use of wine is to be encouraged for the sake of health. But on account of the look which habitual drunkards get, they liken Bacchus to a bull; and to a **leopard**, because he excites drunkards to acts of violence. And Alcaeus says –

Wine sometimes than honey sweeter,
 Sometimes more than nettles bitter.

Some men, too, are apt to get in a rage when drunk; and they are like a bull. Euripides says –

Fierce bulls, their passion with their horns displaying.

And some men, from their quarrelsome disposition when drunk, are like wild beasts, on which account it is that Bacchus is likened to a **leopard**”.

2.37], sendo este último preferido por ele. Essa obra foi dedicada a um certo Adventus – cônsul no ano de 218 – e contém uma curta descrição do mundo antigo, sendo a maior parte retirada da *História Natural* de Plínio e da *Geografia* de Pomponius Mela.

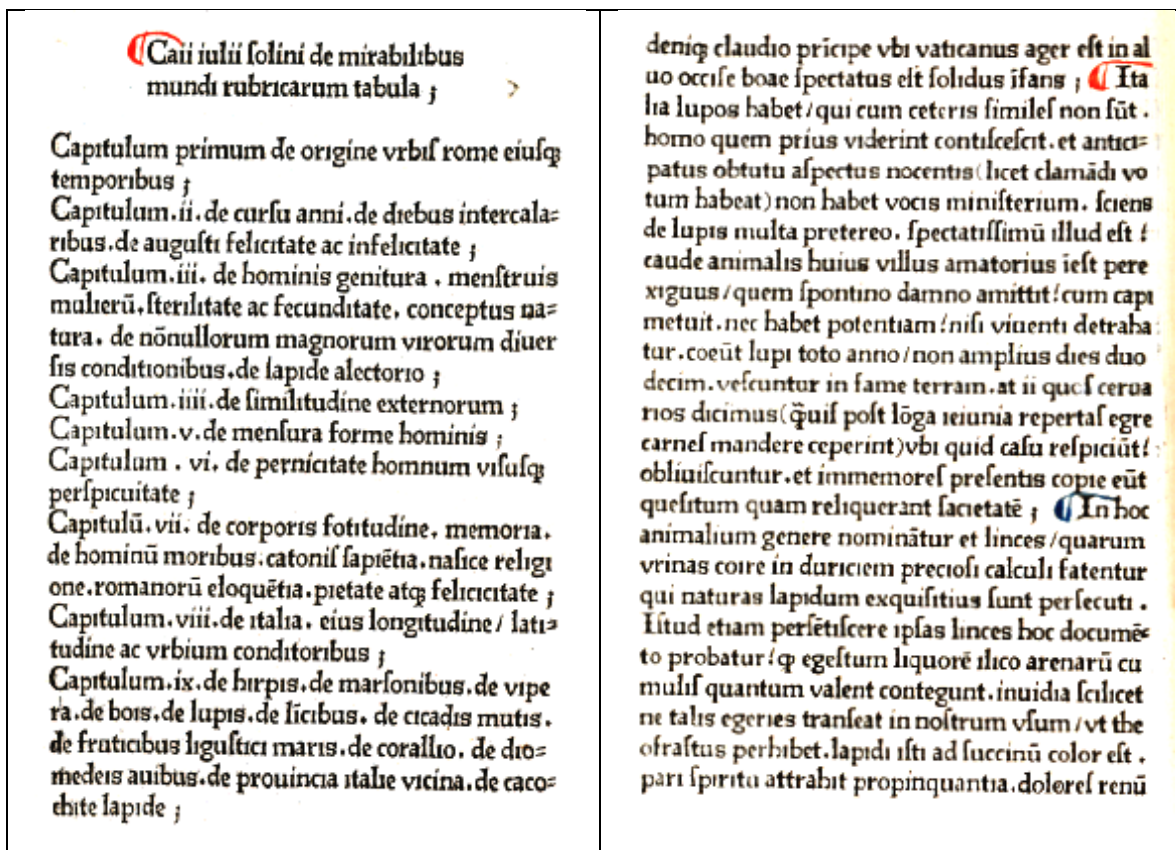


Figura 2.37 Primeira página do Sumário e texto sobre o lince do *Polyhistor* de Solinus (Tardiff, 1745).

Os trechos sobre a pantera são os seguintes:

“**Pantherae** quoque numerosae sunt in Hyrcania, ninutis orbiculis superpictae, ita ut oculatis ex fulvo circulis; vel caerulea, vel alba distinguatur tergi supellex. Tradunt odore earum et contemplatione armenta mire affici, atque ubi eas persentiscant, properato convenire, nec terri nisi sola oris torvitate: quam ob causam **pantherae** abscondit capitibus, quae corporis reliqua sunt, spectanda praebent, ut pecuários greges stupidos in obtutum populentur secunda vastatione. Sed Hyrcani, ut hominibus intentatum nihil est, frequentius eas veneno, quam ferro, necant. Aconito carnes illinunt, atque ita per pardalianchen appellavunt. Sed **panthera** adversus hoc virus excrementa humana devorant, et suapte ingenio pesti resistunt. Lenta illis vivacitas, adeo ut ejectis interaneis mortem diu differunt. In his silvestribus et **pardi** sunt, secundum a **pantheris** genus, noti satis, nec latius esse sequendi. Quorum adulterinis coitibus degenerantur partus leaenarum, et leones quidem procreantur, sed ignobilis”. (Agnant, 1847: 164, 166; Mommsen, 1895: 91).³⁵

³⁵ Na tradução de Agnant (1847: 165, 167): “Les **panthères** aussi sont nombreuses en Hyrcanie; leur peau est semée de taches rondes: on dirait des yeux de couleur rousse; leur peau est tantôt bleuâtre, tantôt blanche. On prétend que l’odeur et même le regard de la panthère charment les animaux; que dès qu’ils la sentent, ils accourent par troupes, et qu’ils ne sont effrayés que par son aspect farouche. Elle cache donc sa tête, laissant voir seulement le reste de son corps, pour pouvoir ensuite dévorer avec sécurité les animaux que son aspect a fascinés. Les Hyrcaniens, car l’homme essaye de tous les moyens, la font périr par le poison plutôt que par le fer. Ils frottent avec de l’aconit des lambeaux de chair, qu’ils jettent à l’endroit où aboutissent plusieurs chemins; dès que la panthère en a mangé, elle est suffoquée. Aussi a-t-on nommé cette plante pardalianche* (*qui étrangle les panthers). Mais alors ces animaux combattent le poison en avalant des excréments humains: ce remède leur est fourni par l’instinct. Ils ont d’ailleurs la vie si dure, que même avec les intestins hors du corps, ils luttent encore longtemps contre la mort. Dans les bois de ce pays on trouve aussi le **léopard**, espèce qui tient de la **panthère**; cet

“Occidentem versus Agriophagi tenent, qui solas **pantherarum** et leonum carnes edunt, rege praediti, cuius in fronte oculis unus est”. (Mommsen, 1895: 131).³⁶

2.5.30 Diocleciano (*Gaius Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus Augustus*, em grego Διοκλήτιανός) (245 – 311) [Figura 2.38], imperador romano de 284 a 305, notabilizou-se, além de sua perseguição aos cristãos, por ter promulgado um Édito tentando tabelar os preços de produtos e salários, propondo um valor máximo, empreitada que obteve pouco sucesso (cf. Michell, 1947).



Figura 2.38 Diocleciano.

O que mais nos interessa nesse documento é a lista de peles e couros de animais [Figuras 2.39 e 2.40], incluindo a *pellis leopardina*.

<p>4 6 DE C(O)RHS BVBVLIS c(o)rium bubulum i(n)fectum formae primae X quingentis 7 (idem c)onfectum ad solenda cal- ciamenta Xseptigentisquinquaginta 8 a(d) loramenta et cetera X sescentis</p>	<p>6 ΠΕΡΙ ΒΥΡΩΝ ΒΟΕΙΩΝ βύρσα ἀνέργαστος ἀ γόρ. Υ φ'</p> <p>7 εἰργασμένη εἰς κ[α]σίματα ἕπο- δεσμῶν Υ ψν'</p> <p>8 εἰς λωράμεντα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ Υ χ'</p>
--	---

animal est assez connu, et nous ne nous étendrons pas à son sujet. Leurs acouplements monstrueux avec l'espèce des lions produisent aussi des lions, mais abâtardis”.

³⁶ “A l’ouest sont les Agriophages, qui ne se nourrissent que de la chair des **panthères** et des lions, et dont le roi n’a qu’un oeil au milieu du front” (Agnant, 1847: 233).

S.Æ	9 (cor)ium secundae[ormae infect]um	X trecentis	9 βίρσα β' φόρ. ἀνέργαστος	[Υ] τ'
S inf. 7.	10 ([pell]is ca[prina]) confectum	X quadringentis	10 εἰργασμένη β' φόρ.	Υ υ'
	11 ([pell]is ca[prina]) maxima (infecta)	X quadraginta	11 δέρμα αἴγειον πρῶτ. ἄεργον	Υ μ'
	12 ead[eni] con[fecta]	X quinquaginta	12 εἰργασμένον	Υ ν'
	13 ([pell]is uerue[cin]a) maxima (infecta)	X uiginti	13 δέρμα προβάτειον πρῶ.	Υ ζ'
	14 ([eadem c]on[fecta])	X triginta	14 εἰργασμένον	Υ λ'
	15 ([pell]is boll[earis] p[rima])	X centum	15 δέρμα προβάτειον ἰς πεῖλιον	Υ ρ'
	16 ([pileum] factum)	X ducentis	16 πεῖλιον γεγενημένον	//
	17 ([pell]is l[edina] infecta)	X decem	17 [δέ]ρμα ζρίφιον ἄεργον	//
	18 ([eadem conf]ecta)	X sedecim	18 εἰργασμένον	Υ ις'
	19 ([pell]is l[yaena]e infecta)	X quadraginta	19 δέρμα εἰάνης ἄεργον	Υ μ'
	20 ([eadem conf]ecta)	X sexaginta	20 δέρμα εἰργασμένον	//
	21 ([pell]is dorci infecta)	X decem	21 δέρμα δόρμιον ἄεργον	Υ ι'
	22 ([eadem conf]ecta)	X quindecim	22 εἰργασμένον	Υ ιε'
	23 ([pell]is ceru[ina] p[rima]e formae infecta)	X sexaginta V̄	23 δέρμα ἐλάφειον πρῶ. φέρ. ἄεργον	Υ οέ'
	24 ([ead]e[m] co[n]fecta)	X centum	24 εἰργασμένον	Υ ρ'
	25 ([pell]is obiferi infecta)	d XV]	25 δέρμα ὀβιφέρι ἄνεργο[ν] ἤτοι προβάτειο[ν]	///
	26 ([eadem conf]ecta)	d XXX]	26 εἰργασμένον	Υ λ'
	27 ([pell]is lupina infecta)	d XX] quinque)	27 δέρμα λυκίον ἄνεργ.	Υ κέ'
	28 ([eadem conf]ecta)	d] quinquaginta)	28 εἰργασμένον	Υ μ'
	29 ([pell]is m[el]ina infecta)	d X]	29 δέρμα μελίτης ἄνεργ.	Υ ι'
E 5	30 eadem confect[ina]	X quindecim	30 εἰργασμένον	Υ ιε'
	31 pellis castor[ina] infecta)	X uiginti	31 δέρμα καστόριον ἄνεργ.	Υ ζ'
	32 eadem c[on]fecta)	X triginta	32 εἰργασμένον	Υ λ'
	33 pellis (ur)is[ina] maxima infecta)	X centum	33 δέρμα ἄρκτηιον πρῶ. ἄργ.	Υ ρ'
	34 eadem co[n]fecta)	X centumquinquaginta	34 εἰργασμένον	Υ ρν'
	35 pellis lupi ceruar[ina] infecta)	X quinquaginta	35 δέρμα λύνγιον ἄνεργ.	Υ ν'
	36 eadem conf[ecta]	X /////	36 εἰργασμένον	Υ /
S.Æ	37 ([pell]is bituli [marini] infecta)	X mille ducentis quinquaginta	37 δέρμα μόσχου θαλασσίου ἤτοι φρέκκης ἄερ[γ.]	Υ σν'
	38 ([eadem conf]ecta)	X mille quingentis	38 εἰργασμένον	Υ σφ'
	39 ([pell]is leopardina) infecta)	X mille	39 δέρμα λεοπάρτου ἄεργ.	Υ α'
	40 ([eadem conf]ecta)	X mille ducentis quinquaginta	40 εἰργασμένον	Υ ασν'
	41 ([pell]is l[eonina] conf]ecta)	X mille	41 δέρμα λέοντος ἄεργ.	///

S.Æ	37 ([pell]is bituli [marini] infecta)	X mille ducentis quinquaginta
	38 ([eadem conf]ecta)	X mille quingentis
	39 ([pell]is leopardina) infecta)	X mille
	40 ([eadem conf]ecta)	X mille ducentis quinquaginta
	41 ([pell]is l[eonina] conf]ecta)	X mille

37 δέρμα μόσχου θαλασσίου ἤτοι φρέκκης ἄερ[γ.]	Υ σν'
38 εἰργασμένον	Υ σφ'
39 δέρμα λεοπάρτου ἄεργ.	Υ α'
40 εἰργασμένον	Υ ασν'
41 δέρμα λέοντος ἄεργ.	///

Figura 2.39 Lista de peles e cursos de animais constante do Édito de Diocleciano, e detalhe dos cinco últimos itens (Mommsen, 1851: 26, 28 e 27, 29)

A skin of the sea calf	- - - - -	250
The same made up	- - - - -	1500
A leopard's skin	- - - - -	1000
The same made up	- - - - -	1250
A lion's skin made up	- - - - -	1000

Figura 2.40 Preço em denarii dos 5 itens da figura anterior, na tradução de Leake (1826: 38; na primeira linha há um erro – deve ser 1250).

2.5.31 Claudius Claudianus (ca. 370 – 404), poeta latino associado com a corte do imperador Honorius em Mediolanum (Milão), em sua obra sobre o consulado de Manlius, deixou escrito:

“obvia fulminei properent ad vulner **pardi** semine permixto geniti, com forte leaenae nobiliorem uterum viridis corruptit adter; hi maculis patres referunt et robore matres”.

[May **leopards**, lightning-swift, hasten to meet the spear’s wound, beasts that are born of an adulterous union what time the spotted sire did violence to the nobler lion’s mate: of such beasts their marking recall de sire, their courage the dam”. (Platnauer, 1999: 360, 361).

2.5.32 Avianus, poeta romano tardio, viveu provavelmente no fim do século IV e início do V. Sua fábula *Vulpes et Pardus* (Anôn., 1764: 198, 1775: 245; Anôn., 1823: 86-87; Lachman, 1845: 29-30) é a seguinte:

“Distinctus maculis et pulchro pectore **pardus**
Inter consimilis ibat in arva feras.
Sed, quia nulla graves variarent terga Leones,
Protinus his miserum credidit esse genus.
Caetera sordenti damnans animalia vultu.
Solutus in exemplum nobilitatis erat.
Hunc arguta novo gaudentem Vulpis amictu
Corripit, et vanas approbat esse notas.
‘Vade’, ait, ‘et pictae nimium confide juventae,
Dum mihi consilium pulchris esse queat’.
Miremurque magis, quos munera mentis adornant.
Quam qui corporeis enituere bonis”.

2.6 O leopardo no Novo Testamento

Αποκάλυψις/ Apocalipse 13: 1-2

“Καὶ εἶδον ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης θηρίον ἀναβαῖνον, ἔχον κέρατα δέκα καὶ κεφαλὰς ἑπτὰ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κεράτων αὐτοῦ δέκα διαδήματα, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτοῦ ὀνόματα βλασφημίας. Καὶ τὸ θηρίον ὃ εἶδον ἦν ὅμοιον **παρδάλει**, καὶ οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὡς ἄρκου, καὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ὡς στόμα λέοντος. Καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ δράκων τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξουσίαν μεγάλην”.

[Vi emergir do mar uma besta que tinha dez chifres e sete cabeças e, sobre os chifres, dez diademas e, sobre as cabeças, nomes de blasfêmia. A besta que vi era semelhante a **leopardo**, com pés como de urso e boca como de leão. E deu-lhe o dragão o seu poder, o seu tronco e grande autoridade]. (Sayão, 1998: 709).

2.7 O Panchatantra (पञ्चतन्त्र)

O *Panchatantra*, ou *Pañcatantra* (no Alfabeto Internacional para a Transliteração do Sânscrito), literalmente “Os cinco princípios”, é uma antiga coleção indiana de fábulas de animais interrelacionadas. A obra original em sânscrito foi composta por volta do século III, na Caxemira. Alguns autores atribuem-na ao sábio indiano Vishnu Sharma (em sânscrito: **विष्णुशर्मन्/विष्णुशर्मा**). Foi também atribuída a um certo *Bidpai* ou *Bidpay* (cf., p. ex., Knachtbull, 1819), palavra provavelmente provinda do sânscrito e significando “homem sábio” ou “intelectual da corte”.

Borzūya (ou Burzōē ou Burzōy, ou ainda Bozorgmehr-e Bokhtagan em persa médio *Wuzurgmīhr ī Bōkhtagān*; latinizado como *Berosias*) (em árabe **برزويه**, do persa arabizado

بزرگمهر [Figuras 2.41 e 2.42], médico da corte do rei sassânida Anushirwan (531-571), foi comissionado para ir à Índia (cf. De Blois, 1990) em busca de plantas medicinais e trouxe uma cópia do *Panchatantra* para o Irã, traduzindo-a para o *pahlavi*, por volta de 570.



Figura 2.41 Busto de Borzūya em Isfahan, Irã.



Figura 2.42 Anushirwan e Borzūya.

Em 750, Abū Muhammad ‘Abd Allāh Rūzbih ibn Dādūya (em persa: روزبه عبدالله محمد ابو دادويه ابن), conhecido como Ibn al-Muqaffa (em árabe: المقفع ابن), cujo nome originalmente em persa era Rōzbih pūr-i Dādōē (دادويه پور روزبه) [Figura 2.43] (morto ca. 756), um zoroastriasta

convertido ao Islã, traduziu o livro do *pahlavi* para o árabe, intitulado-o *Kalila wa Dimna* (ودمنة كليلة) [Figura 2.44].



Figura 2.43 Ibn al-Muqaffa.



Figura 2.44 Página inicial de um manuscrito de *Kalila wa Dimna* de Ibn al-Muqaffa, do século XIII (Biblioteca Nacional de Paris).

Em vários manuscritos da versão árabe de Ibn al-Muqaffa existem pranchas coloridas representando leopardos [Figuras 2.45-2.47].

Por sua vez, a tradução de ibn al-Muqaffa serviu para duas versões (e adaptações) em hebraico – uma feita por um autor simplesmente conhecido como “Joel”, no século XII, e outra pelo poeta Jacob Eleazar, no século XIII. Derenbourg (1881) republicou as duas versões, sendo a de “Joel” acompanhado por uma tradução francesa [Figuras 2.48 e 2.49].



Figura 2.45 A pantera representada em um manuscrito do *Kalila wa Dimna*.



Figura 2.46 A pantra representada em um manuscrito do *Kalila wa Dimna*.



Figura 2.47 A pantera representada em um manuscrito do *Kalila wa Dimna*.



Figura 2.48 Página [XI] de Derenbourg (1881).

תחלת
ספר כלילה ודמנה

נעתק מלשון ערב לשפת עבר

על ידי

ר' יעקב בן אלעזר

LE COMMENCEMENT
DU
LIVRE DE KELILÂH ET DIMNÂH

TRADUIT DE L'ARABE EN HÉBREU

PAR

R. JACOB BEN ELAZAR.

Figura 2.49 Página [311] de Derenbourg (1881).

Kalila e Dimna foi traduzida e publicada em muitas línguas. Jacobs (1888: página dobrável depois da página lxxx) publicou um esquema mostrando as interrelações entre as várias edições, desde a edição original na Índia [Figura 2.50].

Giovanni da Capua, também chamado Johannes de Campania, de Campagnia ou de Capua (ca. 1250 – ca. 1310), judeu italiano convertido ao catolicismo, traduziu o texto do rabino Joel para o latim (Johannes de Capua, ca. 1489), dando-lhe o título de *Directorium vitae humanae*. O texto dessa obra foi reproduzido por Derenbourg (1889). É deste que transcrevemos as escassas passagens relativas ao leopardo.

“Et audiens hec **leopardus**, venit ad domum matris leonis et retulit ei illud, postquam prmisit ei iuramento, ut non revelaret alicui viventi” (Derenbourg, 1889: 102-103).

“Dixit ei mater: Scito quod vir legalis et perfectus qui mihi nunciavit hoc secretum, est socius et fidelis secretarius tuus **leopardus**” (Derenbourg, 1889: 114).

“Et exeuntes **leopardus** ei iudex aliique exercitus, (et) sederunt in ordine iudicii. Et vocatus Dimna, venit et astitit ligatus cathenis firmissimis in suo collo, tremens valde. Et inquit **leopardus**: Vos, viri de curia domini nostri, audite, quoniam a die qua rex Senesbam interfecit, extirrit tristis et dolens, quoniam absque culpa interfecit ipsum et sine ullo delictp quod ipsae commisisset, sed argumentis et seductionibus invidiaque qua invidebat ei Dimna contra eius dignitatem” (Derenbourg, 1889: 117-118).

“Et ait iudex: Respicite et atendite bene omnia que legalia **leopardus** locutus est, Nec aliquis vestrum occultare debet quod novit de ista materia, sive casa, et hoc propter multas causas” (Derenbourg, 1889: 118).

“Responderunt iudex et **leopardus**: Quomodo contingit illi?” (Derenbourg, 1889: 119).

“Et cum exissent inde iudex et **leopardus** de palacio regis, supervenit mater leonis et mandavit leo ut legerentur matri sue omnis acta cause Dimne” (Derenbourg, 1889: 126-127).

“Et productus **leopardus** testificatus est de Dimna ea que ab ipso et a Kelila audiverat, quando transivit per domum suam” (Derenbourg, 1889: 132-133).

As traduções em outras línguas diferem grandemente entre si, especialmente por estarem baseadas em diferentes originais. Só para citar alguns exemplos, cf. Sahid (1644), Knatchbull (1819), Brown (1822), Firenzuola (1822), Derenbourg (1881), Keith-Falconer (1885), Jacobs (1888), Alemany Bolufer (1915), Ryder (1925).

PEDIGREE OF THE BIDPAI LITERATURE.

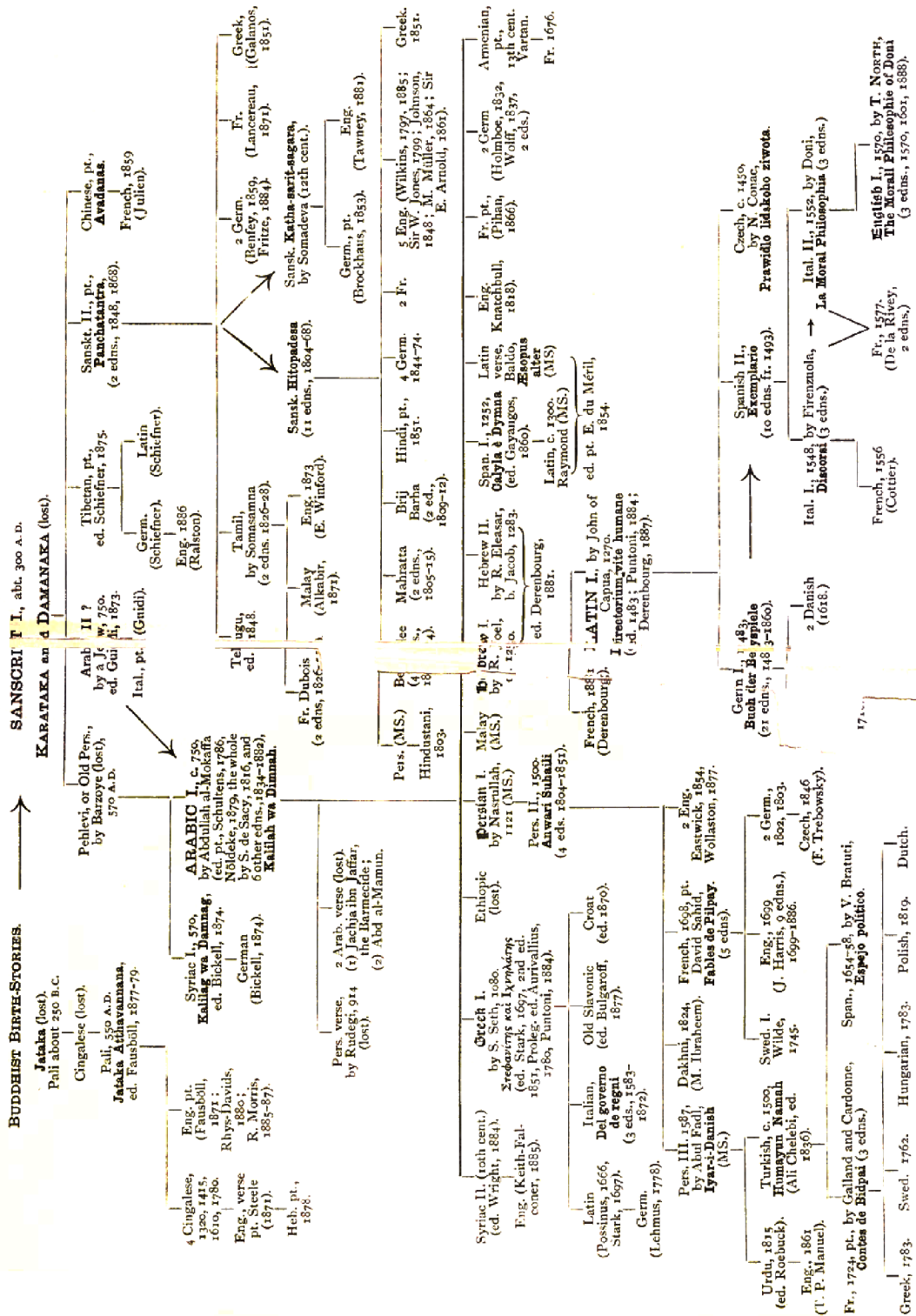


Figura 2.50 História das edições de *Kalila e Dimna* (Jacobs, 1888).

3. ALGUNS DOCUMENTOS SOBRE A “PANTERA”, O “LEOPARDO” E AS “ONÇAS” – DOS PRIMEROS ANOS DA ERA COMUM ATÉ 1719

3.1 O *Physiologus* e os bestiários

Em sua resenha do livro de Peters (E.) (1898) sobre o *Physiologus* grego, Gottheil (1898: 120, 123) comentou:

“The history of certain books is often the history, in a nutshell, of the development of the human mind. Such books are not many in number; but a study of their transmission from people to people and from land to land gives us the general lines upon which the wisdom of the ancients has filtered down and has influenced peoples of later times. *Bidpai’s Fables*, *Kalilah and Dimnah*, *Barlaam and Josaphat*, are, perhaps, among the best known of such world books. To these we must add the *Physiologus*. The little that monkish writers and their readers knew of zoology, in Europe as well as in the Coptic and Abyssinian Christian communities of Africa, and the Syriac church of western Asia, hardly went beyond what this book taught. Even Arabic writers – witness al-Damiri and al-Ḳazwini – accepted in good faith the stories of the habits and peculiarities of certain animals which are to be found in the *Physiologus*.

In the form in which the work has come down to us it is a popular zoology in about fifty sections which has been turned into a set of Christian allegories. As such a set of allegories it very soon became a favorite religious reading book. It was translated by the monks into Ethiopic, Coptic (?), Syriac, Armenian, and Arabic. In Europe it was turned into Latin; and as a *Bestiary* it found its way into old German, middle High German, old French, Spanish, Anglo-Saxon, Icelandic, and Waldensian literature. From the Greek a middle Greek version was made, a Slavonic and a Roumanian. It was turned into poetry, and its influence can be followed in the popular songs of the whole Middle Ages, and in most of the Bible commentators of that period. Its author has been stated to be Tatian, or Epiphanius, or Basil the Great, or John Chrysostom. No wonder that it has also been ascribed to Aristotle. With the close of the Middle Ages its authority began to wane. A truer knowledge of nature drove this theological zoology into the background; the old *Physiologus* was threatened with entire oblivion. The publication of a newly found Syriac version by Land in 1875 (*Anecdota Syriaca*, Vol. IV) turned the attention of the learned world to this forgotten page of the world’s literary history. [...]

[...].

That its [the Greek *Physiologus*] original home was Egypt there seems little doubt; to be more precise, Alexandria. If it be true that Justin Martyr was acquainted with its contents, its composition might, with Lauchert³⁷, be placed in the first half of the second century of our era. As a Christian allegorical work its history may commence here. It must have started its victorious career in the form of a strictly Christian theological treatise. For, curious to say, no trace of a Hebrew translation or of a Jewish use of the book has come to my sight: it being quite the reverse in all the other world-books (see, e. g., Joseph Jacobs, “Jewish Diffusion of Folk-Tales”, in his *Jewish Ideals*, London, 1896, pp. 135 sq.)”.

Às páginas 121 e 122 de seu artigo, Gottheil incluiu uma genealogia dos *Physiologi* e dos bestiários, a partir do ancestral grego do século II [Figura 3.1]. Algumas dessas obras serão contempladas na seção seguinte (3.2).

³⁷ Referência à *Geschichte der Physiologus* de Friedrich Lauchert (1889). Ver também, p. ex., Cahier (1847-1849, 1874), Karajan (1866) e Lauchert (1890).

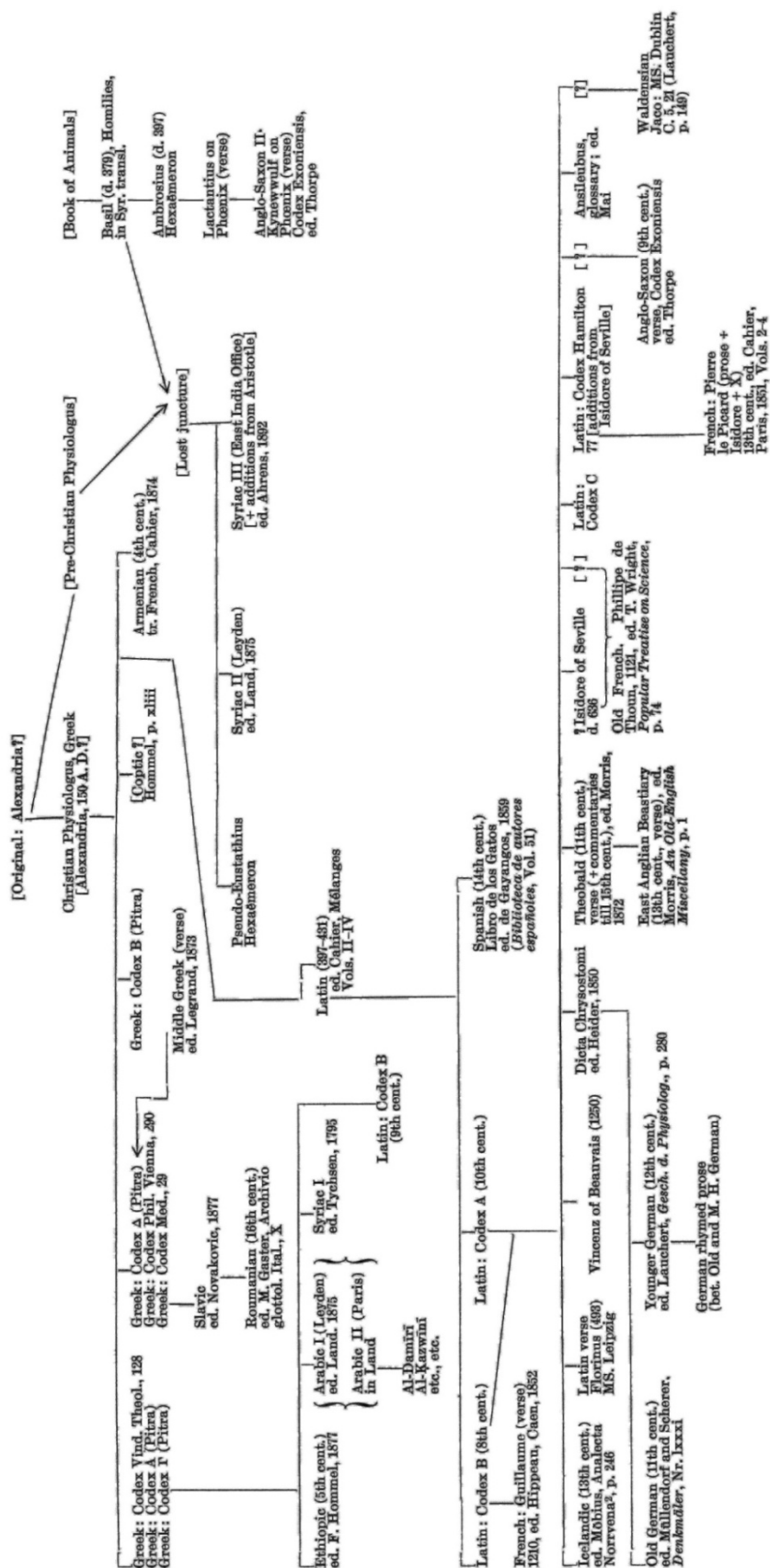


Figura 3.1 Interrelações entre os *Physiologi* e os bestiários (Gottheil, 1889: 121-122).

As estórias contidas nessas obras sobre a pantera e animais relacionados vão ser repetidas *ad nauseam* pelos autores medievais e mesmo renascentistas, como veremos na sequência.

Uma preciosíssima fonte de informações sobre os bestiários pode ser encontrada no *site* “Medieval Bestiary”, incluindo as ilustrações contidas em muitos manuscritos medievais (procurar sob *leopard*, *lynx*, *panther* e *pard*).

3.2 Autores dos primeiros anos da Era Comum até 1719

3.2.1 S. Inácio de Antióquia (Ἰγνάτιος Ἀντιοχείας), também chamado Ignatius Theophorus (Ἰγνάτιος ὁ θεοφόρος) (ca. 35 ou 50 – 108) foi o terceiro bispo de Antióquia. Dirigindo-se a Roma escreveu seis cartas para as igrejas da região e uma para um bispo seu amigo.

Em sua Epístola aos Romanos (V) mencionou sutilmente os problemas que enfrentou, por ser cristão, com autoridades e soldados romanos, comparando-os a bestas e leopardos.

Cureton (1849: 47-48) publicou esse texto em, grego, siríaco e latim [Figura 3.2.].

S. Inácio foi o primeiro autor a escrever a forma *λεοπαρδος* em grego.

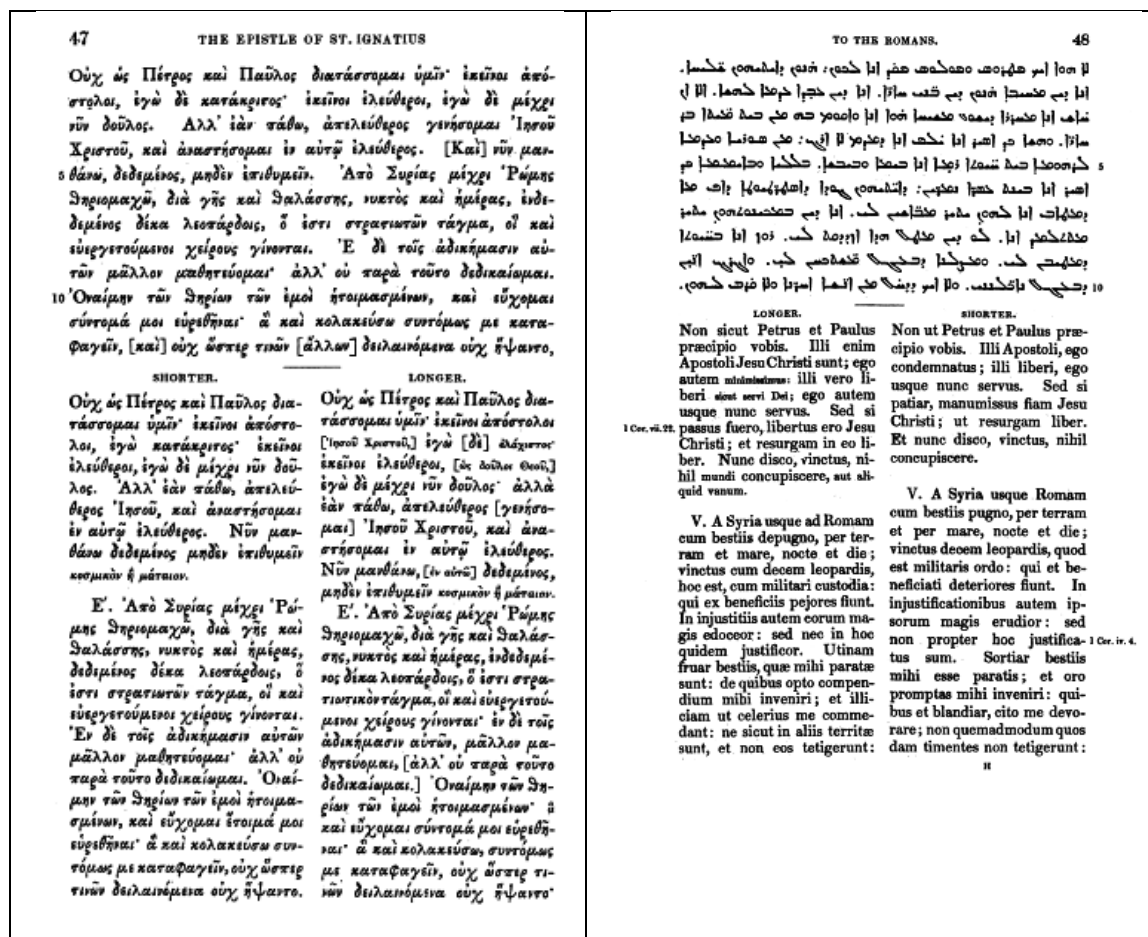


Figura 3.2 Trecho em grego, siríaco e latim da epístola aos romanos de S. Inácio de Antióquia (Cureton, 1849: 47-48).

Em Roma, foi condenado a morrer no Coliseu, atacado por leões [Figura 3.3.], durante o 11º ano do reino de Tibério, ou seja, no ano 108. Seus restos mortais foram levados para Antióquia por seus companheiros e enterrados fora dos muros da cidade. O imperador Teodósio

II transferiu os presumidos restos de S. Inácio para o Tychaeum, ou templo de Tyche, então convertido numa igreja dedicada a esse santo. Em 637 essas relíquias foram transferidas para a Basílica de São Clemente, em Roma.



Figura 3.3 Martírio de S. Inácio de Antióquia no Coliseu de Roma.

3.2.2 Orígenes (em grego Ὠριγένης), cognominado Orígenes de Alexandria ou Orígenes de Cesareia (ca 185 – 253) [Figura 3.4], teólogo e filósofo neoplatônico, mencionou a pantera (*párdalis*) duas vezes:



Figura 3.4 Orígenes de Alexandria

A primeira em seus comentários sobre o evangelho segundo Mateus (Migne, 1862: colunas 1535 e 1536) [Figura 3.5]:

<p>« Ego vero sum quasi panthera Ephraim, et quasi leo domui Juda; » et alibi : « Occurram eis, inquit , quasi ursula pabulo indigens. » Aliquando ergo pantheræ, et leoni, et ursæ pabulo egenti similis esse desinet, cum scilicet propterea quod qui talia egerant eo pantheræ, vel leonis, vel ursæ simili non amplius indigeant, nullum amplius habens qui se talem desideret, talem se qualis est conspicuum dabit.</p>	<p>« Ἐγὼ δὲ εἰμι ὡς πάνθηρ τῷ Ἐφραΐμ, καὶ ὡς λέων ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰούδα. » καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ τόπῳ. « Ἀπαντήσομαι, » φησὶν, « αὐτοῖς ὡς ἀρκτος ἀπορουμένη. » Παύσεται οὖν ποτε τῶν ὡς πάνθηρ, καὶ ὡς λέων, καὶ ὡς ἀρκτος ἀπορουμένη, ὅτε διὰ τὸ τοὺς τάδε πεποιηκότας μηκέτι χρῆξιν τοῦ ὡς πάνθηρος, καὶ τοῦ ὡς λέοντος, καὶ τοῦ ὡς ἀρκτου, αὐτοὺς οὐκέτι ἔχων τοὺς τοιοῦτου ἑαυτοῦ χρῆζοντας, ἐμφανίσει ἑαυτὸν καθὼς ἐστίν.</p>
---	--

Figura 3.5 Trechos de Orígenes sobre a pantera (*párdalis*) (Migne, 1862: colunas 1535 e 1536).

A segunda aparece em sua *Expositione in proverbias Salomonis* (Migne, 1857^a: colunas 203 e 204) [Figura 3.6]:

<p>⁷⁴ Hominis nomine nunc dicit Deum. Namque illius in iudicio furorem lenit sibi, qui mandatis ejusdem obsequitur. Sic fit etiam in materialibus. Et sicut Dominus noster panthera catulis orba fieri dicitur contra peccatores, et petra scandali incredulis, sic pusillanimitas erga peccantes. Vel pusillanimitas dicitur pro improbo, et pro omni dæmone qui a virtute scientiaque exciderit.</p>	<p>Ἄνδρα ἐνταῦθα τὸν θεὸν φησὶ. τὸν γὰρ θυμὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐν τῇ κρίσει καταπραῖνει ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν, ἡθεραπεύσας αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς αὐτοῦ. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν. ὡσπερ δὲ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν πάνθηρ ἀπορουμένη λέγεται γίνεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πλημμελοῦντας, καὶ πέτρα σκανδάλου πρὸς τοὺς ἀπιστοῦντας, οὕτω καὶ ὀλιγόψυχος ἐπὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσι. δύναται δὲ ὀλιγόψυχον λέγειν καὶ τὸν πονηρὸν, καὶ πάντα δαίμονα ἀρετῆς ἐκπιπτωκότα καὶ γνώσεως.</p>
---	---

Figura 3.6 Trechos de Orígenes sobre a pantera (Migne, 1857^a: colunas 203 e 204).

3.2.3 S. Atanásio de Alexandria (Ἀθανάσιος Ἀλεξανδρείας) (ca. 296–298 – 373) [Figura 3.7], em sua *Vida de Santo Antônio*, descreveu dramaticamente o episódio em que o demônio faz surgir vários animais medonhos, entre eles leopardos. Em Migne (1857c: colunas 857 e 858) há esta passagem [Figura 3.8]:



Figura 3.7 S. Atanásio de Alexandria (Teto da igreja de Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Roma).

<p style="text-align: center;">Τότε δὴ οὖν Α</p> <p>ἐν (89) τῇ νυκτὶ κτύπον μὲν τοιοῦτον· ποιοῦσιν, ὡς δοκεῖν πάντα τὸν τόπον ἐκείνον σειεσθαι· τοὺς δὲ τοῦ οἰκίσκου τέσσαρας τοίχους ὡσπερ βήξαντες οἱ δαίμονες, ἔδοξαν δι' αὐτῶν ἐπιεσέρχασθαι, μετασχηματισθέντες εἰς θηρίων καὶ ἐρπετῶν φαντασίαν· καὶ ἦν ὁ τόπος εὐθύς πεπληρωμένος φαντασίας (90) λέοντων, ἄρκτων, λεοπάρων, ταύρων, καὶ ὄφρων, ἀσπίδων, καὶ σκορπιῶν, καὶ λύκων. Καὶ ἕκαστον μὲν τούτων ἐκίνει κατὰ τὸ ἴδιον σχῆμα. Ὁ λέων (91) ἔδρυχε, θέλων ἐπελθεῖν, ὁ ταῦρος ἔδοκει καρατίζειν, ὁ ὄφις ἔρπων οὐκ ἐφθανε, καὶ ὁ λύκος ὄρμῶν ἐπέιχετο· καὶ ὅλως πάντων ὁμοῦ ἦσαν τῶν φαινομένων οἱ ψόφοι δεινοί, καὶ οἱ θυμοὶ χαλεποί.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Noctu itaque tantum excitavere strepitum, ut totus concutii videretur locus et quasi ruptis quatuor casæ parietibus irrumperet dæmones visi sunt, variis ferarum reptiliumque induti formas: fuitque statim locus spectris repletus, leonum, ursorum, leopardorum, taurorum, serpentum, aspidum, scorpionum, atque luporum. Horum unumquodque forma propria movebatur. Rugiebat leo quasi invasurus, taurus cornu petere videbatur, serpens reptando non accedebat tamen, lupus irruens retinebatur. Erat demum omnium quæ apparebant ferarum horrendus strepitus, feroxque animus.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">B</p>
---	---

Figura 3.8 Texto de Migne (1857c: columnas 857 e 858)³⁸.

3.2.4 Oribasius (Ὀρειβάσιος) (ca. 320 – 403), médico pessoal do imperador Juliano, o Apóstata, citou a gordura do leopardo como remédio duas vezes [Figuras 3.9 e 3.10]:

*στέαρ λέοντος καὶ
παρδάλεως καὶ υἰάνης πάνυ· τὸ δὲ τῶν ταύρων ἔλαττον· κασίδριον,
σηπίας ὄσπρακον, ἔρια καυθέντα.*

Figura 3.9 Trecho à página 531 de Bussemaker & Daremberg (1854).³⁹

*Ἰσχυρὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ ταύρειον, ἀλλὰ ἦττον τοῦ
τραγείου. Διαφορητικωτέραν δὲ τούτων δύναμιν, οὐ μαλακτικωτέραν
ἔχει τὸ λεόντειον καὶ παρδάλειον, υἰάνης τε καὶ χηνός. Καὶ μὲν δὴ
καὶ ὁ μυελὸς ὁ ἐλάφειος ἱκανῶς μαλάττει, καὶ μετὰ αὐτὸν ὁ μόσχειος.*

Figura 3.10. Trecho à página 538 de Bussemaker & Daremberg (1859)⁴⁰

3.2.5 S. Basílio de Cesareia, na Capadócia, também chamado São Basílio Magno ou Basílio, o grande (em grego Ἅγιος Βασίλειος ὁ Μέγας) (329/330 – 379) [Figura 3.11]. Em sua *Homilia*

³⁸ Vivian (1994: 108) ofereceu a seguinte versão: “The night, then he [the Devil] worked such deceit that that place was shaken as by an earthquake that seemed to tear everything apart. The demons came inside, taking the shape of wild beasts and reptiles in a nightmare. Suddenly the place was filled with the illusory shapes of lions and bears and **leopards** and bulls and male and female serpents and wolves, and each one came toward him with a loud roar and hissing, according to its kind. The roaring lions wanted to leap upon him; the bull acted as though it would gore him; the snake struck, but did not reach him; and the wolf stalked towards him. All of these appeared together, and the sound of their roars and hissings was very fearful”.

³⁹ Na tradução de Bussemaker & Daremberg (1854: 531): “la graisse de lion, de **léopard** et de hyène, éminnement, et celle du taureau à un moindre degré; le castoréum, les os du sèche, la laine brûlée” (incluído entre os “Médicaments subtils et les médicaments à particules grossières”).

⁴⁰ Na tradução de Bussemaker & Daremberg (1854: 539): “La graisse du taureau est forte aussi, mais moins que celle du bouc. La graisse du lion, du **léopard**, d’hyène et d’oie favorisent plus la perspiration que les précédents, mais elles ne sont pas plus ramolissantes” (incluído entre os “Médicaments ramolissants”).

IX in Hexaemeron (Migne, 1857d: columnas 191 e 192; Figura 3.12) mencionou brevemente esse animais:

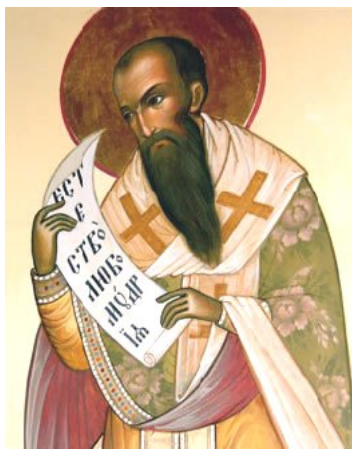


Figura 3.11 S. Basílio Magno.

Vehemens est panthera, et ad impetus re-
pentinos expedita : corpus agilitati et levitati ido-
neum, quodque animæ motibus convenit, ei con-
iunctum est. Pigra est ursæ natura, indoles peculia-

Ραγδαῖον ἡ πάρδαλις, καὶ ἀξύρροπον
ταῖς ὀρμαῖς· ἐπιτήδειον αὐτῇ τὸ σῶμα συνέζευκται
τῇ ὑγρότητι καὶ τῷ κούφῳ, τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς κινήμασι
συνεπόμενον. Νωθρὰ ἡ φύσις τῆς ἀρκτου, ἰδιότροπον

Figura 3.12 Texto de S. Basílio sobre a pantera (Migne, 1857d: columnas 191 e 192).

3.2.6 Em seu *Hexaemeron*, escrito por volta de 389, S. Ambrósio de Milão (Ambrosius Mediolanensis) [Figura 3.13], no século Aurelius Ambrosius (ca. 340 – 397), ao discorrer sobre os animais terrestres criados por Deus no sexto dia, mencionou três vezes o leopardo:



Figura 3.13 S. Ambrósio de Milão (Anôn., 1614).

“Nam de **pardi** specie nec scriptura siluit, quòd uarietate coloris, motus uarius animæ suæ prodat. Dicit enim Jeremias: Si mutabit Aethiops pellem suam: & **pardus** uarietatem? Nom solum enim de figura, sed etiam de mobilitate furoris istud accipitur, eo quòd tenebrosis & inquietis ac mobilibus infidæ mentis atq’ animi mutationibus decoloratus populus Iudeorū, boni propositi gratiam iam tenere non possit, nec ad emendationem

ullam correctionemq' remeare, qui semel ferinam induerit immanitatem" (Coster, 1555: 74; Anôn., 1614: coluna 87; Monachis Ordinis S. Benedicti, 1748: coluna 136; Migne, 1845: coluna 247)⁴¹.

"Habet suos usus natura, & sensus domesticus. Vix infantulo coeperunt dentes prorumpere, & iam nouit sua arma tentare. Nondū catulo dentes, & tanquam habeat, ore proprio se quaerit ulcisci. Nondum ceruo cornua, & tamē fronte praeludit atq' ex ea quae nondū expertus fit tela minitatur. Lupus si prior hominem uiderit, uocem eripit, & despicit eum tanquā uictor uocis ablatae. Idem sise p̄uisum senserit, deponit ferociam, non potest currere. Leo gallum, & maxime albū ueretur. Caprea uulnerata dictamū petit, & de uulnere excludit sagittas. Norunt & bestiae remedia sua. Leo aeger simiam quaerit ut deuorer, quo possit sanari. **Leopardus** capreae agrestis sanguinē bibit, & uim languoris euirat. Omnis fera aegra canis hausto curatur sanguine. Vrsus aeger formicas deuorat. Ceruus oleae remusculos mandit" (Coster, 1555: 77; Anôn., 1614: coluna 91; Monachis Ordinis S. Benedicti, 1748: coluna 142; Migne, 1845: coluna 252)⁴².

"Quid dicāt alio homines delectari, & illud ad escā sumere, quod & **leopardus** fugit? Deniq' sicubi alium aliquis confricandū putauerit, **leopardus** inde exilit, nec resistit. Cuius uenenata fera odorem non potest sustinere. Id tu pro cibo sumis, & uisceribus infundis internis?" (Coster, 1555: coluna 77; Anôn., 1614: coluna 91; Monachis Ordinis S. Benedicti, 1748: coluna 142; Migne, 1845 coluna 252)⁴³.

3.2.7 A *Historia Augusta*. Este é o título dado a uma obra repleta de falsidades, provavelmente composta por um único autor desconhecido do fim do século IV, durante o reino de Teodósio I, que trata da biografia de vários imperadores romanos e atribuída a seis autores fictícios, denominados Aelius Spartianus, Iulius Capitolinus, Vulcacius Galicanus, Aelius Lampridius, Trebellius Pollio e Flavius Vopiscus de Siracusa⁴⁴, conhecidos em seu conjunto como

⁴¹ "Scripture is also not silent about the nature of the **leopard**. By the varied character of his coat he betrays the variety of his emotions. Jeremias says: 'If the Ethiopian can change his skin or the **leopard** his spots'. This is not said merely of what is external. It refers, also, to changes in the fierce nature of the animal. The Jewish people, whose characters were spoiled because of the gloomy and uneasy fluctuations of their hearts and minds, could not attain the grace of good purpose. Once they had acquired the fierce character of a wild beast, they were unable to return to a better and improved mode of life" (Savage, 1961: 235).

⁴² "Nature has her own customs and her own innate instincts. Scarcely has the infant got his first teeth when he is able to test his own arms. The puppy does not yet have his teeth, yet in defense he acts as if he had. The deer is not yet provided with horns, yet he practices and butts with his head, threatening with weapons with which he is not furnished. A wolf takes away a man's power of speech by first staring at him. The wolf despises this man over whom he is victorious by reason of his loss of speech. On the other hand, if a wolf perceives that he has been seen first, he loses his fierce character and is unable to run away. A lion is in dread of a cock, especially of one white in color. A she-goat when wounded searches for a plant called *dittany* and by this means rids herself of arrows. Wild animals, too, have instinctive knowledge of suitable remedies. A sick lion searches for an ape which, when devoured, restores him to health. To a **leopard** the blood of a wild she-goat serves as an antidote against physical weakness. A sick bear devours ant. A deer chews the branches of an olive tree" (Savage, 1961: 244-245). S. Ambrósio aproveitou neste trecho muitas informações obtidas da *História Natural* de Plínio.

⁴³ "Why do I need to mention the fact that men are fond of garlic and use as a food a substance which the **leopard** avoids? Hence, as soon as a person gets ready to prepare garlic, a **leopard**, who is unable to tolerate it, is apt to leap forth from that region. To think that you use for food and infuse into your vitals a substance whose very odor a ferocious wild beast cannot endure!" (Savage, 1961: 245).

⁴⁴ Camus (1909: 21, nota (1)) forneceu uma falsa informação: "Les guépards d'Asie paraissent avoir été peu connus des Romains avant le III^e siècle de notre ère, époque des expéditions de Gordien le Jeune contre les Perses. **C'est alors probablement que fut formé le nom composé *leopardus*, employé au IV^e siècle, d'abord par Julius Capitolinus, puis par Lampridius, Vopiscus et autres** [minha ênfase]". Ora, o nome *leopardus* já fora citado por autores anteriores, como Sextus Pompeius Festus (2.5.22), S. Ambrósio (3.2.6), S. Isidoro de Sevilha (3.2.13),

Scriptores Historiae Augustae [cf. Societas Bipontina, 1787 e d'Aguen, Taillefert & Chenu, 1844-1847] [Figura 3.14].

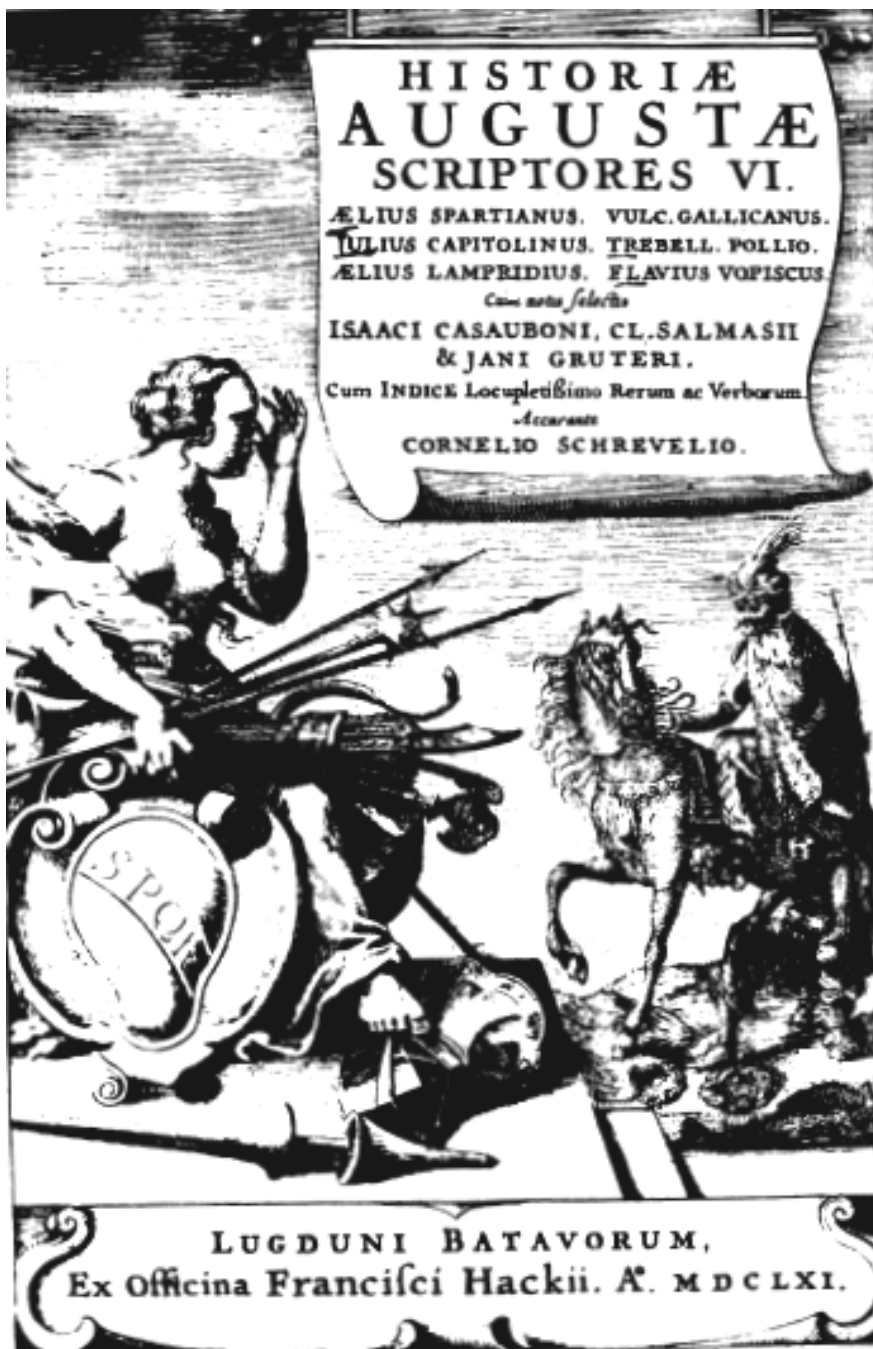


Figura 3.14 Frontispício da *Historia Augusta* na edição de Schrevel (1661).

Na biografia de Antoninus Heliogabalus, atribuída a “Aelius Lampridius”, há duas passagens sobre leopardos:

Hrabanus Maurus (3.2.15), na obra *Rhythmus de Sancto Annone* (Hughes de Saint Victor, 3.2.28) e Alberto Magno (3.2.55).

“XXI. Canes iecinoribus anserum pavit. Habuit leones et **leopardos** exemtos in deliciis, quos edoctos per mansuetarios subito ad secundam et tertiam mensam iubebat accumbere, ignoratinbus cunctis quod exarmati essent, ad pavorem ridiculum excitandum”.

[He fed his dogs on goose-livers. Among his pets he had lions and **leopards**, which had been rendered harmless and trained by tamers, and these he would suddenly order during the dessert and the after-dessert to get up on the couches, thereby causing an amusing panic, for none knew that the beasts were harmless”. (Magie, 1993a: 146, 147).

“XXV. Ebrios amicos plerumque claudebat et subito nocte leones et **leopardos** et ursos exarmatos immittebat, ita ut expergefacti in cubículo eodem leones, ursos, **pardos** cum luce vel, quod est gravius, nocte invenirent, ex quo plerique exanimati sunt”.

[When his friends became drunk he would often shut them up, and suddenly during the night let in his lions and **leopards** and bears – all of them harmless – so that his friends on awakening at dawn, or worse, during the night, would find lions and **leopards** and bears in the room with themselves; and some even died from this cause”. (Magie, 1993a: 154, 155);

O mesmo Aelius Lampridius, na vida de Geta (Publius Septimius Antoninus Geta), irmão de Caracala, escreveu:

“Familiare illi fuit has quaestiones grammaticis proponere, ut dicerent singula animalia quomodo vocem emitterent, velut: agni balant, porcelli grunniunt, palumbes minurriunt, porci grunniunt, urvi saeviunt, leones rugiunt, **leopardi** rictant, elephanti barriunt, ranae coaxant, equi hinnunt, asini rudunt, tauri mugunt, easque de veteribus adprobare”.

[It was a common practice of his to propound puzzles to the grammarians, asking them to characterize the cries of the different animals, as for example: the lamb bleats, the pig squeals, the dove coos, the hog grunts, the bear growls, the lion roars, the **leopard** snarls, the elephant trumpets, the frog croaks, the horse neighs, the ass brays, the bull bellows; and in proof he would cite the ancient writers”. (Magie, 1993a: 40, 42 e 41, 43).

O outro autor fictício, Flavius Vopiscus, descreveu o espetáculo oferecido no circo por Marcus Aurelius Probus, imperador de Roma de 276 a 282:

“triumphavit [Probus] de Germanis & Blemmyis, omnium gentium drungos usque ad quinquagentos homines ante triumphum duxit. Venationem in Circo amplissimam dedit, ita ut populus cuncta diriperet. Genus autem spectaculi fuit tale: arbores validae per milites radicitus vulsae conexas late longeque traibus affixae sunt, terra deinde superiecta totusque Circus ad sylvae consitus speciem gratia novi viroris effronduit. Missi deinde per omnes aditus struthiones mille, mille cervi, mille apri; iam damae, ibices, oves ferae et caetera herbatica animalia quanta vel ali potuerunt inveniri. Immissi deinde populares, rapuit quisque quod voluit. Edidit alia die in Amphitheatro una missione centum iubatos leones, qui rugitibus suis tonitrus excitabant. Qui omnes e posticis interempti sunt, non magnum praebentes spectaculum quum occidebantur. Neque enim erat bestiarum impetus ille esse e caveis egredientibus solet; occisi sunt praeterea multi, qui diripere nolebant, sagitis. Editi deinde centum **leopardi** Libyci, centum deinde Syri; editae centum leaenae et ursi simul trecenti; quarum omnium ferarum magnum magis constat spectaculum fuisse quam gratum”.

[He celebrated a triumph over the Germans and the Blemmyae, and caused companies from all nations, each of them containing up to fifty men, to be led before his triumphal procession. He gave in the Circus a most magnificent wild-beast hunt, at which all things were to be spoils of the people. Now the manner of this spectacle was as follows: great trees, torn up with the roots by the soldiers, were set up on a platform of beams of wide extent, on which earth was then thrown, and in this way the whole Circus, planted to look like a forest, seemed, thanks to this new verdure, to be putting forth leaves. Then through all the entrances were brought in one thousand ostriches, one thousand stags and one thousand wild-boars, then deer, ibexes, wild sheep, and other grass-eating beasts, as many as could be reared or captured. The populace was then let in, and each man seized what he wished. Another day he brought out in the Amphitheatre at a single performance one hundred maned lions, which woke the thunder with their roaring. All of these were slaughtered as they came out of the doors of their dens, and being killed in this way they afforded no great spectacle. For there was none of that rush on the part of the beasts which takes place when they are let loose from cages. Besides, many, unwilling to charge, were dispatched with arrows. Then he brought out one hundred **leopards** from Libya, then one hundred from Syria, then one hundred lionesses and at the same time three hundred bears; all of which beasts, it is clear, made a spectacle more vast than enjoyable”. (Magie, 1993b: 374, 376 e 375, 377).

3.2.8 Outro comentário sobre o *Hexameron* foi escrito por autor desconhecido entre 375 e 500. Conhecem-se mais de 26 manuscritos gregos medievais dessa obra, todos eles atribuindo sua origem a Eustathius de Antióquia. Originalmente descoberto na Sicília pelo Cardeal Guglielmo Sirleto, em 1583, só foi publicado pela primeira vez por Allatius (1629), com copiosas notas e tradução latina. Migne (1857b) republicou essa obra, considerando-a espúria; à coluna 741 há os seguintes trechos [Figura 3.15]:

Αἱ δὲ παρδάλεις θηρῶνται εὐμαρῶς τὰ ζῶα. Σαφῶς γὰρ εἰδυῖαι ταῖς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὀδμαῖς χαίροντα τὰ ἄλλα ζῶα, βαθέσιν ἄντροις ἰδροῦσι· τὰ δὲ, οἷα κνίσσης αἰσθόμενα, ρινηλατεῖ, καὶ ἐγγίσαντα τῷ τόπῳ, εὐθέως ὑπὸ τῶν παρδάλεων κατεσθίονται.

Ὁ δὲ πάνθηρ φίλον μὲν ἐστὶ πάντων τῶν ζώων, ἐχθρὸν δὲ τοῦ δράκοντος. Ἔστι δὲ τῷ σώματι ἀστερωπὸν καὶ πάνυ ἡσύχιον. Καὶ ἕως μὲν οὐ χρήζει τροφῆς, μένει καθεῦδον ἐν τῷ φωλεῷ· τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ πεινάσαν ἔξεισι, καὶ μεγάλη φωνῇ βοᾷ, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ εὐωδία τις ἔξεισιν ἀρωματική, δι' ἧς τὰ ἄλλα ζῶα θελγόμενα τὰ ἐγγύς καὶ τὰ πόρρωθεν ἐγγίζουσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἔπονται τερπόμενα αὐτοῦ τῇ ποικιλίᾳ τοῦ σώματος. Ὁ δὲ πάνθηρ ὀλίγον τι προηγησάμενος αὐτῶν ὑποστρέφεται, καὶ ἐπιτηρεῖ, καὶ ὁ, τ' ἂν τῶν ζώων ἀρέσῃ αὐτῷ, ἐπιπιδῆσας λαμβάνει.

Figura 3.15 Trecho do *Hexameron* de Pseudo-Eustathius (Migne, 1857b: coluna 741).

Em tradução latina (Migne, 1857b: coluna 742):

“**Pardalis** perfacile capit animalia. Etenim cum sat noveri cunctas quadrupedis ejus odore mire sollicitari, in profundis cavernis insudat, hae vero quasi nidore quodam invitatae, sagaciter persequuntur, ubi properato in loca vicina convenerint, subito correptas mandit.

Panthera cum caeteris animantibus, uno excepto dracone, amicitias et consuetudines jungit: minutis macularum oculis, quae stellis superpicta, valdeque cicur, et quandiu cibo non eget, in latebris dormit; sed post tres dies, fame dominante, egreditur maximeque clamat, indeque ex ore suavitas quaedam, odoris instar aromatum efflatur, quo animalia pelecta capiuntur, et tum vicina, tum longinquiora proxime accedunt, sequunturque, corporis varietate delectata. Verum **panthera** via non longa procedens revertitur, attenteque considerat, et ex animalibus quod illi collibitum est, impetu facto, comprehendit”.

3.2.9 Já no século V o *Physiologus* grego fora traduzido em etíope. Hommel (1877) publicou um desses manuscritos, incluindo o texto etíope [o trecho sobre a pantera está mostrado na Figura 3.16] e uma tradução para o alemão.

፲ወ፯ ፍካሬ፡ በእንተ፡ጸሐው።

**ውእቱሰ፡አርዌ፡ንኡስ። ይቤ፡ነቢይ ፤ ኮንኩ፡ከመ፡ጸሐው፡ ለ
ኤፍሬም። ሬሳልጎስ፡ይቤ ፤**

**ከመዝ፡ፍጥረቱ፡ለጸሐው፡ ምስለ፡ኩሉ፡ አራዊት፡ውእ
ቱ፡ይትፋቀር፡ወፀሩ፡ለውእቱ፡ከይሲ። ወዕሱቅ፡አርአያ
ሁ፡ከመ፡ልብሰ፡ዮሴፍ፡ወጥቀ፡ሠናይ፡አርዌሁ፡የዋህ፡ወፅ
ምው። ወእመ፡በልዑንስቲተ፡ይጸግብ፡ወይነውም፡ውስ
ተ፡ግብ። ወበሣልስት፡ይትነሣእ፡እምንዋሙ፡ወይጸርጎ፡
በቦቢይ፡ቃል። እለ፡እምርሑቅ፡ወቅሩብ፡ይሰምዑ፡ቃሉ፡
ወእምአፋሁ፡ይወፅእ፡መዐዛ፡ሠናይ። ወኩሉ፡አራዊት፡
እንዘ፡ይትለዉ፡ ይመጽኡ፡ኅቤሁ፡በእንተ፡መዐዛሁ።
ከማሁ፡እግዚእነ፡ኢየሱስ፡ክርስቶስ፡ተንሥኦ፡ እምንዋሙ፡ወ
በመዐዛሁ፡ሰሐብ፡ ርሑቃነ፡ወቅሩብነ። በከመ፡ይቤ፡ሐዋርያ ፤
መዐዛሁ፡ለክርስቶስ፡ብነ፡ ወዐባይ፡ይእቲ፡ጥበብ፡ዘመድ፡ኅኒነ።
ወመዘምር፡ ይቤ ፤ ወትቀውም፡ንግሥት፡በየማንክ፡በአልባስ፡
ወርቅ፡ዕጽፍት። ወሑብርተ፡ መድኅኒነ፡ክርስቶስ፡ዕሱቅ፡
ውእቱ፡በድንግልና፡ ወበጽንዕ፡ወበንጽሕ፡በሣህል፡ወበጸጋ፡**

**.fol.173^a ወበኒሩት፡በሰላም፡ወትዕግሥት። ዓዲ፡ቀታሊሁ፡ለከይሲ፡ዘ
col.^c ውስተ፡ሰማይ፡ውእቱ። ወኢምንትኒ፡ዕሩዕ፡ኢተጽሕፈ፡ዘተ
ጽሕፈ፡በእንተ፡አራዊት፡ወበእንተ፡አዕዋፍ።**

Figura 3.16 Texto etíope sobre a pantera (Hommel, 1877: 15-16).

Na tradução de Hommel (1877: 62-63, 1890: 21):

“Ueber den Panther.”⁹⁴

Diesert aber ist ein kleines thier.⁹² Es sprach der prophet: ‘Ich bin wie ein panther für Ephraim’ (Hos. 5, 14)⁹³ Der Physiologus sprach:
Also ist die natur des panthers:⁹⁴ Mit allen thieren lebt er in freundschaft,⁹⁵ nur der drache ist sein feind. Und bunt ist sein ansehen wie das kleid des Joseph,⁹⁶ und sehr schön ist das theil, zahm und friedlich. Und wenn er nur wenig frisst, so ist er satt⁹⁷ und schläft dann in seiner höhle. Und am dritten tag erhebt er sich vom schlaf und brüllt mit lauter stimme, während die in der nähe und ferne sind, seine stimme hören. Und aus seinem mund kommt ein gutter geruch. Und alle thiere gehn ihm nach und kommen zu ihm wegen seines geruchs.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Notas 94-97 de Hommel:

⁹⁴ πάνθηρος. — ⁹⁵ πάντων τῶν ζώων φίλον ἐστὶ τὸ ζῶον. —
⁹⁶ „wie das kl. des Joseph“ ist bereits im griech. text (ὡς ὁ χι-
τῶν τοῦ Ἰωσήφ) glosse eines abschreibers, weshalb es auch Pitra
in eckige klammern setzt. — ⁹⁷ καὶ ἐὰν φάγη καὶ χορτάσῃ,
κοιμᾶται κτλ.

So ist unser Herr Jesus Christus von seinem schlaf auferstanden, und durch seinen wohlgeruch hat er nahe und ferne an sich gezogen. Wie der Apostel sprach: ‘Der wohlgeruch Christi ist bein uns’ (II. Cor. 2, 15) und gross ist diese weisheit unsres erlösers.⁹⁸ Und der Psalmist sprach: ‘Und es hay sich erhoben die königin zu deiner rechten, in das kleid von gold gehüllt’ (ψ. 44, 14) und der schmuck unsers heilands Christus ist bunt durch keuschheit und tugend und durch reinheit, durch milde und güte und vortrefflichkeit, durch friede und mässigung. Ferner ist er der tödter der schlange, er de rim himmel ist.⁹⁹ Und nichts unbegründetes ist (in der heilingen schrift) über die thiere und vögel geschrieben⁴⁶

3.2.10 Luxorius, escritor e poeta romano, viveu em Cartago, na África, durante os últimos anos da ocupação vândala no século VI, sob os reinos dos reis vândalos Thrasimund, Hilderic e Gelimer (496-534). Em um de seus poemas (cf. Meyer (H.), 1835: 145-146, no. 367), intitulado *De pardis mansuetis, qui cum canibus venationem faciebant*, escreveu:

“Cessit Lyeai sacra fama nominis,
Lynces ab oris qui subegit Indicis;
 Curru paventes duxit ille bestias,
 Mero gravitas, agminari nescias,
 Et quas domarent vincla coetu 112rovo112s.
 Sed mira nostri forma constat seculi,
Pardos feroces, saeviores tigribus,
 Praedam sagaci nare mites quaerere
 Canum inter agmen, e t famem doctos pati,
 Quidquid capessunt, ore ferre baiulo.
 O quod magister terror est mortalium.
 Diros ferarum qui retundit impetus,
 Morsu repteros ut cibos non adpetant⁴⁷.”

3.2.11 O imperador de Bizâncio Justiniano I (Flavius Petrus Sabbatius Iustinianus Augustus, em grego Φλάβιος Πέτρος Σαββάτιος Ἰουστινιανός) (ca. 482 – 565) [Figura 3.17] foi o último imperador romano a falar latim como primeira língua.

Justiniano I alcançou fama duradoura por suas reformas jurídicas através da completa revisão da lei romana, algo que nunca havia sido tentado. A legislação completa desse imperador é conhecida como *Corpus Juris Civilis* e consiste de quatro partes: o *Codex Justinianus*, as *Digesta* ou *Pandectae* (do grego antigo πανδέκτης, ‘que contém tudo’) as *Institutiones* e as *Novellae*. Já no começo de seu reinado, que durou de 527 a 565, Justiniano designou seu *quaestor* Tribonianus (500 – 547) para supervisionar essa gigantesca tarefa. O primeiro esboço do *Codex Justinianus* – uma codificação das constituições imperiais do século II em diante – foi completado a 7 de abril de 529, mas a versão final só em 534. As *Digesta* ou *Pandectae*, uma compilação de textos legais mais antigos, apareceu em 533, sendo seguidas pelas *Institutiones*, um livro de texto que explicava os princípios da lei. As *Novellae*, coleção das novas leis promulgadas durante o reino de Justiniano, suplementaram o *Corpus*, sendo a única parte redigida em grego, a linguagem comum do Império Romano do Oriente.

⁴⁶ Notas 98 e 99 de Hommel:

⁴⁷ “Si *pardos* au lieu de *leopardus* n’est pas ici une licence poétique, amenée par les exigences de la versification, il faut croire que pour Luxorius ces deux noms étaient encore synonymes” (Camus, 1909: 22). “Les auteurs classiques latins ne donnent aucune indication, qui nous mette à même de préciser ce qu’étaient pour eux les *lynxes* du cortège de Bacchus, mais d’après l’épigramme de Luxorius, on peut supposer avec assez de vraisemblance, qu’ils entendaient par là les panthères. Ces animaux sont parfaitement reconnaissables sur divers bas-reliefs et camées, qui nous sont restés de l’antiquité, tandis qu’on ne rencontre jamais, dans les oeuvres artistiques de ce genre, les guépards avec leurs hautes jambes et leur longue queue.” (Camus, 1909: 23).



Figura 3.17 Justiniano I (mosaico da Basílica de San Vitale, Ravena).

Os trechos mais relevantes que nos interessam são os seguintes (note-se a complexa organização dos textos):

LIBER IX. PANDECTARUM. TITULUS II. AD LEGEM AQUILIAM. SECTIO I. ARTICULUS I. *Quandò sit locus Actioni Legis Aquiliae ex primo Capite.* II (Pothier, 1818a: 512):

“Sed canis inter pecudes non est. Longè magis bestiae in eo numero non sunt; velut, ursi, leones, **pantherae**. Elephanti autem et cameli quase mixti sunt. Nam et jumentorum operam praestant, et naturae eorum fera est: et ideò primo capite contineri eos oportet”.

LIBER XIX. PANDECTARUM. TITULUS I. DE ACTIONE EMPTI ET VENDITI. PRIMA PARS. DE ACTIONE EMPTI. SECTIO II. *Quid veniat in Actione Ex Empto?* CAPUT PRIMUM. *De his quae naturaliter insunt iudicio Empti.* ARTICULUS IV. *De obligatione prohibendi quominùs res emptori evincatur.* § II. *Quanti teneatur venditor emptori, evictionis nomine, hâc Actione Ex Empto?* XLVI. *Uno casu in actione ex empto ob rem evictam non hoc quod emptoris interest venit, sed duntaxat quanti res empta est. Casum illum ita refert Ulpianus* (Pothier, 1818a: 575, 1818b: 195):

“Veluti cùm futurum jactum retis à piscatore emimus, aut indagine[m] plagis positis à venatore, vel **pantheram** ab aucupe”.

LIBER XXXIX. PANDECTARUM. TITULUS IV. DE PUBLICANIS, ET ECTIGALIBUS, ET COMISSIS. ARTICULUS II. *De Vectigalibus.* § I. *Quis Vectigalia constituere possit, et pro quibus mercibus Vectigal pendatur* (Pothier, 1820: 589-590):

“XV. *Merces autem pro quibus Vectigal praestari consuevit, sunt generaliter quaelibet neres extraneae.* Species pertinentes ad Vectigal: cinnamomum, piper longum, piper álbum, folium pentaspherum, folium Barbaricum, costum, costamomum, nardi-stachis, cassia, turiana, xylo-cassia Smyrna, amomum, zingiberi, malabratum, aroma Indicum, chalbane, lazer, alchelucia, sargo-galla, onix Arabicus, cardamomum, xylo-cinnamomum, opus bissicum, pelles Bablylonicae, pelles Parthicae, ebur, ferrum Indicum carpatum, lapis universus, margarita, sardonix, ceraunium. Hyacinthus, smaragdus, adamas, saffirinus, callainus, beryllus, cheliniae, hopia Indica, vela Sarmatica, metaxa, vestis serica vel subserica, vela tincta, carbasea, nema sericum, spadones, Indici leones, leaenae, **pardi, leopardi, pantherae**; pupura, item maracorum Lana, fucus, capilli Indici”.

3.2.12 Georgios Pisides (Γεώργιος Πισίδης), poeta bizantino nascido na Pisídia⁴⁸, que viveu no século VII, em seu *Hexaemeron* (Migne, 1865: coluna 1506) [Figura 3.18] registrou:

Ποίους ὀρισμοὺς ἐκμαθὼν Ἱπποκράτους,
Τετρωμένος δίκταμνον ἐμφαγὼν τράγος,
Τὸν ἰὸν εὐθύς τῶν βελῶν ἀποπτύει;
Ποῖος Γαληνὸς ἱεράκων τὴν νόσον
Ἵπιῶ καθαίρει πικροφύλλων θριδάκων,
Ἄχλυν δι' αὐτῶν ὀπτικὴν ἀποξέων;
Καὶ πάρδαλις μὲν λύθρον αἰγὸς ἀγρίου
Πίνει νοσοῦσα, καὶ καθαίρει τὴν νόσον.

Figura 3.18 Trecho sobre a pantera (*párdalis*) de Georgios Pisides (Migne, 1865: coluna 1506)⁴⁹.



Figura 3.19 S. Isidoro de Sevilha.

⁴⁸ Pisídia era o nome de uma região da antiga Ásia Menor (Anatolia) que se localizava ao norte da Lícia e fazia fronteira com a Cária, Lícia, Frígia e Panfília, correspondendo, a grosso modo, com a província moderna de Antalya na Turquia.

⁴⁹ Na tradução de Migne (1865: coluna 1506): “Quos aphorismos Hippocratis didicit caprea, ut saucia dictamnum edat, atque ita teli venenum exspuat? Quisnam Galenus, succo ex amaribus lactucae foliis expresso, accipitrum morbum sanat, et offusam oculis caliginem abradit Sic etiam **pardalis**, cum aegrotat, silvestris caprae crurorem bibit, et morbo liberatur”.

3.2.13 S. Isidoro de Sevilha (Isidorus Hispaliensis) (ca. 560 – 636) [Figura 3.19], em suas *Etimologias* (XII, ii, 8-11), declarou (cf. Lindsay, 1911)

“**Panther** dictus, sive quod omnium animalium sit amicus, except dracone, sive quia et sui generis societate gaudet et ad eandem similitudinem quicquid accipit reddit. *Πᾶν* enim Graece omne dicitur. Bestia minutis orbiculis superpicta, ita ut oculatis ex fulvo circulis, nigra vel alba distinguatur varietate. Haec semel omnino parturit; cuius causae ratio manifesta est. Nam cum in utero matris coaluere catuli maturisque ad nascendum virbus pollent, odiunt temporum moras: itaque oneratam foetibus vulvam tamquam obstantem partui unguibus lacerant: effundit illa partum, seu potius dimittit, dolore cogente. Ita postea corruptis et cicatricosis sedibus genitale semen infusum non haeret acceptum, sed inritum resilit. Nam Plinius (N. H. 8, 43) dicit animalia cum acutis unguibus frequenter parere non posse; vitiantur enim intrinsecus se moventibus catulis. **Pardus** secundus post pantherem est, genus varium ac velocissimum et praeceps ad sanguine. Saltu enim ad mortem ruit. **Leopardus** ex adulterio leaenae et pardi nascitur, et tertiam originem afficit; sicut et Plinius in Naturali Historia (8, 42) dicit, leonem cum **parda**, aut **pardum** cum leena concumbere et ex utroque coitu degenerare partus creari, ut mulus et burro”⁵⁰.

3.2.14 Na obra *Clavis Scripturae*, do século VIII, erroneamente atribuída a Melito de Sárdis, bispo de Sárdis, perto de Esmirna, na Anatólia ocidental, morto ao redor de 170, existe uma interpretação simbólica do leopardo (Pitra, 1855: 58):

“**PARDUS**, Antichristus: ‘Et bestia quae ascendebat de mari, similis pardo’.
Peccator conversus: ‘Pardus cum hoedo accubabit’.
Diabolus, vel peccator, moribus varris. In Jeremias: ‘Sicut Aethiops non mutabit pellem, et pardus varietatem suam’”.

3.2.15 Hrabanus Maurus (ca. 780 – 856) [Figura 3.20], abade dos mosteiros de Fulda e Mogúncia durante o período da renascença carolíngia, citou as passagens de Plínio sobre o leopardo, introduzindo o simbolismo que esse animal representava para os cristãos (Migne, 1864: coluna 220 A, B):

“Nam Plinius dicit animalia cum acutis unguibus frequenter parere non posse; vitiantur enim intrinsecus se moventibus catulis. **Pardo** secundus post pantheram, genus est varium ac velocissimum, et praeceps ad sanguine; saltu enim ad mortem ruit. Pardus autem mystice significant Diabolum diversis vitiis planissimum, vel peccatorem quemlibet maculis scelerum et diversorum errorum aspersum. Unde dicit propheta: *Aethiops non mutavit pellem, et pardus varietatem suam* (Jer. XIII). Item pardus Antichristus malitiae varietate asperses, ut in Apocalypsi: *Et*

⁵⁰ Camus (1909: 23): “Au VII^e siècle, nous trouvons une distinction bien établie entre le *leopardus* et le *pardus* dans les ‘*Origines*’ d’Isidore de Séville; mais il n’y est pas fait mention de la chasse avec le premier de ces félins. L’auteur s’est contenté de parler de la ressemblance du guépard avec le lion, en ajoutant l’étymologie: ‘*Leopardus ex adulterio leaenae et pardi dicitur*’. Ce nom semble avoir été populaire de bonne heure chez les chrétiens, à Rome, car parmi les inscriptions latines provenant des catacumbes de S. Calixte, on a l’épithète d’un enfant de sept ans, appelé *Leopardus*”. Essa inscrição é a seguinte:

D MA SACRVM XL
LEOPARDVM IN PACEM
CVM SPIRITA SANTA . ACCEP
TVM EVMTE ABEATIS INNOCINEM
POSVER . PAR . Q . AN . N . VII . MEN . VII.

Segundo Raoul-Rochette (1838: 181) essa pedra foi retirada da catacumba de S. Calixto, em Roma, e está no Museu Capitolino; o autor incluiu a seguinte decifração da escrita: “Dis Manibus Sacrvm (numero Coumbarii vel Hypogaei christiani) XL. Leopardum in pace, com Spiritu sancto accepto (scilicet post Spiritum sanctum acceptum), euntem ad Beatos, innocentem, Posuerunt Parentes. Vixit annis vii, mensibus vii”.

bestia quae ascendebat de mari, similis erat pardo (Apoc. XIII); de illis dicit, qui in nigredine peccatorum et varietate perseverant. Alibi tamen scriptum est: Habitabit lupus cum agno, et pardo cum haedo cubabit (Isa. XI). Quod in adventu Christi completum est, quando illi, qui antes feroces fuerunt, eum innocentibus vitam ducunt, et qui errorum maculis pollute errant, poenitentiam agentes ad veritatem fidei convertuntur. Leopardus ex adulterio leaena et pardi nascitur, et tertiam originem efficit: sicut et Plinius in naturalis Historia dicit, leonem cum pardo aut pardo cum leaena concumbere, et ex utroque coitu degenere partus creari, ut mulus et asina”.



Figura 3.20 Hrabanus Maurus (à dir.) oferece seu livro ao papa Gregório IV (centro).

Em seu *Martyrologium* Hrabanus Maurus relatou alguns detalhes da vida de S. Torpes (o *Saint Tropez* dos franceses) (Caius Silvius Torpetius) (Migne, 1852: coluna 1137):

“In civitate Pisana natale sancti Torpetis martyris, quem Nero imperator jussit magnam Dianam matrem deorum adorare, quod ipse renuens repletus Spiritu sancto, et dixit: ‘Melius est unum Deum adorare, qui fecit coelum et terram, et omnia quae in eis sunt, quam plures deos colere, hoc est daemones’. Exiens sanctus Torpes de palatio multum intra se cogitans dixit: ‘Quid faciam idlis serviendo et baptismum salutis non accipio?’. Tunc ascendit in montem et clamare coepit, dicens: ‘Pater Antoni, ubi es?’. Respondet presbyter Antonius et dixit: ‘Et quis es tu fili?’. Sanctus Torpes dixit: ‘Ego sum servus tuus Torpes’, tunc Antonius baptizavit eum in nomine Pstris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti. Tunc statim angelus Domini apparuit sancto Torpeti, et dixit ei: ‘Forti esto animo, quia tu nobiscum eris in paradiso’. Postea Neo perrexit Romam et Satellico cognate suo praecepit sanctum Torpetem in carcerem recipe, et alapis caedi, et ad columnam Habentinam nudo corpora religari, et dum sanctus Torpes compleret orationem, cecidit illa columna, et oppressit ex impiis quinquaginta, et ipse Satellicus sub ea mortuus est. Tunc filius Satellici, nomine Silvinus, dum haec ita agerentur, jussit ut leo eum ad devorandum dimitteretur: qui subito dimissus dans rugitum super eum, et eadem hora mortuus est; et iterum dimissus est **leopardus**, et ipse flectens caput lingebat plantas ejus. Tunc praecepit Silvinus ministries ut ad mare duceretur et ibidem decollarur. Sacus vere Torpes, spem habens ad Dominum, ita oravit: ‘Domine, suscipe spiritum meum’, et sic a carnifice decollatus est”.



Figura 3.21 Ioannis Scotus Eriugena.

3.2.16 Johannes Scotus Eriugena (ca. 815 – ca. 877) [Figura 3.21], teólogo irlandês, filósofo neoplatonista e poeta, em suas *Expositiones super Ierarchiam Caelestem S. Dionysii* (Migne, 1853: coluna 168) fez o seguinte comentário:

“Myticus quoque **pantheri** [Christus] est. **Pantheri** quippe dicitur quasi panther, hoc est bestialissimus. Ferocissima enim omnium bestiarum est. Quae figura dupliciter in Christo intelligitur: aut enim e contrario accipitur, ut per nimiam ipsius bestiae ferocitatem ineffabilis divinae pietatis clementia et mansuetudo, qua vult omnes homines salvos fieri in agnitionem veritatis venire, significetur, aut per metaphoram suavissimae bestiae zelus divinae bonitatis, quo devorat et consumit omnes ferales et irrationabiles nostrae naturae motus, imaginatur. In eadem figura et **pardalis** ursaque saeviens introducitur”.

3.2.17 Muhammad ibn Zakariyā Rāzī (em persa: **رازى زکریای محمد** *Mohammad-e Zakariā-ye Rāzi*, também conhecido por seu nome latinizado Rhazes ou Rasis) (854 – 925) [Figura 3.22], foi médico, alquimista, filósofo e uma figura muito importante na história da medicina.



Figura 3.22 Rhazes.

Em sua obra *Rasis ad Almansorem* (Rasis, 1497) há uma passagem referente ao leopardo e outra ao guepardo (*alphet* ou *alfet*) [Figuras 3.23 e 3.24]:

De illis q sumpserunt in potu fel leopardi. Cap. xliij.
Scui leopardi fel dat coleras viridē subito vomit: atq; in suo ore sapore aloes sentit. Si quis etia horis eius flatu adoratus fuerit. h idem sentiet: oculi uide ei? citrinis fiunt. Quic ergo de hoc medicamine dandum est. qd sic fit. Recipe boliarme ni bacari lauri ambarū. ana ptē vnā: coaguli gazel: ptes. iiii. foliozū rute mirre amborū. añ ptē mediā pficiantur cum melle. z detur de ea ad nuclé magnitudinē. Et quādiu vomitus cum tenuerit: de hoc medicamine ei detur. Qui in aqua ponat in qua herbe bene oleres cocte fuerint z sedeat in ea cum est calida. Quē si p tres horas diei vixerit: possibile est euadere. Curandus tunc igitur erit cū medicinis colerice passionis.

Figura 3.23 Trecho no fôlio 37r de Rasis (1497).

De alpheth. Sermo. ij.
Alfeth aliter alpheth general ex leone z leopardo sicut mulus ex equa z asino: z quādo errat in venatione retrograditur iratus. Et cū disciplinatur in errore venationis recipit scientiā z disciplinam sicut recipit canis.

Figura 3.24 Trecho no fôlio 104v de Rasis (1497).

3.2.18 No poema medieval francês do século XI, *La Chanson de Roland*, constam os seguintes versos:

“Une autre vision vient encore l’émouviour.]
À Chapelle d’Aix, en France, il croit se voir.
Et destre braz li morst uns vers si mals;
De vers Ardene vit venir un **leupart**,
Sun cors demenie mult fierement asalt.
D’enz de [la] sale uns veltres avalat
Que vint a Carles le galops e les salz,
La destre oreile al premer ver trenchat,
Ireement se cumbat al **leupart**.
Dient Franceis que grant bataille i ad,
[Mais] il ne sevent li quels d’els la veintrat.
Carles se dort, mie ne s’esveillat. Aoi” (Lehuteur, 1870: 67-68).

“Quant Rolland veit que la bataille serat,
Plus se fait fiers que leun ne **leupart**,
Franceis escriet, Oliver apelat:
‘Sire cumpainz, amis, ne l’ dire ja!
Li emperere ki Franceis nos laissat,
I tels.xx. milie em mist a une part;
Sun escientre, [n’]en I out un cuard!
Par son seignur deit hum susfrir granz mals,
E endure e forz freiz e grantz chalz;
Si’n deit hom perdre del sanc e de la char” (Lehuteur, 1870: 100).

Na edição de Robertson-Mellor (1980), porém, existem mais passagens:

Estrofe **LII**

Devers Espagna vid venir un **liopart**,
Son cors meesme el requert et asalt.
De son paleis un veltres li asalt,
E veint al rois a trot et a salt.
Pur son amor gentement se combat;
Ardiement asalu lo **leopart**,
Mais ni seit qual de lors se vinçerat.
Çarlo se dorme, mie ne s'esveilat.

Estrofe **LXXXV**

Or vede ben Rollant che batailla serà.
Plus se fa fer che lion ne **liopard**.
Rollant s'escria, Oliver appella:
- Sire compagnun, amig, tré vos in ça!
Li enperer che ci nos manda,
Tel .XX.M. homes ni est in nule part.
Per son segnor dé hom sofrir gran mal
E dé indurer fort fred et gran chald,
E si dé perdere del sang et de la car.
Se nos muron, poront dir in tute part,
Ch'in tot li mund non fu tante noble vasal.
Çarles de França vent nos securant. -

Estrofe **CCIII**

Urs, **liopard** pois le voleit mançer;
Serpens e bivres, dragons e averser,
Griffon et aigle i ot .XXX. miller.
Il n'i oit cils a Franceis ne se joster,
E Franch crient: - Carlomaine, aider! -

3.2.19 O *Codex Exoniensis*, ou *The Exeter Book*, uma antologia de poesia anglo-saxônica, que deve ter sido composto entre 965 e 975, foi publicado por Thorpe (1842). Esse autor declarou à p. iii do seu prefácio:

“The only information we possess with regard to the manuscript, the entire contents of which are now first communicated to the Public, is, that it was one of many presented to the Library of his cathedral by Leofric, the first bishop of Exeter, under whom the see was transferred to that city from Crediton, of which he was the tenth bishop, in the year 1046”.

O longo trecho referente à pantera está na Figura 3.25 (Thorpe, 1842: 355-360):

THE PANTHER.

Monge j̄nbon.
 geonb mibban-gearb.
 unnumu c̄ynn.
 þe pe æþelu ne mazon.
 r̄yht areccan.
 ne num r̄itan.
 þæŷ r̄ibe j̄nð.
 geonb popl innan.

Many *there* are
 over mid-earth,
 numberless kinds,
 whose natures we may not
 40 rightly recount,
 nor number know;
 so ample are,
 throughout *the* world,

356

THE PANTHER.

fuzla ʒ ðeopa.
 folb-h̄neþenþra.
 porraŷ r̄ib-ŷceope.
 ʒpa p̄æter bibuŷeð.
 þ̄iŷne beorhtan boŷm.
 b̄num ʒr̄ymetenbe.
 realt-ýþa ʒeŷp̄unŷ.
 We bi ŷumum h̄yrbou.
 p̄rætl̄ice ʒec̄ȳnð.
 r̄ilb̄ra ŷec̄zan.
 f̄irum f̄rea-m̄æp̄ne.
 feop-lonbum ð̄n.
 earb p̄earþian.
 eðleŷ neotan.
 æp̄ter ð̄n-ŷc̄r̄æŷum.
 iŷ þæt ðeop panþher.
 bi noman haten.
 þæŷ þe niþþa bearn.
 r̄iŷŷæŷte p̄eraŷ.
 on ʒer̄ritum c̄yþan.
 bi þam ānŷtapan.
 ʒe iŷ æchp̄am f̄neonð.
 buŷuða eŷt̄iŷ.
 butan ð̄racan anum.
 þam he in ealle t̄ib.
 ʒp̄rað leop̄aþ.
 þ̄urh ýfla ʒehp̄ylc.
 þe he ʒæŷp̄nan mæŷ.
 ðæt iŷ p̄rætl̄ic ðeop̄.
 punþrum ŷc̄ýne.
 h̄ipa ʒehp̄ylceŷ.
 ʒpa hæleð ŷec̄gað.
 ʒæŷt-halŷe ʒuman.
 þætte ioŷep̄heŷ.

of birds and beasts,
 earth-enlivening,
the wide-created multitudes,
 as *the* water encircles
 this bright expanse,
the roaring ocean,
the salt waves' swing.
 We have heard of a certain
 curious kind
 10 of wild beasts tell;
 to *its* comrades a great lord,
 in distant lands
 inhabiting,
 a home enjoying
 among *the* mountain-caves;
 that beast is PANTHER
 call'd by name,
 from what *the* sons of mortals,
 sagacious men,
 20 in writings show
 touching that lonely creature,
 which is to each a friend,
 bounteous in benefits,
 save to *the* serpent only,
 to which he in all time
 hostile lives,
 by every evil
 that he can inflict.
 That is a curious beast,
 30 wonderously beautiful,
 of every hue,
 such men tell,
 persons of holy spirit,
 that Joseph's

tunece pære.	tunic was,
telga zehpýlceŕ.	of every tinge,
bleom bpezbenbe.	in colours varying,
þara beorhtra zehpýlc.	of which each more bright,
æzhpær ænlícra.	each more exquisite,
oþrum lihte.	than other shone
brýhta bearnū.	to <i>the</i> sons of men.
ŕra þær deoreŕ hiŕ.	Thus this beast's hue,
blæc bŕugða zehpær.	pale, of every change,
beorhtra 7 ŕcýnra.	10 brighter and fairer,
ŕunbrum lixeð.	wonderously shines ;
þce ŕræthcra.	so that more curious
æzhpýlc oþrum.	than every other,
ænlícra zien.	yet more unique,
7 pæzerŕa.	and fairer,
ŕrætrum blixeð.	<i>it</i> exquisitely glistens,
ŕýmle ŕellícra.	ever more excellent.
he haŕað ŕunbor zecýnb.	He has <i>a</i> singular nature,
milbe zemetŕæŕt.	mild, moderate ;
he iŕ monþpære.	20 he is gentle,
luŕŕum 7 leoŕtæl.	[96 a.] kind and gracious ;
nele laþeŕ riht.	<i>he</i> will not aught of harm
ænzum zæŕnan.	to any perpetrate,
butan þam atton-ŕceafan.	save to th' envenom'd spoiler,
hiŕ ŕýrn zehlitán.	his enemy of old,
þe ic æŕ ŕore-ŕæzbe.	which, I before related,
ŕýmle ŕýlle pæzen.	ever <i>is</i> in slaughter joyful.
þōn ŕobbor þizeð.	When <i>he</i> food tastes,
æŕter þā zereorbū.	after the repast
ŕæŕte ŕeceð.	30 <i>he</i> seeks for rest,
býzle ŕtope.	<i>a</i> secret place
unber dūn-ŕcraŕum.	among <i>the</i> mountain-caves ;
ðær ŕe þeob-ŕiza.	there the noble creature
þreo nihta pæc.	<i>a</i> three nights' space

ƿƿeƿeð on ƿƿeƿote.
 ƿlæpe ƿeƿeƿeƿeð.
 þōn ellen-ƿof.
 up-aƿtonbeð.
 þrȳme ƿeƿeƿeð.
 on þone þrubbān dæƿ.
 ƿneome of ƿlæpe.
 ƿƿeƿe-hleoþor cȳmeð.
 ƿoþa ƿȳnƿumajƿ.
 þurh þæƿ ƿilþreƿ muð.
 æfter þære ƿeƿe.
 ƿtenc ut-cȳmeð.
 of þam ƿonƿ-ƿtebe.
 ƿȳnƿumra ƿteam.
 ƿƿeƿe ƿ ƿrīþra.
 ƿræcca ƿehƿȳlcū.
 ƿȳnca bloƿtum.
 ƿ ƿubu-blebum.
 eallum æþelicra.
 eorþan ƿræƿra.
 þōn of ceafƿum.
 ƿ cȳne-ƿtolum.
 ƿ of burƿ-ƿalum.
 beorh-þreaf moniƿ.
 ƿarað ƿolb-ƿeƿum.
 ƿolca þrȳþum.
 eorpeð-cȳƿum.
 ofeƿtum ƿeƿȳbe.
 dapeð-lacende.
 beor efne ƿra ƿome.
 æfter þære ƿeƿe.
 on þone ƿtenc ƿarað.
 Ðra iƿ dȳhten ƿod.
 dƿeama ƿæbenð.

is in slumber dormant,
 with sleep o'ercome.
 When *the* bold *animal*
 rises up,
 gloriously endow'd,
 on the third day,
 suddenly from sleep,
 a sound comes,
 of voices sweetest,
 10 through the wild-beast's mouth ;
 after the voice
 an odour comes out
 from the plain,
 a steam more grateful,
 sweeter and stronger
 than every perfume,
 than blooms of plants,
 and forest leaves,
 nobler than all
 20 earth's ornaments.
 When from cities,
 and royal seats,
 and from castle-halls,
 many a band of nobles,
 on earth's ways journey,
 in bands of people,
 legionary troops,
 hurried with utmost haste,
 dart-brandishing,
 30 just so *this* beast,
 after the voice,
 in that odour goes.
 So is *the* Lord God,
 Prince of joys,

ƿƿeƿeð on ƿƿeƿote.
 ƿlæpe ƿeblieƿƿab.
 þōn ellen-ƿof.
 up-aƿtonbeð.
 þrȳme ƿepelƿab.
 on þone þrubbān bæƿ.
 ƿneome of ƿlæpe.
 ƿƿeƿ-hleoþor cȳmeð.
 ƿoþa ƿȳnƿumajƿ.
 þurh þæƿ ƿilbneƿ muð.
 æfter þære ƿeƿne.
 ƿtenc ut-cȳmeð.
 of þam ƿonƿ-ƿtebe.
 ƿȳnƿumra ƿteam.
 ƿƿeƿtra ƿ ƿrþra.
 ƿƿæcca ƿehƿȳlcū.
 ƿȳrta bloƿtum.
 ƿ ƿudu-blebum.
 eallum æþelicra.
 eorþan ƿƿæƿra.
 þōn of ceajƿrum.
 ƿ cȳne-ƿtolum.
 ƿ of burƿ-ƿalum.
 beorn-þneat moniƿ.
 ƿarað ƿolb-ƿeƿum.
 ƿolca þrȳþum.
 eored-cȳƿtum.
 ofeƿtum ƿeƿȳrbe.
 ðareð-lacende.
 ðeor efne ƿra ƿome.
 æfter þære ƿeƿne.
 on þone ƿtenc ƿarað.
 ðra ƿ ɔrȳhten ƿod.
 ðneama ƿæbend.

is in slumber dormant,
 with sleep o'ercome.
 When *the* bold *animal*
 rises up,
 gloriously endow'd,
 on the third day,
 suddenly from sleep,
 a sound comes,
 of voices sweetest,
 10 through the wild-beast's mouth ;
 after the voice
 an odour comes out
 from the plain,
 a steam more grateful,
 sweeter and stronger
 than every perfume,
 than blooms of plants,
 and forest leaves,
 nobler than all
 20 earth's ornaments.
 When from cities,
 and royal seats,
 and from castle-halls,
 many a band of nobles,
 on earth's ways journey,
 in bands of people,
 legionary troops,
 hurried with utmost haste,
 dart-brandishing,
 30 just so *this* beast,
 after the voice,
 in that odour goes.
 So is *the* Lord God,
 Prince of joys,

eallū eaðmebum.	with all kindness
oþrum ƷerƷeaftum.	to other creatures,
buƷuða ƷehƷýlcne.	to every <i>thing</i> of virtue,
butan ðnacan anum.	save to <i>the</i> serpent only,
attreƷ orb-Ʒnuman.	<i>the</i> origin of venom,
þæt iƷ Ʒe ealba Ʒeond.	that is the ancient fiend,
þone he ƷerƷælbe.	whom he bound
in Ʒurfa Ʒnumb.	in <i>th'</i> abyss of torments,
Ʒ ƷerƷetrabe.	and fetter'd
Ʒýrnum teagum.	10 with fiery shackles,
biƷeahte þnea-nýbum.	o'erwhelm'd by dire constraints,
Ʒ þý þruðban ðæƷe.	and the third day
of ðiƷle ānāƷ.	from darkness rose,
þæƷ þe he ðeað Ʒone uƷ.	after that he death for us
þreo niht þolabe.	three nights had suffer'd,
þeoben enƷla.	<i>the</i> Lord of angels,
ƷiƷora Ʒellenb.	Giver of victories.
þæt ƷæƷ ƷƷete-Ʒtenc.	[96 <i>b.</i>] That was a sweet odour,
þlitƷ Ʒ þýnƷum.	beauteous and pleasant,
Ʒeond Ʒoruld ealle.	20 through <i>the</i> world all,
Ʒiþþan to þam ƷƷæcce.	when to that fragrance,
ƷoðƷæƷte men.	upright men,
on healƷa ƷehƷone.	on every side,
heapum þrunƷon.	throng'd in bodies,
Ʒeond ealne ýmb-þƷýrƷt.	o'er all <i>the</i> circuit
eorþan Ʒceatan.	of earth's region.
ƷƷa Ʒe ƷnotƷra ƷeƷƷæð.	As the sage said,
ðcs pauluƷ.	Saint Paul.
monƷƷealbe Ʒunb.	Manifold are,
Ʒeond miðban-Ʒearb.	30 over mid-earth,
Ʒoð unƷnýðe.	goods abundant,
þe uƷ to ƷieƷe ðæleð.	which to us in gift distributes,
Ʒ to Ʒeoph-nerƷe.	and for life's preservation,
Ʒæðeþ ælmihtƷ.	<i>the</i> Almighty Father,

360

Ʒ Ʒe anƷa hýht.	and the only Hope
ealra ƷerƷeafta.	of all creatures,
uppe Ʒe niþƷe.	both high and low :—
þæt iƷ æþele Ʒtenc :-	That is a noble fragrance.

Figura 3.25 Páginas 355-360 de Thorpe (1842).

3.2.20 Konstantinos VII Porphyrogenetos ou Porphyrogenitus (Κωνσταντῖνος Ζ΄ Πορφυρογέννητος) (905 – 959) [Figura 3.26] foi o quarto imperador da dinastia macedônica do Império Bizantino, tendo reinado de 913 a 959. Fez uma compilações dos dados sobre animais existentes nas obras de Aristófanos (que comentou Aristóteles), Aelianus e Timotheus de Gaza. Lambros (1885) editou essa obra, dando-lhe o seguinte título:

Συλλογή τῆς περὶ ζώων ἱστορίας, χειρσαίων πτηνῶν τε καὶ θαλασσιῶν, Κωνσταντίνῳ τῷ μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ καὶ αὐτοκράτορι φιλοπονηθεῖσα.

Ἀριστοφάνους τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους περὶ ζώων ἐπιτομῆ, ὑποθεθέντων ἐκάστῳ ζῴῳ καὶ τῶν Αἰλιανῶ καὶ Τιμοθέῳ καὶ ἑτέροις τισὶ περὶ αὐτῶν εἰρημένων.

Ζῴων ἔθῃ νομάς τε καὶ φύσεις ἅμα
τῶν γηινῶν πτηνῶν τε καὶ θαλασσιῶν
ἄναξ ὁ πιστὸς καὶ σοφὸς Κωνσταντῖνος
συνῆξε λεπταῖς ὥδε τοῦ νοῦ φροντίσιν.

Nessa *De Natura Animalium* há as seguintes referências à *párdalis* e ao *panther*:

- I.6 (Lambros, 1885: 2):

(6) καρχαρόδοντα δέ ἐστιν ἕσα στρογγύλους καὶ ὀξεῖς καὶ ἐναλλάσσοντας τοὺς ὀδόντας ἔχει, οἷον λύκος λέων κύων πάρδαλις καὶ τὰ ἄλλα· ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν ἰχθύων πᾶν γένος καρχαρόδου.

- I.13 (Lambros, 1885: 13):

(50) ἡ δὲ λέαινα κύει καὶ ἡ μῦς καὶ ἡ πανθήρ καὶ ἡ πάρδαλις καὶ αἴλουρος καὶ ἰγνεύμων ὄσοντες οἱ κύωνες χρώνον, λέγω δὲ τὸν τετραμηριαῖον.

- I.143 (Lambros, 1885: 34):

(143) μόνη ἡ πάρδαλις τὸ ἄκρον τῆς οὐρᾶς κινεῖ τῆς ὅλης οὐρᾶς ἀκινήτουσσης.

- II.245- 270 (Lambros, 1885: 90-94):

(245) Ἔστι μὲν ἡ πάρδαλις καρχαρόδου καὶ πολυσχιῆς· καὶ γὰρ πενταδάκτυλος ἐκ τῶν ἐμπροσθίων, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὀπισθίων τετραδάκτυλος. (246) πορεύεται δὲ κατὰ διάμετρον. (247) ἔχει δὲ μαστοὺς δύο. (248) ἀνατηθεῖσα δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἔχει ὅμοια κυνί, γλῶσσαν δὲ ἔχει τραχιῆν καὶ ῥινόδη, πνεύμονα ἐπτάλοβον καὶ κοιλίαν ὀσίαν, κύησιν καὶ ἔκτεξιν πάντα ὅμοια κυνί.
(249) Ἔστι δὲ ἡ θήλεια ἀνδρειότερα τοῦ ἄρρενος. (250) λέγεται δὲ ἔστι ὅταν καταφάγη μὴ γνοῦσα σὺν ἄλλοις φυταρίαις τὸ παρδαλιαγγὲς

λεγόμενον βοτάνιον, ἀνθρωπίαν κόπρον φαγοῦσα ὑγιάζεται· εἶθον οἱ θη-
ρεύοντες αὐτάς τὴν κόπρον κατὰ τῆς ἐνέδρας τιθέασιν.

(250^a) Γίνονται δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ παρδάλις, ἐν δὲ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ οὐδ'
θλιωὶ γίνονται.

(251) Ἰδιὸν δ' ἔχει ἡ παρδάλις τὸ κινεῖν τὸ ἄκρον τῆς οὐρᾶς αὐτῆς
ἀκινήτους.

(252) Ὅτι διὰ τὸ ἀποδιῶράσκειν τοὺς πιθήκους ἐπὶ (τὰ) δένδρα, ἡ
παρδάλις τοῦ πιθήκου ὁλοερωτέρα οὖσα τοιαῦτα παλαμᾶται. ἑαυτὴν ὑπέριψε
δένδρῳ, | καὶ κεῖται ὑπτία, καὶ τὴν γαστέρα διώγκωσε, παρῆκε δὲ τὰ
σκέλη καὶ τὼ ὀφθαλμῶ κατέμυσε, πιέζει δὲ καὶ συνέχει τὸ ἄσθμα καὶ
κεῖται οἷα νεκρά. ἕνα οὖν οἱ πίθηκοι ἀδεέστερον καταπέμπουσιν, ὃ δὲ
κάτεισι καὶ μικρὸν ἰδῶν ἀνέστρεψε καὶ πάλιν κατῆλθε, καὶ πλησίον γενό-
μενος ἀνεχώρησε καὶ ὑπέστρεψεν αὐθις, καὶ τὴν πανουργίαν ἐξήτασε τῆς
καιμένης. ἡ δὲ ἀτρεμεῖ μάλα ἐγχερατῶς. ἀθρόοι οὖν γενόμενοι οἱ πίθηκοι
περιχορεύουσι καὶ κυβιστῶσι κέρτομόν τι καὶ ὀργηστικόν. ἡ δὲ ὑπομένει
καὶ καμώντας αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς χορείας ἀδοκίμως ἀναπηδήσασα τοὺς μὲν
τοῖς ὄνουσι διέξηγε, τοὺς δὲ τοῖς ὀδοῦσι διέσπασε, καὶ πανθοινίαν ἀφθονω-
τάτην ἔχει.

(253) Ἐχθιστον δὲ τῇ παρδάλει ἡ ὕαινα.

(254) Ἀμπελον δὲ ὁμώνυμον τῷ φυτῷ παρδαλίν τινα οὕτω καλεῖσθαι
φασὶ φύσεως ἰδίας μεταληχρῦϊαν, καὶ οὐρανὸν οὐκ ἔχειν ἀκούω αὐτήν· καὶ εἰ
ὀφθῆ γυναικί, εἰς νόσον ἀδόκητον ἐμβάλλει αὐτήν.

(255) Παρδάλις δὲ Καρικὴ καὶ Λυκιακὴ οὐκ ἔστι θυμικὴ, οὐδὲ ἀλτικὴ
σφόδρα, τὸ σῶμα δὲ μακρὰ, ἀντίτυπος δὲ τῇ φθορᾷ καὶ οὐ βραδίως τῷ
σιδήρῳ εἴκουσα.

(256) Ἔστι δὲ τὸ ζῶον ἡ παρδάλις τῶν καρχαροδότων.

(257) Εὐωδίας τινὸς θαυμαστῆς τὴν παρδαλιν μεταληχρῦνα φασί,
ἡμῖν μὲν ἀπορρήτου, αὐτῇ δὲ οἶδε τὸ πλεονέκτημα τὸ οἰκεῖον, καὶ μέντοι
καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ζῶα συνεπίσταται τοῦτο τῇ παρδάλει, καὶ ἀλίσκεται τὸν τρόπον

τοῦτον. ἐκαίνη ἡ παρδάλις τροφῆς δεομένη ἑαυτὴν ὑποκρύπτει ἢ λόχημῃ
πολλῇ ἢ φυλλάδι βαθείᾳ, καὶ ἐντυχεῖν ἔστιν ἀφανῆς, μόνον δὲ ἀναπνεῖ.
οὐκ οὖν οἱ νεβροὶ καὶ ὀρχαῖδες καὶ αἴγες αἱ ἄγρια καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν
ζῶων, ὡς ὑπὸ τινος ἰυγγος τῆς εὐωδίας ἔλκεται, καὶ πλησίον γίνεταί· ἡ
δὲ ἐκπηρᾷ καὶ ἔχει τὸ θήραμα.

(258) Τὰ ἄλλα καὶ τῶν συνήθων σφίσι γενομένων ἀπέχεσθαι φιλεῖ
καὶ φεῖεσθαι πολλάκις. ἀκούω γοῦν τὸν λόγον ἐκεῖνον. παρδαλιν ἐκ νε-
πίου θηρατῆς ἀνὴρ ἡμερώσας εἶχεν, οἷα δὴ ποῦ φιλην ἢ ἐρωμένην ἀγαπῶν
καὶ περιέπων ἰσχυρῶς. οὐκ οὖν ἔριφον αὐτῇ φέρων ζῶντα ἐδίδου, τροφὴν
ἐν ταύτῃ καὶ ἡδονὴν τινα ἐπινοήσας τῷ θηρίῳ ἐν τῷ ἰασπᾶν τὸν ἔριφον,
ἀλλὰ μὴ ὀκνεῖν ἐσθίειν κενέβριόν τι καὶ θνησεῖδιον. καὶ δὴ κομισθεύσας
ἔριφου. ἡ δ' ἐγχερατῶς ἔσχε, δεομένη ἀπόσιτος· εἶναι διὰ πλησμονῆν. |
ἔδρασε δὲ καὶ τῇ δευτέρᾳ τούτου· ἐδείτο γὰρ ἔτι ὡς φαρμάκῳ τοῦ λιμοῦ.
τῆς δὲ τρίτης ἐπιστάσης ἡμέρας ἐπεινή μὲν καὶ συνήθως ἐπεδείκνυτο τοῦτο
τῷ φιλέματι, οὐ μὴν τοῦ ἔριφου γενομένου δύο ἡμερῶν ἑαυτῇ φιλιτάτω
ἔτι προσήψατο, ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνον μὲν εἶασεν, ἄλλους δὲ ἔλαβεν. ἀνθρώποι δὲ
καὶ ἀδελφοὺς προσῦδουσαν καὶ τοὺς γειναμένους καὶ φίλους ἀρχαίους, καὶ
πολλοὶ πολλάκις.

(259) Θήρα δὲ παρδάλεων Μαυρουσία εἴη ἄν. καὶ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς
οἰκονομία λίθων περιπεποιημένη καὶ εἶοικε ζωαγρία τινί· καὶ ἔστιν ὁ λόγος
ὅδε ὁ πρώτος· ὃ γε μὴν δεύτερος, ἐνδοτέρω σαπροῦ κρέως καὶ ὀδοῦτος
μοῖραν μηρίνου τινὸς μακροτέρας ἐξαρτῶσι· θύραν δὲ ἐκ βριπίδων καὶ τινῶν
καλάμων ἀραιῶν ἐπέστησαν, καὶ μέντοι καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἐκπνεῖται ἡ τοῦ κρέως
τοῦ προσεργημένου ὁσμή διαρρέουσα. αἰσθονται δὲ οἱ θήρες· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ
τοῖς κακίσμοις φιληροῦσι· προσβάλλει γὰρ αὐταῖς ὁ τῶν προσεργημένων ἀήρ,
ἐάν τε ἐν ἀγρίοις τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἐάν τε ἐν φάραγγι, καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἐν αὐλῶνι.
εἶτα ἀνεφλέχθη καὶ ἡ τῇ ὁσμῇ ἐντυχοῦσα, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἄγαν ὀσμῆς ἐς
τὴν θοίναν τὴν φιλην ἄττει φερομένη· ἔλκεται δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῆς ὡς ὑπὸ τινος

ὑγιεινῶς· εἶτα ἐμπίπτει τῇ θύρᾳ καὶ ἀνατρέπει αὐτὴν καὶ ἔχεται τοῦ δυστυχοῦς δαίπνου· τῇ γὰρ τοι μυχρίνθη τῇ προσειρημένῃ συνυφάνθη ἢ πάγῃ καὶ μάλα σοφῇ, ἥπερ οὖν ἐσθιομένου τοῦ κρέως κινεῖται, καὶ περιλαμβάνει τὴν λίγνον παρδαλιν· καὶ ἑάλω γαστρὸς ἀθηφάγου καὶ μυσσαρῶς ἐστιάσεως δίκας ἐκτινύουσα ἢ δυστυχίης.

(260) Ἡ δὲ παρδαλις, διττὸν τὸ γένος αὐτῆ· αἱ μὲν γὰρ μικραὶ, αἱ δὲ πεφύκασιν οὖσαι μεγάλαι· καὶ ἔστι ταῖς μὲν μικραῖς ἢ οὐρὰ μυχρίστη, ταῖς δὲ μεγάλαις μικρά· (261) ἀμφοτέραις δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ τέλει τῆς οὐρᾶς κέντρον ἀνίσχει κατὰ τὸν λέοντα, καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα ταύταις ὁμοίως ἐκείνῃ τραχεῖα· (262) γλαυκαὶ δὲ αὐταῖς αἱ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν κόραι· καὶ μεμύκασιν πρὸς τὸ φῶς, πρὸς τε (τὸ σεληναῖον) καὶ τὸ ἐξ ἡλίου· (263) μισσοῦσι δὲ καὶ αὐλῶν φῶδες καὶ ὁμμάτων ἀνθρωπίνων ἀργάς· οἷς γε δὴ καὶ ἐφορμῆ παρδαλις.

(264) Πραγαῖ δὲ | καιμένῳ περιτυχοῦσα παρέλθοι ἂν εἰς οὐδὲν ἐσθλάψασα· (265) ἔξωροι δὲ οὖσαι ἤδη καὶ τὸ θηρεῦσιν οὐκ ἔχουσαι, κατὰ κράτος τρέπονται πρὸς τὸν δόλον, καὶ λυγῶσαι τὰς αἰγιάρους μηχανῆ χρῶνται τοιᾶνδε· ἐν τριῶν γινόμεναι τῇ μιᾷ μὲν τὰ οὐρα, τῇ δὲ ἑτέρᾳ τὴν σφῶν ἐνέθηκον κόπρον, τῇ λοιπῇ δὲ ἑαυτὰς ἰδίῳ ὑπεκάλισαν· εἴθ' οὕτως ἐκείθεν ἐκτρεπόμενα τὰ ζῷα ἐν οἷς οὐδὲν οἴεται σφαλῆρον ἐφορμῆ καὶ ἐμπίπτει τῇ θύρᾳ.

(266) Λέγει δὲ τὰς παρδαλίας, γυναικας οὖσας τὸ πρότερον, τροφούς εἶναι Διονύσου· ὁπότε δὲ ὁ Πενθεὺς εἰς αὐτὸν ἐξυβρίσειεν, εὐχασθαι ταύτας εἰς θήρας μεταβαλοῦσας ἀμόνασθαι τὸν ἐξυβρισκότα καὶ, νῦν ἄπερ εἰσί, παρδαλίας γεγονέναι καὶ διασπαράξαι τὸν Πενθεῖα· (267) ταύτη τοι καὶ φιλοῦσι τὸν οἶνον αἱ παρδαλίας· αἴτιος (δ') αὐταῖς οὗτος γίνεται τοῦ ἀλῶναι· καὶ γὰρ οἱ θηρῶντες κατὰ γῆν ἐρήμην ὕδατος, οἴνου παραπλήσαντες ἀμφορέας ἀπέλιπον· αἱ δ' ἐν τῷ τόπῳ γενόμεναι, τῆς δίψης αὐτὰς αἰρούσης, ἐκθύμως ἀποχρῶνται τῷ οἴνῳ· εἶτα πρῶτον ἡδύ τι καὶ ἀπαλὸν σκιρτῶσι, ὡς δὲ ἤττους ἤδη τῆς μέθης γεγόνασιν, ἀνῆκαν ἑαυτὰς τῇ γῇ· βαθεῖ τῷ ὑπνῷ (δὲ) δεδαμασμένας οἱ θηραταὶ καταλαβόντες ὅπως ἂν καὶ γνώμης ἔχουσι ταύταις χρῶνται.

(268) Δέδοικε δὲ παρδαλις κρानीαν τὸ φυτόν, καθ' ἅπερ δὴ καὶ πρῖνον ὁ λέων· καὶ ἀπόσχοιτο ἂν ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆ βόπαλον ἐκ τοῦδε φέροντος τοῦ φυτοῦ.

(269) Εἰσὶ γε μὴν κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδοίαν παρδαλίας ξανθαὶ τε καὶ κυαναὶ καὶ μέλαιναι καὶ λευκαὶ, πάσας δὲ γραμμαῖαι τινες εὐκυκλοὶ τε καὶ μέλαιναι περιβάλλουσιν.

(270) Ἡ δὲ καμχλοπαρδαλις μίξις τις εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ αὐτὴ δύο θηρῶν, ἐς ταῦτ' οὐ συνελθόντων, καμχλοῦ τε καὶ παρδαλεως.

- II.201 (Lambros, 1885: 97):

(291) Ἐκ τοῦ Τιμοθέου. Καὶ ὁ θῶς τὸ ζῷον τῶν ἐκ διαφόρων ἐστὶ θηρῶν γεννωμένων, παρδαλεώς τε καὶ λύκου κινῆν Ἀφροδίτην ἀσπασαμένων· ἐκμέμακται δὲ τῷ εἶδει τὰς τῶν γεννητῶρων μορφάς· σώζει γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς μὲν στόμα τε καὶ ὄμματα, καὶ ἔστιν ἐκ τούτων οἷα λύκος ἰδεῖν· μητρὸς δὲ τῷ ποικίλῳ κέχρηται τῆς δορᾶς· φαίνεται γοῦν λύκῳ μὲν ὁμοίως· πλὴν ἀλλ' ἤττων ἦ κατ' ἐκείνον κεφαλῇ τε ὀφθαλμοῦ καὶ ἡ οὐρά.

- II.302 (Lambros, 1885: 98):

(302) Ἐκ τοῦ Τιμοθέου. Τὸ μυοκτόνον τοῦτ' ἐθρίον, ὃ λέγεται αἰλουρος, ταῖς ὄλις μὲν εἶκοι τῇ παρδαλεῖ, ποσί τε καὶ ἀλμασι καὶ τάχει τῆς οὐρᾶς, οἷα στίγματα φερούσης μελαυγῆ· ἐξήλωκε δὲ οὐδὲν ἤττων καὶ τὸ ποικίλον αὐτὸ τῆς δορᾶς, πλὴν ὅσον ὁ μὲν κυαναῖς βράβδοις ἐστὶ κατάγραφος, ἡ δὲ παρδαλις ὥσπερ ἀστέρων κύκλοις ἐστιται μέλασι τὴν χροαίαν· λόγος οὖν ἔχει νόθον εἶναι τι γένος αὐτὰς τῶν παρδαλεων.



Figura 3.26 Cristo coroando Konstatinos Porphyrogenetos.



Figura 3.27 Frontispício do *Liber totius medicinae* de Haly Abbas (1523).

3.2.21 ‘Alī ibn ‘Abbās al-Majūsī, conhecido no ocidente como Haly Abbas (em árabe: علي بن العباس المجوسي) ou Albohacen Haly, falecido entre 982 e 994, foi um médico, psicólogo e escritor persa zoroastriano, autor de um famoso *Kitab al-Maliki*, ou seja ‘Livro Régio’, em latim *Liber Regalis* (cujo real título era *Kitāb kāmīl al-sinā’a al-ṭibbiyya*, ou seja ‘Livro completo da

arte médica (na edição latina de 1523 *Liber totius medicinae* [Figura 3.27] Nele há uma receita de emplastro para curar mordidas de leões e leopardos (Albohacen Haly, 1492: fôlio 120r; Haly filius abbas, 1523: fôlio 204v; ambos sob “Practice Liber Quartus”) [Figura 3.28]:

Cap^o. xxix. de leonis ⁊ leopardi morsus medela.
b **Os morsus** medicaminibus curare oz
te attrahentib⁹. vt empla-
stro quod de aristol. fit ⁊ ireos radic. ac melle. ⁊ nar-
cisii cepa si terantur diligent^r ⁊ loco apponantur cum aceto ⁊
aqua prodest: vnguentus enim quod diximus i quo cris cor-
tices sunt ⁊ zensarū ac quema prodest.

Figura 3.28 Fôlio 120r (parte) do *Regalis dispotio* (Abohacen Haly, 1492).

3.2.22 Outra figura importante na medicina foi Abu'l-Qasim Khalaf ibn ‘Abbas al-Zaharawi, em árabe: **الزهراوي عباس بن خلف القاسم أبو**, latinizado como Abulcasis (ou Albucasis), (Medina Al-Azhara, 936-1013) [Figura 3.29], médico cirurgião do al-Andalus. A edição latina de sua obra foi publicada por Ricius (1519) [Figura 3.30].



Figura 3.29 Abulcasis visitando um enfermo.

LIBER THEORICAE

NECNON PRACTICAE ALSAHARAVII IN PR

teo Arabum Medicinam octuorū facile principii: qui vulgo

Agaravus dicitur: iam summa diligentia & cura

deprecorum in lucem.



Cum privilegio summi Pontificis
et Imperatoris Romani.

Figura 3.30 Frontispício da edição latina da obra de Albucasis feita por Riccius (1519).

Nela existem duas passagens referentes ao leopardo [Figuras 3.31 e 3.32]:

Sig. fellis
leopardi

Cura

¶ De potu fellis leopardi. Cap. X.

Signum portionis eius est quia statim euo-
met fel viride / vel sentiet gustum aloes
in eius ore, & qui odorauerit anhelitū suū
percutiet illum & forma oculorū suorū mino-
ratur. Curatio eius est q̄ vomat in principio cū
hīs que dicta sunt, deinde fricetur corpus cum
aliquibus oleis aromaticis & cibetur cibis tem-
perate complexionis, & sumat ex hoc electua-
rio qd̄ appellatur mahagon alan. i. electuarium
de bolo. ℞. boli arm. baccarū lauri añ. partem. i
& de congregatione cerui partes. iij. foliorum
rutę mirte añ. partem. ʒ. teratur totū & confi-
ciatur cum melle & sumat de eo in quantitate
nucis, & accipiatur ex eo etiam post vomitū &
sedeat in aqua decoctionis medicinarū aromati-
carum calidarum, & si p̄teribunt in ore erit tūc
spes liberationis suę.

Figura 3.31 Trecho à página CXXXIIv da obra de Albucasis (Riccius, 1519).

¶ De morſu leonis leopardi & alpa
had. Capitulum. XXXII
Curmor
fus leonis
& aliorū.
O Portet ſupponi eis in principio vento
ſam cum ſcarificatione vt attrahatur
ſanguis & venenum, deinde abluatur
cum aceto & fale, & apponatur deſuper locum
de vngento nigro quouſq; fanetur.

Figura 3.32 Trecho à página CXXXVr da obra de Albucasis (Ricius, 1519).



Figura 3.33 Avicena.

3.2.23 Avicena, forma latinizada de Ibn-Sīnā (em persa: سینا ابن / سینا پور; em árabe: سینا ابن), cujo nome completo era Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Al-Hasan ibn Ali ibn Sīnā (em árabe: سینا ابن الله عبد ابن الحسين علي أبو) (ca. 980 – 1037) [Figura 3.33] foi um dos mais importantes pensadores e escritores persas da Era Dourada Islâmica. Das cerca de 459 obras que se sabe ter ele escrito, quase 240 sobreviveram, incluindo 150 sobre filosofia e 40 sobre medicina.

Na tradução latina de algumas de suas obras por Cecilius Fabrianensis (1506: fólio 38r, na seção *De Animalibus*) há uma breve passagem sobre o leopardo [Figura 3.34]:

: & leopardus

dicitur quod comedat herba que dicitur stragularis: leopardus comedit
 squalum bovis et sanat: et ista herba interficit leones: et per
 venatores accipiunt vas et implet ipsi squalum bovis et ponunt
 super arbores et abscondunt se et veniunt leones ad istum modum
 cenent se: et interficiuntur ab absconditis: et leopardus desi-
 deratur a lupis: et cum olefit ab eis insequuntur ipsum
 et desiderant comedere ipsum: et dico adhuc. ¶

Figura 3.34 Trecho no fólio 38r do *De Animalibus* de Avicena, na edição de Cecilius Fabrianensis (1508).

No *Liber Abvali Abincine de anima in arte alchimiae* (Avicena, 1572: 214) há a seguinte receita:

“Loquitur parabolicè de 132rovo132ssim.

“Accipe de tribus cordibus, & quartum de quart sit minor pars, quàm de omnibus alijs, & corda sint de istis bestijs quas tibi dicam. Cor lupi, de leone, de **panthera**, & cor vipera: misce & imbebe de eis calcem cupri quam fecisti, & nõ mittas tibi ibi aliud sal: & mitte subtus fimum, & stet tibi per duas noctes, & duos dies: & quartam & quintam, & sexta partem diei”.

3.2.24 O *Harleyan MS 3093*, do século XI, intitulado ‘*Incipit liber fisiologus a Theobaldo italicus compositus*’ assim discorreu sobre a pantera (Morris, 1872: 208-209):

“Est quadrupes **panter**[Figura 3.35] quo non pulcrior alter.
 Qui niger ex albo conspergitur orbiculato.
 Diuersis pastus uenatibus et saciatus.
 Se recipit. Dormitque cauo. prostratus in antro.
 Post triduum surgit. Tum uero denique rugit.
 Exit hodor talis de gutture tamque suauis.
 Qui uirtute sua superat uel aromata nulta.
 Ad quem mox tendit quae uocem belua sentit.
 Ac sectatur cum nimia dulcedine plenum.
 Sic faciunt omnes. soli **pantera** dracones.
 Cum sonata ut fugiunt aut segnes corpore fiunt.
 In caueisque latent. Ipso nec tempore parent.
 Est autem *christus* panther per mistica dictus.
 Qui superset hominess forma collates ad omnes.
 Et satur ille fuit quia quot uult tot sibi sumit.
 Et somnum cepit cum nos moriendo redemit.
 Rugitum misit postquam de morte reuixit.
 Celos ascendens ubi regnat cum patre presens.
 Quem gentes cuncte sunt sic credendo secute.
 Aut fugit atque latet ne cab ipso tempore paret.
 Serpens antiquis qui nobis est inimicus.
 Namque palam nullos licet audet fallere multos.
 Quos cum defendat qui secla per omnia regnat.
 Carmine finito sit laus et gloria *christo*.
 Cui sinon alii placeant hec metra tebaldi”.



Figura 3.35 Ilustração da pantera no MS Harley.

Nas figuras 3.36 - 3.37 estão as páginas correspondentes a esse trecho na edição de 1490 ([Hilbertus], 1490):

<p>tegra cōseruat sic fidel' aia licet p̄nata sic suo sp̄sō et sua corp̄ali p̄cia qm̄ ad celū ascēdit nō tñ alteri aico dēt sociari. s. diabolū sed casta dēt manē. Vel sic exponat dū aia fidel' grē et deuotōia eternē p̄nam nō sentit nō rebet q̄ se ad alta sc̄ carnalia diuertē, sed in diemaloz reco: dari debet bonoz. Irē fidelis aia nō dēt quiescē in viridi ramo. i. mū dē delicias diligē. sed in arida frō n. x. i. cordis vera cōrritione et penitētia que hoīem aridū faciūt, a mūdānis sic q̄ expectare dēt sp̄sū suū venturū sc̄ in die iud. dicū vbi microcosmū. i. hoīem iudicabit. Enā hēbit gemitū p̄ tanto. i. resēbit crimina pacta p̄ponendo firmiter facere emēdā de cōmissis vt remū posse cōseruari cū suo marito in die iudicij.</p> <p>De panthere.</p> <p>Est quadrupes panther quo nō est pulchrior: alter Qui magis ex albo conspigitur orbicularo Diuersis partus venatibus et iactatus Se recipit dormitq; cauo pstratus in antro Post tridū surgit tunc vero deniq; rugit Exit odor: talis de gutture tamq; suavis Qui virtute sua supabit aromata cuncta Ad quē mortendit que vocē belua sentit Sic imitatur cū flatus dulcedine plenus Sic faciūt omnes solī panthera dracones Cum sonat aut fugiūt aut se gnes corpore sunt In caucisq; latent nec longe tempē patent</p>	<p>In hac vltima et duodecima distinctōe aucto: theobaldus po nit naturā vltimi aialis. Et diuidit in duas ptes. nā p̄mo poit naturā ipsius. sc̄do ponit eius allegoriam ibi. Est autē eps. P̄mo igitur de q̄ panther est aial dū dicitur: et solet diuisis pabulis pascere seipm̄. et dulcissimas herbas comedē dum q̄s fatigatus est p̄sternit se in antro suo et trib' dieb' toto: mit terno vero die surgit et incipit vociferare. Et exinde de ore suo odor: suauissim' exit oia aromata excellens. Que fere audieros accurrūt statim et se quūtur ei p̄pter dulcedinē flatus p̄ter solū draconē qui q̄sici / q̄s audit sonū eius fugit et abscondit se in antro suo ne odor: p̄ci piat. et rō huius fuge est tam s̄m p̄m in p̄mo de generatōne q̄s in sc̄do phisicōz. Omnis corruptio fit a cōrario et draco habet ambiditū fendissimū. si ergo ambelatus p̄theris draconis obuia rē opteret draconem mo: i.</p> <p>Est autē xp̄us panther allegorice dicitur Qui sup̄ est hoīes forma collatus ad om̄es Et satur ille fuit qui tot quot vult sibi sumit Somnū tunc cepit cū nos moriendo redemit Rugitum misit postq; de morte reuixit Celos ascendens qui regnat cū patre p̄ris. Quē gentes cuncte si sunt credendo secute Qui fugit atq; latet nec in ip̄o tempē patet Serpens antiquus qui nobis est inimicus Namq; palam nullos audet clam fallere multos Quos cum defendat qui secula p̄ om̄ia regnat Dic aucto: ponit allegoriam ipsius pantheris. Dicitur q̄ p̄</p>
---	--

Figura 3.36 Lista dos capítulos e Fólho 19r de Hilbertus (1490).

pantherā intelligit xp̄us. Nam sicut panther est pulcherrimus
oīm animalū quadrupedalū. sic xp̄us pulcherim⁹ est omniū
hominū. et sicut panther faciat tribus dieb⁹ dormit ita xp̄o
obprobrijs et cōtumelijs et diuersis afflictōibus affectus tri
bus diebus quieuit in sepulchro et postq̄ resurrexit vociferā
dulcissimū odorem emisit videlicet sic dicens. Pax uobis ego
sum nolite timere qđ idem fecit cum ascendit ad celum. Quñ se
dens ad dextrā patris odorem suauissimū emisit sc̄z paditū quē
discipulis infudit. et adhuc homini vere penitenti p̄ contritio
nem confessionē et satisfactiōē continue infundit qua p̄pter ho
mines reuerti credendo in ip̄m sequitur cum p̄ter solum dra
conem .i. diabolum et oēs diabolicos. sicut em̄ draco timet pā
theram sic diabolus timet xp̄m et p̄uersi hoies. **S**icut sicut dra
co abscondit se ne vocem pantheris audiat sic homines diabo
lico seruientes fugiunt et abhorrent verba christi et suorum.
Unde in euangelio. Dominus dixit ad iudeos qui ex deo est:
verba dei audit: sed quia ex deo nō estis verba dei nō auditis.
Item sicut pellis pantheris diuersum habet colorē. ita p̄ om
nibus bonis opibus diuersas habet merito: iū retribuēdo spi
ritualis panther sc̄z xp̄us ihs. **U**nde scribit in euangelio. In
domo patris mei multe mansiones sunt ad quas nos p̄ducatur
qui est vnus in essentia et trinus in persona et qui sine fine uiuāt
et regnat in secula seculorū. Amen.

Finit *physiologus* de duodecim naturis animalium

Figura 3.37 Fólho 20r de Hildebertus (1490).

Muito provavelmente essa obra deve ser atribuída a Hildebert de Lavardin (ou Hildebert de Tours; seu nome é também escrito Hydalbert, Gildebert ou Aldebert) (ca. 1055 – 1133); em seu *Physiologus* constam exatamente as mesmas palavras (cf. Beaugendre, 1708: coluna 1178 e Migne, 1854a: coluna 1224).

3.2.25 O *Rhythmus de Sancto Annone*, poema em louvor de S. Anno II (1056 – 1075) [Figura 3.38], bispo de Colônia e fundador da abadia de Siegburg (Renânia do Borte-Vestfália, Alemanha), foi provavelmente escrito, em médio alto-alemão, por um monge dessa abadia em fins do século XI ou início do XII. A seção XIV reza (Opitz, 1639: 23; Schilter & Scherz, 1726: 10; Kehrein, 1865: 17):

“Das dritti dier was ein **Lebarte**,
Vier arin vederich her havite.
Der beceichinote den Criechiskin Alexanderin
Der mit vier herin vür afir landin,
Unz her die werilt einde,
Bi guldinin fulin bikante.
In India her die wüsti durchbrach,
Mit zwein boumin her sich da gesprach...”.



Figura 3.38 S. Anno II.

Na versão latina de Schilter (*in* Schilter & Scherz, 1726: 10);

“Tertium animal erat **Leopardus**,
Quatuor aquilinas alas habebat.
Is designavit Graecabicum Alexandrum,
Qui cum quatuor exercitibus ivit in expeditionem,
Usque dum orbis finem percurrit,
Per aureas columnas notum fecit.
In India eremum perfregit,
Cum duabus arboribus ibi collocutus...”.

3.2.26 Raoul Tortaire (em latim Rudolphus Tortanus, também chamado Raoul Le Tourtier ou Raoul de la Tourte) (1063 – depois de 1122), em seu poema *Ad Robertum* enumerou os vários animais que fizeram parte de um desfile organizado por Henrique I da Inglaterra⁵¹, em Caen, após haver conquistado a Normandia ((Certain, 1855: 513):

⁵¹ ”Henri I^{er} roi d'Angleterre, que la bataille de Tinchebray, gagnée sur son frère, avait rendu maître de la Normandie. C'est donc après l'année 1106 que Raoul Tortaire vint à Caen, et même quelques années après, si l'on considère que, dans l'ordre des épîtres, le récit de son voyage vient après la lettre à Galon écrite en 1108. Je crois donc que l'on ne se tromperait pas beaucoup en plaçant de 1110 à 1115 l'excursion que fit le moine de Saint-Benoît sur les côtes de Normandie. Le séjour momentané du roi d'Angleterre à Caen contribuait à répandre beaucoup de vie et de mouvement dans cette ville. Pour se faire bien venir de ses nouveaux sujets, le prince leur donnait des spectacles; il offrait notamment à leur curiosité une exhibition d'animaux rares et féoques. Quelle bonne fortune pour notre narrateur! Il paraît que c'était un usage déjà établi chez les princes, de réunir par curiosité des bêtes étrangères et de les tenir près de leurs palais. [...]. Elle n'en excita pas moins l'admiration du voyageur, qui parle curieusement de chacun des animaux qu'il a vus, en entremêlant ses descriptions des fables amusantes dont l'histoire naturelle s'est enveloppée si longtemps. C'était d'abord un jeune lion, un lion de six mois. Depuis

Sed rex advenit cuneo vallatus equestri,
 Quem præcurrebant agmina militiæ;
 Præbebat populo spectacula qui sibi grata.
 Oderat Æthiopis verbera sæva leo,
 Senos qui menses cum necdum parvus haberet,
 Terrebat vulgus rictibus horrisonis.
 Exulibus, miseris, prostratis ac spoliatis
 Commodus et mitis dicitur esse leo.
 Hinc maculis leopardus equo pulcherrimus atris
 Colla vehebatur, nexibus implicitus.
 Hunc creat in torva pardi genitura leæna;
 Velox inde feras saltibus exsuperat.
 Concursu celeri properabat tota videre
 Ore trucem lyncem corpore plebs agilem;
 Cujus projecto deludit acumina vitro
 Venator, raptis aufugiens catulis.
 Denique sic visus acies transverberat ejus
 Obvia quæque sibi, vix quid ut officiat.
 Curriculo Bacchi lynces potuere jugari,
 Ducitur ebrietas par quia sævitæ.

3.2.27 Num manuscrito posterior a 1090, intitulado *El Libro de los Enxemplos*, há o seguinte trecho sobre o leopardo (Gayangos, 1860: 481):

“CXXXIX.

Inimicus parvus non à majoribus contemnatur.

Aunque tú seas mucho mayor,
 Non menosprecies al enemigo menor.

Desto hay un enxemplo natural. Dice Sant Isidro en *Las Etimologías*, é léese en el libro de *Proprietatibus rerum*, que el leon non ha y cosa que peor quiera que al **leopardo**, porque sabe que es engendrado en adulterio, fijo de leona é de un animal que llaman pardo:é este leopardo non ha y cosa que mas miedo haya que el leon, ca donde quier que lo falla lo mata. E él, entendiendo que se non puede defender del leon por fuerza, con cautela lo vence é lo mata; ca él sabe que el leon non ha temor ninguno, é que le reputa por nada. Así que face una cueva so

l'anecdote d'Androclès rapportée par Aulu-Gelle, le lion est en possession d'une réputation de générosité sur laquelle la crédulité de Raoul renchérit encore lorsqu'il dit

Exulibus, miseris, prostratis ac spoliatis
 Commodus et mitis dicitur esse leo.

C'était ensuite un léopard dont l'auteur attribue la prodigieuse agilité à à cette circonstance, que le léopard, suivant l'étymologie de son nom, est le produit de l'animal nommé pardus et de la lionne. On voyait aussi un lynx, le lynx dont la vue pénètre à travers tous les obstacles, mais que le chasseur qui lui enlève ses petits trouve cependant moyen d'amuser en lui jetant un morceau de verre, le seul objet que ses yeux ne puissent percer”.

terra que tiene dos bocas ó dos entradas mucho anchas, é en medio mucho angosta é estrecha, que él, maguer es mas delgado que el leon, apenas puede salir por aquella estrechura; é quando el leon le persigue entra por una boca de la cueva é sale por la outra, é el leon entra en pos él, é quando viene á medio de la cueva por la estrechura non puede pasar, é entonces viene el leopardo por detrás, é mórdele, é llágalo fuertemente, é fácelo morir; é así él quando non teme cosa alguna muere á manos de otro menor que él”.

3.2.28 O monge beneditino e cronista inglês Orderic Vital (em latim Ordericus Vitalis) (1075 – ca. 1142) escreveu uma *Historia Ecclesiastica*, onde, nos capítulos VII a X tratou dos eventos de seu tempo, inclusive da Primeira Cruzada. No livro X narrou os seguintes acontecimentos (Le Prevost, 1852: 123-124):

“...Pictavensis dixit Guillelmus: *Velociter arma sumite, et redeuntes Constantinopolim obsidete; viriliter expugnantes urbem, non recedemus, donec aut perfidum Imperatorem⁵² perimamus, aut ab invito quod petitum est, viribus extorqueamus. Innumera suis Fidelium millia fraudulentis peremit; ideoque gratum Deo, ni fallor, sacrificium exhibebit, qui vitam occupantis terram ad perniciem multorum, arte quavis, exemerit.* Stephanus Blesensis, aliique modesti barones edicto hujusmodi non adqueverunt, sed, sinceræ veritatis allegationibus rationaliter prolatis, pariter contradixerunt. Porro, Aquitani et Guascones, aliique contumaces, qui juvenili providentia regi appetunt, protervi ducis juvenilem impudentiam confirmaverunt. Procaciter ergo reversi sunt, triduoque Byzantium obsederunt. Imperator autem, ut conatus eorum audivit, et urbem e contra populosam, triplici muro septam consideravit, in primis hostilem adventum parvipendit. Verum, potquam pertinaciam eorum persistentem intellexit, tres ferocissimos leones et septem **leopardos** inter medium murum et antemurale dimitti praecepit. Custodes autem super tertium murum, cui procerum palatia intrinsecus inhaerebant, constituit; portas vero reseratas esse jussit. Sic nimirum per feras opinatus est Gallos subsannando detertere, urbemque regiam sine humana manu defendere. Ast hominum nil valet versuta cogitatio, nisi quantum divina decernit dispensatio. Cumque Franci in castris armati constitissent, et neminem sibi obstare vidissent, per primam portam, conflictum quaerentes, intraverunt, et, hinc inde curiosis luminibus spectantes, patriae defensores preastolati sunt. Profinus primo ingressis saevi leones occurrerunt, et dentibus atque unguibus saevientes quodam laeserunt, et incautos, bestialisque conflictus ignaros laceraverunt.

Verum certamen belluarum humano diu nequivit ingenio resistere. Armati enim pugiles venabulis feras, stridulisque missilibus confoderunt, et, leonibus extinctis, **leopardos** fugaverunt, atque ad medium murum fugientes insecuti sunt. Porro, **leopardi**, rependo velut murilegi, murum transilierunt, et Gallorum cunei per portam secundi muri introierunt, tertiumque fortiter expugnare nisi sunt. Fit ingens in urbe vociferatio civium, horribilisque turbatio et concursus omnium, quid in tam repetino evenu agerent, ignorantium. Audiens Imperator insoliti assultus tumultum, pertimuit, et quod falsa spe deceptus fuerat, ingemuit. Tandem per legatos suos nobilibus peregrinis supplicavit, multiplicibusque promissis iratos lenivit, ac ab expugnatione regiae urbis, quam pene jam iruperant, compescuit”.⁵³

⁵² Alexios I Comnenos (1106 – 1142).

⁵³ Na tradução de Forester (1854: 292-294): “...William of Poitiers thus addressed them: ‘Let us instantly fly to arms and, by a counter march, lay siege to Constantinople; and stoutly assaulting the city, we will not draw off till we either put to death this perfidious emperor, or wring from him, however reluctantly, what we demand. He has brought destruction on thousands of the faithful by his treacheries, and I think therefore that he who by any means shall take the life of one whose occupation of the country is the cause of so much loss, will offer a sacrifice acceptable to God’.

Stephen of Blois and some other lords who were for temperate counsels did not acquiesce in this proposal, which they joined in opposing, alleging arguments founded on right reason. However, the Aquitanians and Gascons, with other insubordinate troops, preferring to be led by juvenile imprudence, supported the rash proposal of the young duke. They therefore returned by a hasty march, and sat down before Byzantium for three days. The emperor, when he first heard of their design, was disposed to treat it lightly, considering the vast population of his capital, and that it was fortified by triple lines of circumvallation. But finding that they persisted in their enterprise, he commanded three most savage lions and seven **leopards** to be set loose in the area between the two exterior walls. He also posted guards on the third wall, to which the palaces of the nobles in the interior of the place adjoined, and caused the gates to be firmly closed, thinking thus, in scorn, to deter the Franks from their attack through fear of the wild beasts, and defend the imperial city without employing human means. But the crafty wiles of man are fruitless when they are not aided by Divine Providence. The Franks, after standing to arms in their

3.2.29 William of Malmesbury (ca.1095 – ca. 1143), em sua *Gesta Regum Anglorum*:

**QUOD QUEM LEOPARDUS MORDICUS ATTIGERIT
MURES COMMINGANT.**

§ 291. Ideo minus hoc mirum judico, quia ^{Another legend.} certum est in Asiaticis regionibus si leopardus aliquem mordicus attigerit, confestim murium copiam adventare, ut vulneratum commingant, immundum urinæ diluvium comitari hominis exitium; sin vero sedulitate arcentium ministrorum intra novem dies vitata fuerit perniciēs, advocari medicorum industriam profecto valituram. Conspicatus est relator meus quendam ejusmodi saucium, cum desperaret in terra salutem, in altum jactis anchoris processisse; nec mora, plures illo mures annasse, corticibus malorum granatorum quorum medullas exederant inclusos, mirabile dictu, sed obstrepentibus nautis demersos. Nihil enim ille Parens rerum creatum destituit ingenio, nihil porro noxium sine remedio.

(Migne, 1855: coluna 1261; Hardy, 1860: 469-470).

[“I deem this the less wonderful, because it is well known, that in Asia, if a leopard bites any person, a party of mice approach directly, to discharge their urine on the wounded man; and that a filthy deluge of their water attends his death; but if, by the care of servants driving them off, the destruction can be avoided during nine days; then medical assistance, if called in, may be of service. My informant had seen a person wounded after this manner, who, despairing of safety on shore, proceeded to sea, and lay at anchor; when immediately more than a thousand mice swam out, wonderful to relate, in the rinds of pomegranates, the insides of which they had eaten; but they were drowned through the loud shouting of the sailors. For the Creator of all things has made nothing destitute of sagacity; nor any pest without its remedy”] (Giles, 1847: 317).

camp, seeing that there was no show of resistance, entered the outer gate eager for conflict, and searched with enquiring eyes on all sides for the defenders of their country. However, no sooner had they entered than the fierce lions unexpectedly attacked their foremost ranks with great rage, and tearing them with their fangs and claws, severely wounded some of the troops, unaccustomed as they were to encounter wild beasts.

But such a contest with the skill of man could not last long. The soldiers transfixed the lions with spears and darts, and having destroyed the lions, drove off the **leopards**, pursuing them to the foot of the middle wall, which the **leopards** crossed, creeping up them like cats. The Franks passed through the gate in this second wall, and made a bold assault on the third. The citizens now raised loud cries, and there was horrible confusion, all the people running together and not knowing what they should do in this sudden emergency. The emperor hearing the noise of this unexpected attack was struck with terror, lamenting the failure of his false hopes. At last he sent a suppliant message to the noble pilgrims, and contriving to soothe their wrath by a variety of promises, induced them to draw off from the assault of his capital, the defence of which they were on the point of carrying by storm”.

**Paulus Orcadam
comes, quamvis Noricorum regi hæreditario jure
subjectus, ita regis amicitias suspiciebat ut cre-
bra ei munuscula missitaret: nam et ille prona
voluptate exterarum terrarum miracula inhiabat,
leones, leopardos, lynces, camelos, quorum foetus
Anglia est inops, grandi (ut dixi) jucunditate a
regibus alienis expostulans; habebatque consep-
tum quod Wudestoche dicitur, in quo delicias
talium rerum confovebat.**

(Migne, 1855: coluna 1563; Hardy, 1860: 638).

[“Paul, earl of Orkney, though subject by hereditary right to the king of Norway, was so anxious to obtain the king’s [Henry I of England] friendship, that he was perpetually sending him present; for he was extremely fond of the wonders of distant countries, begging with great delight, as I have observed, from foreign kings, lions, **leopards, lynxes**, or camels, — animals which England does not produce. He had a park called Woodstock, in which he used to foster his favourites of this kind”] (Giles, 1847: 443).

3.2.30 Hughes de Saint Victor (1096 – 1141) [Figura 3.39], em seu *De bestiis et aliis rebus*, escreveu sobre a pantera e o leopardo:

“[Liber Secundus] Cp. XXIII. *De pantherae naturae.*

Est animal, quod dicitur **panthera**, vario quidem colore, sed speciosum nimis, et mansuetum valde. Physiologus dicit quod inimicum est solis draconibus. Com ergo comederit et satiaverit se de universis venationibus, revertitur in speluncam suam, ponensque se dormit per triduum. Surgens autem a somno, statim emittit rugitum per altum, simulque odorem nimiae suavitatis cum rugiu, ita ut odor hujus praecellat omnia aromata et pigmenta. Cum ergo audierint vocem ejus omnes bestiae, quae lonfe vel rope sunt, congregantes se, nimiam suavitatem ejus sequuntur. Solus aurem draco cum audierit vocem ejus, timore perterritus abscondit se sub terrenis speluncis. Ibi autem non ferens vim odoris ejus, in semetipso contractus obstipescit et torpescit, et manet immobilis exanimusque velut mortuus; aetera autem animalia sequuntur eam quocunque vadit. Sic et Dominus noster Jesus Christus verus **panther** omnes genus humanum, quod a diabolo captum fuerat, et morti erat obnoxium, per incarnationem suam ad se trahens eripuit, et cativam ducens captivitatem, dedit dona hominibus (*Ephes. IV*). **Panthera** enim omnis fera, quasi omne animal *odore capiens* interpretatur. Sic et Deus, ut diximus, videns omne genus humanum daemonius captum idolisque macipatum, omneque simul praedam diaboli factum, descendit de coelo cum nimio incarnationis suae odore, et eripuit nos, sequimurque Dominum et Agnum quoque ierit, impleturque propheta: *Factus sum, inquit, huic panthera [linea] Ephraim, et sicut Leo [putredo] domui Juda (Ose. VII)*. Ac per hoc significabatur Jam tunc, quia Ephraim idolis serviebat, quod vocatio gentium, et plebis Judaeorum debuerat per adventum Christi impleri. Et quia **panthera** varium est animal. significat Christum, qui est incomprehensibilis sapientia, totus simplex, bônus, clemens, firmus, et stabilis, et diversa sapientia fulgens. Et etiam quia speciosum est animal **panthera**, sic enim est Christus, veluti David dicit in spiritu: *Speciosus forma prae filiis hominum (Psal. XLIV)*. Item quia mansuetum est animal, sicut dicit Isaias de Christo: *Gaude et laetare, filia Sion, quia rex tuus venit tibi mansuetus salvans (Math. XXI. Zach. IX; Isa, LXII)*. Etiam quia sicut **panthera** cum satiata fuerit, statim quiescit et dormit, ita et Dominus noster Jesus Christus, postquam satiatus est Judaicis illosionibus, et flagellis, alapis, injuriis, conutmeliis, spinis, sputaminibus, ad ultimum in cruce suspensus, clavis affixis, felle et aceto potatus, lancea perforatus, his, inquam, violentiis Judaeorum satiatus Christus dormivit et quievit in sepulchro, descendensque in infernum, religavit illic draconem magnum, generis humani maximum inimicum, antiquuum videlicet serpentem. Quod autem tertia die istud animal post satietatem et somnum surgit, et rugitum magnum emitit, et gragrat odor suavitatis ex ore ejus, significat quod Dominus noster Jesus Christus tertia die surgens a mortuis, implevit prophetiam de eo David dicentis: *Excitatus est tanquam dormiens Dominus tanquam potens crapulatus a vino (Psal. LXXVII)*. Statim exclamavit, ita ut in omnem terram exaudiretur Vox ejus, et in lines orbis terrae verba ejus dicendo: *Gaudete Jam, et confidite, et nolitetmere: Ego vici mundum (Joan. XVI)*. Et iterum: *Pater, quos dedisti mihi, custodivi (Joan. XVII)*. *Vade ad Patrum meum, et Patrum vestrum, Deum meum, et Deum vestrum. Iterum veniam ad vos, et non dimitam vos orphanes (Joan. XIV)*. Item in fine Evangelii sic dicebat: *Ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem saeculi (Matth. XXVIII)*. Et quid suavius aut dulcius esse potest odore Domini nostri Jesu Christi? Ita enim suavis est, ut omnes qui prope

per fidem et per opera sunt, et qui adhuc fragilitate gravati longe sunt, audiant vocem ejus. Repleti enim et recreati suavissimo odore mandatorem ejus requirimus eum, semper sequentes eum, clamando cum Propheta. *Quam dulcia faucibus meis eloquia tua, Domine! super mel ori meo (Psal. CLVIII)*. Et cum sapiente in Canticis canticorum: *In odore unguentorum tuorum currimus (Cant. I)*. Et paulo post. *Introduxit me rex in cubiculum suum, exultabimus et laetabimus cum eo (ibid.)*. Oportet itaque nos quanto citius detur, sicut adolescentulas in Christo renatas animas, et per baptismum ad novitatem vitae venientes, post unguenta mandatorum Christi currere, et de terrenis ad coelestia transmigrare, ut ns introducat rex in palatium suum, Hierusalem civitatem Domini virtutum, et montem sanctorum omnium. Ibiq̄ue exsultantes dicamus: *Gloriosa dicta sunt de te civitas Dei (Psal. LXXXVI)*. *Sicut audivimus, sic et vidimus in civitate Domini virtutum (Psal. XLVII)*;

Panthera est bestia minutis orbiculis superpicta, ita ut oculatis ex fulvo circulis nigra vel alba distinguntur varietatae. Ilaec semel omnino parturit, cjus causae ratio manifesta est. Nam cum in útero matris concreti catuli maturis viribus ad nascendum pervenerint, oneratam matrem tanquam partui obstantem, unguibus lacorant, et effundit illa partum, seu potius dimittit, dolore cogente. Ita corruptis matris finibus et loculis, genitale postea semen infusum non haeret acceptum, sed irritum resilit foras. Unde Plinius dicit animália acutis unguibus frequenter parere non posse. Vitiantur enim intrinsecus se moventibus catuli. Isidorus autem sic: ‘**Panther** dictus est sive quod omnium animalium sit amicus, except dracone, quem valde odit; sive eo quod ea sui generis societate gaudet, quod ad eandem similitudinem quidquid accipit reddit’. *Pan [πᾶν]* Graece *omne* dicitur Latine, et *ther [θηρα]* *fera*. Item Isidorus de aromatibus: ‘Aromata, inquit, sunt quaecunque fragrantis odoris, quae India vel Arabia mittit, sive alia quaevis regio’. Nomen autem aromata traxisse videntur, sive quod aris imposita divinis invocationibus apta videantur, sive quod sese seri inserere ac miscere probentur. Nam quid est odor nisi era naribus attractus postquam ab re odorifera fuerit imbutus?’ (Migne, 1854b: columnas 69-71).

“[Liber Tertius] Cap. II. *De pardo, et leopardo*.

Pardus est ferarum genus varium, ac velocissimum, et praeceps ad sanguine. Saltu enim ad mortem ruit. **Leopardus** ex adulterio leaenae et pardi nascitur, et tertiam originem efficit, sicut et Plinius in naturali historia dicit leonem cum parda, aut pardum cum leaena concumbere, et ex utroque coitu degeneres partus creari, quales sunt ex diversis speciebus progenii mulus et burdo” (Migne, 1854b: columna 83).



Figura 3.39 Hugues de Saint Victor (miniatura inglesa do séc. XIII).

3.2.31 Philippe de Thaon viveu na Normandia durante o reinado de Henri I. Entre 1121 e 1135 compôs um bestiário, no qual encontramos (Wright (T.), 1841: 82-84; cf. tb. Bartsch, 1866: columnas 75 e 76; Walberg, 1900: 18-22) [Figura 3.40]:

PANTERE est une beste de mult precius estre ;
 ʒ oez de sun nun significatiun :
Pan en Griu *trestut* est ; ke de tel nature est,
 Ele ad multes valurs, si ad plusurs colurs ;
 Duce est ʒ atempree, de bestes est amee,
 Tut aime par raisun fors sulement le dragun ;
 Icest beste mue divers mangers manjue ;
 Quant saul serat, en sa fosse enterat,
 Trais jurs si dormirat, al terz esveillerat ;
 Quant ele se dreceerat, un grant cri jeterat ;
 ʒ el cri qu'ele ferat, de sa buche isterat
 Un tel odurement cum fust basme u piement.
 Les bestes ki l'orunt, ki prof e luinz serunt,
 Lores se assemblerunt, l'odurement siverunt
 Ki de la buche isterat, que pantere ferad.
 Li draguns sulement, ki ot l'enviement,
 Mult grand pour le prent, fuit en l'odurement,
 En terre mucherat cum mort, se girat
 Lait e desfiguret, cum se il fust tued
 Muer ne se purrat : signefiance i ad.

PANTERE mustre vie del Fiz Sancte Marie ;
 E nus signefium les bestes par raisun ;
 E li draguns Diable, par semblant cuvenable.
 Dés treis jurz jut en terre pur noz ames conquere,
 Al terz resuscitat, sun pople rapellat,
 Tuz les sons asemlat, e Diable acravantad,
 Sulunc cele semblance del dragun, sen dutance.
 Dés al prince de mort nus tolit par sa mort ;
 De mort nus deliverat, nostre dolor portat,
 E ceo avum oi del prophete Davi :
 Jhesu en alt muntad, nostre dolor portat.
 Quant Dés nus assemlat, pantere resemblat ;
 A leon resemblat, quant il nus resuscitat.
 De ceo dit Salomon, que *pan* est sun dreit nun ;
Pan ceo est “ tu, Dés, es *pan*, par veir e senz engan ;”
 Uns est en deité, tut en humanité ;
 Dés est tut fundament, e ben de tute gent.
 Si cum li sols uns est, ki del mund lumere est ;
 E si raiz sunt plusurs, ki sunt del salveur ;
 E si est Dés luur, e nus si raie plusur ;
 Uns est multiplianz, sultiz, nobles, vaillanz ;
 Tut ad fait quantque est, pur ceo *tut* sis nuns est.
 E le cri de la beste demustre voiz celeste ;
 Puis que Dés fud leved, de mort resuscitet,
 Par trestute la cuntrée en fud la renumée.
 E sancte ureisun par l'odur entendum ;
 Tut ad Dés uveret par la sue bunted,
 Quant que Saint Escripiture nus disait par figure ;
 Devencud ad Diable par vertud cuvenable,
 Sur Christene gent n'en averait mais nent,
 Se il ne funt peched, par quei seient lied.
 E sacez que le dragun del serpent ad façun ;
 Crestuz est ʒ elez, dous pez ad, si est dentez ;
 Par cue se defent, e mal fait à la gent.
 Cue demustre fin, si cum dient devin ;
 Ceo est l'entendement, qu'en la fin veirement
 Diable destrurierat ki en mal finerat.
 Ne voil ore plus traiter, altre voil cumencer.

Figura 3.40 Trecho de Philippe de Thaon sobre a pantera (Wright (T.), 1841: 82-84).

3.2.32 Pierre de Blois (1130 – ca. 1211), arcebispo de Cantuária, deixou escrito (Buys, 1600):

“*A montibus Leopardorum. Leopardus* à leone & pardo procreatur. Leo crudelis est, leopardus maculosus. Si ergo leo propter crudelitatem daemones, pardus propter varietatem congruè haeticos designat, qui quia vnitatem fideidiuersis & peruersis dogmaticis scindunt, quase quibusdam maculis corpus infectum gerunt. Qui

sunt ergo **leopardi**, nisi superbi amatores huius saeculi, quos primum diabolus per doctrinam haereticorum ad perfidiam generat, ac deine per huius mundi amorem ad viria inflammat? Montes **leopardorum** diuitiae sunt & pompae huius saeculi, in quibus peruersi se extollunt, & electorum vitam tanto acrius insectantur, quanto eos in hoc saeculo abiectos & sublimes aspiciunt. Benè ergo dicitur ad sponsam. *Venies, & transibis ad montem Seir & Hermon, à cubilibus leonum, à montibus leopardorum*⁵⁴”.

3.2.33 Na obra *De naturis bestiarum*, composta por volta de 1150 e falsamente atribuída a S. João Crisóstomo consta exatamente o mesmo texto de Hughes de Saint Victor do item 3.2.30 (cf. Heider & Häufler, 1850: 553-55).

3.2.34 O rabino Benjamin ben Jonah de Tudela (? – 1173) [Figura 3.41] viajou, a partir de 1159 ou 1163, pela Espanha, França, Itália, Grécia e Constantinopla e outros lugares da Ásia ocidental; visitou em seguida a Síria, o Líbano, a terra de Israel e o norte da Mesopotâmia (que ele chamou de Shinar) antes de chegar a Bagdá; daí foi até a Pérsia e através da Península Arábica até o Egito e o norte da África, voltando à Península Ibérica em 1172, tendo passado por 300 cidades. Relatou inclusive o que ouvira sobre a China e o Tibete. Publicou o relato de suas viagens como *Viagens de Benjamin*, *Masa’ot Binyamin*, בנימין מסעות, e também como *O Livro das Viagens*, *Sefer ha-Masa’ot*, המסעות ספר. Suas vívidas descrições da Ásia ocidental precedem as de Marco Polo por cem anos. A primeira edição (em caracteres rabínicos) foi publicada em Constantinopla, em 1543; a segunda em Ferrara, em 1556 [Figura 3.42].

Em Constantinopla o rabino viu vários animais no Hipódromo⁵⁵ (l’Empereur, 1633: 25; edição bilíngue latim/hebraico) [Figuras 3.43 e 3.44]:

“Est quoque locus in quo se oblectare rex solet, isq’ aulae muro proximus, dictus hippodromus: ubi rex quotannis die natalicio Jesu Nazareni magnum edit spectaculum. Nam in isto loco coram rege & regina omnia hominum totius mundi genera suis imaginibus exhibentur quolibet praestigiarum genere. Producere etiam solēt leones, ursos, **pardos** atq’ onagros: quos emittunt ut inter se concertent; ut & aves. Nec ullibi par visitur spectaculum”.

⁵⁴ Citação do *Canticum Cantorum* 4: 8.

⁵⁵ Na tradução de Asher (1840: 52): “The Hippodrome is a public place near the wall of the palace, set aside for the sports of the king. Every year the birthday of Jisho [sic] the Nazarene is celebrated there by public rejoicings. On these occasions you may there see representations of all the nations, who inhabit the different parts of the world and surprising feasts of jugglery. Lions, bears, **leopards** and wild asses as well as birds, that have been trained to fight each other, are also exhibited, and all this sport, the equal of which is to be met with nowhere, is carried on in the presence of the king and the queen”.



Figura 3.41 O rabino Benjamin ben Jonah de Tudela.



Figura 3.42 Capa da segunda edição do livro de viagens de Benjamin ben Jonah de Tudela (1556).

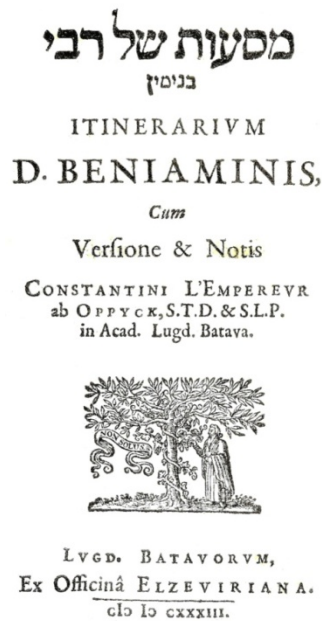


Figura 3.43 Frontispício da edição bilíngue de l'Empereur (1633).

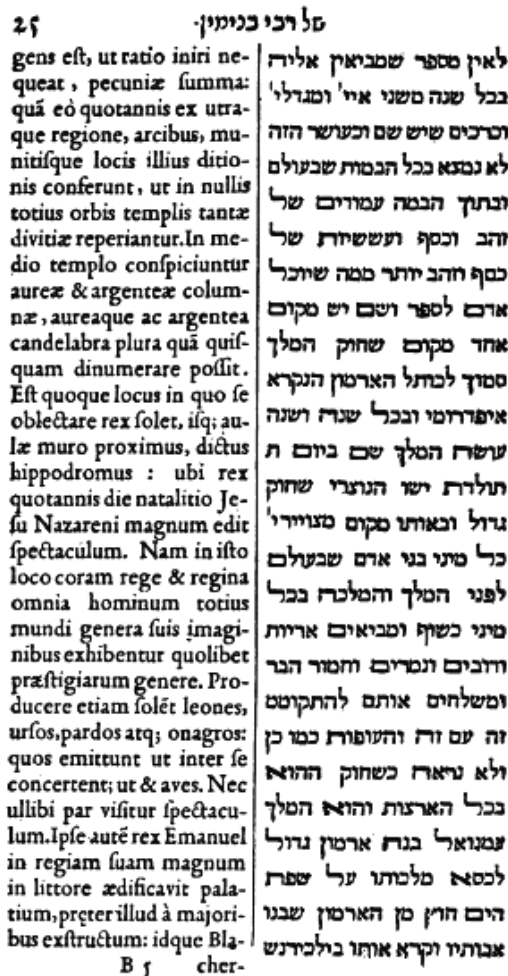


Figura 3.44 Página 25 da edição bilíngue de l'Empereur (1633), com o trecho sobre os animais do Hipódromo de Constantinopla.

3.2.35 Yurii I Vladimirovich (Юрий Владимирович), alcunhado de Yurii Dolgorukiy (Юрий Долгорукий, literalmente “Yurii do braço comprido”) (ca. 1099 – 1157) [Figura 3.45] foi o fundador de Moscou. Também é citado como *Gyurgi, Dyurgi, ou Jorge I de Rus*. Reinou como *Velikiy Kniaz* (Grande Príncipe) de Kiev de setembro de 1149 até abril de 1151 e novamente de março de 1155 até maio de 1157. Segundo Ševčenko (2002: 71, nota 9): “Oleg, son of Prince Sviatoslav, gave to (or received from) Prince Iurii Vladimirovich Dolgorukii a **leopard** (*pardus*) when he visited Moscow in 1147, according to the *Hypatian Chronicle*”).



Figura 3.45 Yurii Vladimirovich “Dolgorukii”.

3.2.36 Santa Hildegard von Bingen (1098 – 1179) [Figura 3.46], abadessa beneditina, mística cristã, filósofa, compositora, escritora e naturalista, escreveu uma pequena obra sobre animais, na qual tratou da pantera (Migne, 1855a: coluna 1319):



Figura 3.46 Santa Hildegard von Bingen.

“Cap. VII. – **De Panthera**

“**Panthera** valde calida est in natura sua, velut vanam gloriam quaerit, ita quod omnia animalia in factis suis libenter imitaretur, et caetera animalia, propter amorem eorum non diligit, sed propter hoc quod secundum naturae suam opera eorum libenter faceret; nec etiam per omnia mundis pascuis utitur, unde et anhelitus ejus non est mundus, sed aliquantum venenosus, quamvis interdum bene olere videatur. Et ea quae in ipsa sunt, ad medicamenta non multum valent”.

3.2.37 O poeta normando Wace [Figura 3.47] (também conhecido como Robert Wace) (ca. 1110 – depois de 1174) compôs, por volta de 1155, o *Roman de Brut*. Wace apresentou uma longa lista dos presentes oferecidos pelo legendário Rei Artur a seus convidados por ocasião de sua coroação, ilustrando a munificência real (Lincy, 1838: 115-116):

Robert Wace présente le Roman de Rou à Henry II.



Figura 3.47 Wace entrega a Henry II sua outra obra, *Roman de Rou et des Ducs de Normandie*.

“A cels qui d’autre terre estoient,
 Qui por amor à lui venoient,
 Dona armes et bons destriers
 Et ses aornements plus chiers.
 Donna déuiz, donna balez,
 Donna levriers, donna brachez,
 Donna pélices, donna dras,
 Donna copes, donna hénas,
 Donna pailles, donna eniax,
 Donna bliauz, donna mantiaux,
 Donna lances, donna espées,
 Donna sajètes barbelées;
 Donna herneis, donna escuz,
 Donna espiez bien esmoluz.
 Donna **lieparz** et dona ors,
 Seles, lorains et chacéors;
 Donna haubers, dona destriers
 Don hiaumes, dona deniers;
 Donna argent et donna or,

Donna le miex de son trésor”.

Para Camus (1909: 31), esses *lieparz* eram guepardos.

3.2.38 Quanto a Gioacchino da Fiore (Joachim de Flore) (ca. 1130 – 1202) [Figuras 3.48 e 3.49], monge cisterciense calabrês, Camus (1909: 28) chamou atenção para um interessantíssimo fato:

“...il me paraît vraisemblable que lorsque l’Alighieri concevait le plan de son immortel poème, l’idée de placer des animaux farouches, menaçants, au pied du ‘*diletto monte*’, lui vint en lisant dans la *Visio de gloria paradisi*’ de l’abbé Joachim, que l’âme admise à pénétrer dans le séjour celeste est d’abord arrêtée par des ‘*lynxes*, des hyènes, des griffons, des lions et des dragons:

Inde lince, hinc hyene et grifonum feritas
Procedenti ultra sibi interdicunt semitas.
Hinc leones, hinc dracones minant interitum.

En substituant à ces bêtes la triade ‘*lonza, leone, lupa*, il semble s’être inspiré d’un autre écrit de Joachim, l’*Interpretatio in Hieremitam prophetam*, où se trouvent commentées, au chapitre V, les trois animaux: *leo* (*fortior*), *lupus* (*calidior*), *pardus* (*levior, vigil, trahens mysterium...*).

Dante n’a probablement jamais connu le loup cervier, que par la description qui en est faite dans le ‘Trésor’ [de Brunetto Latini]; mais il n’en est pas ainsi pour le guépard. Il a dû voir de ‘*leopardus*’, dont la Commune florentine avait fait l’acquisition en 1290, au prix de 50 florins”.



Figura 3.48 Gioacchino da Fiore (miniatura do Códice Chigiano (século XIV), Biblioteca Apóstolica Vaticana).

Com efeito, no capítulo intitulado “*Incipit Uisio eiusdē praeclara: ac plurimū admirandae de gloria paradisi*” de sua obra *Psalterium decem cordarum*, encontramos o seguinte trecho (Gioacchino da Fiore, 1527: 180):

**Inde lincea hinc byene ⁊ grisonū seritas.
 Procedendū ultra sibi interdicit sentitas.
 Hinc leones hinc dracones minant iteritū.**

E no *Index ad Capitulum V* (Gioacchino da Fiore, 1527: sem número de página), esta outra passagem, citada abreviadamente por Camus:

**Quod leo est fortior, lupus callidior, & pardus le-
 uior: leo, est rex reipublicæ: lupus, populus Sarra-
 cenus & infidelis: pardus, cætus hæreticus & Pa-
 tarenus: primus diripit, secundus rapit, tertius sur-
 ripit: diripit temporalia, rapit corporalia, surripit
 spiritualia. per hos tres flagellabitur ecclesia & popu-
 lus Christianus.**



Figura 3.49 Portada da *Expositio magni prophete abbatis Joachim in Apocalipsim* de Gioacchino da Fiore (1527), contendo também o *Psalterium decem cordarum*.

Gioacchino da Fiore foi colocado na *Divina Comédia* de Dante no paraíso (Canto XII, versos 139-141), junto com Hrabanus Maurus e São Boaventura:

“Rabano è qui, e lucemi dallato
 il calavrese abate Giovacchin

di spirito profetico dotato”.

3.2.39 Num *Physiologus* em antigo alemão há o seguinte trecho sobre a pantera (Müllenhoff & Scherer, 1864: 199-200):

DE PANTHERA.

2 Ein tier heizit pantera un ist miteuuäre un ist manegero bilido un ist vile scöne un ist demo drachen ftent. Tes sito ist so gelegin, so ez sat ist misselibes, so legit iz sih in sin hol unde släfæt trie taga. Tene so stät ez uf unde fure bringit ummezlihche lütün unde hebit so süzzen stanc, 5 daz er uberruindit alle bimentün. Tene so diu tier verro unde nâho tie stinna gehörrint, so samenönt siu sih unde volgen imo turih di süzzi des stanhes, unde der dracho uuiet so vorhtal, daz er liget alsor töt si under der erdo. Panthera diu bezeichnenet unsirin trotin, ter al manchunne zû zimo geladita turih tie süzi sinero genädön. Er uuas miteuuäre 10 also Esâtas chat ‘Gaude et laetare, Hierusalem, quia rex tuus venit tibi mansuetus’. Er uuas alsor manigero bilido uuäre turih sinen manivalten uuistuom unde durih tiu uunder diu er uoorhta. Er uuas schönere den imen io uurde. After diu do er gesatöt uuard mit temo harme unde mit temo spotte unde mit villön der Judön un er gecrucigöt uuard, to 15 raster in demo grabe trle taga, also dir tet pantera, un an demo triten tage dorstüner von dien tötön, unde uuard daz sâr so offenllhin gehörit uber alle disa uuerilt, unde uberruand den drachin, den miichelin tievel.

3.2.40 Alexander Neckam (1157 – 1217), abade e teólogo, dedicou o capítulo CXXXIII de seu *De Naturis Rerum* à pantera (Wright (T.), 1863: 214-215):

“**Panthera** minutis est orbiculis superpicta, ita ut oculatis ex furvo circulis, vel cerula vel alba distinguatur tergi suppellex. Nobilitar hoc animal natura tam odoris deliciosa suavitate quam coloris venustate, ita ut et fragrantiae jocunditas et decoris admiratio caeteras attrahat bestias. Quoniam vero et minac et terribilis est forma capitis, ideo capite abscondito, quae corporis reliqua sunt spectanda praebet **panthera**, ut armenta secura vastatione populetur. Sic et fraus venatica lucri, cujus odor iudicio vulgi bonus est, et aspectus commendabilis, multiplici versutiarum varietate cloratur. Novit autem fraus caput, id est principale propositum, abscondere, ut multos circumveniat. Potes et in dexteram lora flectere, ut **panthera** figuret vitam claustralium, quae decenti varietate studiorum spiritualium insignita est. Principales vero institutiones maxime in initio reservant in posterum, ne disciplinae severioris austeritas novitios exterreat. Hircani veneno carnes illinunt, et eas per compita semitarum spargunt, ut earum seu **pantherae** seducantur. Sed hae, dum excrementa humana devorant, evadunt. Sic et remedia humilitatis pratocinium opraestant claustralibus contra insidias hostium invisibilium.

Ferunt quod **panthera** semel omnino parturit. Nam cum in utero matris coaluere catuli maturis ad nascendum viris pollentes, odiunt temporum moras, et oneratam foetibus alvum, tanquam obstantem partui, unguibus lacerant. Effundit illa partum, dolorecogente. Ita postea corruptis et cicatricosis sedibus genitale semen infusum non haeret acceptum, sed irritum resilit. Nam Plinius dicit animalia cum acutis unguibus frequenter parere non posse; vitiantur enim intrinsecus moventibus se catulis”.

3.2.41 Jean Bodel ou Jehan Bodel (1165-1210) [Figura 3.50] foi um trovador francês originário de Arras, que escreveu no dialeto picardo. Em sua *La Chanson des Saxons* (XIX e LXXXIV) lê-se:

“Herupois sont prodome, orgoillox et gaillart
Et corageus as armes et fier comme **liepart**;
Qant il ont an bataille fichié lor estandart,
Ne se maintiennent mie à guise de coart,

Et puis que il s’an torment jà nos se s’an regart” (Michel, 1839: 34)



Figura 3.50 Jean Bodel lendo seu poema para um grupo de ouvintes (miniatura do MS Arsenal 3142, fôlio 227r);

“Chascuns i fiert d’espée et d’espíe et de dart:
Huimais covient chascun que de lor cox se gart.
Guiteclins de Soissoigne sist ou destrier gaillart,
An la presse se fiert à guise de **liepart**” (Michel, 1839: 144)

3.2.42 No século XII (1161 ou 1162) Frei Benincasa de’ Benincasi [*Benincasa canonicus pisanus*] escreveu uma “Vita Sancti Raynerii” (ver também Zacagnini, 2008), onde surgiu por primeira vez a palavra **lonza**, mas aparentemente aplicada à hiena! Henschen *et al.* (1701: 421-449) publicaram essa obra, “ex antiquo codice Monachorum S. Silvestris ab Equite Francisco Maria Cessinio eruta”; nela lê-se, no Capítulo IV (*Reliqua sancti acta in Terra-sancta*):

“Factum est autem tempore precedente, ut Dei servus Raynerius locum in quo transfiguratus est Dominus, coram Petro; Jacobo, & Joanne, montem excelsum seorsum, qui est mons Tabor, cuperet visitare, & ibi quadraginta dierum spatium fore. Per viam igitur dum iret illius deserti, in ipso deserto reperit duas hyaenas, quas vulgus vocat **lonzas**⁵⁶, leone velociore & audaciores (quae quidem, ut ajunt, de leopardo⁵⁷ et leaena, sive de leone & leoparda generantur, haec animalia visis quotcunque hominibus nullatenus pavent, sed protinus in eos impetum movent, & quos apprehenderit discerpunt in partes) praeter viam altrinsecus morantes S. Raynerius à longe vidit, & recognouit: sed quia justus sicut leo confidit, nec viam declinare poterat, coepit recte itinere intrepidus approximare eis, dicens: Si in me potestatem acceperitis, facite quod potestis. Illae vero, quasi amicam praestolantes, capite demisso blandiebantur ei caudis⁵⁸, Eremita Dei sanctus, peracta via quam coeperat, incolumis ad montem Dei

⁵⁶ Papebroch (in Henschen *et al.*, 1701: 438, nota a) comentou: “**Lonza** Italis est quam Latine Pantheram & Pardalim dicimus, Pardi femellam: quomodo autem Hyaenam hic nomines Auctor, non capio, cum hac sit aliquid medium inter canem & lupum”.

⁵⁷ Papebroch (in Henschen *et al.*, 1701: 438, nota b) comentou: “Leopardus hic pro pardo, Leoparda pro Pardali usurpatur; passim enim inter hac non distinguunt Occidentales, imo solum Leopardi nomen plerique norunt: interim accuratius loquentes censent Leopardos ex pardis & leonis, vel pantheris & Leonibus nasci, quod & nomen ipsum significat”.

⁵⁸ Na tradução de Sanminiatielli (ver nota seguinte) consta: “dimenando le lunghe loro code”; o adjetivo “longa” não consta da versão latina. Se for correta a tradução italiana, o animal tratado por Benincasa não pode ser uma hiena, que tem cauda relativamente curta. Tratar-se-ia, portanto, de um leopardo.

Thabor pervenit. Tunc impletum est, quod ipsa dicit sapientia Dei: creatura tibi creatori deserviens, exardescit in tormentum adversus injustos: lenior est autem ad benefaciendum his, qui in te confidunt” (Henschen *et al.*, 1701: 436)⁵⁹.

3.2.43 Miller (M. E.) (1872) transcreveu um texto grego, extremamente interessante, de Constantinos Pantechnes, escritor bizantino do século XII, metropolitano de Philippoupolis, na Trácia (atual Plovdiv, na Bulgária), fornecendo também sua tradução. Esse manuscrito está depositado na Biblioteca do Escorial, na Espanha. Seu título [Figura 3.51], em tradução, é “Descrição [*Ekphrasis*] de uma caçada de perdizes e lebres por Constantinos Pantechnes, metropolitano de Philippoupolis”. Nele Pantechnes falou de panteras treinadas como animais de caça, fornecendo uma detalhada descrição de um episódio de caça.

Τοῦ μητροπολίτου Φιλιππουπόλεως καὶ ὑπερτί-
μου κυρ. Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Παντεχνῆ ἔκ-
φρασις κυνηγεσίου περδίκων καὶ λαγῶν.

Figura 3.51 Título do manuscrito de Constantinos Pantechnes (séc. XII).

O trecho que nos interessa foi assim traduzido por Miller (M. E.) (1872: 40-44):

“Ce grand dignitaire a été pour moi l’occasion d’une jouissance indicible. Pour échapper à mes ennuis et à mes préoccupations, j’étais allé à sa recherche parmi les campagnes d’une propriété située dans les environs. Mais il s’était déjà à la chasse impériale organisée pour la recherche des perdrix et des bêtes sauvages, chose tout à fait nouvelle pour moi. Il scrutait les taillis et parcourait les sillons creusés par la charrue, non-seulement ceux qui venaient d’être ensemencés, mais même ceux où la germination commençait déjà, afin de découvrir les quadrupèdes dans leurs tanières ou les volatiles qu’on y nourrissait. Sur les uns il lançait les chiennes de Laconie, sur les autres les cruels éperviers et les hérons de montagne. Il était chargé de garnir la table de l’empereur.

J’errais çà et là, suivant la chasse, et cherchant le personnage en question. Pendant que j’étais dans la forêt, me glissant à travers les branches et les troncs d’arbres, j’entendis des cris poussés par de jeunes gens qui animaient les limiers, et les aboiements de ceux-ci qui étaient sur la piste. On voyait les piqueurs suivant les chiens qui allaient et tournaient en remuant la queue; les fauconniers avec leurs fiers compagnons emplumés, ceux qui

⁵⁹ Na tradução de Sanminiatielli (1842: 150-153): “Erano passati alcuni anni della permanenza di Ranieri in Terra Santa, e desiderando visitare le memorie tutte di nostra Redenzione, e tutti quei Luoghi santificati dall’Incarnato Verbo Divin, si determinò di andare sopra il Monte Taborre ove il Benedetto Gesù fece vedere a’ suoi diletti Discepoli Pietro, Giacomo, e Giovanni un segno della sua gloria nell’ tanto celebre sua trasfigurazione. Postosi adunque in cammino per quella parte con animo di trattenerli colà quaranta giorni in orazione, mentre passava pel Deserto, che trovasi fra Gerusalemme, e il Taborre, s’incontrò in due Jene, dette comunemente **Lonze** più veloci assai, e più crudeli de’ Leoni medesimi – Questa specie di Animali sono di tanta audacia, e tanta forza, che appena veggono gli Uomini in qualunque numero questi siano, anzi che temere il loro incontro, si gettano addosso con impeto, e quelli infelici, che sono da loro raggiunti, restano in più parti sbrantati. Appena le vidde Ranieri fermate accanto la strada, per cui era necessario passare, se pure voleva proseguire il suo viaggio, che tosto le riconobbe per quelli Animali, che sono avidissimi della carne dell’Uomo. Ma perchè è proprio de’ Giusti ne’ pericoli ancora più evidenti confidare nella Misericordia di quel Dio, sotto il cui patrocinio riposano sicuri, principiò con animo intrepido, e con diritto cammino ad avvicinarsi, e giunto loro alquanto da presso – Se voi, così disse, se voi avete ricevuto da Dio possanza alcuna sopra la mia Persona; fate pur quello, che è in vostro potere, che io di buon cuore mi rassegno alla volontà del mio Dio, in cui mano è riposta e la vita, e la morte -. Dette queste parole: Mirabil cosa! Quelli Animali cotanto crudeli invece di lanciarsi sopra la preda che vedevano ormai vicina, despota la innata loro crudeltà divennero così mansueti, che inchinato il capo verso la terra lo aspettarono, gli leccarono i piedi, e **dimenando le lunghe loro code** quasi amico lo accarezzarono. Allora il Santo Romito di Dio Ranieri veggendosi libero da quel pericolo dopo avere reso a Dio umilissime grazie proseguì il suo viaggio arrivando sano, e senza alcun danno al Monte Taborre, essendo verità incontestabile cio che Dio medesimo dice nelle Sapienza – *che servendo le Creature tutte a Dio loro creatore, quanto sono irreconciliabili contro il peccatore nemico di chi lo creò, e lo produsse dal nullo, altrettanto si dimostrano mansuete, e favorevoli al giusto, che confidando nel suo Signore ripone in lui ogni sua Speranza*”.

apprivoisent les aiglons et les autres oiseaux de proie bons pour la chasse. Sur leurs poignets étaient perchés des éperviers au vol rapide, bigarré de diverses couleurs, des faucons noirs à la vue perçante, des hérons aux ongles crochus. La plupart de leurs plumes étaient blanches, les autres tiraient sur le noir: c'était comme un vêtement tacheté. On aurait pu croire que plusieurs étaient couverts de givre, surtout ceux que le temps avait comme fait blancher. Chacun de ces oiseaux avait les pattes attachées avec des courroies dont l'extrémité était enroulée dans les doigts des fauconniers. C'est ainsi qu'on les retenait.

Venaient ensuite des spectateurs ou de traqueurs, tout prêts à aider la chasse. Ils étaient disposés en lignes. Ceux qui avaient une certaine pratique étaient placés à distance les uns des autres, pas assez rapprochés pour se livrer à des conversations inutiles, mais pas assez éloignés pour ne pas pouvoir se porter secours. Ils occupaient toute l'étendue de la plaine.

Ils s'avancent lentement et à pas, n'ayant d'autre office que de crier et d'effrayer les bêtes fauves qui se reposent dans les herbages. A les voir de loin les prendrait pour une rangée de jeunes arbres.

Lorsqu'un lièvre ou un renard chassé de son gîte cherche, à la faveur de la vitesse de ses pattes, à gagner un refuge dans les vallées ou sur les roches escarpées, les rangs des traqueurs sont rompus, et l'ordre que l'on admirait tout à l'heure disparaît complètement. En effet, les chasseurs montés sur des chevaux agiles courent après le gibier. On lance les chiens et les faucons impétueux auxquels on lâche les courroies. Comme on les y a habitués, dès qu'ils sont dégagés de leurs liens, ils prennent leur vol, s'élancent légèrement dans l'espace et planent du haut des airs afin d'apercevoir la bête qui est chassée. On peut dire que celle-ci est morte aussitôt qu'elle est vue. En effet, le faucon fait entendre un sifflement aigu, se précipite sur l'animal, le déchire de ses griffes et l'empêche de fuir. Les chiens accourent de suite en aboyant, et il est pris. Comment pourrait-il s'échapper, entouré d'ennemis qui l'attaquent à la fois par terre et par air?

Mais, chose merveilleuse, les chiens ne déchirent point le gibier avec leurs dents; ils se réunissent en troupe, attendant les piqueurs et, comme on les a, je crois, rendus dociles à le faire, ils leur rendent la proie. Les piqueurs, alors, prennent la pièce de gibier, et donnent un peu, ou presque rien, des entrailles aux chiens et aux faucons qui ont chassé, avec l'unique désir de flatter leur palais par le goût du sang; puis ils les renvoient affamés, furieux et la gueule et le bec béants. En effet, à moins que la faim ne tourmente les oiseaux de proie, ils ne seront pas prêts à voler, et seront mal disposés pour la chasse.

Cependant les jeunes chasseurs avaient attaché à leurs pieds et à leur jambes les lièvres moitié morts, et suspendu à leur casaque ces animaux égorgés et palpitant. Voilà que des buissons voisins s'envolent avec un grand bruit les compagnies entières de perdrix. Les chasseurs dressent les oreilles, fixent leur regard sur ces dernières, qui hâtent leur col, et ils remarquent où elles se posent. Ils galopent jusqu'à cet endroit et s'appliquent à les chaser. Elles s'envolent de nouveau. Les fauconniers lancent alors contre elles les oiseaux qu'ils avaient dans la main. Fuite des unes, poursuite des autres; c'est comme une espèce de lutte. La plupart enfin parviennent à s'échapper; mais quelques-unes ont le malheur d'être prises et tombent comme des victimes. Les oiseaux carnivores enfoncent les pointes de leurs ongles dans leurs chairs, les déchirent et les tuent. Ces malheureux crient douloureusement et remplissent l'air du bruit que fait le battement de leurs ailes. Quant au fier épervier, il est perché orgueilleusement sur la perdrix et paraît menacer ceux qui tenteraient de s'approcher en ce moment.

Telle est la chasse faite à l'aide des chiens et des oiseaux de proie.

Les chasseurs étaient suivis de panthères, ou d'**onces**, tachetées, différant entre elles par la taille et la férocité. Ce sont des animaux hardis, sauvages, effrayants à voir et plus effrayants encore de près. Deux dompteurs les avaient apprivoisées comme des lions. Elles paraissaient faciles et s'approchaient avec douceur de leurs gardiens. A cette vue je m'écriai: Quelle est donc cette puissance de l'homme, qui lui permet de conduire des panthères et des lionnes furieuses, de marcher sur des serpents, des basilics et des dragons! etc...

Les gardiens de ces panthères les portaient en croupe avec eux sur des chevaux hongres. Des cordes étaient enlacées autour du cou de l'animal afin qu'il demeurât tranquille et ne s'élançât point à contre-temps ni sur les animaux qu'il ne fallait pas attaquer. Quand un lièvre partait, si le gardien jugeait le moment venu de lâcher l'once, il était défendu de lâcher les chiens et les oiseaux de proie, car elle les aurait dévorés, tout aussi bien que le gibier.

L'once court seule sur le lièvre, et en quelques bonds rapides, deux ou trois tout au plus, elle s'arrête, le frappe avec ses pattes de devant et l'enlève. En un instant et plus vite que je ne le dis, la malheureuse bête se trouve sous la dent de l'animal⁶⁰. Celui-ci saisit sa proie par le cou à l'endroit où la tête commence à se dresser, et pendant que le lièvre rend le dernier soupir, il s'avance lentement et avec une démarche fière.

⁶⁰ *Pardalis* no texto grego original (Miller (M. E.), 1872: 51; traduzido como **once**):

Ce n'est pas tout, et voilà ce qui est extraordinaire. Il ne juge pas à propos de dévorer sa proie; il ne veut pas avaler des entrailles et manger des chairs souillées de terre. Il faut que son gardien, sautant immédiatement à bas de son cheval, vienne placer devant lui une petite écuelle, dans laquelle il lui découpe la nourriture comme dans une corbeille et lui serve une table royale et vraiment digne de lui.

Écoutez maintenant quel festin on prépare à ce convive d'un nouveau genre. L'once est couchée tenant le lièvre entre ses pattes de devant; elle fait entendre un léger rugissement et a les yeux injectés de sang. Son maître, habitué à la caresser, se glisse doucement près d'elle par derrière et la place entre ses cuisses, de manière à la maintenir. Il lui abaisse la peau qui est au-dessus des yeux, lui caresse la mâchoire supérieure et lui bouche les narines avec ses doigts. L'animal, ne pouvant plus respirer par le nez, est obligé d'ouvrir la gueule. L'homme en profite pour lui arracher le lièvre. Il l'égorge aussitôt et verse dans l'écuelle le sang que l'animal s'empresse d'avalier. Ce téméraire lui donne ensuite une bonne part des entrailles et des membres qui peuvent le nourrir, en défendant contre lui tout le reste. L'once lèche l'écuelle en bois, et grossièrement faite, tant qu'elle sent la moindre humidité sanguine. Cela fait, son gardien l'allèche et l'amuse avec un petit morceau de chair, et, pendant qu'elle a la gueule ouverte, il donne un coup de pied à l'écuelle et la lance loin. L'animal, furieux d'avoir été trompé, veut se venger; mais son maître lui tend une peau de lion et tout autre animal qu'il avait autour de lui. L'once se précipite sur cette peau et cherche à la déchirer avec ses griffes et avec ses dents. Dès lors on s'en empire facilement. Pendant qu'elle est attachée avec une corde elle est trainée par le cou, son conducteur s'élance à cheval, l'emporte en croupe, en jetant de grands cris. L'animal effrayé cherche à se réfugier dans ses bras et lèche les gouttes de sang qui auraient pu tomber sur la peau de lion, lorsque le lièvre a été égorgé.

Cependant, comme le grand dignitaire qui avait été l'occasion de ce spectacle si nouveau pour moi se trouvait encore emporté par la folle ardeur de la chasse, je jugeai qu'il ne serait pas convenable que je continuasse à le suivre, et je revins à mes affaires que je me reprochai d'avoir négligées”.

3.2.44 Michael Glycas ou Glykas (Μιχαήλ Γλυκᾶς), historiador, teólogo, matemático, astrônomo e poeta bizantino, que viveu em Constantinopla no século XII, escreveu uma crônica dos eventos desde a criação do mundo até a morte de Alexius I Comnenus (1118), onde devotou muito espaço a matérias científicas.

Em seus *Annales* citou o leopardo duas vezes; a primeira citação consta de um trecho em que o autor escreveu sobre como animais doentes procuram por instinto seu próprio remédio [Figura 3.52]; a segunda [Figura 3.53] repetiu um trecho de Aristóteles sobre o coração dos animais em relação ou não à sua bravura.

Ἡ δὲ πάρδαλις μόνῃ τοῦ λαγῶ κατα-
τρέχει καὶ ἀλμασιν ὀξυρόποισι μὴ πλείοσι δυεῖν ἢ καὶ τριῶν φθά-
σασα ζυμποδίζει καὶ τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν ποσὶ καταπαίουσα, ὄξυπραγέσι πα-
λάμαις αἰρεῖ, καὶ τάχιον ἢ λόγος ὑπ' ὀδόντα τοῦ θηρὸς ὁ πτώξ ἐν ἀτόμῳ
γίνεται.

Nicholas & Baloglov (2003: 42) interpretaram esse animal como um guepardo (*cheetah*) e assim traduziram essa passagem: “And the cheetah pursues the hare alone, and reaching it with swift turning bounds not more than two or three in number, it entangles it, and striking it with its front feet, it lifts it up with swift-acting palms; and faster than speech the hare ends up under the teeth of he beast, within an indivisible moment”.

ἄρκτος γὰρ πολ-
λάκις βαρυντάταις κατατρωθεῖσα πληγαῖς ἑαυτὴν ἰατρῆει,
τῷ φλόμῃ τούτῳ ξηρὰν τὴν φύσιν ἔχοντι τὰς ὠτειλὰς παρα-
βύουσα. ἰδοὺ δ' ἂν καὶ ἀλώπεκα τῷ δακρύῳ τῆς πίτυος
ἑαυτὴν ἰατρῆουσαν. χελώνη δὲ σαρκῶν ἐχίδνης ἐμφορηθεῖ-
σα διὰ τῆς ὀριγάνου ἀντιπαθείας φεύγει τὴν βλάβην τοῦ ἰο-
βόλου. καὶ ὄφις τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς βλάβην ἐξιᾶται βο-
σκηθεῖς μάλαθρα. οἶδε δὲ καὶ ὁ ἔλαφος, καθὰ φησιν Αἰλιαν-
νός, θεραπεύειν ἑαυτὸν ἄνθει τινί, ἐάν ποτε ὑπὸ τοῦ βέλους
τρωθῆ. οἶδε δὲ καὶ κάμηλος κεκαυμένους χυμοὺς ἐξομεῖν,
εἰ φύλλων ὑγρῶν ἐφάψοιτο δρυός. ἀλλὰ καὶ κύων οὐκ ἀγνοεῖ
χολῆς μελαίνης χλωρὰν ἄγρωστιν εἶναι καθάρσιον. ἀλλὰ καὶ
τράγοι τὴν ἀσκαμωνίαν τῆς ἀπεψίας ἀλεξήτηριον οἶδασι. καὶ
πάρδαλις λύθρον αἰγὸς ἀγρίου σωτήριον οἶεται. καὶ πτηνὸς
ἰέραξ τὸν ὀπὸν τῶν πιχροφύλλων θριδακίων ὀπτικὸν ἀχλὺς
ἐπίσταται φάρμακον. καὶ κύκνοι δὲ βατράχους ἐσθιόντες τοῦ
λυπούντος ἀπαλλαγὴν εὐρίσκουσι. φεύγουσι καὶ γῦπες καὶ
κάνθαροι τὴν τῶν ῥόδων ὄσμην.

Figura 3.52 Trecho de Glycas sobre a busca de remédios por vários animais (Bekker, 1836: 95).

ὡσαύτως λέγουσι τὸν τε λαγῶν καὶ
τὴν ὕαιναν ἀρρενόθηλον γίνεσθαι. ἀλλὰ καὶ δειλὸς ὁ λαγω-
ός. τίνας ἔνεκεν; ὅτι μεγίστην ἔχει καρδίαν, ὡσπερ δὲ ἔλα-
φος μῦς ὕαινα ὄνος πάρδαλις γαλῆ, καὶ ἀπλῶς πάνθ' ὅσα
φανερῶς εἰσι δειλὰ ἢ διὰ φόβον κακοῦργα.

Figura 3.53 Trecho de Glycas (Bekker, 1836: 103).

Na tradução latina:

“...ursus enim saepenumero gravissimis vulneribus adfectus sibimetipse medicinam facit, dum verbasco naturalem siccitatem habente vulnera obstruit. etiam vulpem lacryma pinus se ipsam curantem videre est. testudo vipere carnibus satiata per contrariam origani vim, quominus a re venenosa laedatur, efficit. Serpens oculod laesos sanitati restituit, malathris pastus. novit et cervus, quaemadmodus Aelianus tradit, seipsum flore quodam curre, si quando telo laesus est. camelus humores perustus evomere novit, contactis humidis quercus foliis. nec canis ignorat viride gramen nigrae bilis expurgandae vim habere. hirci scamoniā cruditatis remedium esset. **pardalis** cruorem caprae silvestris sibi salutarem axistimar. accipiter volucris succum lacticarum, quarum folia sunt amara, caligantium ocularum scit esse remedium. cygni ranas devorantes, adfectiones quadam sibi molestis sese liberant. vultures et scarabaei rosarum odorem fugiunt...” (Labbe & Löwenklau, 1729: 38; Bekker, 1836: 95; Migne, 1866: 114).

“itidem aiunt leporem et hyaenam alternis vicibus tam marem quam feminam esse. formidolosus etiam lepus est. quamobrem? quia cor maximum habet, sicut et cervus et mus et hyaenae et asinus et **pardalis** et mustela, et simpliciter omnia quaecunque palam timida sunt vel ob metum noxia” (Labbe & Löwenklau, 1729: 42; Bekker, 1836: 103; Migne, 1866: 122).

Uma outra citação do nome *pardalis* encontra-se numa carta de Glycas publicada por Lami (1736: 87, Lettera II):

“Vides enim quomodo & Leo ipsum contemnat, & **Pardalis** fugiat, & ceterae omnes subiectionem recusantes, longius ab eo recedant”.

3.2.45 Jacques de Vitry (ca. 1160/1170 – 1240) [Figura 3.54] foi nomeado bispo de Acre, na Galileia; uma vez consagrado, chegou a sua sé em 1216. Envolveu-se na Quinta Cruzada, tendo participado do cerco de Damietta de 1218 a 1220. Em 1219 começou a escrever a *Historia Hierosolymitana*, uma história da Terra Santa desde a chegada do Islã até sua própria época, mas completou apenas duas partes. Voltou à Europa em 1225.



Figura 3.54 Jacques de Vitry, medalha comemorativa de 1518.

Tratando dos animais da Terra Santa, falou das panteras (cf. Moschus, 1597: 176-177):

“Leaena primo partu quinque fetus emittit, deinde per singulos partus numerum mineuns postquam ad vnum peruenit sterilis efficitur. Sunt ibi pulcherrima animalia quae **Pantheræ** nominantur, ex albo & nigro minutis orbiculis superpictæ, quarum odore caetera animalia mirabiliter affecta eas sequuntur. Postquam enim diuersis venationibus pastæ & saciatæ fuerint, tribus diebus & noctibus continuè dormiunt in speluncis suis, Euigilantes autem & rugitum proferentes tantæ suauitatis odorem de gutture suo emittunt, qui cuncta pretiosa aromata vincit, quod omnes bestias, exceptis serpentibus, qui bono odore necantur, dulcedine spiraminis ad se trahunt. Hæ autem non nisi semel pariunt: nam fetuseatum postquam partui propinqui sunt non expectantes debiti temporis horam matricem vnguibus lacerantes ipsam femini retinendo prorsus reddunt inutilem”.

Na tradução de Guizot (1825: 182-183) foram incluídas várias passagens que não são encontradas na edição de Moschus; tampouco Guizot indicou de onde tirou esses trechos:

“Les **léopards**, ainsi nommés parce qu’ils sont semblables au lion par la tête et par la forme de leurs membres, quoiqu’ils ne soient ni aussi grands, ni aussi forts, deviennent tellement doux entre les mains de l’homme, qu’ils le suivent à la chasse comme des chiens; ils saisissent leur proie, non en courant après, mais en sautant sur elle par bonds; et s’ils ne l’atteignent pas au troisième bond, ils y renoncent comme avec un sentiment d’indignation. [...]. La lionne fait cinq petits la première fois qu’elle met bas; puis, à chaque nouvelle portée, elle va diminuant toujours d’un; et après qu’elle est venue à n’en porter qu’un seul, elle devient sterile. Les **onces**, animaux très-cruels, pas plus hauts que les chiens, mais ayant le corps plus allongé, sont les ennemis déclarés de ceux-ci. Les **onces** ne mangent leur proie lorsqu’elles peuvent la transporter dans l’air. Dès qu’elles trouvent un arbre, elles grimpent sur la branche la plus élevée, y suspendent et dévorent leur butin. Elles ont le corps couvert de petites taches noires et blanches. Si elles viennent à blesser quelqu’un tandis qu’elles sont en chaleur, les souris cherchent à approcher du blessé, et à uriner sur lui, s’il leur est possible; et dans ce cas, celui-ci meurt aussitôt. J’ai même à cette occasion entendu raconter à un homme, qui l’avait vu, qu’un autre ayant été ainsi blessé, se fit porter à la mer, enfermé dans une caisse, et que les souris y vinrent, pour tâcher de parvenir jusqu’à lui, mais sans pouvoir y réussir. Le fiel de ces animaux est un poison mortel.

Les **panthères** sont aussi de très-beaux animaux, qui semblent avoir été peints en petits points ronds noirs et blancs; elles ont une odeur à laquelle d’autres animaux sont merveilleusement sensibles, et qui les attire sur leurs traces. En effet, lorsqu’elles se sont repues et rassasiées du produit de leur chasse, elles passent trois jours et trois nuits de suite à dormir dans leur tanière. Lorsqu’elles s’éveillent et poussent leurs rugissements, il sort de leur gosier une odeur extrêmement suave, infiniment plus agréable que celle des aromes les plus précieux; si bien

qu’elles attirent toutes les bêtes par la douceur de leur haleine, à l’exception cependant des serpents, que les bonnes odeurs font mourir. Les panthères femelles ne mettent bas qu’une fois, car lorsqu’elles sont près de ce moment, leurs petits, n’attendant pas l’heure assigné par la nature, leur déchirent le corps avec leurs ongles, et les mettent ainsi hors d’état de porter de nouveau”.

Na edição de Bongars (1611: 1101) lê-se:

“Sunt etiam **unciae** saevissima animalia, qui non sunt canibus aliora, longiora tamen habentia corpora, canibus valde inimica. Praedam non comedunt nisi in altum eam portent, quando inveniunt arborem, ad supremum ramum defferunt, et pēdendo eam comedunt. Ex nigris et albis maculis respersum corpus habent”.

3.2.46 De autor desconhecido e escrito depois de 1185, a obra *Bataille d’Aliscans* traz o seguinte (Estrofe CXXVI) (Holtus, 1985):

“Seschuns tenoit en sa main un baston
Q’i fu briseç dou mast a un peron;
E orgoylos e fier li compaignon,
Meuz se reqirent qe **lipart** ni lion”.



Figura 3.55 Vincent de Beauvais (Jean de Vignay, 1479-1490, *Le Miroir Historial*, Royal MS 14 E I vol. 1).

3.2.47 Vincent de Beauvais (em latim Vincentius Bellovacensis ou Vincentius Burgundus) (ca. 1190 - ?1264) [Figura 3.55], dominicano francês, produziu uma enciclopédia contendo todo o conhecimento existente na Idade Média – o *Speculum Maius* (“o grande espelho”), dividido em três partes: o *Speculum naturale*, o *Speculum doctrinale* e o *Speculum historiale*. Todas as edições impressas incluem uma quarta parte, o *Speculum morale*, adicionada no século XIX, copiada de S. Tomás de Aquino e outros autores.

No *Speculum Naturale* falou da pantera e do leopardo (Vincent de Beauvais, 1591: 244v, 245r) (Figuras 3.56 e 3.57).

I Sidorus. Panther dictus est, siue quod omnium animalium sic amicus, excepto dracone, siue quia ex sui generis societate gaudet, & ad eandem similitudinem quicquid accipit reddit. Pan enim Græcè omne dicitur. Est autem bestia minutis orbiculis superpicla, ita vt oculatis ex fuluo circulis nigra & alba varietate distinguatur. Glo. super Osee. Nihil leone fortius, nihilque panthera velocius. Ideo per Prophetam ait domitius. Ego quasi panthera Effraim, & quasi leo domui Iuda. Physiologus, Panthera est animal preciosum & mansuetum nimis, solū draconem non habet amicum. Hæc cum cibis variis satiatia fuerit, spelunca sua se recondit & dormit. Post triduum exurgens morugitum magnum emittit cum odore suavissimo quasi omnium aromatum, quem audientes bestie omnes, quæ longè, & quæ prope sunt, ad odorem illum confluunt, & sequuntur pantheram quocumque ierit. Solus draeco audiens, & vim odoris non ferens in seipso timore contrahitur, & in cauernis terræcis fugiens obterpescit, & manet immobilis. Plinius lib. 8. Panthera & tygris prope bestiarum solæ speculantur macularum varietate. Pantheris tradunt in armo maculam esse Lunæ similem crescentem in orbem, & cauantem pari modo cornua, nunc varios & pardos qui mares sunt appellant in omni genere creberrimo in Africa Syriaque; Quidam ab his pantheras solo candore discernunt. Mirum vero pantheras & leones ac similia (vt dictum est supra) condito in vaginas corporis unguium mucrone, ne rotfringantur & hebetetur incidere, auersaque; falcibus currere, nec nisi in appetendo protendere. Idem in libro 11. Habentque pantheræ quatuor mammas in medio ventre. Mares autem in omni genere fortiores sunt feminis, præterquam in pantheris & vrsis. Idem in libro 28. Hiena (vt dictum est supra) terrorem infert pantheræ, vt nec ei conetur resistere. Et si quis aliquid ex corio eius secum habeat, non appetitur a panthera. Mirumque dictum, si pelles vtriusque contra sese dependeant pantheræ puli decident. Solinus. Pantheræ numerosæ sunt in Hyrcania. Tradunt earum odore & contemplatione armenta mirè affici, & nisi eas præsentiscant properato conuenire, nec terrefi nisi sola oris toruitate, quam ob causam pantheræ absconditis capitibus, quæ corporis reliqua sunt, spectanda præbent, vt greges stupidos in obtutum secura vastatione populentur. Sed Hircani, vt hominibus intentatum nihil est, frequentius eas veneno quam ferro necant. Ex libro de natura rerum. Panthera est animal varium ac speciosum nimis. Sunt qui tradunt huic in armo maculam esse Lunæ similem, & interdum crescere rotundam, & ad Lunæ mutationem variari. Auicenna. Panthera & pardus quando venenum comederunt, stercus hominis quæruunt & comedunt.

De Generatione ac venatione panthera. Cap. C.

I Sidorus. Panthera semel omnino parturit, cuius causæ ratio manifesta est. Nam cum in utero matris coaluere catuli, maturisque ad nascendum viribus pollent, odiunt temporum moras. Itaque oneratam foetibus vuluam tanquam obstantem partui unguibus lacerat, & effundit illa partum seipsum potius dimittit dolore cogente. Ita postea corruptis & cicatricosis sedibus genitale semen infusum, non hæret acceptum, sed irritum resilit. Nam & Plinius dicit a lalia cum acutis unguibus frequenter parere non posse. Viriantur. n. intrinsecus se mouentibus catulis. Physiologus. Pantheris venandis insistentes Hyrcani, veneno carnes illiniunt, easque per compita semitarum spargunt, vt illarum esu pantheræ seducantur. Sed ille dum excrementa hostis deuorant euadunt. Plinius lib. 8. Pantheras per carnes acornito fricatas veneno barbari venantur, scilicet per compita semiratum eas spargentes. Quas ubi ederint pantheræ, fauces earum illico occupat angor. At fera contra hæc excrementis hominis sibi medetur, & aliàs tam audax eorum, vt a pastoribus ex iudultra

industria in aliquo vase suspenda altius, q̄ ve queat saltu contin-
gere: iaculando petendoq; desigi: & postremo expirare. Alio-
quin vivacitatis est tam lentę, vt eicctis interaneis diu pugnet.
Tradit Demetrius phisicus iacentem in media via pantherā ho-
minis desiderio repente apparuisse patri cuiusdam philinis asse-
ctatoris sapientię. Illumq; panore expisse regredi: feram vero
circumvolitari pię blandientem, seseq; męrore confidentem
fęta siquidem erat: canilis procul in foueam delapsis. primum
ergo mirationi fuit non expauescere, proximum ei curam inten-
dere. Secutus itaq; quę traherat vellem vnguium leni iniectū.
vt causam doloris intellexit: simulq; salutis suę mercedem, can-
tuloxemir, eaq; cum his prosequente vsq; extra solitudines
deductus est lęta, atq; gestiente, vt facile appareret gratiam refer-
re, & nihil in vicem imputare, quod etiam in homine rarū est.

Figura 3.56 Texto de Vincent de Beauvais (1591: 144v, 145r) sobre a pantera.

Isidorus. Pardus secundus post Panthe-
rem est, genus varium, ac velocissimum & præceps ad sangui-
nē. Salu. n. ad mortem ruit, ex adulterio pardi, & leqę leopardus
nascitur: & tertiam originem efficit. Ex libro de naturis ter-
rum. Vt dicit Magnus Basilius. Pardus est bestia torua, & acu-
ta nimis in impetu corpusq; motibus autium conueniens habet,
& varium in colore. Salu potius quam cursu prædam inse-
quitur. Vnde sæpius accidit, vt vehementi saltu ruat ad mor-
tem. In Aphrica propter inopiam aquę congregantur diuer-
se ferę ad amnes: ibiq; Lenę bestijs varijs, vel vi, vel vo-
luntate miscentur, & inde pardi procreari dicuntur. Solinus.
Pardorum adulterinis coitibus leonarium partus degenerantur,
& ab eis equidem leones, sed ignobiles generantur. Plinius li-
bro octauo. Odore pardi coitum sentit in adultera leo: totaq; u-
vi confurgit in pœnam: iccirco aut culpa stamine abluatur, aut
longius comitatur. Nunc varios & pardos, qui mares sunt, ap-
pellat in omni genere creberrimo, vt in Aphrica, & Syria: Qui-
dam ab his pantheras solo candore discernunt. Idem in lib. 10.
In Aphrica inscidunt arbore condensā pardi: earumq; ramis
occultati in prætereuntia defiliunt, atque e volucrum cęde traf-
santur. Ambrosius. Pardus coloris varietate prodit mores varios
amicę suę. Vnde propheta Hieremias. Si potest inquit par-
dus mutare varietates suas. Aristoteles. Pardus (vt dictum
est) sicut & panthera, quando venenum comedit, sterces ho-
minis quęrit, & comedit.

Figura 3.57 Texto de Vincent de Beauvais (1591: 145r) sobre o leopardo.

3.2.48 Frederico II (Hohenstaufen) da Germânia (1194 – 1250), que teve os títulos de Rei da Sicília (1197-1250), Rei de Tessalônica, Rei de Chipre e de Jerusalém, Rei dos Romanos, Rei da Germânia e Imperador do Sacro Império Romano-Germânico (1220-1250) [Figura 3.58], ao contrário de muitos monarcas do seu tempo, muitas vezes analfabetos, sabia expressar-se em nove línguas e correspondia-se por escrito em sete; tudo isto estaria provavelmente relacionado com o tempo passado na corte de Palermo, onde influências árabes, alemãs, latinas, bizantinas, normandas, provençais e meso-judias se miscigenavam. Era um grande adepto de caçadas, chegando a escrever um livro sobre a arte da falcoaria⁶¹ [Figura 3.59] (cf. Anôn., 1596).

⁶¹ “C’est dans l’Italie du Sud, à la cour de Frédéric II, roi des Deux-Sicules, que nous voyons apparaître, au XIII^e siècle, les premières grandes ménageries de l’Europe occidentale. Ce prince, dans lequel le sang allemand se trouvait mêlé à celui d’une mère napolitaine, avait pris de cette dernière sans doute, des goûts et des moeurs orientales, en particulier une véritable passion pour les animaux. Il étudiait les oiseaux, surtout les espèces de chasse, les observait, les disséquait même et écrivait sur eux une sorte d’ornithologie (...). Il se faisait envoyer un éléphant des Indes, donnait au sultan d’Égypte un ours blanc en échange d’une giraffe, faisait nourrir, à Melfi, une **once** et des hyènes, possédait au château de Lucera, qui existe encore, une ‘léoparderie où des esclaves maures étaient chargés d’entretenir et de dresser nombre de ces animaux sous la direction d’un intendant’; à Palermo, sa résidence habituelle, il avait créé une sorte de jardin zoologique qui fut décrit par Otto de Saint-Blaso; enfin



Figura 3.58 Frederico II negociando o tratado de paz com Al-Kamil⁶² (fevereiro de 1229).



Figura 3.59 *De arte venandi cum avibus* de Frederico II.

partout, à Ravenne, à Pise, à Parme, Crémone, Vérone, Padoue, Vittoria, on le voit aller accompagné d'une véritable ménagerie ambulante comprenant des éléphants, des chameaux, des dromadaires, des lions, des panthères, des guépards, etc. Cette ménagerie lui servit encore à faire parade de grande luxe, par exemple, lorsqu'il se rendit à Worms, em 1235, pour épouser Élisabeth, soeur du roi d'Angleterre Henri III. On le vit alors s'avancer en grande gloire, dit un chroniqueur allemande, suivi de nombreux quadrigues chargés d'or et d'argent, de lin très fin, de pourpre, de gemmes, de vaisselles précieuses, puis de chameaux, de mules, de dromadaires conduits par des Sarrasins, et enfin de singes et de léopards domptés par des Éthiopiens" (Loisel, 1912a:).

Collenuccio (1541: 80v) também registrou: "Ne l'anno poi .1232. hauendo Federico per prima pronunciata la corte à Rauenna, e conuocato Henrico suo figliolo, e tutti li principi di Alemagna, uenne a Rauenna del mese di Nouembre e con grandissima comitua, e magnificentia, e tra le altre cose menò con se molti animali insueti in Italia, elephanti, dromedarij, cameli, **panthere**, e gerfalchi, Leoni, **leopardi**, e falconi bianchi, & alochi barbati, e molte altre cose degne di admiratione, e di spettacolo".

⁶² Al-Malik al-Kamel Naser al-Din Abu al-Ma'ali Muhammed (1180 – 1238), dito Al-Kamil (em árabe: الكامل), foi um sultão do Egito da dinastia dos aiúbidas.

Uma impressionante compilação de documentos da época de Frederico foi intitulada *Regestum Imperatoris Frederici II. annor. 1239, & 1240*. Nessa obra encontram-se as seguintes referências a leopardos:

“[21 de novembro de 1239] Litterae responsales ad Paulinum de Malta de camelis et **leopardis** justiciario Capitanatae et leoparderiis Luceriae assignatis, de exeniis ad curiam missis, de victualibus curiae in Barbaria vendendis ut **leopardi** et pulli equini de pecunia recipienda emanantur.

De imperiali mandato facto per magistrum R. de Trajecto scripsit Laurentius:

Fredericus, etc., Paulino de Malta, etc. Litteras tuas, etc. Quod autem, sicut per easdem litteras intimasti, ad erarium nostrum Melfie quamdam summam pecuniae transmisisti de proventibus curie nostre qui sunt per manus tuas, et camelos octo ad opus curie nostre justiciario Capitinate, ac dos **leopardos** fecisti leoparderiis nostris Luceriae morantibus assignari, placet nobis et tuam sollicitudinem commendamus. De joettis autem quas nobis pro parte tua tuus nuntius presentavit, graificatur tibi nostre gratia majestatis, dum ostendis te de nobis debitam et quam de fidei speramus memoriam retinere. Mandamus igitur quod in servitiis nostris te genere studeas fideliter et prudenter, et deinceps pecuniam curie nostre custodibus generalis erarii nostri quod est in castro Salvatoris ad Mare juxta Neapolim mictere studeas et facias assignari. Camelos autem quorum duo sunt masculi et una femina quos apud Maltam retinere te dicis pro filiis procreandis, facias custodiri: de victualibus curie nostre tibi mandantes ut munitis castris et aliis nostris servitiis inde faciendis, ut expedi, ordinatis, id quod supererit mictas in Barbariam ad vendendum et de recepta ex eo pecunia, **leopardos** et pullos equinos de Barcha bene alliniatos facias emi ad opus nostrum, eosque ad presentiam nostram mictas.

Datum apud Lauda...” (Huillard-Bréholles, 1857: 524-525).

b) “[Dezembro de 1239] *De Imperiali mandato facto per Magistrum Roggerium de Petrasturmil. Scripsit Laurentius Renaldino de Panormo Vallecto &c.* Mandamus precipiendo fidelitati tue quatenus statim visis hys litteris eligas tres de **leopardis** tue cure commissis meliores & melius affaytatos⁶³ & tres alios non affaytatos meliores qui tamen sciant equitare⁶⁴. & habiliores sint ad affaytandum. & ducas tecum leoparderios necessarios

⁶³ Francês moderno *affaitage*, basicamente um termo da falcoaria – treinamento de aves de rapina, especialmente falcões, para a caça.

⁶⁴ Longpérier (1844: 538-539) fez os seguintes comentários sobre a carta de Frederico II que consta do item 1.1 (a): “Des léopards *qui sciant equitare* pouvaient paraître au premier abord assez extraordinaires (...). Chacun sait que les Orientaux dressent pour la chasse, des lions, des onces et des léopards, qu’ils portent en croupe et lancent sur le gibier lorsqu’ils sont à portée convenable. Ces animaux doivent donc être habitués de bonne heure à se tenir sur le cheval, c’est ce que le *Regestum* exprime par *scire equitare*.

On trouve sur un vase à boire, contemporain je crois de Frédéric, des cavaliers qui portent, sur la croupe de leur cheval, des animaux féroces de la race féline.

pro leopardis ipsis ac venias usque sanctum Flavianum, deinde venturus ad nos si venire cum eis poteris salubriter & secure. alioquin adventum tuum nobis significes ut qualiter debeas ad nos venire. mandemus. de roncinis autem & expensis necessariis pro te, leoparderiis & leopardis requiras Iustitiarum Capitinate, cui hoc dedimus in mandatis.

Fredericus, etc., R. de Montefuscuro, justitiario Capitinate, etc. Quia volumus ut Raynaldinus de Panormo vallectus Fidelis noster cum sex **leopardis** et leoparderiis ad presentiam nostram fesinantes accedat, mandamus quatenus eidem roncinos et expensas necessarias pro **leopardis** et leoparderiis ipsis quos duxerit, de pecunia curie nostre que est per manus tuas debeas exhibere, et dicto R. pro se, duobus scuteriis et tribus equis suis expensas” (Vinea, 1786: 308; Huillard-Bréholles, 1857: 629).

c) “[6 de fevereiro de 1240] *Mandante domino Imperatore per Magistrum Roggerium de Camera, scripsi responsales licteras Roggerius de Salerno ad Raynaldinum de Panormo.* Benigne recepit Serenitas nostra licteras tuas. & diligenter intelleximus significata ipsarum. Tuum studium in nostris servitiis commendantes. Et quia **leopardos** quos tecum habes volumus habere nobiscum. Fidelitati tue mandamus. Quatenus receptis hys licteras ducas **leopardos** ipsos usque Introducum. Ac si abinde secure venire poteris ad presentiam nostram te conferas cum eisdem. Quod si forte deinde ad nos securus non posses venire cum ipsis. Moreris ibidem. Significans nobis adventum tuum. & nos mandabimus tibi nostre benepkacitum voluntatis” (Vinea, 1786: 341; Huillard-Bréholles, 1859: 733).



Prancha XVI (parte) de Longpérier (1844).

La coupe qui nous montre ces chasseurs, trouvée en 1838 à Fano, dans le duché d’Urbino, et acquise pour la Bibliothèque royale, par M. Charles Lenormant, est faite d’une combinaison de cuivre et d’étain fondus, que l’on appelle vulgairement *metal de cloche*; elle est toute couverte de riches et gracieuses incrustations d’or et d’argent fixées au marteau, avec une habileté qui étonne, car le moindre coup mal appliqué pourrait briser le metal extrêmement aigre qui forment le calice.

La panse de la coupe est ornée de six médaillons déterminés par un entourage formé de six cintres et de deux ogives: ces médaillons, qui contiennent chacun un cavalier, sont séparés par six petites rosacés incrustés d’or. L’un des médaillons a été à demi emporté par une fracture. Le premier qui vient à la suite représente un personnage nimbé, à cheval, tenant de la main gauche une épée; sur la croupe du cheval est placé un lion. (Voy. Pl. XVI, n° 1.);

(...) Le chasseur du quatrième médaillon, la tête couverte d’une espèce de casque ou de turban toujours avec un nimbe, tient de la main droite les rênes de son cheval; de la gauche il lance un léopard qu’il portait em croupe. (Pl. XVI, n° 2)”.

Em carta de Frederico II, datada de Viterbo a 21 de fevereiro de 1240 (*Mandatum ad Alexandrum, filium Henrici, pro dandis expensis magistris sarracenis, custodibus animalium et aliis laborantibus in Melfia, Canusio et Luceria*⁶⁵ aparece a variante **unche**:

d) “*De mandato Imperiali facto per dominum Iohannem Morum. Scripsit Jacobus de Bantra Alexandro filio Henrici. Fidelitati tue precipiendo mandamus. Quatenus Magistris Sarracenis. Tarisiatoribus carpentariis. Magistris facientibus arma. Custodibus Camelorum. Custodibus Vnche*⁶⁶ *et tabaccorum*⁶⁷, Custodi Viverii. & ceteris Magistris qui tam de ferro. Quam de arcubus & aliis operibus laborant ad opus nostrum in Melfia Canusio et Luceria. Qui a T. de Brundusio expensas recipere consueverunt, secundum quod ab ipso recipiebant, easdem expensas & alia necessaria pro eisdem servitiis faciendis & custodiendis animalibus supradictis. Pro se discipulis, scuteriis & equitaturis eorum. Sicut per dictum T. soliti sunt recipere. Debeas exhibere. Ut iidem in predictis servitiis nostris faciendis. Defectu expensarum excusationem aliquam non pretendant. & de hiis que dederis. Ab ipsis recipias apodixam” (Vinea, 1786: 350; Huillard-Bréholles, 1859: 764).

e) “[23 de fevereiro de 1240] Renovatio mandati ad Raynaldinum de Panormo pro **leopardis** ducendis ad principem” (Huillard-Bréholles, 1859: 770).

O sexto documento, de abril de 1240, reza:

e) “*De mandato Imperiali facto per Magistrum Roggerium de Camera. Scripsit P. de Capua. Ad Majorem Plancatonem Secretum Messane. Quod visis licteris fieri faciat sexaginta tappeta pro leopardis. & triginta pro arnesio. & facta mictat ad Cameram*” (Vinea, 1786: 404; Huillard-Bréholles, 1859: 928)

⁶⁵ “Frédéric passait l’hiver à Padoue, ou, depuis près de deux mois, l’impératrice l’avait rejoint. Il y tenait une cour somptueuse, en attendant la reprise des hostilités, que la rigueur de la saison avait fait interrompre. Tantôt, dans les cérémonies de l’Église, ce prince se montrait au peuple environné des grands et dans tout l’appareil de la souveraineté; d’autres fois, il réunissait à de splendides festins ou à des chasses, les principaux seigneurs et la noblesse de la ville. Outre ses chiens et ses faucons, il avait fait venir de Lucera des **panthères (leopardi)**, dressés à se tenir en croupe, les yeux bandés, derrière le veneur, qui les lançait, quand le moment était venu, sur le gibier. Cette chasse, fort usité dans tout l’Orient, avait été introduite en Europe à l’époque de la croisade, et l’empereur faisait acheter sur la côte de l’Afrique de jeunes animaux que des esclaves maures dressaient pour cet usage” (Cherrier, 1844: 505).

⁶⁶ Segundo Camus (1909: 12, nota 2): “Quant à la graphie *unche* pour *unciae*, je pense qu’elle est due à la prononciation normande du scribe, qui disait sans doute *onche* au lieu de *once*”.

⁶⁷ Quanto à expressão *tabaccorum*, segundo Camus (*l. c.*): “L’arabe *dabah* (hyène) [الضبع] fut transformé em *tabaccus* dans le latin des chancelleries de Sicile”. No *Aja’ib al-makhlūqat* (Maravilhas da criação) de Muhammad al-Qazvini (ca. 1203-1283) o nome é grafado *dabu* [Figura 3.60] Jaschke (2007) dá *dabaH* como “kill, slaughter” (p. 164), “*hyena Dab’ pl. Dibâ*” (p. 59) e “*Dab’ pl. Dibâ hyena*” (p. 164).



Figura 3.60 Manuscrito do *Aja'ib al-makhlūqat* (Maravilhas da criação) de Muhammad al-Qazvini (ca. 1203-1283), mostrando, de baixo para cima: hiena (*dabu*), lince e guepardo.

3.2.49 Guillem ou Guilhem Figueira ou Figera [Figura 3.61] foi um trovador do Languedoc que frequentou a corte do imperador Frederico II nos anos de 1230. Em seu *Sirvientes* (um *serviente* ou *serventès*, ou *serventois* na *langue d'oïl*, era um poema de caráter satírico, político ou moral, que os trovadores dos séculos XII e XIII, de *langue d'oc*, cantavam). Figueira criticou o gosto de Frederico II por animais, que acusou de perder tempo caçando com guepardos e de passear com elefantes [*aurifan*] (Schultz-Gora, 1902: 22):



Figura 3.61 Guilhem Figueira (Miniatura no fólho 190v do MS 854 da Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris).

“E cuia venzer Lombartz
totz a son coman,
pero qar vai chazan
per bosc e per eissartz
ab cas et ab **leopardz**?
E qar men’ aurifan?
Ben es fols l’enpeaire
e nescis e musartz,
si zo qu vai pezan
cuia tot a cap traire”.

3.2.50 O *roman de Renart*, uma compilação de escritos dos séculos XII e XIII, relata:

“Li lions mande le **lipart**
Qu’il viegne de la soue part,
Li tigres vint et la **pantere**,
Et Cointeraus li enchantere,
Un singe qui fu nez d’Espaigne,
Cil refu avec la compaigne” (Martin, 1882: 189).

3.2.51 Um poeta anônimo de fins do século XII e início do século XIII escreveu *Proverbia que dicuntur super natura feminarum*, onde citou a **onça** (Tobler (A.), 1886: 314; estrofes 116 e 117):

“La **onça** e una bestia mala e perigolosa;
Cercare poi lo segolo, no troui peçor cosa;
D’ognunca creatura este contrariosa,
Non faria una mestega, quanti en terra posa.

La femena e contraria d’ogno castigamento,
Pessima et orgoiosa e de forte talentto.
Anci porisu uolçere rea ploça o forte uento,
Ke femena traçesi de lo so plaquimento”.

3.2.52 Matthew Paris (*Matthæus Parisiensis*) (ca. 1200 – 1259) [Figura 3.62] foi um monge beneditino inglês, historiador, hagiógrafo, cartógrafo, escultor etc. No mosteiro beneditino de Saint Alban, continuou a escrever a obra histórica de Roger de Wendover, as *Chronica Majora*, ampliando seu escopo ao incluir fatos ocorridos em países estrangeiros.

Nessa obra consta que, no ano de 1235:

“Misit ergo imperator regi Anglorum tres **leopardos**, in signum regalis clipei, in quo tres **leopardi** transeuntes figurantur, cum aliis donariis pretiosis, quibus regiomes non abundant occidentis...” (Luard, 1876: 324-325)⁶⁸



Figura 3.62 Matthew Paris.

Matthew Paris referiu-se nesse texto ao brasão de Henrique III da Inglaterra, que realmente mostra três leopardos [Figura 3.63].

⁶⁸ Na tradução de Huillard-Bréholles (1840: 115): “L’empereur envoya au roi d’Angleterre trois **léopards**, par analogie avec le bouclier royal sur lequel figurant trois leopards passant, avec plusieurs autres presents précieux, qui sont inconnus dans les pays d’occident”.



Figura 3.63 Brasão de Henrique III da Inglaterra, com três leopardos (British Library, Royal MS 14 C VII).

3.2.53 Richard de Fournival (1201 - ?1260), em seu *Bestiaire d'Amour* escreveu sobre a pantera:

“Aussi come les bestes que puisque eles ont une foiz sentie au flair de la **Pantère** [Figura 3.64], ja puis ne la lairont, ains le sivent jusqu’à la mort por la doce alaine qui ist de li. Pour ce dijou se je fui pris a ces iii choses de sens à oïr, à voir, et à flairier; Et se je parfusse pris as autres ii sens à gouster en baisant et à atouchier en acolant, dont parfusse-je à droit endomis. Car adont dorm li hom, quant il ne se sent de ses v sens.

Et del endormir d’amors vient tout li péril. Car à toz les endormis siut la morz, si come del unicorne qui s’endort à la pucele et al home qui s’endort à la seraine”. (Hippeau, 1860: 24).



Figura 3.64 A pantera num manuscrito do *Bestiaire d'Amour* de Richard de Fournival, do início do século XIV da Biblioteca Municipal de Dijon.

3.2.54 O trovador Guillaume le Clerc de Normandie escreveu por volta de 1210 o *Bestiaire Divin*, onde discorreu longamente sobre a pantera, que confundiu com o lince (*love cerviere*) (Hippeau, 1852: 256-260)⁶⁹:

“**La beste qui a nom pantiere**
En dreit romanz love cerviere,
Veit bien ci estre amenteue [rappelée];
Onques sa per ne fu veue,
Ne plus blanche, ne plus soeve;
Quer ele est rouse et inde [violette] et bleve,
Et jaune, et verte, et neire, et bise;
Coloree est de mainte guise.
Totes bestes communaument,
Fors le dragon tant solement,
Aument toz dis sa compaignie;
Mes cil la het tote as vie.
Quand ceste beste est saoulee
On en monteigne ou en valee,
De boenes viandes plusors,
Nule beste ne quier mellors.
En sa fosse s’en entre et pose,
Desque au tierz jor dorte et repose.
Au tierz jor, quant ele est levee,
Et de dormir bien saoulee,
Donc giete un si grand muiement
Qu’on la puet oir clerement
De trestot le pais entor.
Donc ist une tant boene odor
De sa boche, por verite,
Qu’en tote la vesinite
N’a nule bete qui se tienge,
Que maintenant a le ne vienge.
A le viennent totes ensemble,
Por l’odor qui boene lor semble;
Et totes sevent la **pantiere**.
Mes le dragon s’enret [se retire] arriere.
Si tost comme sa voiz entent,
Et la doucor de l’odor sent,
Ne la puet longuement soffrir;
Einz l’estuet a terre flatir [s’enfoncer],
Em nule guise puis moveir.
Ilec le covient remaneir.
En ceste beste, sans dotance,
A moult bele senefiance.
Pantere dit, qui bien entent,
Tant comme *chose qui tot prent*,
Et senefie, sanz error,
Jhesu Chrst nostre Sauveor,
Qui par sa grant humilite
Vesti nostre charnalite,
Et tres toz les siecles a sei;
Por nos soffri et fain et sei,
Et moryt en la croiz, au desrain [enfin],
Comme verai roi souverain.
Au tierz jor de mort releva,

⁶⁹ Cf. também Reinsch (1890: 311-319), que se baseou em manuscritos de Londres, Paris e Berlim, e apresenta várias diferenças no texto.

Et tot le monde gaaigna.
 Il meismes premieremr
 En dist quant il alout prechant:
 ‘Quantde terre essauci seari,
 Totes choses trairai a mei’.
 Allora reedit la Letre tant
 Que Jhesu Crist en haut montant
 Mena nostre cheitivite,
 Et as homes a dons donne.
 Et un autre prophete dist
 De Nostre Seignor Jhesu Crist:
 ‘Je sui em Judas meson,
 La seignorie et le lion;
 En la meson Effrem **pantiere**’.
 Issi est de meinte maniere
 Nostre Sauveor figure.
 Por ce fu pantiere apele,
 De mainte guise coloree;
 Quer il a sei apelee
 Genz paienne, gens Ymaisme [Ismaélite]
 Qui creient une lei meisme]même].
 Salemon dist, eu as sentence,
 Que Crist est de Deu sapience,
 Um espit montepliable,
 Et seur, et ferm, et estable,
 Qui nul bien ne destorne a faire,
 Douz et leal et debonaire.
 Donc dist Nostre Seignor Jhesu,
 Qu’il aveit le monde veincu;
 Et que Grant joie em feisson
 Et dist si que nos l’oison.
 Plus sunt douz ses comandemanz
 Que nest miel ne nul oignement.
 Dex nos merra [ménera] en son palais,
 En sa bele cite de pais,
 En Jerusalem la celestre,
 El haut mont ou tant fet bel estre,
 Ou james nul ne sera triste;
 Donc porra dire o le psalmiste:
 ‘Cite de Deu gloriosiz,
 De tei sunt trestoz nos escriz;
 Issi cum nos oi avon
 En tel maniere le veon,
 En tel guise l’avon veu,
 En la cite au rei Jhesu’.
 Ne semblez mie le dragon,
 Qui ne puet la doucor soffrir,
 Ne la parole Deu oir.
 C’est le mauves home, por veir,
 Qui ne puet mie remaneir
 En place, ou l’em espant odor
 De la patle au Sauveor.
 En monstier ou en cimetiere,
 Ou l’em deit le bon sarmon dire,
 Ne puet arester, ne atendre.
 La boene odor, ce est la somme,
 Au dragon et au mauves home,
 Del sarmon, ce vos dis je bien,
 Si lor semble estront de chien”.

3.2.55 Um certo “maître” Thetmar empreendeu, em 1217, uma viagem à Terra Santa. Disse do Monte Carmelo:

“Mons carnellus precellit omnia montana et extenditur supra mare fere ad duas dietas in longitudine et ad unam dictam in latitudine. Mons enim pascuosus est et herbosus. Uisu delectabilis et perutilis animalium. Ibi morantur leones et **leopardi**. ursi magni nigri et albu. apri siluestres et quoddam animal seuissimum quod incole appellant **lonzam**. quod est formidabile. leoni. papiones quos appellant canes siluestres. Lupi ad modum vulpium magni. Capreoli. Cerui infiniti. Et ceteris animalibus quorum longum est enarrare genera per singula” (Tobler (T.), 1851: 15; ver tb. Saint-Genois, 1851: 51).

3.2.56 Guillaume de Tudèle (fl. 1199 – 1214) começou a compor sua *Canso* (ou *Cançon*) de la *Crosada*, em língua occitana, ao redor de 1210; em 1213 deixou prontos os primeiros 2772 versos, e sua obra ficou incompleta com sua morte. A gigantesca tarefa de completá-la ficou a cargo de outro poeta, infelizmente anônimo, que adicionou à obra cerca de 6800 versos, terminando-a por volta de 1218. Pertencem a esse poeta os seguintes versos:

“Jamais non er paratges aoom nitz ni sofrachos
Que non es en est mon nulhs-om tan poderos
Que mi pogues destruire si la glieza non fos
E es tant grans mos dreitz e la mia razos
Que sieu ai enemics ni mal ni orgulhos
Si degus m'es **laupart** eu li serei leos”

(Versos 3805-3810; Fauriel, 1837: 268; Meyer, 1875: 167).

“Que si no labatem ans quens aia sobratz
Al partir de la guerra nos fara totz iratz
Al tant venc lo coms joves denan totz abrivat
Com leos o **laupartz** can es descadenatz
Ben dreitament len porta seus cavals Moratz”

(Versos 9145-9149; Fauriel, 1837: 626; Meyer, 1875: 367-368).



Figura 3.65 Alfonso X, cognominado El Sabio.

3.2.57 As *Siete Partidas* são um corpo normativo redigido no Reino de Castela, durante o reinado de Afonso X [Figura 3.65] (1252-1284), com o objetivo de conseguir certa uniformidade jurídica para o Reino. Seu nome original era *Libro da las Leyes* e por volta do século XIV recebeu a atual denominação, pelas sete seções em que se encontra dividida.

De acordo com um dos códices mais antigos das *Partidas*, elas foram redigidas entre 26 de junho de 1256 e 28 de agosto de 1265, por uma comissão composta pelos principais juristas castelhanos da época, sob a direção pessoal de Afonso X. Também foram assinalados como possíveis períodos de redação: 1254 a 1261; 1256 a 1263 e 1251 a 1265. Em todo caso, a maioria dos autores estima que não se teria terminado senão em 1265.

Num belo manuscrito com iluminuras [na Figura 3.66 está representada a primeira página do texto], composto no século XIII ou no século XIV, pertencente à Biblioteca Nacional da Espanha (Vitr/4/6), há na *Setena Partida* (Partida VII), Título XV, Ley XXIII [Figuras 3.66 a 3.68], um interessantíssimo trecho onde é citada a **onça**:

[Figuras 3.67 e 3.68]:“ley .xxiiij. Como a-/quýell que tiene leon o **onça** o oñ vestia/ braua en su casa deue pechar el daýnno q’/ fiziere a otri. Leon ó onso⁷⁰ ó **onça** o **le-on pardo** o **lobo cervical** o gineta o serpi-/ente & otras vestias queson brauas de na-/tura teniêdo algũ ome en su casa deue la/ guoardar & tener p̄sa de maña que non/ fagua daýnno a nigũno. Et si por auêtura/ nõ la guoardasse assi & fiziesse daýnno en/ algũa cosa dotri, deuelo pechar doblado/ el seýnnor de la vestia a aqũ que o recibio./ Et si algũa destas bestias fiziesse daýnno/ en parte de algũ ome de maña q’ lo llagas-/se deuelo pechar doblato/ el seýnnor de la vestia a aqu’ que lo recibio./ Et si algũa destas uestias fiziesse daýnno/ en parte de algũ ome de maña q’ lo llagas-/se deuelo faz guoarescer el seýnnor de la bes-/tia comprado las melezias & pagado al ma-/estro q’l guoarescere de lo suyo & deue pensar del llagado fasta que sea guoarescido &/ demas desto deuel pechar las obras q’ p’pdio/ desdel dia que recibio el daýnno fasta al/ dia que guoarescio & aun los meõscavos q’/ fizo en outra maña por razõ daq’ll daýnno q’/ recibii de la vestia. Et si muriere daq’llas llags q’l fizo deue pechar por ende aquell/ cuja era la uestia doziêtos m̄ dorõ la meã-/tad a los hedetos del muerto & la oñ meatud/ a la camara del rey. Et si por auêtura nõ mo-/riese mas ficasse lisiado dalgũ miêvro de-/vel faz’ emiêda de la lisió, segũt aluidrio del/ urdgator del logar catãto q’ en es aq’ll que re-/cebio este mal & en quõal miêbro”.⁷¹

⁷⁰ Oso = urso (cf. Real Academia de la Historia, 1807: 636).

⁷¹ Na versão da Real Academia de la Historia (1807: 636-637): “*Cómo aquel que tiene en su casa león, ó oso ó otra bestia brava, debe pechar el daño que ficiere á outro. Leon, ó oso, ó onza, ó leopardo, ó lobo cervical, ó geneta, ó serpiente ó otras bestias que son bravas por natura, teniendo algunt [sic] home en casa, debela guardar et tener presa de manera que non faga daño en alguna cosa de otri, debelo pechar doblado el señor de la bestia á aquel que lo recibió. Et si alguna destas bestias ficiere daño en persona de algunt [sic] home, de manera que lo llagase, debelo facer guarescer el señor de la bestia, comprando las melecns et pagando el maestro que o guaresciese de o suyo, et debe pensar del llagado fasta que sea guarescido: et demas desto debele pechar las obras que perdió desde el dia que recibió el daño fasta el dia que guaresció, et aun los menoscabos que fizo en otra manera por razon de aquel daño que recibió de la bestia. Et si aquel que las llagas recibió muriere, debe pechar por ende aquel cuya era la bestia doscientos maravedis dorõ, la meytad á los herederos del muerto, et la otra meytad á la cámara del rey. Et si por aventura non muriese, mas fincase lisiado de algunt [sic] miembro, debel facer emienda de la lision, segunt alvedrio del judgador del lugar, catando quien es aquel que recibió el mal et en qual miembro”.*



Figura 3.66 Primeira página do manuscrito medieval das *Siete partidas*.

mal a otro. estçe aquí por cuya culpa auido el dajrmo es tenuto de fizar la emienda e no el señnor dela bestia. **ley. xxiii. Como a quey ll que tiene leon o onca o or bestia**

Leon o onca o onca o le fize a otro. **ley. xxiii. Como a quey ll que tiene leon o onca o or bestia** brava en su casa deve pechar el dajrmo q
con o onca o onca o le fize a otro. **ley. xxiii. Como a quey ll que tiene leon o onca o or bestia**
on pardo o toto cerval o gmera o serpi
ente e otras bestias que son bravas de na
tura. temedo algu onca o en su casa deve la
guoardar e tener p la de mania que non
fagua dajrmo a ninguo. **ley. xxiii. Como a quey ll que tiene leon o onca o or bestia**
no la guoardasse assi e fizele dajrmo en
algua cosa torri. deve lo pechar coblato
el señnor dela bestia a aqu que lo recibio.

ley. xxiii. Como a quey ll que tiene leon o onca o or bestia
Et si algua destas bestias fizele dajrmo
en parte de algu onca o en mania q lo llaga
se deve lo fizar guoarescer el señnor dela
na comprado las melezias e pagado al ma
estro q lo guoaresciero de lo suyo e deve pen
sar del llagado fasta que sea guoarescido e
remas desto deve pechar las obras q pido
destel dia que recibio el dajrmo fasta al
dia que guoarescio e aun los meoscalos q
fizo en otra mania porrazo daqu dajrmo q
recibio dela bestia. **ley. xxiii. Como a quey ll que tiene leon o onca o or bestia**
Et si muriere daquas
llagas q hizo deve pechar por ente aquell
cuya era la bestia tozientos mir tozo la me
ta a los herederos del muerto e la or meata
ala camara del rey. **ley. xxiii. Como a quey ll que tiene leon o onca o or bestia**
Et si por auentura no mo
rielle mas ficasse llagado daqu mebro de
uel faz emeda dela llaga. segun aluorio del
iudgador del lugar camto q en es aqu que re
cebio este mal e en quoral mebro. **ley. xxiii. Como a quey ll que tiene leon o onca o or bestia**

ley. xxiii. Como a quey ll que tiene leon o onca o or bestia
ley. xxiii. Como a quey ll que tiene leon o onca o or bestia
cas o ouejas o puerros o algua algua.
de los otros ganados o bestias q los omes
can faziendo dajrmo en ymna o en huerto
o en mies o en prado en otra cosa de algu
si el dajrmo fue manifestado o podiere puar
aqu que lo recibio cuyo es aqu ganado q
lo fizo deve seer apriado el dajrmo por os
lonos e sabidores e del que fue carado si aqu
que guoardava el ganado lo meno hy alla
biendas o el señnor dell. deve lo pechar to
blato a aqu que recibio el dajrmo. **ley. xxiii. Como a quey ll que tiene leon o onca o or bestia**
Et si
por auentura no lo meno hy ell. mas el gana
do se furo e entio hy a faz el dajrmo sin la
vivura del q lo guoardava. estçe deve lo
pechar sensicillo o de semparia bestia o el

ganado q lo fizo. en logar dela emeda
del dajrmo. otrossi dezimos q maguer
aqu que recibiesse el dajrmo en algua
bestias manas sobre dichas fuisse hy el
ganado o las bestias faziendo lo. refentegs
que las no mare ni las luse ni las fieran
ni las encierren ni les fagua mal ninguo
mas saqueias ente. e refi temate ante
el iudgador emeda del dajrmo assi como
es sobre dicho. **ley. xxiii. Como a quey ll que tiene leon o onca o or bestia**
te su casa agua o buellos o estrecol en la
calle deve pechar el dajrmo q fizele algu

ley. xxiii. Como a quey ll que tiene leon o onca o or bestia
Echan los omes alaue q passare por hy.
gatas delas casas o moza de ficera en
la call agua o buellos o otras cosas se
meiades. **ley. xxiii. Como a quey ll que tiene leon o onca o or bestia**
Et maguer aq los q las echa
se no lo fizeles en co entendon de faz mal.
ley. xxiii. Como a quey ll que tiene leon o onca o or bestia
Posi aca fizele q aduio que assi e chaste
fizele dajrmo en pajrmos o en topato
nos temtos son de lo pechar coblato los q
en aqua casa moza. **ley. xxiii. Como a quey ll que tiene leon o onca o or bestia**
Et si por auentura aqu
lo que echaste desta guisa manifeste algu
ome. temto es el que moza en la casa de
pechar cinquenta mir tozo. la meata de
herederos del muerto e la otra meata a la ca
mara del rey por que son en culpa echado
algua cosa en la call por to los omes passan
te que puede ueir dajrmo a otro. **ley. xxiii. Como a quey ll que tiene leon o onca o or bestia**
Et si mo
taste muchos omes en la casa onde fuisse e
chava la cosa que fizele el dajrmo quier
fuisse suya o la touelle loguava o empla
va tozientos de dajrmo e la otra meata a la ca
mara del rey sino sopiesse ciertamente quoral
era aqu a q en uno. **ley. xxiii. Como a quey ll que tiene leon o onca o or bestia**
Posi lo sopiesse en
solo es temto de faz emeda dell e no los o
tos. **ley. xxiii. Como a quey ll que tiene leon o onca o or bestia**
Et si ente aquos que morasse am
anamente en la casa o onesse algu que
fuisse huésped. aqu no es temto de pe
char niguia cosa en la emeda del dajrmo
que assi aca fizele fuisse ente si el mismo
lo ouiesse fecho. **ley. xxiii. Como a quey ll que tiene leon o onca o or bestia**
Como los hosta
lers que tiene colgadas alguas cosas
e fagas a sus puertas las deve poner de

ley. xxiii. Como a quey ll que tiene leon o onca o or bestia
quelgala mana q no figa vano a otro.
de las cosas que son colgadas a las puertas
de las casas deve ponerlas de
ante sus puertas de las casas alguas sem
nales. por que sea las cosas mas conosci
das por ellas. assi como semeiaca de cua
pilo o de leon o de tozo o otra semeiate.
ley. xxiii. Como a quey ll que tiene leon o onca o or bestia
Et por q a q llas señnales que pnen

Figura 3.67 Ley XXIII do Título XV da Partida VII do manuscrito medieval das *Siete Partidas*.

mal a otro. estōce aq̄ll por cuya culpa auio
el dāȳnno es tenuto de fiz̄ la emienda z
nō el seym̄or dela bestia **ley. xxiiij.** Como
queȳll que tiene leon o onça o oṛ bestia
braua en su casa deue pechar el dāȳnno q̄
le on o ouiso o onça o le fiziere a otro.
lon pardo o loro cērua o gmeta o serpi
ente z otras bestias que son brauas de na
tura. temēdo algū om̄e en su casa deue la
guoardar z tener p̄sa de maña que non
fagua dāȳnno a n̄gūo. **¶** Et si por auētura
nō la guoardasse assi z fiziesse dāȳnno en
algua cosa tot̄ri. deue lo pechar toblato
el seym̄or dela bestia a aq̄ll que lo recibio.
¶ Et si algua destas bestias fiziesse dāȳnno
en parte de algū om̄e de maña q̄ lo llaga
se deue lo fiz̄ guoarescer el seym̄or dela be
stia comprādo las melezias z pagādo al ma
estro q̄l guoaresciere de lo suyo z deue pens
sar del llagado fasta que sea guoarescido z
temas desto deue pechar las obras q̄ p̄dio
de st̄l dia que recebio el dāȳnno fasta al
dia que guoarescio z aun los meos calos q̄
fizo en otra maña por rāzō de aq̄ll dāȳnno q̄
recebio dela bestia. **¶** Et si muriere de aq̄llas
llagas q̄l hizo deue pechar por ente aq̄ll
cuya era la bestia tozietos m̄i tozo la me
tad a los herederos del muerto z la oṛ me
tad ala camara del rey. **¶** Et si por auētura nō mo
tressē mas ficasse lisiato de algū miēbro de
uel fiz̄ emēda dela lisiō. seguir al uoio del
uogator del logar cat̄to q̄ en es aq̄ll que re
cebio este mal z en quo al miēbro. **ley. xviij.**

Figura 3.68 Detalhe da página da figura anterior.

3.2.58 Salimbene di Adam, O. F. M. (ou Salimbene di Parma) (1221 – ca. 1290) [Figura 3.69], em sua *Cronica*, descreveu uma festa que presenciou em Pisa (Holder-Egger, 1913: 44):



Figura 3.69 Salimbene di Adam.

Igitur cum essem cum eo in civitate Pisana, et cum sportis nostris panem mendicando iremus, occurrit nobis quedam curtis, quam ambo pariter sumus ingressi. In qua erat vitis frondosa desuper extensa per totum, cuius viriditas delectabilis ad videndum, et umbra nichilominus ad quiescendum suavis. Ibi erant leopardi et alie bestie ultramarine quam plures, quas libenter aspeximus longo intuitu, quia libenter inusitata et pulera videntur. Erant etiam ibi puelle et pueri in etate ydonea, quas^e pulcritudo vestium et facierum speciositas multipliciter decorabat et faciebat amabiles. Et habebant in manibus tam femine quam masculi viellas et cytharas et alia genera musicorum diversa, in quibus modulos faciebant dulcissimos, et gestus representabant ydoneos.

3.2.59 Folquet de Lonel (1244 – ca. 1300) fez um resumo do *Bestiaire* de Richard de Fournival, intitulado *Aiso son las naturas d’alcus auzels e d’alcunas bestias*, e assim se referiu à pantera:

“De la **pantera**. La **pantera** a tan dous ale e tan be flairan que tot’altra bestia, pueys que l’a vista, no-s vol d’ela partir tro qu’es mort per la flairor del ale”. (Bartsch, 1855: 164).

3.2.60 Gui de Cambrai (nascido na segunda metade do século XII; morreu no século XIII), em seu longo poema *Barlaam et Josaphat*, escrito entre 1220 e 1225, pôs na boca de Josaphat os seguintes versos (cf. Zotenberg & Meyer, 1864: 415):

“Quant, Theodas, biaux doulx amis?
Aussi tost c’**once** oeil euvre et clot,
Car il n’est rien à Dieu repost;
Toutes choses voit clerement
Et scet des le commencement,
Autrement Diex ne seroit pas;
Muser ne fault point sur ce pas.
Et si sachiez bien, sanz doubtance,
Ceulx qui sont hors de sa creance

Et qui n'ont saint baptesme pris
Sans fin seront de feu espris;
Je te dy voir”.

3.2.61 Alberto Magno (antes de 1200 – 1280) [Figura 3.70], em sua obra *De animalibus libri XXVI*, falou várias vezes sobre o leopardo.



Figura 3.70 Alberto Magno.

Na edição de Stadler (1920: 1356) consta o nome **lunza**, aplicado ao guepardo (*alfech*):

“Alfech⁷² Arabice est animal, quod multi Ytalicorum et Alamannorum et Gallicorum **lunzam** vocant; natura autem est ex leone et leopardo et est ferox nimis et nocivum. Aliquando autem domesticatum, cum ducitur

⁷² Com toda probabilidade, Alberto Magno retirou esse nome de alguma cópia do *Liber Canonis* de Avicena. Alpagò (1544: 420r, índice e 514v, texto), por exemplo, manteve em notas marginais o nome árabe do leopardo como *alfhed* (*al-fahd*), como se pode ver nestes dois trechos:

¶.alnemer, De morfu ¶ [leopardi ex gñe]
et alfhed et leonis, & vulnere vnguium
eorum 10

ad venandum nisi multum blandiatur et venator, retrocedi et occidit homines et canes: lupos etiam libenter interficit”.

Buquet (2011: 18) ensinou-nos que “Albert le Grand crée dans son *De animalibus* une entrée ‘Alfech’ à partir de l’arabe *al-fahd*⁷³, le guépard”.

Alberto Magno comentou também sobre o leopardo e a pantera (cf. Stadler, 1920: 1419):

“**Pardi** a similitudine pantherae propter varietatam quasi pantheri dicuntur: et sicut quidam dicunt a pantheris aliquotiens et canibus procreantur. Pardus autem in Africa habundat ubi propter defectum aquae multa animalia conveniunt ad amnes, et ibi leaenae a pardis adulteratae generant leones, sed ignobiles. Est autem animal pardus praeceps in sanguinem saltibus potius quam cursibus insequens: et aliquotiens inter frondes et fructecta latens, in aves grassatur suae velocitati confidens.

Panthera animal est totum varietate distinctum et maculositas eius est orbiculara ad modum oculorum ex fulvo colore interdum ad album ad caeruleum terminatorum.

Dicunt autem hoc animal facile mansuescibile, et parvi esse partus et pauci et difficilis propter suorum unguium longitudinem et acumen quibus frequenter matricem laedit matris. Hoc animal in cibo aliquotiens suersatiatur sicut et alia acutorum unguium propter famis caliditatem, et tunc intra antrum se colligens diu dormit: et cum evigilat, boni odoris fumus ab ipso egreditur, quem odorem ut dicit Plinius animalia cetera gregatim insequuntur. Sed hoc falsum esse per hoc scimus quod sicut in scientia de Sensu et sensate ostendimus”.

Na edição de Stadler (1916: 233, 243, 589) constam ainda os seguintes trechos:

“Amplius autem quedam animalia tam quadrupedia quam bipedia, habent fissuram pectinis manuum et pedum in multos digitos sicut homo inter bipedia et leo et **leopardus** qui Graece fehed vocatur, inter quadrupedia, et multa sunt hiis similia”.

“Adhuc autem quaedam sunt acutorum dentium et diversi situs, ita quod usus ordo venit in alium sicut duae serrae coniunctae ut leo, **leopardus** et canis et catus...”.

“Dicit autem Avicenna quod **leopardi** venantur a lupis, et quia unus lupo non praevalet **leopardo**, congregantur plures, et insequuntur eum: licet enim velocior sit **leopardus** lupo, non tamen diu continuare potest cursum velocem, et cum lassatur, capitur ab ipso: et ideo quasi semper **leopardo** ambulat in abscondito quasi latens, et ideo **leopardus** domesticus non diu insequitur feras quas venatur”.

3.2.62. No bestário em inglês antigo, do século XIII, editado por Morris (1872: 23-25)⁷⁴ há a seguinte passagem sobre a pantera [Figura 3.71]:

De morsu c [leopardi ex genere leonis, et vul-
nere unguium leorum, Cap. 19
I Sti rapaces, & qui simulantur eis, nō sunt sic
cut canes salui, & hoies, immo dentes eorū,
& ungues ipsorū non sunt vacui a natura vene-
nosa, quapropter oportet vt curentur in primis
cum attractione: deinde cum cōsolidatione. Et
in eius attractione sufficit res parua,

⁷³ فهد (ج) فهد fahd (pl.) fuhūd.

⁷⁴ Ver também Cook (1821, 1919).

Natura pantere.

Panter if an wilde der,
If non fairere on werlde her ;
he if blac fo bro of qual,
mið wite spottet fapen al,
wit *and* trendled alf a wel,
and itt bicumeð him fwiðe wel.
wor fo he wuneð ðif panter,
he fedeð him al mid oðer der,
of ðo ðe he wile he nimeð ðe cul
and fet him wel til he if ful.
In hif hole fiðen stille
ðre dagef he flepen wille,

The *PAN. PANER* is
a beautiful wild
animal.
He is of a black
colour with
white spots like
a rounded wheel.

736
740
744

Then he rises
and cries aloud,
and out of his
mouth comes a
'smell' sur-
passing balaam
in sweetness.

ðan after ðe ðridde dai
he rifeð *and* remeð lude fo he mai,
ut of his ðrote cumeð a fmel
mid hif rem forð oueral,
ðat ouer-cumeð haliweie
wið fwetneffe, ic¹ gu feie,
and al ðat eure fmelleð fwete,

748

752

The sweetness
of his breath
entices a number
of animals to
follow him,
except the dragon
which lies
trembling in
its den.

For ðe fwetneffe off hif onde,
wor fo he walkeð o londe,
wor fo he walked, er wor fo he wuneð,
Ilk der ðe him hereð to him cumeð,
and folegeð him up one ðe wold,
for ðe fwetneffe ðe ic gu haue told.
ðe dragunef one ne ftiren nout
wilef te panter remeð ogt,
oc daren stille in here pit,
alf fo he weren of dede offrigt.

756

760

Significacio.

Christ is the
Panther.

He is fairer than
all others.

Well he showed
his love to man,
when he died
for him,
and lay three
days in a hole.

But up he rose
the third day
and ascended
to heaven.

[* leaf 10 b.]

A sweet smell
came from his

Crist if tokned ðurg ðis der,
wof kinde we hauen told gu her ;
for he if faier ouer alle men,
fo euen sterre ouer erðe fen ;
ful wel he taunede hif luue to man,
wan he ðurg holi fpel him wan,
and longe he lai her in an hole,
wel him dat he it wulde ðolen ;
ðre daief flep he al on on,
ðanne he ded waf in blod *and* bon,
vp he rof *and* rémede i-wif²
of helle pine, of heuene blis,
and fteg to heuene uvenest,³
ðer wuneð wið * fader *and* holi gaft.
Amongef men a fwete [s]mel

764

768

772

776

¹ MS it. ² MS in wif. ³ MS *uvenest*

he let her of hif holi fpel,
wor-ðurg we mugen folgen him
in-to his godcundne fe fin.
and ðat wirm ure wiðerwine,
wor fo of godef word if dine,
ne dar he ftiren, ne noman deren,
ðer¹ wile he lage *and* luue beren.

holy lo:es, where-
through we may
follow him into
his Divine
presence.

780

But the devil
will not show
himself wherever
he hears the
din of 'God's
word.'

784

Figura 3.71 Páginas 23-35 do livro de Morris (1872).

Armistead (2001: 106, 108 e 110) também reproduziu esse texto, dando uma versão em inglês moderno⁷⁵:

Natura pantere · 1

panter is an wilde der · is non fairere on werlde her · he is
blac so bro of qual · mið wite spottes sopen al · wit
& trendled als a wel · & itt bicumed him swiðe wel · wor so he
wuned ðis panter · he feded him al mid oder der · of ðo ðe
he wile he nimeð ðe cul · & fet him wel til he is ful · in his
hole siðen stille · ðre dages he slepen wille · ðan after ðe
ðridde dai · he rised & remeð lude so he mai · ut of his
ðrote cumed a smel · mið his rem forð oueral · ðat ouer
cumed haliweie · wið swetnesse · ic ge seie · & al ðat eure
smelled swete · be it drie be it wete · for ðe swetnesse off
his onde · wor so he walked o londe · wor so he walkeð er
wor so he wuned · ilk der ðe him hereð to him cu-
med ·

& folegen him up one ðe wold · for ðe swetnesse ðe 4
ic gu haue told · ðe dragunes one ne stiren nogt · wiles
ðe panter remeð ogt · oc daren stille in here pit · als so
he weren of ded offrigt · *Significacio*

Crist is tokned ðurg ðis der · vos kinde we hauen told
gu her · for he is fairer ouer alle men · so euen sterre · ouer
erde ben · ful wel he taunede his luue to man · wan he ðurg holi
spel him wan · & longe he lai her in an hole · wel him ðat he
it wulde ðolen · ðre daies slep he al onon · ðanne he ded
was in blod & bon · vp he ros & remede in wis · of helle pine
of heuen blis · & steg to heuene vuenest · ðer wuned wið
fader & holi gast · amonges men a swete smel · 5
he let her 9

of his holi spel · wor ðurg we mugen folgen him · into his
godcundnesse fin · & ðat wim ure wiðer wine · wor so of
godes word is dine · ne dar he stiren · ne no man deren · ðer
wile he lage & luue beren ·

⁷⁵ Na tradução de Armistead (2001: 107, 109, 11): “The **panther** is a wild creature; there is none more beautiful in this world. He is as black as the back of a whale and created with white spots – white and rounded like a wheel – and it suits him very well. Wherever he dwells this panther feeds on all the other creatures. From those he will choose and feed well until he is satisfied. In his hole without moving, he will then sleep for three days, and after the third day he rises and roars as loud as he can. When he cries forth in every direction, a smell emerges from his throat that surpasses sweethealing liquid – a fragrance, I say to you, and all that ever smelled sweet, be it dry or be it wet. Because of the sweetness of his breath, wherever he walks on land, wherever he journeys or wherever he dwells, each creature who hears him comes to him and follows him on the earth because of the sweetness that I have described to you. Only the dragons do not stir while the panther cries out but lie in their pit as if they were frightened to death.

The Significance. Christ is symbolized by this creature – whose nature we have described to you here – for he is fair above all men like the evening-star over the dirt of the earth. Full well he showed his love to man when through the Gospel Christ redeemed him and for a long time lay there in the hole – may good fortune befall him who would suffer it. For three days he slept continuously when he was dead in blood and bone. Then up he rose and cried out of hell’s torment, of heaven’s bliss and ascended to heaven’s highest, where he dwelled with the Father and the Holy Ghost. A sweet smell among men he let from his Gospel, through which we may follow him into his perfect divine nature. And wherever God’s word is sound, that serpent – our enemy – dares not stir, nor harm any man, while his law and love are obeyed and cherished”.

3.2.63 Ramon Llull (ca.1232 – ca. 1315) [Figura 3.72], em seu *Llibre de les Besties*⁷⁶, citou muitas o *lleopart* e a *onça*:

“Tantes de paraules hagué de l’una part i de l’altra, que tota la cort se torbà, i l’elecció 179r empatxada; i l’ors i el **lleopart** e l’**onça**, qui havien esperança que fossen elets a rei, digueren que la cort s’allongas tro a altre temps que haguessen determinat qual bestia es pus digna d’esser rei, Na Renart conegué que l’ors i el **lleopart** il’**onça** allongaven l’elecció per çò car cascun havia esperança d’esser rei, i digé em presencia de tots estes paraules:

- En una esglesia catedral se feia elecció, i era contrast en aquell capitol de l’elecció del bisbe, car los uns canonges volien quefos bisbe l sagristà d’aquella esglesia, lo qual era hom molt savi de lletres, i de virtuts era abundós. Aquell canonge era flac de persona i era molt luxuriós. Molt se meravellà tot lo capitol de çò que l’ardiaça i lo cabiscol deien; in en aquell capitol havia un canonge qui digué estes paraules: ‘Si l lleó es rei, i l’ors i l’**onça** i lo **lleopart** han contrastat a la sua elecció, yots temps seran em malvolença del rei; i si l cavall es reim i lo lleó fa nengun falliment contra l rei, com ne podrà pendre venjança l cavall, qui no es fort bestia com es lo lleó?’.

Quan l’ors i l’**onça** i lo **lleopart** hagneren oit l’exempli que na Renart havia dit, temeren fortment lo lleó, i consentiren en l’elecció, i volgueren que l lleó fos rei. Per la força de l’ors i de les altres besties qui mengem carn, malgrat de les besties qui mengem herba, Fo elet lo lleó a esser rei; lo qual leó dona llicencia a totes les besties qui mengem i viuen de carn, que menjassen i visquessen de les besties qui mengem herba”. (Obrador i Bennàssar, 1905: 18-20).

“A tots los barons i a poble d’aquella cort, plagneren les paraules que havia dites lo rei, i tts se tingueren per bé avinguts en l’elecció del rei. Acort fo pres que l’ors i lo **lleopart** i l’**onça** i la serp i lo llop fossen conselers del rei”. (Obrador i Bennàssar, 1905: 24).

“En gran consir foren l’ors i el **lleopart** i l’**onça**, quan oiren que na Renart fos del consell del rei, car gran por hagneren que na Renart, ab as parleria i maestraoa, no les fés venir en ira del rei, i majorment com na Renart hagués més aconsellada l’elecció del rei que nenguna altra bestia.

- Senyor, - digué l **lleopart** al rei, - en vostra cort es lo gall, qui es bell de perna i es savi, i sab esser senyor de moltes gallines. Aquell canta en l’alba molt clarament i bellament, perquè molt mellor se convé que ell sia de vostre consell que na Renart”. (Obrador i Bennàssar, 1905: 25).

“Lo **lleopart** digué que no s convé en consell de rei esser dues persones qui per natura sien en malvolença, car, per la mala volentat que s’han, se podria torbar lo consell del rei”. (Obrador i Bennàssar, 1905: 25-26).

“Con lo **lleopart** hagué finides ses paraules, i l lleó hagué entesa la semblança, ell digué que l gall fos de sa cort, i no volgué que na Renart fos de sa cort, per çò que no fes a saber a l’orifany ni a les altres besties qui vivien d’herba l’ardit del rei ni de sos companyons que menjaven carn”. (Obrador i Bennàssar, 1905: 26).

“- Senyor rei, - digué l bou, - natura es dels reis dels homens que con trameten llurs missatgers, que ls trameten de llur consell i dels més nobles qui sien en son consell. Los plus nobles consellers que vós haveu m’es semblant que sien l’**onça** i lo **lleopart**. De l’altra part lo gat es en semblança de vostra imatge, i lo rei tindrà-s’ho a gran gracia si vós li trameteu per joies lo gat i lo ca: lo gat, per çò com es a vós semblant, i lo ca per çò que n caç, car los homens s’asauten molt de caça.

En així com lo bou lo hagué dit, ho féu lo lleó, i trames l’**onça** i lo **lleopart** al rei per missatgers, i el gat i el ca per joies. Con los missatgers foren partits de la cort, lo rei féu lo bou cambrer de sa cambra, i na Renart tengué l’offici que l ca solia tenir”. (Obrador i Bennàssar, 1905: 51-52).

“A l’entrat d’aquella ciutat s’esdevenç que estavan follies fembres de bordell, i en presencia dels missatgers pecaven ab los homens. Molt se meravellaren los missatgers con ho vegeren; i lo **lleopart** digué a son companyó estes paraules...”. (Obrador i Bennàssar, 1905: 54).

“- Senyor **lleopart**, - digué l ca, - gran meravella es com los homens que creuen en Déu no han conciencia con deixan pecar aquelles folles fembres en presencia de les gents que entren i ixen en esta ciutat. Semblant es que

⁷⁶ Muitos de seus contos foram claramente extraídos e adaptados de algum manuscrito árabe do *Panchatantra* (ver seção 2.4 acima); cf. , p. ex., Neugaard (1971) e Bonner (1993: 242, 155, 156, 260, 261, 262, 265, 268, 283, 284).

l senyor d'aquesta ciutat i els habitants de la ciutat sien luxuriosos, i que en així com los cans desvergonyadament usen de luxuria.

Dient lo ca estes paraules, entraren-se en la ciutat, i vingueren a hostel, i després anaren al rei lo **lleopart** i l'**onça** ab les joies que aportaven". (Obrador i Bennàssar, 1905: 55).

"I l'hoste respongué i digué que l rei no havia tresor, mas que manllevava de ses gents i feia questes con feia corts, les quals corts feia tots anys dues vegades; i en així destruía ses gents, qui a les corts feien grans messions, i tota as terra empobria, per la frab messió que feia.

- Bell amic, - digué l'**onça**, - qual utilitat se segueix de les corts que l rei fa tots anys?". (Obrador i Bennàssar, 1905: 61).

"Con lo rei hagué dormir, los missatgers foren vinguts al Palau del rei, i no pogueren entrar pera parlar ab lo rei tro que hagueren llogats los porters. Con los missatgers foren davant lo rei, lo rei honrà més lo **lleopart** que l'**onça**, en çò que le féu pus plasant esguard, i el féu asseure pus pres de si que l'**onça**; i d'açò hagué l'**onça** enveja, i fo irada contra l rei; car l'**onça** creia que l rei degués aitant o pus honrar que l **lleopart**". (Obrador i Bennàssar, 1905: 63).



Figura 3.72 Ramon Llull.

"En tant lo **lleopart** digué al rei:

- Senyor en rei, què voleu vós dir a mon senyor lo rei?

Lo rei digué al **lleopart** que li saludas lo rei i que li digués de sa part que li trametés un 180rov ors i un llop, car ell havia un senglar molt fort, lo qual volia que s 180rovo180ss ab un ors tot lo pus fort que ell pogués trobar; i havia un alà, ab lo qual volia que s 180rovo180ss un llop tot lo pus mal que fos en la cort del lleó". (Obrador i Bennàssar, 1905: 64).

"I lo **lleopart** féu als proomens aquesta demanda:

- Senyors, - digué l **lleopart**, - es-vos semblant si l rei há cukpa del damnatge que se segueix per son malvat regiment?". (Obrador i Bennàssar, 1905: 64).

"En les paraules que l **lleopart** hagué oides conegué que l rei hauria pena en infern, aitant gran era l damnatge que se seguiria tots temps em las males costumes que son malvat consell metia en la terra, i digué que la pena que estava aparellada al rei i a son consell era inaesmable". (Obrador i Bennàssar, 1905: 65).

"Los missatgers i els proomens se partiren agradablement, i prengueren comiat los uns des altres. Lo **lleopart** digué als proomens que s confiassen en Déu, per çò que en breu temps los donas 180ro senyor qui hagués bon consell i bons oficials, i no s desesperassen de Déu, car Déu no sofreix que malvar princep pugua viure llongament, per çò que no faça tant de mal com faria si llongament vivia.

Ara deveu saber que en lo començament que l lleó hagué tramesos sos missatgers i ses joies al rei dels homens, na Renart, qui era porter del rei, digué al rei que l **lleopart** havia la plus bella bestia a muller que fos en tot el món.

Tant lloà na Renart la **lleoparda**, que l rei s' enamorà de la **lleoparda** e pres aquella per muller, malgrat de la regina i de tot son coneil, lo qual consell haguá gran por de na Renart, con vegeren que hagué empetrat ab lo rei tant gran cosa com era l falliment que l rei havia fet contra sa bona muller, i contra l **lleopart**, qui era son lleial servidor.

- Bell amic, - digué l bou a na Renart, - gran temor he que l **lleopart** nu us aucía, con sabrà que vòs haveu empetrat com lo rei li haja forjada sa muller". (Obrador i Bennassar, 1905: 66-67).

"Aprés açò s' esdevenç que ls missatgers arribaren en la cort del lleó llur senyor; i, con foren vinguts l hagueren recontada llur missatgeria, lo **lleopart** se n' anà a son hostel, on cuidava robar sa muller que molt amava. La mustela i tots los altres qui eren de l hostel del **lleopart** foren en gran tristitia con vegeren llur senyor, i recontaren al **lleopart** la deshonor que l rei li havia feta con li hagué forçada sa muller.

A gran meravella fo irat lo **lleopard** contra l rei, i demanà a la mustela si sa muller fo irada o pagada del rei, con la pres a son servei.

- Senyor, - digué la mustela, - la **lleoparda** fo molt irada de l' acostament del rei, i plorà llongament, i planyia con se partia de nòs, car sobre totes coses vos amava.

Al **lleopart** cresqué sa ira, per çò car sa muller forçadament anà al servici del rei; car si n fos pagada, no n' hauria tant de desplaer. Estant lo **lleopart** en aquesta ira, cogita com se pogués venjar del lleó, qui tant gran traició li havia feta". (Obrador i Bennassar, 1905: 67-68).

"En la cort del rei vingué l **lleopart**, i na Renart, qui l vegé venir, digué al rei secretament estes paraules:

- Senyor, per l' acostament vostre i de la **lleoparda** sou caigut en ira del **lleopart**. Si vòs, davant lo **lleopart** no m' honrau i no m fei honor que us estiga pus prop que negun altre, lo **lleopart** crec que m' occiurà.

En aquella hora l lleó feu na Renart de son consell, i feu-la estar prop de si, per çò que l **lleopart** no la gosas ferir ni occiure; i per consell de na Renart feu porter lo paó, per çò com sent fortment. A tot lo consell del rei i a tots los barons qui estaven en aquella plaça desplagué l' honor que l rei feia a na Renart, i sobre tots desplagué al **lleopart**, al qual hagueren dit que na Renart era estada ocasió del maritadge de sa muller i del rei.

Davant lo rei fou lo **lleopart**, i higué-hi molts d' altres honrats barons, en presencia dels quals lo **lleopart** reptà l rei de traició, i digué que l rei falsament havia presa as muller; i si en sa cort havia negun baró qui l rei volgués escusar de traició, que ell lo combatria i que li faria dir que l rei era traïdor. I adoncs lo **lleopart** fermà la batalla, i donà son gatge al rei.

Con lo **lleopart** hagué reptat lo rei de traició davant tot son poble, molt fo lo rei irat contra l **lleopart**; i hagué gran vergonya de ses gents con fou apellat traïdor. Lo rei digué a sos barons:

- Qual de vosaltres vol pendre la batalla contra l **lleopart** qui m reptà de traició?

Tots los cavallers callaren, tro que na Renart digué aquestes paraules:

- Traició es cosa que es a Déu molt desagradable, i gran deshonor es a tot lo poble que l rei llur senyor sia apellat de traició. I en així com le **lleopart** fa gran deshonor a son senyor, i pera fer dishonor se vl metre en perill de mort, en així farà honor tot baró qui escondesca l rei de traició; i qui per salvar sa honor se metrà en la batalla, cobrar-ne ha del rei gran guasadó.

Per la gran deshonor que l rei prenía con lo **lleopart** lo reptava de traició, i car l' **onça** ahirava lo **lleopart** per çò com lo rei dels homens l' avia honrat més que a ella, per açò l' **onça** pres la batalla contra l **lleopart**, i escondí l rei de traició. Emperò conciencia havia, car sabia que l rei havia feta malvestat i engan contra l **lleopart**, qui lleialment l' hiavia servit tots los temps de sa vida.

En lo camp foren lo **lleopart** i l' **onça**, I tot lo poble digué:

- Ara parrà qui vencerà, o veritat o falsetat.

Adoncs lo gall demanà a la serpnt qual li paría que degués vèncer la batalla, i la serpnt digué aquestes paraules:

- Batalla fo atrobada per çò que veritat confonés i destruí falsa, i Déu es veritat; perquè tota persona qui mantenga falsetat se combat ab Déu i ab veritat.

Aquestes paraules, que la serp deia secretament al gall, entengueren lo **lleopart** i l' **onça**, per les quals paraules fou lo **lleopart** molt consolat, i l' **onça** ne fo en conciencia i en tristicia, i hagué por que ls pecats del rei no fossen ocasió de sa deshonor i de sa mort.

Tot aquell dia, tro a hora de completa, durà la batalla del **lleopart** i de l' **onça**; i l' **onça** se defenia molt fortment contra l **lleopart**, lo qual hauria vençut i mort; més conciencia la destrenyia, i lo **lleopart**, veritat i ira que havia contra l rei, l' esforçaven i el revenien con cuidava defallir. Tant era fort lo **lleopart**, per l' esperança que havia en son bon dret, que no li era semblant que per res pogués esser vençut, i a la fi ell vencé l' **onça**, i féu-li dir davant tota la cort que l rei era fals i traïdor. Molt fo lo rei confós i envergonyit d' aquella batalla, i lo **lleopart** occí l' **onça**, i tot lo poble hagué vergonya de la deshonor de llur senyor.

En tant gran vergonya I confusion estigué l rei davant son poble, I tant fo irat contra l lleopart, qui a tant gran dishonor l'hagué fet venir, que no s pogué tenir de sa ira, i davant tots anà l lleopart occiure; lo qual lleopart no s pogué defendre del lleó, per çò car era hutjat. Tots quants foren en la plaça foren despagats del fallment que l rei havia fet, i cascun desetjà esser en senyoria d'altre rei, per çò car molt es perillosa cosa subjugació de poble que sai sotsmès a rei injuriós, irós i traïdor". (Obrador i Bennassar, 1905: 69-72).

"Lo lleó, després que fou en pecat i hagué mort lo lleopart...". (Obrador i Bennassar, 1905: 74).

3.2.64 Um autor anônimo publicou, no final do século XIII ou início do XIV, uma obra intitulada *De Secretis Mulierum Libellus* [Figura 3.73]. Esse livro foi atribuído erroneamente a Albertus Magnus. Nele consta a seguinte passagem (Pseudo-Albertus Magnus, 1615: 164, 1665: 190, 1669: 164, 1760: 164):



Figura 3.73 Frontispício da edição de 1669 do *De Secretis Mulierum Libellum* de Pseudo-Albertus Magnus.

"Et in libro de animalibus dicitur, quod **Leopardus** fugit ex cranio hominis: & alib, quod si cranium hominis antiqui sepeliatur in turri columbarum, aut ponatur in ea, habitant & quiescunt columbae ibi, & multiplicantur donec constringantur in ea".

3.2.65 O *Experimentator*, um manuscrito sobre história natural do início do século XIII, publicado e anotado [nos trechos citados abaixo essas anotações estão entre colchetes] por Deus (1998) traz notícias sobre o *leopardo* (Deus, 1998: 227-228), a *panthera* (Deus, 1998: 239-240) e o *pardo* (Deus, 1998: 240-241):

"33. De Leopardo

1 Leopardus ex adulterio leene et pardi nascitur et tertiam efficit originem [Isid. Etym. 12, 2, 11].

2 Femina leopardi audacissima et fortior est quam mas. Collum habet rigidissimum et inflexibile et spissum. Colorem habet uarium ac diuersis coloribus orbiculatum. Saltando, non currendo, insequitur predam. Post predam saltando im tertio saltu sistit et nisi tunc ceperit predam, iratus predam ultro persequi desinit. Vultum habet obtusum et quasi murilego similem".

“49. De Panthera

1 Panthera dicitur a pan, quod est totum, eo quod animalium sit amicus except dracone. Siue singularum societate gaudet et ad similitudinem quicquid accipit, reddit. Et est bestia minutis orbiculis superpicta, ita ut oculatis ex fuluo circulis nigra uel alba distinguatur uarietate. Semel tantum parit, et hec est ratio: Nam cum in utero matris conualescant catuli et cum iam ad nascendum sint maturi, tempus pariendi non exspectant, sed uuluum matris fetibus honeratam tamquam partibus obuiatam vnguibus dilacerant, genitale non recipit semen, sed irritum proicit [Isid. Etym. 12, 2, 8-9].

2 Mansuetum est nimis, in spelunca se abscondit, tribus diebus dormit, tertia die surgit, mire suauitatis odorem effundit et rugitum emittit. Ad eius rugitum animalia gressus figunt et pantheram precedentem ordinale sequuntur [Os. Hugo de Best. 4, 13].

3 Tempore certo parit.

4 Solus draco eius uocem audiens fugit in speluncam [A f. 149^v] et dormit et quase uictus aures obturescit et obmutescit [Os. Hugo de Best. 4, 13]”.

“50. De Pardo

1 Pardus est secundus post pantheram. Animal tamen feritate animi seuum, set uarium habet colorem, est uelocissimum et preceps ad sanguine, ex saltu ruit ad mortem [Isid. Etym. 12, 2, 10].

2 Dicitur enim in libro de naturis animalium, quod inficitur quodam ueneno, quo infectus querit sterces humanum, unde uenatores ponunt sterces in uase super arborem, et dum pardus saltat ad capiendum sterces uel dum adeptum comedere uult, cum sagittis inpetentes percutiunt, et tali modo pardus capitur”.

3.2.66 No século XIII vários poetas italianos trataram da *lonza*, do *leopardo* e da *pantera*.

- (i) Guido delle Colonne (1242 – 1290) citou a *pantera* (Egidi, Satta, Festa & Ciccone, 1908: 20, no. xxviii. Giudice Guido dele coloñe dimessina):

Bene passaroſe efiore . lauoftra fresca ciera . lucente piu
cheſpera . elaboca auli | tofa . piu len Rende aulente
aulore chenomfa una fera . canome lapantera . | chenia-
dia naſcie edufa ¶ Sourongnaltra amorofa . miparete fontana
che ma tolta ongnunque fete . pchio sono uoftro piu leale
efino . chenoñe alſuo fen | gnore laſſefino.

- (ii) Rugieri Apulgiense (ca, 1200 – ca. 1270) também citou a *pantera* (Egidi, Satta, Festa & Ciccone, 1908: 69, no. lxxj):

Eſpeſſe uolte uo nelariuiera . edanzi chio uiuada fono tor-
nato . p dubio dela | giente male parliera . chio nonuiuio
etiui fono trouato . demai penſieri uantoti | vna pantera . lau-
ſciello chenonui paſſa ue pilgliato

- (iii) Neri Poponi (da segunda metade do séc. XIII) citou o *leopardo* (Egidi, Satta, Festa & Ciccone, 1908: 90, no. lxxxxviii):

Partomi difollazo edongne gioco . cialchuno altro facca
amia paruenza . ca | dentro lagua ma abruſciato vnfuo-
co . mia fichurtate ma dato ſpauenza ¶ | fui mifo jngiuoco
efraſtenuto jmpianto . ſiſalſſa mente minganno loſguardo . |
ſicome loleone loleopardo . catradimento lilieua lomanto.

- (iv) Pallamidesse di Bellindote del Perfetto (meados do século XIII) falou da *lonze* (Egidi, Satta, Festa & Ciccone, 1908: 178, no. clxxxviii. Pallamidesse difirenze):

Ecomio credo forffe . nauera dolglia epaura . chesuna
lonze fosse sipderia natura . | edauriane pietanza.

- (v) Chiaro Davanzati (segunda metade do séc. XIII até 1303) citou várias vezes a *pantera*

Lontanamente portai . miaferitta jnciellato . efui temente
didire mia dolglienza . | tuto jnme maginai . uostro
prencipio stato . credendo jnuoi champare p ubi-
denze ¶ | Chelaulenza . diuoi donna altera . fuemepantera .
eprefemi damore . comedaulore . | deffa siprende ongnaltra-
fera . cosi diuoi mipresi jnamorando . mercie chiamando . |
iftato sono/cherente . sefosse auoi piacente . didare ancora
cioche mostro jnciera.

(Egidi, Satta, Festa & Ciccone, 1908: 192, no. ccv).

Delglialbori eflori . euerdori deliprati . edelagua chiarore .
elume dongni spera . qua | le che ma etiene pfuo fe-
ruente . tratta tuti glionori . deli piacenti stati . foma il | fuo
grande ualore . natura dipantera . lofuo dolze prende tuta
lagiente ¶ Inperiale | corona ueramente . dituta labieltate .
edeffere cortefe fauia conumiltate . alei jn | chma quante di-
piaciere . cosi mifaferare grande auere . faciendomi do-
nare . fe | mbianti mapalefe . ditale gioia aquisfare . acompi-
mento delomio difio.

(Egidi, Satta, Festa & Ciccone, 1908: 192, no. ccxxvj).

AMore jo non mi dolglio . p mie pene fentire . pchio
uolglia partire . dauoftra fen | gnoria . ne p che piu
chio folglio . doppiato agia martiri . mauolglio al-
quanto di | re . mia crudele uita eria ¶ Chi ma contai di-
pria . auoi | di fino coraggio . pseuerando | magio . diuenire
chio nonera . chafimile di pantera . facieffe p vffagio . con-
gnaltra fera | prende p olore . voi mi prendefte amore . lo-
core eme uegiendo uoftra spera.

(Egidi, Satta, Festa & Ciccone, 1908: 227, no. ccxliiij).

Sj come la pantera peralore . comprende laltre fiere di
plagienza . | vrlando lei uitragono aromore . edella li-
comprende dincrefcienza . | afimilglianza possio dire damore .
caprende jfuoi conamorosa lenza . | mostrando belli fembianti
souentore . epoi litiene jllunga penitenza.

(Egidi, Satta, Festa & Ciccone, 1908: 374-375, no. [563]).

- (vi) Bondie Dietaiuti, nascido na primeira metade do séc. XIII tratou igualmente da *pantera*:

¶ Come pantera viuio speffamente . emolte volte come
falamandra . | chespeffamente fi conducie alfoco . queste
nature onjme . ueramente . | caperlo buono bernare la
calandra . speffe volte dimora jbuon luoco.

(Egidi, Satta, Festa & Ciccone, 1908: 326-327, no. [397]).

3.2.67 Rustico di Filippo ou Rustico Barbuto (ca. 1220 – 1266/1270) incluiu a *lonza* em seus poemas. No soneto *In lode d'un guerrero oltremodo valoroso* (Trucchi, 1846: 233; Massèra, 1920: 7):

“D’una diversa cosa, ch’è apparita,
Consiglio ch’abbian guardi i Fiorentini;
E qual’è quei che vuol campar la vita,
Si mandi al veglio⁷⁷ per suoi assessini.

Che ci ha una **lonza** si fiera ed ardita,
Che se Carlo⁷⁸ sapesse i suoi confini,
E della sua prodezza avesse udita
Tosto n’andrebbe sopra o saracini.

Ma che è questa **lonza**? Or lo sappiate:
Paniccia⁷⁹ egli è. Che fate, o da Fiorenza,
Ch’oste non stanziare, o cavalcate?

Che s’ei seguisce innanzi sua valenza,
Cm’egli ha fatto addietro, si gli date]
Sicuramente in guardia la Provenza”.

Egidi, Satta, Festa & Ciccone (1908:484-485, no. [927]) publicaram esse poema na grafia original:

Dvna diuersa cosa che aparita . colfiglio cabiano guardia
fiorentini . | equale quelgli cheuole campare lauita .
simandi aluelglio p suoi asefini . | checia vna lonza sifiera
edardita . chefecarlo fapesse ifuo comfni . | edelafua prodeza
aueffe udita . tosto nandrebe sopra ifaracini.
¶ Machie questa lonza orlo faccate . panicia eglichefate
odafiorenza . | coste noftanziate ocaualcate . Cheseffeguischie
jnanzi sua ualenza . | comelgli afatta adietro filgli date . fi-
churamente jnguardia lapenza.

E em outro soneto seu, *I vari odori di un uomo lercio e schifoso* (Massèra, 1920: 11):

“Ne la stia mi par esser col Leone,
quando a Luttieri son presso a um migliaio,
chè pute più, che ‘inferno uom di presgione
o che nessun carname oche carnaio.

Li suo’ cavegli farian fin buglione,
e la cuffia faria ricco un oliaio;
e li drappi del lin bene a rasgione
sarian per far panel di quel massaio.

⁷⁷ Nota 1 de Trucchi (1846: 233): “Il vecchio della montagna, celebre nesse storie delle crociate”.

⁷⁸ Carlos d’Anjou, rei da Sicília e Nápoles.

⁷⁹ Nota 3 de Trucchi (1846: 233): “Paniccia, rassomigliato per la sua fierezza a una lonza, par che fosse uno de’ più turbolenti e faziosi espì de’ guelfi”.

E' sente tanto di viverra fiato,
e di **leonza** e d'altro assai fragore:
mai nessun be trovai si smisurato!

Ed escegli di sopra um tal sudore,
che par veleno ed olio mescolato;
la roгна compie, s'há mancanza fiore”.

Esse mesmo poema foi citado por Egidi, Satta, Festa & Ciccone (1908: 463, no. [860])
na grafia original:

N Elastia mipareffere colleone . quando alutieri fono presso
adun migliaio . | chepute piu chemfermo vomo dipre-
ffione . oche nefuno carne ochecarnaio . | lifuo cauelgli
fariano fine bulgione . elachuffia faria rico vno liaio . | eli-
drappi delino bene arafgione . fariano perfare panelli di-
quello maffaio.

E sente tanto diiuarra fiato . edileonza edaltro assai fra-
gore . | mai nefuno netrouai fimifurato . Edefcielgli disopra
untale sudore . | chepare ueleno edolio mescolato . Larongna
compie famanza fiore



Figura 3.74 Dante e Virgilio encontram Brunetto Latini no inferno.

3.2.68 Brunetto Latini (1220 – 1294/1295) foi professor de Dante, o qual colocou-o no inferno,
na *Divina Comédia* [Figura 3.74]. Em seu *Li Livres dou Tresor* (Chabaille, 1863: 249-250):

Panthere est une beste tachiée de petiz cercles blans et noirs, auctressi comme de petiz oils, et est amie de touz animaus fors que dou dragon.

Et sa nature est que tout maintenant que ele a sa viande prise, si s'en entre en sa spelunque et s'en dort .iij. jors. Lors se lieve et oevre sa bouche, et flaire si dous et si soef que toutes bestes qui sentent l'odor s'en vont devant li, fors seulement li dragons, qui se fiche es pertuis desouz terre, por la paor que il en a, car il li semble que à morir li conviegne.

Et sachiez que la panthere ne porte filz en toute sa vie que une seule foiz, et orrez porquoi. Ses cheaus, quant il sont creu dedanz le cors à la mere, il ne vuelent pas soffrir jusque à lor droite naissance, ainz efforcent nature et debrisent as ongles les entrailles lor mere, et s'en issent hors en tel maniere que la mere n'engendre plus par semence de son masle.

3.2.69 Carlos I de Anjou (*21 de março de 1226 – 7 de janeiro de 1285, Foggia, Itália) [Figura 3.75], rei da Sicília e Nápoles e Conde de Anjou, filho póstumo de Luís VIII da França e de Branca de Castela, a 18 de setembro de 1269, determinava (cf. Minieri-Riccio, 1874: 72):

“Re Carlo ordina al Secreto di Puglia che a richieste del milite Salem saraceno Maestro de' leopardieri regi, il pasto p' leopardi, pel leone, per la **leonza**, e pe' tabacchi deve essere, di rotola 8 di carne di montone pel leone, di 4 per ogni leopardo e per la **leonza**, e di due fegati di montone per ogni tabacchi, al giorno”.



Figura 3.75 Carlos I sendo coroado pelo papa Clemente IV.

3.2.70 Em Anônimo (1274; *Il detto del gatto lupesco*) (Casini, 1882: 338-339)⁸⁰ lê-se:

110 E a l'andare k'io facea
verso la croce tutta via
sì vidi bestie ragunate,
ke tutte stavano aparechiate
per piliare ke divorassero,

115 se alcuna pastura trovassero.
Ed io ristetti per vedere,
per conoscere e per sapere
ke bestie fosser tutte queste,
ke mi pareano molto alpestre.

120 Sì vi vidi un grande leofante
ed un verre molto grande
ed un orso molto superbio;
e vidivi quattro **leopardi**
e due dragoni cun rei sguardi;

125 e si vi vidi lo tigro e '1 tasso
e una **lonça** e un tinasso;
e sì vi vidi una bestia strana,
ch' uomo appella baldivana ;
e sì vi vidi la **pantera**

130 e la giraffa e la paupera
e '1 gatto padole e la lea,
e la gran bestia baradinera;
ed altre bestie vi vidi assai,
le quali ora non vi dirai,

135 ke nonn è tempo nè stagione.
Ma ssi vi dico per san Simone
ke mi partii per maestria
da le bestie et anda' via
e cercai tutti li paesi,

140 ke voi da me avete intesi;
e tornai a lo mi' ostello.
Però finisco ke ffa bello”.

3.2.71 O trovador francês Rutebeuf (ca. 1245-1285) (também escrito Rutebuef, Rustebief, Rustebués e Rudebués em manuscritos), em seu poema *Renard le Bestourné* (cf. Jubinal, 1839: 202; tb. Jubinal, 1874: 242; Kressner, 1885: 71; Barre, 2007: 263) também citou a *once*:

“La chose gist sort el endroit
Que chascune beste voudroit
Que venist l'**Once**”.

⁸⁰ Ver também Contini (1860).



Figura 3.76 Konrad von Würzburg.

3.2.72 Konrad von Würzburg (1220/1230 – 1287) [Figura 3.76], em sua *Der trojanische Krieg*, escrita entre 1281 e 1287 (Keller, 1858: 72-73) escreveu [Figura 2.77]:

20Schÿron tet im daz beste sâ, 40b
 des er geflizen kunde sich.
 der zûhte meister lobelich
 lêrt in behendeclîchiu dinc.
 dar ûf stuont aller sîn gerinc,
 25daz er in herteclîche zûge.
 ob dirre knabe ein ammen sûge?
 nein, er souc ein wildez tier.
 daz kint liutsælic unde zier

 wart niht an wîbes brust geleit:
 30ein lunze, diu den îouwen treit,
 begunde sougen disen knaben.
 si muoste in mit ir milche laben
 alle zit und alle vrist.

Figura 3.77 Texto de Konrad von Würzburg sobre a *lunze* (apud Keller, 1858: 72-73).

3.2.73 Segundo Casini (1895: 53):

“Si legge infatti nelle *Consulte dela Repubblica Fiorentina*, che si vengono publicando a cura di A. Gherardi⁸¹, come nel parlamento tenuto in S. Reparata⁸² il 20 giugno 1285 una proposta ‘de curiis faciendis iuxta Palatium Potestatis, in loca quo morabatur **leuncia**’. Sembra pertanto che questa **leuncia** nel 1285 fosse già morta né si fosse potuto o voluto sostituirla; e se anche vogliasi intendere ch’essa vivesse, ma solamente cambiata di posto (io preferisco la prima spiegazione), al nostro proposito sarà perfettamente lo stesso. Poichè, o viva o morta che fosse nel 1285, Dante certamente la vide, o dovette osservare le qualità e gli atteggiamenti corporei che poi rappresentò in pochi tratti, ma compiutamente, sul principio del suo poema”.

3.2.74 Também do século XIII existe o “*Liber de naturis rerum*” do Pseudo-John Folsham, no qual existem os seguintes trechos:

“De lauzam [lonzam⁸³]

Lauzam animal est saevissimum, a cuius crudelitate nulla bestia potest esse tuta, nam, ut dicunt, ipsum lenem terret” (Abramov, 2003: 375).

“De leopardo

Leopardus et animal símile leoni in capite et disposition membrorum, licet non sint tam magni, nec tam robust.

Adeo tamen mansueti fiunt ab hominibus, quod eis sicut canibus utuntur ad uenandum. Non autem currendo predam capiunt, sed saltum faciendi, t si in tertio saltu praedam non receperint, eam prorsus dimittum sibi indignando.

Leo cum parda uel pardus cum leena faciunt leopardum sicut asinus et equa mulum.

Leopardos capree agrestis sanguinem bibit et uim langoris euitat; allium fugit, ut si aliquis presente leopardo allium fricauerit, statim inde exilit” (Abramov, 2003: 378).

“De pantera

Pantera minutis est orbiculis superpicta ita, ut oculstis ex fuluo circulis uel distinguatur uel Alba tergi pellis. Venustum est animal tam suauí odore quam uenusto quibus etiamceteras bestas trahit preter draconem, cui soli inimica est. Nam cum diuersis satiata fuerit, intra cauernam, ubi dormit, usque in diem tertium, in qua euigilaa statm uocem magnam cum suauissimo odore emittit, quibus attrahit ceteras bestias preter draconem, qui no fere potens odorem in terra se abscondit ibidem iacens quase mortuus. Pantera significat Christum, bestie nos. Draco diabolum.

Videtur etiam, quod pantera uitam figuret claustralium, que decenti uarietate studiorum spiritualium insignita est.

Principales uero institutiones maxime in initio reseruant in posterum, ne discipline seuerioris austeritas nouitios exterreat.

Quoniam uero minax est et terribilis forma capitis, ideo capite abscondito reliqua crporis spectanda prebet, ut armenta segura uastatione populetur.

Hircani ueneno carnes illinunt et eas per compita semitarum spargunt, ut earum seu pantere seducantur. Sed hee, dum excrementa humana deuorant, euadunt. Sic et remedia humilitatis patrocínatur contra insidias hostium inuisibilium.

⁸¹ Referência a Gherardi, A., 1896. *Le consulte della Repubblica Fiorentina dall’anno 1280 al 1298, per la prima volta pubblicate da Alessandro Ghirardi. Vol. I. G. . Sansoni, Firenze.*

⁸² A basílica de Santa Reparata, que foi a antiga catedral de Florença e cujas ruínas foram escavadas sob a atual Catedral de Santa Maria del Fiore.

⁸³ Cf. texto de Thetmar acima (no. 3.2.49).

Ferunt, quod pantera semel omnino parturit, nam, cum in útero matri coaluere catuli maturi ad nascendum, odiunt temporum moras et oneratum se aluum unguibus lacerant, quo fit, ut postea corruptis et cicatricosis sedibus genitale semen infusum non per conceptum, sed irritum resilit. Nam Plinius dicit, animalia cum acutis unguibus frequenter parere non posse.

Vitiantur enim intrisecus mouentibus se catulis” (Abramov, 2003: 389-390).

“De pardo

Pardus secundum est post pantere<m> genus uarium ac uelocissimum et preceps ad sanguine; saltu enim ruit ad mortem” (Abramov, 2003: 390-391).

3.2.75 E ainda do século XIII é a *chanson de geste* intitulada *Aiol (Li droite estoire d’Aiol et de Mirabel, sa feme)*, dada à luz por Normand & Raynaud (1877). Há três citações do *lupart*:

“La u Aiols aloit. Vos fiex li frans,
Li bos et les gaudines, les forès grans
Aloient contre lui tout acclinant;
Ors, lion(s) et **lupart**, sengler, serpent,
Devant lui se coucoient en chemin grant”
(versos 361-365; Normand & Raynaud, 1877: 11).

“Ambedui s’entrevient comme **lupart** irié,
Merveilleus cos se donent es escus de quartier,
Desor les boucles d’or les ont frains et perciés;
Tant orent boins haubers, nes porent desmaillier”
(versos 7631-7634; Normand & Raynaud, 1877: 222).

“Ja l’eust retenu, que plus ne s’atargast,
Quant li rois le secort al pooir que il a;
Et Sarrasin i viennent irié comme **lupart**;
A plus de .xv. lances ferirent sor Tumas;
Et li ber traist l’espee o le puin de cristal”
(versos 10755-10759; Normand & Raynaud, 1877: 314).

3.2.76 Igualmente do século XIII é esta canção anônima, publicada por Bartsch (1868: 224-225):

“Eissamen con la **pantera**
qui porta tan bon’odor
et a si bela color
qui per fors’e e per outratge
sia tan mala ni fera
que si loing com pot chاوزir
non anes pres lo morir:
et en altretal semblansa
mi tem amors en balansa,
quem fai segre so que non posc aver,
e sec mon dan per far lo seu plazer.

Ni ja per nom planhera
negun norn al cort d’amor,
ans prendrai en gang dolor
de son gent cors de paratge,
mas qu’el ágües em coratdge
merce, que non es enquera.
aissi nom pot res garir
de mon maltrait e merir
fors ab sa dons’ acoidansa

on a tan gran beltat en son poder,
per que non posc deixar de leis veder”.

3.2.77. Filippo da Novara (ca. 1200 – ca. 1270) esteve em Chipre e na Terra Santa. Em sua obra *Guerra di Federico II in Oriente (1223-1242)* (Filippo da Novara, 1994), consta:

“Celuy messire Anceau de Bries fu fis d’un cousin germain de monseignor de Baruth et de son frere; si estoit junes hom et fort et durs, membrus et ossus, vigourous et penibles, et entreprenans et faiseur, amy et enemy cortois, et large de quanque il pooit tenir, blans et blondes et vayrs et 192rovo, á une chiere grefaigne semblant au **leupart**”.

Por Deu, vos amors d’Acre metés á une part,
et vous et dan Taissel, qui cuide estre **leupart**
[.....]”.

3.2.78 Em Mazzeo di Ricco (falecido depois de 1252) (Molteni & Monaci, 1877: 164; sob Maçceo del riccho di messina) lê-se:

Ben passa rosa e fiore la uostra frescha cera | lucente
piu che spera, | e la boccha aulitosa, che rende maggio odore
| che non fa d una fera, | Ch a nome la pantera, | che in
india nascie ed usa. | soura ongne acqua, | Amorosa donna,
siete | fonte chemm a tolta ongniunque sete: | perch eo son
uostro piu leale effino ch a l suo sengnore non a l assessino.

3.2.79 Guido di Guinizello di Magnano, mais conhecido como Guido Guinizelli e por alguns citado como Guido Guinizzelli (1235 – 1276) foi um poeta e juiz italiano. Sua citação da *pantera* foi publicada por Molteni & Monaci (1877: 12; sob Messer Guido guiniççelli):

D un amorosa parte mi uen uoler che sole, | che in uer
me piu sole che non fa la pantera, | Che usa in una parte |
che lauantisce sole, | che di piu color sole suo viso, che pan-
tera. | Ancora spero in uoi merçe che non dispero, | perch
e n uoi pietate, | fin pregio, ben uolere, | perche a uoi uolere
lo meo chor pare.

3.2.80 Giovanni Balbi, em latim Johannes Januensis de Balbis (? – 1298), foi um dominicano genovês de grande renome em sua época como escritor, gramático e teólogo. Compôs o *Catholicon*, impresso por primeira vez por Gutenberg em 1460 – o primeiro dicionário latino em ordem estritamente alfabética. Na edição de Balbi (1506) (não paginada) há as seguintes passagens [Figura 3.78]:

¶ Leopardus pardus. maf. ge. componitur a leo & pardus. & dicitur hinc leopardus di. quod regulari^o dicitur leonissis pardus: ut ex utraque parte deducatur. Et nascitur leopardus ex adulterio leonem & pardus vel pardem & leonem & hic hec leoparda leopardem secundum Iulium. Papias vero dicit. Leopardus ex adulterio leonem & pardus nascitur & tertiam originem efficit unde dicitur & sic vult Iulius. quod componatur leopardus ex duobus rectis & ideo ex utraque parte regulariter deducatur. Alij vero dicunt cum quibus ego quod leopardus componatur ex corrupto et integro: scilicet ex lea ut leona & pardus & sic regulariter nomen deducatur & obliquum manet indeclinabile. Non enim dicitur leopardus eo quod sit partim leo et partim pardus: sed quia ex leona & pardo & hoc sentit magister Benedictus. Pardus est masculus pardalis seu pantherem que panthera dicitur eo quod tota est fera. pan enim totum dicitur & theta ptheros dicitur ferus. Ex leone autem & pardali aut ex leona & pardo nascitur leopardus.

¶ Panther teris. actio pantherem vel panthera: & hec panthera there. peni. pdu. genus lupi. Et dicitur a pan quod est totum vel omne: quia olim aialium sit amicus nisi diaconus. vel quia in sui generis societate gaudeat. & ad eandem similitudinem quicquid accipit reddit.

Figura 3.78 Verbetes sobre o leopardo e a pantera no *Catholicon* de Balbi (1506).

3.2.81 Os relatos das viagens de Marco Polo (1254 – 1324) [Figura 3.79] contêm muitas citações de felinos do Velho Mundo.



Figura 3.79 Marco Polo (mosaico, Palazzo Tursi, Genova).

Em francês arcaico temos:

“CHAPITRE XCII.

Ci devise de lionz e de leopars e de **leus cerver** que sunt afaités à prender bestes, et encore dit de gerfaus e de faucons e d'autre osiaus.

Enchore sachiés qe le grant sire a bien **leopars** asez qe tuit sunt bon de chacer et da prendre bestes. Il a encore bien grant quantité de **leus cerver** que tuit sunt afaités à beste prandre, et moult sunt bien à chacer. Il sunt de mout biaux poil et de mout biaux color, car il sunt tout verges [rayés] pour lonc noir et vermeil, et blanc. Il sunt afaité à prandre sengler sauvajes et les buef sauvajes et orses et asnes sauvajes et cerf et cavriolz et autres bestes. Et si voz di qu'il est mout bielle chouse à regarder les feres bestes qe les lions, qu'ils les portent sus la charethe en une cuble [cage], et ho lui a un chien petit" (Roux de Rochelle, 1824: 100).

“CHAPITRE CXV.

Ci dit de la provence de Tebet.

“Et encore si con je voz ai dit, les homes escanpent ls noit, et il et lor bestes, des lions et de des **lonces** et d'autres mauvaises bestes qe hi ni a en grant habundance” (Roux de Rochelle, 1824: 127).

“CHAPITRE CLXXXI.

Ci devise de la cite de Comari.

“Il hi a gat paul si devisez que ce estoit mervoille, lions, **liopars**, **lonces** ont en abondance” (Roux de Rochelle, 1824: 222).

“CHAPITRE CXCXI.

Ci devise de l'isle de Madeigascar.

Il ont **leopars e lonces** e lionz; ont encore outre mesure autres bestes come sunt cerf, cavriolz, dam et autres seblables bestes ont-il en abondance...” (Roux de Rochelle, 1824: 232).

“CHAPITRE CXCXII.

Ci devise de l'isle de Canghibar.

“Il hi naist leofant asez: il font grant mercandies des dens. Il ont encore lionz d'autre faisonz qe ne sont les autres. Il ont encore **lonces** asez e **leopars** hi naissent encore” (Roux de Rochelle, 1824: 235).

“CHAPITRE CXCXIII.

Ci comance de Abasi qe est la Mediane.

“Ils ont leofant, mès ne pas qu'il i naissent, mès le ont de l'isle de l'autre Endie, mès le girafe i naissent bien, en ont grant abondance; lionz e **leopards** et **lonces** ont-il asez et maintes autres bestes ont-il encore moutitude devisez à elz de nostres contrés...” (Roux de Rochelle, 1824: 240).

Num manuscrito latino editado por Méon (1824), *Incipit Prologus Libri Descriptionis Provinciarum Erneaiae, Persidis, Turchiae et utriusque Indiae et insularum quae sunt in India, editi à Dno Marco Paulo, nobile cive Venetiarum, currentibus annis Dni Gsu Xri 1295*, só contam as seguintes passagens:

“CAPUT XXXI

De provincia Comari.

Ista regio est valde silvestris, et habet animalia valde dissimilia aliis, et specialiter simias. Sunt ibi simiae multae habentes effigiem hominum. Ibi sunt cati qui dicunt pauli, valde diversi ab aliis: ibi sunt leones, **leoniae**⁸⁴, **leopardi** in copis magna” (Méon, 1824: 464-465).

“CAPUT XL.

De insula magna Madagascar.

Ibi sunt **leopardi**, **leoniae** in copia magna et leones magni valde: sunt ibi cervi, damulae et caprae in multitudine magna, et venationes maximae bestiarum et volucrum...” (Méon, 1824: 469).

“CAPUT XLII.

De insula Zanziber.

“Zanziber est una una insula magna et pulchra et girat bene duo millia miliaria. (In illa insula) omnes sunt (idolatrae, et habent regem) per se. [...]. Ipsi habent multos elefantos, et faciunt multas mercationes de dentibus ipsorum elephantium. Ipsi habent leones satis, alio modo factos quamsint alii. Ipsi habent **lonzas** et **leopardis** satis...” (Méon, 1824: 471).

E nas edições em italiano:

“Del bellissimo palazzo del gran Can in la città di Xandù, & della mandra di caualli, & caualle bianche, del latte di quail anno ogn’anno 195rovo195ssim, et delle cose marauigliose, che il loro Astrologhi fanno far quando vien mal tempo, et ancho della sala del gran Can, & delli sacrificij, che li detti fanno, & di due sorti di religiosi, cioè poueri, & di costumi, & vita loro. Libro primo. Cap. 55

In questo circuito, & serraglia, sono pratti bellissimi, & fonti, & molti fiumi, & iui sono animali di ogni sorte, come cerui, daini, caprioli, quali vi fece portar il gran Can, per pascer i suoi falconi, & girifalchi, ch’egli tiene in muda in questo luogo, iquali girifalchi sono piu di dugento, & esso medesimo vâ sempre à vederli in muda, al mâco vna volta la settimana, & molte vlte caualcando per questi prati circondati di mura fa portar vn **leopardo**, à vero piu, sopra le groppe de caualli, & quando vuole lo lascia andare, & subito prende vn ceruo, è vero capriolo, ò daino. Li quali fa dare à suoi falconi, & girifalchi, & questo fa egli per suo sollazzo, & piacere” (Ramusio, 1559: fólio 17r, A)⁸⁵.

“Delli Leopardi Lupi ceruieri, & Leoni assuefatti à pigliar degl’animali, & dell’aquile, che pigliano Lupi. Libro secondo. Cap. 14.

Il gran Can ha molti **Leopardi**, et **Lupi ceruieri** vsati alla caccia, che prendono le bestie, & similmente molti Leoni, che sono maggiori de’ Leoni di Babilonia, & hanno bel pelo, & di bel colore, perche sono vergati per il lungo di verge bianche, nere, & rosse, & sono habili à prender Cingiali, Buoi, & Asini saluatici, Orsi, & Cerui, & Caprioli, & molte altre fiere, & è cosa molta marauigliosa à vedere, quando vn Leone prende simili animali, con quanta ferocità, & prestezza fa questo effetto, quali Leoni il Signor fa portar nelle gabbie sopra i carri, & con quelli vn cagnolino, con qual si domesticano, & la cagione perche si condisse nelle gabbie è perche sarebbero troppo furiosi & rabbiosi nel correre alle bestie, nè si potriano tenere, & bisogna, che li siano menati à cōtrario di vento, perche se le bestie sentisero l’odor di quelli subito fuggirebbono, & non gli aspeteriano” (Ramusio, 1559: fólio 27v, F)⁸⁶.

⁸⁴ É interessante notar que na *lingua franca mediterrânea* ou *sabir* está registrada a forma **oncia** (Anôn., 1830: 54; sub Once).

⁸⁵ Trecho reproduzido por Boni (1827b: 141).

⁸⁶ Trecho reproduzido por Boni (1827b: 190-191).

“Zacchibar è una isola grande e bella, e gira bene duemila miglia; e tutti sono idolatri, e hanno loro re e loro linguaggio. [...]. Egli hanno molti leofanti, e fanno grande marcatanzia di loro denti; egli hanno leoni assai, e d’altra fatta che gli altri, e si v’há **lonze**, e liopardi assai” (Boni, 1827a: 198-199; Gamba, 1829: 327-328; Carrer, 1841a: 194).

3.2.82 Dante Alighieri (1265 – 1321) [Figuras 3.80 e 3.81]. Na *Divina Commedia* (Inferno I, 31-60) (Alighieri, 1958: 5-7) consta a mais célebre citação da *lonza*, uma das três feras com que o poeta se deparou:

“Ed ecco, quasi al cominciar de l’erta,
una **lonza**⁸⁷ leggiera e presta molto,
che di pel maculato era coperta;
e non mi si partia d’innanzi al volto,
anzi impediva tanto il mio cammino,
ch’i’ fui per ritornare più volte volto.
Temp’era dal principio del mattino,
e ‘l sol montava ‘n su con quelle stelle
ch’eran con lui quando l’amor divino
mosse di prima quelle cose belle;
sì ch’a bene sperar m’era cagione
di quella fera alla gaetta pelle
l’ora del tempo e la dolce stagione;
ma non sì che paura non mi desse
la vista che m’apparve d’un leone.
Questi pareva che contra me venesse
con la test’alta e con rabbiosa fame,
sì che pareva che l’aere ne temesse.
Ed una lupa, che di tutte brame
sembiava carca nella sua magrezza,
e molte genti fè già viver grame,
questa mi porse tanto di gravezza
con la paura ch’uscita di sua vista,
ch’io perdei la speranza dell’altezza.
E qual è quei che volontieri acquista,
e giugne ‘l tempo che perder lo face,
che ‘n tutti i suoi pensier piange e s’attrista,
tal mi fece la bestia sanza pace,
che, venendomi incontro, a poco e poco,
mi ripigneva là dov ‘l sol tace”.

⁸⁷ As três feras (*lonza*, *leone*, *lupa*) citadas por Dante correspondem exatamente àquelas citadas pelo profeta Jeremias (5: 6): “idcirco percussis eos **leo** de silva **lupus** ad vesperam vastavit eos **pardus** vigilans super civitates capietur...”.



Figura 3.80 Dante Alighieri.



Figura 3.81 Os três animais citados por Dante (Inferno, I, 31-60).

3.2.83 Cecco d'Ascoli (Francesco Stabili di Simeoni, também conhecido como Francesco degli Stabili Cichus; Cecco e Cichus sendo diminutivos de Francesco) (1269-1327), em seu poema *L'Acerba* (Cecco d'Ascoli, 1916: 105) falou do leopardo:

De lionessa el liopardo nasce ;
 E lo lion giace con la lioparda.
 Crudo de pietà, quando se pasce,
 Desdegnà, se non prende in quattro salti,
 E per vergogna in terra fisso guarda ;
 Pensando sdegnà de li vili assalti.
 Inganna lo lion ne la so caverna,
 Qual ha do' bocche e de mezzo è stretta.
 Cossì natura vol che qui discerna.
 Veggendo lo lion, prende a fuggire ;
 E lo lion lui consegue in fretta ;
 Como tu sai, li conven morire.
 Cossi 'l peccato, che conduce a morte,
 Ne l' infernal caverne te rechiude,
 Che de l' escire mai non trovi porte.
 Lì se piange e stride eternalmente,
 Lì la pietà li occhi chiude,
 Lì non passa mai la trista gente,
 Lì la mente umana è senza spene
 Di ritornar nel divino bene.

3.2.84 Folgore da San Gemignano (pseudônimo de Giacomo di Michele ou Jacopo di Michele) (1270 – 1332), num soneto escrito em 1260, *Dedica ad un govine i sonetti della settimana* (cf. Valeriani & Lampredi, 1816: 186; Massèra, 1920: 164) citou a *lonza*:

“I’ho pensato di fare un gioiello,
 Che sia allegro, gioioso, ed ornato;
 E si ’l vorrei donare in parte e lato,
 Ch’ogni uomo dica, e’ li sta bene; è bello.

E or di novo ho trovato um donzello
 Saggio, cortese, bene ammaestrato,
 Che gli sarebbe meglio l’imperato,
 Che non istà la gemma nell’anello.

Carlo di Messer Guerra Cavicqueiuoli,
 Quel ch’è valente, ardito, e gagliardo,
 E servente, comandi chi che vuoi.

Leggiero più che **lonza** o liopardo,
 E mai non fece dei denar figliuoli,
 Ma spende più che ’l Marchese Lombardo”.

3.2.85 O poeta francês Nicole de Margival, em sua obra *Le dit de la panthère d’amours*, escrita no século XIII (cf. Todd, 1883: 3-6) referiu-se ao *liepar* e ao antigo mito do suave odor da pantera, que atraía todos os outros animais, excetuado o dragão:

“Une nuit, en temps de moissons,
 Estoie en mon lit a Soissons,
 Forment du cuer pensif, par m’ame
 (Ce fu la veille Notre Dame,
 Qu’on appelle l’Assumption),
 Pensans, em bonne entencion,
 Que loing de mon país estoie,
 Ne pas tost venir n’i pooie.
 En cele nuit me fu avis
 Que je fui par oisiaux ravis,

Et portez en une forest
Qui lor estoit et encore est,
S'ele est tele com je cuidoie
Que elle estoit quant je sonjoie,
Plaine de betes moult diverses,
Verdes, jaunes, bleues et perses,
Sores, fauves, indes les unes,
Blanches et noires, rouges, brunes,
Et les autres d'autre maniere.
Ls avoit mainte beste fiere,
Lyons, **liepars** et autres bestes,
Faisans par le bois grans tempestes;
De sanglés et de pors sauvages
Retentissoit tous li boscages;
Ours y avoit et unicorns,
Et autres bestes qui ont cornes,
Cerfs, dains, chevriax, sauvages bous
Qui d'arbrissiau brostent les brous,
Aveques les sauvages chievres,
Leus et gorpis et herçons,
Qui ont poignans les pelicans;
Et autres que nommer ne sai,
N'em ramembrance ne les ai,
Pour la plenté que j'en veoie.
Ainsi qu'n cel penser estoie,
Un pó regardai devers destre;
Hec une beste vi nestre
A l'entrée d'une vatee
Qui estoit d'orties fermee,
De ronces et defors espines:
Por coi toutes bestes voisines
Redoubtoient forment a faire
En la vatee lor repaire.

Qui de la beste la failure
Voldroit deviser, trop Grant cure
Convendrait metre au raconteur;
Et si ne porroit rien monter
A ce qu'on peüst bien decrier
Sa biauté, tant y a a dire.]
D'une chose me mervueilloie,
Quant ceste beste regardoie:
Qu'il n'i avoit bestes nis une,
Tant fust estrange ne commune,
Qu'le n'Eüst de lour coulour;
Tant recevoit elle du lour
Sans faire a ells nul damage.
Molt regardai par le boscage,
Mais je ne vi nis une beste
Qui a cele ne feüst feste:
Par samblant pas ne le haoient,
Car a lour pooir l'aprochoient,
Vers li tornoient lors sentiers.
Tant l'aprochoient volentiers
Pour l'amour de sa duce aleine.
Qui molt esoit et bonne et saine:
Car l'aleine qui en issoit
De trestous mauls les guarissoit.
Por ce toutes communament
La suivoient, fors seulement

Li dragons, qui ne la porroit
Sentir, pour ce que il morroit
Tantost qu'il sentiroit l'aleine
Qui les autres a santé maine;
Car em li vant venin abonde
Qu'il ne puet sentir chose monde;
Por ce quant savoit sa venue
N'i avoit puis resne tenue,
Mais a grant erre s'en tornoit
Es leus desers, et destornoit.
Toutes les bestes miex valoient
De la douçour qu'il i trouvoient;
Puisque chascune en amendoit.
Tele beste soit beneoite,
Par cui a bien faire convoie
Chascune beste qui la voit!
Et quant ainsi ouvré avoit
La beste, par grant atemprance
Recevoit de sa soustenance
Ce sans plus qui lui convenoit.
Trestous ainsi se maintenoit,
Et puis alout en son repaire,
Sans faire les autres ce voioient,
Tantos cele place lessaient;
Si s'en aloient 'autre part,
Si com fortune les depart".

3.2.86 O notário genovês Lamberto de Sambuceto, a 2 de fevereiro de 1300, ao fazer o inventário dos bens deixados por Salveto Pessagno, morto em Famagusta (Chipre), especificou uma pele de “onça” (cf. Latrie, 1882: 23; Desimoni, 1884: 27):

“Item copertorium unum vermiliū foderatum penna de **uncia**, gamerra, et coprisium foderatum de blavo”.

3.2.87 Segundo Squillaciotti (2007: 265): “Il ms. Plut. XLII 22 della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana di Firenze è un codice cartaceo, composto da 166 carte di mm 280 x 205, scritto su due colonne e databile al primo quarto del XIV secolo. Tramanda il volgarizzamento toscano in veste senese del *Tresor* di Brunetto Latini”. Nele há a seguinte passagem:

De la pantera et di sua natura et di sue fatteççe.

[1] Pantera si ène una bestia la quale ène molto bella; et ène tutta taccata di picciolini cerchiati di bianco et di nero si come picciolini occhi, ed ène molto amata da tutti li animali fuori che dalo dragone. Et la sua natura ène in tale maniera che ella esce fuori di sua spelonca et apre sua bocca et grida fortemente et di sua bocca esce si grandissimo odore et si dolce et si soave che tutte le bestie che sono in quella contrada si traggono a lei per pascersi di quello odore, salvo che lo dragone, che per quello odore si fugge et vassene via et ficcasi neli pertusi sotterra, per la paura che elli àne di morire imperciò che elli sae bene che morire li converrebbe se elli andasse a lei. Et quando le bestie sono tutte ragunate a lei ed ella si prende di quelle che più le piacciono et pascesene molto bene. Et quando ène così bene pasciata ed ella si ritorna in sua spelonca et ponesi a dormire et dorme tre di. Et quando àne dormito tre die ed ella si leva suso ed esce fuori di sua spelonca ed apre sua [160d] bocca et grida fortemente si come àne fatto di prima, et prende sua vivanda et poi ritorna in sua spelonca et dorme tre die; et in tale maniera come avete udito dire si nutrica tutto tempo di sua vita. [2] Et voglio che voi sappiate che la pantera non porta figliuoli in tutto tempo di sua vita più d'una volta. Et udirete come et per questa guisa ène. Quando e figliuoli sono cresciuti nel ventre dela madre loro non vogliono sofferire insino al tempo di loro nascimento, anzi isforzano natura et speççano con loro unghie tutte l'enteralie dentro di loro madre ed esconne fuori a fine forza, in tale maniera che loro madre non àne mai più podere d'ingenerare figliuoli per semença di maschio et perciò sono così poche di queste pantere. [3] Et la sua proprietade ène tale che quando ella prende alcuno veneno, incontante prende lo sterco del'uomo et mangialo, in via di medicina, acciò che si purghi [161a] lo ventre. Et similmente fae la lepre. Et nota che lo sterco del'uomo si ène caldo et seccho et ène lassativo.

88

3.2.88 O bispo Richard de Bury, também conhecido como Richard Aungerville ou Aungervyle (1287 – 1345) foi o autor do *Philobiblion*, onde consta:

⁸⁸ Na versão de Chabaille (1877: 2259-260), que atribuiu essa passagem a Bono Giambotti (antes de 1240 – 1292?):

CAPITULO LX.

Della pantera.

Pantera è una bestia taccata di piccole tache bianche e nere, si come piccoli occhi. Ed è amica di tutti animali, salvo del dragone.

E la sua natura si è, che quando ella ha presa sua vivanda, si entra nel luogo di sua abitazione, ed addormentasi e dorme tre di. E poi si leva ed apre la sua bocca, e fiata si dolcemente, che le bestie tutte che sentono quello odore traggono dinanzi a lei, se non il dragone che per paura entra sotto terra, perchè sa bene che morire gliene conviene.

E sappiate, che la pantera femina non porta figliuoli più che una volta. Ed udirete perchè. Li figliuoli, quando sono cresciuti dentro al corpo della madre, non vogliono sofferire di starvi infino all'ora della diritta natività, anzi sforzano la natura si che guastano la matrice della loro madre con l'unghie, ed escono fuori in tal maniera, che mai la non porta più figliuoli.

“Caeterum iam de clericis, qui sunt vasa virtutis, loquamur. Quis de vobis pulpitem seu scabellum praedicaturus acendit nobis penitus inconsultis? Quis scholas lecturus vel disputaturus ingreditur, qui nostris conatibus non fulcitur? Primum oportet volumen cum Ezechiele comedere, quo venter memoriae dulcescat intrinsecus et sic more **pantherae** reflectae redoleat extrinsecus conceptorum aromatum odor suavis, ad cuius anhelitum coanhelent accedere omnes bestiae et iumenta” (Thomas (E. C.), 1888: 29-30).



Figura 3.82 Pierre Bersuire.

3.2.89 Pierre Bersuire, latinizado como Petrus Berchorius, (ca. 1290 – 1362) [Figura 3.82] tratou longamente do leopardo e da pantera em seu *Reductorium moralis* (Berchorius, 1575: 407, 421-422).

3.2.90 No século XIV foi composto o chamado “Ysopet-Avionnet” (do diminutivo de Ysope = Esopo e do diminutivo de Avianus), uma coleção de fábulas desses dois autores (*Ci commence la compilation de Ysopet Avionnet*). McKenzie & Oldfather (1919) republicaram essa obra, comparando-a com um manuscrito latino (*Compilatio Ysopi alani cum Avioto cum qvibvsdam addicionibvs et moralitatibvs*), também do século XIV.

Do manuscrito latino reproduziram a seguinte fábula (McKenzie & Oldfather, 1919: 250-251 [470-471]):

“DE VVLPE REPREHENDENTE PARDVM.

Ditinctus maculis et pulchro pectore **pardus**
 Inter consimiles ibat in arua feras.
 Sed quia nula graues uatriarent terga leones,
 Protinus hiis miserum credidir esse genus.
 Cetera sordenti dampnans animalia uultu,
 Solus in exemplum nobilitatis erat.
 Hunc arguta nouo gaudentem uulpes amictu
 Corripit et uanas approbat esse notas.
 ‘Vade’, ait, ‘t picte nimium confide iuuenta,
 Dum michi conslium purius esse queat.
 Moralitas
 Mirenturque magis quos munera mentis adornamt,

Quam qui corporeis enituere bonis.
 Addicio
 Nobilitas sola est animum quod moribus ornat;
 Nobile cor superat nobilitate sua.
 Nobilitas morum prefertur corpora toro;
 Nobilium ritus fama uetusta facit.
 Omne hominum genus est per Christum nobilitatum;
 Nobilitas eius transbeat omne genus.
 Filius est missus ut seruos nobilitaret;
 Applaudens illi nobilus omnis est”.

Da fábula do Ysopet-Avionnet intitulada “De Renart et de la ourse” só nos interessam os seguintes versos (McKenzie & Oldfather, 1919: 251 [471]):

“L’ourse pour sa piau desguisee
 En vouloit estre mieux prisee;
 Autre dient, c’est une beste
 Qui de la pel et de la teste
 Resamble la belle **panthere**
 A qui autre ne se compere,
 Tant par y a couleur diverse;
 L’en dit que’elle repaire en Perse.
 Et si dit par l’ame son pere
 De noblesce ne de biauté,
 Car ou monde n’a pas auté;
 Et pour ce le grieve et desdoingne
 Q’autre beste a li s’accompaigne”.

3.2.91 Francesco Petrarca (1304 – 1374) [Figura 3.83], no poema *Trionfo della castità* (Tassoni, Muzio & Muratori, 1761: 632) escreveu:



Figura 3.83 Petrarca.

“Di fuggitiva cerca un **leopardo**
 Libero in selva, ò di catene scarco;
 Che non fusse stato ivi lento, & tardo:
 Tanto Amor venne pronto à lei ferire
 Con le faville, e’l volto, ond’io tutt’ardo”.

3.2.92 Fazio degli Uberti (1305/1309- depois de 1367), poeta florentino, em seu *Dittamondo* (Fazio degli Uberti, 1952):

“Oil, fist il;partout sont li **liepart**;
en Gascogne flors de lis ni est remes,
en Normandie, neïs entre Picart”.

3.2.93 Benvenuto Rambaldi da Imola, ou simplesmente Benvenuto da Imola (em latim Beneventus Imolensis) (?1320 – 1388) assim dissertou sobre as três feras citadas por Dante (Vernon & Lacaita, 1887: 33-37)⁸⁹:

“*Ed ecco quasi*. Ista est tertia pars generalis, in qua autor ostendit quomodo sibi ascendenti ad montem virtutis occurrunt tres ferae revocantes ipsum a tam Bono proposito, scilicet, **Lontia**, Leo, et Lupa. Sed ad aperiendam viam, primo, quaero quae fera sit ista **lontia**. Ad cuius intelligentiam vel cognitionem est subtiliter praenotandum, quod tria sunt animalia praecipue habentia pellem variis maculis distinctam, scilicet **lynx**, sive **lynceus**, qui vulgariter dicitur **lupus cerveriis**, **pardus**, et **panthera**. Modo dico quod per **lontiam** autor potest intelligere **lynxem**, per quam figurat luxuriam; unde Virgilius in simili describens habitum Veneris dicit:

Subcinctam pharetra, et maculoso tegmine lynxis.

Per quod dat intelligi quod luxuria consistit in pelle, quia in apparentia pulcritudinis exterioris. Unde et Boetius in tertio loquens de ista pulcritudine superficiali: *si homines lynceis oculis uterentur, illud Alcibiadis*

⁸⁹ Em Tamburini (1855: 36-38) encontra-se uma tradução italiana desse trecho: “Ed ecco quasi terza parte generale. A Dante che ascendeva si fecero incontro tre fiere, la lonza, il leone, e la lupa. Ma che fiera è la lonza? Tre sono gli animali che hanno la pelle screziata, la lince, o linceo, che volgarmente appellasi lupo cerviero, il pardo, e la pantera. Per lonza Dante può intendere la lince, ossia la lussuria. Virgilio descrivendo l’abito di Venere dice — succinta faretra coperta di macchiata pelle di lince — e così fa intendere che la lussuria consiste principalmente nella pelle, ed apparenza esteriore. Boezio nel 3° parlando dell’esterna bellezza — Se gli uomini si guardassero cogli occhi di lince, il bellissimo corpo di Alcibiade sembrerebbe turpissimo — Alcibiade ateniese fu inclito capitano, gran filosofo, di corpo bellissimo, secondo Valerio, Giustino, s. Girolamo, ed altri molti, sebbene alcuni ignoranti vogliano, che fosse una celebre meretrice. Per lonza può intendersi il pardo naturalmente lussurioso, ed ha pelle variamente macchiata come la lince. Omero descrivendo Paride vestito di pelle di pardo insegna, che Paride era lussurioso. Aristotile nel 2° dell’etica dice che Elena moveva a concupiscenza tutti che la guardavano, e perciò anche i vecchi trojani fuggivano dal di lei cospetto. Dessa, viste le rughe del proprio viso, rideva poi di coloro, che l’avevano amata, come scrive Ovidio — de arte amandi, —ed insegna che nella pelle primamente consiste la causa di lussuria. Il pardo, se ghermisce altra fiera ne sugge il sangue del pari che la donna libidinosa: sfugge il pardo ogni vista quando si pasce, e del parila donna si nasconde di qualunque pasto tu parli. — I custodi del pardo gli porgono quindi il cibo voltata in dietro la faccia —. In ultimo il pardo sembra famigliarizzarsi, ed addomesticarsi, ma spesso torna alla prima fierezza, tradisce, e vince l’uomo nella frode. Si può per lonza intendere anche la pantera la quale ha un alito così odoroso, che attrae gli altri animali, quando per cibarsi intenda sbranarli. **La mia opinione per altro è, che Dante in questo luogo abbia inteso piuttosto del pardo, che di altro animale, giacché le proprietà del pardo sembrano più convenire a lussuria, ed anche perchè tale vocabolo — fiorentino — sembra più presto significare pardo, che altra fiera: mentre un giorno si faceva vedere un pardo per la città di Firenze, correndo i ragazzi gridavano — vedi la lonza — vedi la lonza—come mi raccontava il soavissimo Boccaccio da Certaldo [minha ênfase].** Altri stoltamente pensano che Dante alluda a vanagloria, e non san essi che la lussuria è il primo de’ vizi, e che primo invade l’uomo, come lo provò lo stesso autore che contava solo nove anni quando fu preso d’amore per Beatrice. La vanagloria d’altronde è più tarda, ed è figlia della superbia, che Dante qui rappresenta sotto di altro animale. E la vanagloria non potrebbe annoverarsi fra i peccati mortali, se nell’Inferno dantesco non viene mai castigata. Dante, è chiaro abbastanza, che avea avuta di mira la lussuria colla lonza, e nell’Inferno canto 16 così dice prender la lonza alla pelle dipinta cioè col diletto sensuale, et ecco quasi al cominciar de l’erta quando cominciava a salire una lonza leggera e presta molto niun vizio è più veloce della lussuria, che al solo passaggio avvelena cogli occhi. L’amore, dai poeti si finge colle ali che del pel maculato era coperta di pelo variamente colorato, e non mi si toglie dinanzi al volto. Dante invero fu preso da questo solo vizio, più che da tutti gli altri insieme anzi impediva tanto che più volte volto richiamavalo alla valle: Dante era novizzo, e costei spesse volte rese retrogradi anche gli uomini più perfetti. S. Agostino dice, che gli uomini addivenuti quasi angeli furono scacciati da faccie pericolose. Finge Dante che tre fiere gli uscissero incontro, perchè tre sono principalmente i vizi degli uomini ne’ diversi stadi di vita; lussuria nell’adolescenza, superbia nella gioventù, avarizia nella vecchiaia”.

corpus superficie pulcrum, turpissimum videretur. Fuit autem Alcibiades Atheniensis inclitus dux et philosophus, pulcherrimus corpore, ut patet per Valerium, Iustinum, Ieronimum, Augustinum, et alios multos, licet quidam per errorem dicant quod fuerit faemina formosissima meretrix. Sed de hoc non amplius ad praesens, quia impertinens est nostro proposito. Per **lontiam** etiam potes intelligere pardum multipliciter. Primo, quia pardus est naturaliter luxuriosissimus; ideo bene figurat luxuriam. Secundo, quia pardus habet pellem varie maculatam, sicut et lynceus: unde Homerus describit Paridem indutum pelle pardi, quia luxuriosus erat. Tertio, quia pardus est multum praesto adeo quod volare videtur; et talis est luxuria. Ideo bene Aristoteles, libro Ethicorum dicit, quod Helena omnes aspicientes alliciebat ad concupiscentiam suam, quare senes Troiani fugiebant conspectum eius: ipsa tamen Helena, visis rugis in facie sua, ridebat eos qui dilexerant eam, ut ait Ovidius de arte amandi. Et per hoc etiam confirmatur quod iam dictum est, scilicet quod luxuria stat in pelle. Quarto, quia pardus cum cepit aliquam feram, sugit totum sanguinem eius: ita recte mulier libidinosa. Quinto, pardus non vult ab homine videri cum se pascit: ita et mulier luxuriosa, de quocumque pastu loquaris; unde pascens pardum porrigit sibi taciā facie retroversa. Sexto, pardus quamvis familiariter domesticetur, saepe fallit et prodit, imo saepe vincit leonem fraude: ita et mulier virum fortissimum forma et fraude vincit. Potes etiam per **lontiam** intelligere pantheram; nam panthera suo halitu odoriferi attrahit ad se alia animalia cum vult pasci, et illa, quae eligit, sibi vorat; ita et foemina, sicut et magnes ferrum, attrahit homines, et quos sibi eligit, consumit. **Credo tamen quod autor potius intelligat hic de pardo, quam de aliis, tum quia proprietates pardi magis videntur convenire luxuriae, ut patet ex dictis, tum quia istud vocabulum florentinum lonza videtur magis importare pardum, quam aliam feram. Unde, dum semel portaretur quidam pardus per Florentiam, pueri concurrentes clamabant: vide lonciam, ut mihi narrabat suavissimus Boccacius de Certaldo** [minha ênfase]. Ex praedictis igitur patet clare quod autor noster non loquitur hic de vana gloria, sicut aliqui vane opinantur: primo, quia luxuria est primum vicium damnabile, quod invadit hominem; unde Dantes erat novem annorum, quando primo captus est amore Beatricis. Secundo, quia vana gloria est filia superbiae, et inseparabiliter comitatur eam. Sed cum autor hic figuret superbiam sub forma leonis, non expediebat expressius figurare inanem gloriam sub specie alterius ferae. Tertio, quia istud vicium non numeratur inter peccata mortalia; unde in toto libro Inferni autor non punit inanem gloriam, cum tamen puniat omnia vicia capitalia, praeter invidiam: sed quare non invidiam, dicitur in Purgatorio, capitulo XIII. Quarto, quia autor satis explicat suam intentionem de luxuria Inferni capitulo XVI, ubi dicit: *prender la lonza alla pelle dipinta*, ut declarabitur ibi. His notatis, ordina litteram sic: *ed ecco quasi al cominciar dell'erta*, idest in principio ascensionis, *una lonza leggera e presta molto*, quia nullum vicium velocius luxuria, nam subito in transitu iacit venenum oculis; unde mulier velut basiliscus solo visu subito interficit hominem: ideo Amor a poetis merito fingitur alatus. Et dicit: *che di pel maculato era coperta*, idest variis coloribus adornata. Et subdit molestiam istius ferae, dicens: *e non mi si partia dinanzi al volto*; et verum dicit, quia de rei veritate autor multum laboravit isto morbo, ut iam dictum est, et dicitur infra capitulo V, et alibi saepe. Et dicit: *anzi impediva tanto il mio camino, ch'io fui per ritornar più volte volto*, quia scilicet revocabat eum ad vallem. Nec mirum si ista fera revocabat autorem, qui noviter incipiebat ascendere montem, cum saepe revocet viros perfectos. Unde Augustinus: *et homines iam paene angelos factos facies periculosa deiecit*. Et hic nota subtiliter, quod autor noster fingit tantum tres feras occurrisse sibi, quia tria sunt principalia generalia vicia communiter occupantia hominem in triplici aetate, scilicet luxuria in iuventute, superbia in virilitate, avaritia in senectute. Unde Ioannes: *omne quod est in mundo, etc.*⁹⁰

3.2.94 McKenzie (1905, 1910) descobriu dois manuscritos do século XIV, praticamente semelhantes, intitulados *Qui se cominça lu libro de l'animali et de uccielli et de l'loro natura per belli exempli* – um na Bibliothèque Nationale de France (MS Ital. 450) e o outro na Biblioteca Chigiana em Roma (MS Chigiano VI 137; conhecido como *Bestiario Toscano*). Garver & McKenzie (1912) editaram posteriormente o manuscrito da Biblioteca de Paris completo, indicando as variantes existentes no manuscrito Chigiano. Na transcrição dos trechos

⁹⁰ Segundo Buquet (2011: 24-25): “Benvenuto da Imola, dans son commentaire sur Dante, rédigé au XIV^e siècle, tente d’expliquer la nature de la *lonza*, une des trois bêtes féroces, avec le loup et le lion, qu’affronte Dante. La *lonza* représente la luxure, et Benvenuto tente de comprendre qui du *lynx*, du *pardus* ou de la *panthera* se rapprocherait le plus cette étrange *lonza*. Pour le *lynx*, le commentateur s’appuie sur les poètes antiques; pour la panthère sur le Bestiaire. Si finalement il conclut que la *lonza* de Dante doit s’interpréter comme un *pardus*, ce n’est pas seulement par ses ‘qualités’ adultérines et luxurieuses évoquées par les bestiaires et les encyclopédies, mais c’est aussi par un contexte vernaculaire. Selon Benvenuto, on désigne à Florence par *lonza* les ‘léopards’ (*pardo*) importés en Italie”.

sobre o *lopardo* e a *loncia* (Garver & McKenzie, 1912: 85-86) indicamos as variantes do manuscrito Chigiano (*CH*) entre colchetes:

“De la natura del **leopardo**.

Leopardo è bellissima bestia, del quale se notano principalmente due nature. La prima, ch'ella è una de le più ingegnose animali che sia. La seconda, che in sè à legereçça grandissima. Trovase probabilmente che lo suo ingegni vinde e confunde lo leone in cotale mainera, che fugendole dinanci per la sua legereçça e schifando la sua potentia alla quale non potrebbe ressisstere, conducendolo a la sua thana, la quale ingegnosamente è facta com due bocche tanto strette iscarsamente quant'elli [*CH quant'ella*] tanto solamente possa esciere. Fugendo per quella tana entro [*CH entro entro*] passa, però che puoe. Lo leone si li adiriçça diriecto, credendo passare e prenderlo, e non può per la stretteçça del luogo né girare né volcere [*CH vollere*] non può. Allora lu leopardo lo quale è iscito [*CH schietto*] per altra bocha, torna da la parte dirieto del leone, e cussi ingannandolo lo conquide a morte. Quine à molto bellissima figura e utile a noi tutti, che ciascuno de' essere amaestrato studiandosi di compiere quello per ingegno e per savere che per força contendendo [*CH contendo*] non se può paregiare né vincere. All'altra natura della sua legereça, assai bene potemo figurare che ciascu homo dee volere essere isnelto e legueri, cioè non lassandosi gravare ad alcuno soverchievole [*CH perche e vile*] vitio. El molte altre figure assai e buone se ne pono fare”.

“De la natura e de figura et della proprietá de la *loncia*⁹¹.

Loncia [*CH lonza*] è animale crudele e fiera, e nasce de coniungimento carnale de leone con **lonça** o vero de **leopardo** con leonissa, e cussi nasce lo leopardo. La **lonça** sempre sta in calura d'amore et in desiderio carnale, launde sua fereçça è molto grandissima. Et naturalmente lo **leopardo** e la **lonça**, quando amontano l'altre bestie, se al terço o vero al quarto salto non prendeno, per gran dispecto et disdegno più la preda non seguisceno, ma lassano andare, e lui remane per corruccio, patendo e sufferendo [*Ch sustenendo*] grande fame, de fine a tanto che vene loro facto de prendere la preda in fino al terço o al quarto salto. Quando aviene che prendeno alcuno venenoso cibo, curase e purgase collo stercho del homo; unde li cacciatori loro engannano in total guisa, cioè che quello portano in uno vasello et appendolo ad uno arbore, si che li dicti animali vedendolo fannosi ricta per averlo, et allora li dicti cacciatori li assaglie et uccide [*Ch. Li cacciatori li assalischono sotto onbra di quello intendimento e cusi icideno*]. Avene ancora che quando questi animali amala d'alcuna enfirmità, curase con sangue [*Ch curanosi e guariscenosi luno al altro con sangue*] de capra salvaticha, lo quale beve, e com questo guariscono”.

3.2.95 Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375) [Figura 3.84], em seus comentários sobre a Divina Comédia de Dante Alighieri, escreveu (Milanese, 1863: 173-174):

“Dice adunque che essendo nella predetta meditazione, deliberato di lasciare la Valle oscura e di salire al monte luminoso e chiaro, cioè alla dottrina apostolica ed evangelica, essere state tre bestie quelle che il suo salire impedivano, una **leonza**, o **lonza** che si dica, e un leone e una lupa; le quali quantunque a molti e diversi vizj adattare si possono, nondimeno qui, secondo la sentenza di tutti, par che si debbano intendere per questi, cioè la **lonza**, il vizio della lussuria, e per lo leone, il vizio della superbia, e per la lupa, il vizio dell'avarizia. E perciocchè io non intendo di partirmi dal parere generale di tutti gli altri, verrò a dimostrare come questi animali a' detti vizj si possono appropriare; e poi se all'autore parrà di dovergli attribuire, rimangasi nello arbitrio di ciascuno. Sono adunque nella **lonza**, tra l'altre molte, quattro singolari proprietá. Ella primieramente è liggierissima del corpo, tanto o più, quanto alcuno altro quadrupedo sia. Appresso la sua pelle è leccata, piana e di molti macchie dipinta. Oltre a questo, è maravigliosamente vaga del sangue del becco. Ultimamente ella è di sua natura crudelissimo animale”.

⁹¹ Também citado por Camus (1909: 10-11).



Figura 3.84 Giovanni Boccaccio à direita de Dante (Giorgio Vasari).

3.2.96 Gaston Fébus ou Gaston Phoebus, Gaston III de Foix e Gaston X de Béarn (1331 – 1391) [Figura 3.85], apaixonado pela caça, mandou fazer um luxuosíssimo *Livre de la Chasse*, com esplêndidas ilustrações, composto entre 1387 e 1389.



Figura 3.85 Gaston Phoebus ensinando caçadores.

O capítulo treze dessa obra trata “Du chat et de toute sa nature” [Figura 3.86], e foi assim transcrito por Lavallée (1854: 77-78):

“Chat est assés commune beste; si ne me convient jà dire de sa faisson; quar pou de gens sont qui bien n’ en ayent veuz. Toutesvoyes y a il de diverses manières de chats sauvaiges, espécialment il en y a uns qui sont grans comme **liépardz** et ceulx appellent aucuns lous serviers et autres chatz lous; et c’est mau dit, quar ils ne sont ne lous cerviers ne chatz lous. On les pourroit mieulx apeler **chatz liépars** que autrement; quar ils trayent plus près à **liépard** que à autre beste. Ils vivent de ce que autres chats vivent fors tant qu’ils prenent des gelines et des oves, et une chièvre ou une brebis s’ilz la truevent toute seule; quar ils sont einsi grans que un lou, et ont auques la forme d’un **liépard**, mes qu’ils n’ont pas si longue queue; um lévrier tout seul ne se pourroit prendre à riester un de

ceuls chatz. Il prendroit et tendroit ferme plustost un lou qu'il ne feroit luy; quar ils ont les ongles comme un **liépard** et en oultre très male morsure.

On les chasse pou se n'est d'aventure, et quant chiens le treuvent d'aventure il ne se fet pas longuement chassier, mes se met tantost en defense, ou il monte sur un arbre; et pource qu'il ne fet point longue fuyte, en parleray je pou; quar la chasse de luy n'a guères de mestrise. Ils portent et sont en amour comme une autre chat, mes ils ne font de leurs chatons fors que deux [mas na figura foram representados *três* filhotes]. Ils demeurent ès caves des arbres et font ilec leur lit de fouchières et d'herbes, et le chat masle aide à nourrir ses chatons en la forme que fet un lou?.



Figura 3.86 Leopardos (*Livre de chasse* de Gaston Phoebus).

3.2.97 O poeta francês Eustache Deschamps (ca. 1345 – ca. 1406) legou-nos os seguintes versos:

“BALLADE sur le nom du roi Charles.
En treizième an vient à seignourier
Et à garder son règne des Anglois,
Et si ami le veulent bien aidier,
Vuidier fera le **lieppart** de son bois;
Force et pover puist avoir à son chois
Tant qu’apaisiez puist son pais et terre;
Prions en tuit; crions à haulte voix:
Or lui doit Dieux bien achievev sa guerre!”
(Crapelet, 1832: 24).

“BALLADE de l’empire des femmes.
Or voy-je bien qu’il n’est cueur de lyon,
Ne de **lieppart**, d’autre beste sauvage,
N’omme si fort prins em religion,
Que femme n’ait tost mis à son usaige.
Par femme fut prins Salemon le saige.
Par femme fut déçu le premier home,
Par femme fut dampné l’umain linage:
Il n’est chose que femme ne consume”
(Crapelet, 1832: 31).

E na sua grande composição *La fiction du Lyon* estes:

“Et n’y avoit loup ne **lieppart**
Qui souvent ne fust de Renart
Pincez par nuit en traison,
Ou de plain jour en sa maisom,
Ou deceuz par quelque voie”
(Raynaud, 1883: 329).

“Et le **lieppart**, qui estoit grans
Sire de l’isle des Geans
Ou il failloit passer la mer.
Ly renars qui faingnoit l’amer
Et n’ouvroit fors que par boidie,
S’em ala faignans qu’il mendie,
Et fist tant que la mer passa;
Et puis au **lieppart** s’adressa
En le saluant humblement.
Et le **lieppart** benignement
Le reçupt et lui fist grant joye;
Et puis lui enquist de sa voye
Dont il vient et qui le menoit
En ses marches ou il venoi”
(Raynaud, 1883: 335).

3.2.98. Martim I de Aragão (1356 – 1410) [Figura 3.87], chamado de *o Velho, o Humano, o Eclesiástico*, foi rei de Aragão, Valência, Sardenha e Córsega e Conde de Barcelona desde 1396, e o rei da Sicília a partir de 1409 (como Martim II), exerceu entre 1387 e 1396 o vice-reinado da Catalunha; tinha grande interesse em manter animais em cativeiro. Assim, segundo Adroer i Tasis (1989: 14):

“Un dels monarques que més se preocupá per la salut dels animals i també d’enriquir la col·lecció amb noves adquisicions fou Martí l’Humá. Sabem que tenia óssos al Palau Menor”.



Figura 3.87 Martim I de Aragão.

Essa autora (Adroer i Tasis, 1989: 14, nota 22) comentou

“Els documents ens parlen d’uns *onsos tabach*⁹² que no hem pogut esbrinar a quina espècie d’animals corresponen exactament. Al diccionari Aguiló hem trobat: “tabach, animal dañino que ataca al ganado en la isla de Mallorca” (MARIAN AGUILÓ FUSTER, *Diccionari Aguiló*, Institut d’Estudis Catalans, Barcelona 1934)”.

3.2.99 Niccolò da Casola (que morreu ao redor de 1380), compôs *La Guerra d’Atilla* (Niccolò da Casola, 1941); no único MS existente o primeiro volume traz a data 1358; o segundo deve ter sido composto dez anos depois.

“Et ce fu la dee que a li cors si la fere,
Si li fu depainte sor une indore **pantere**;
Ce fu signifiance que amor la requere
Le plus fort et ardi que l’om puisse trover[e],
Ensi con in la dee l’oit plaie sor la fere,
Ch’estoit de beleçe de les autres lumere,
Et de grant olor que tot fait saolere;
Ceschune que si aproçe, ça ni açatas sa pere
De force ne de puissançe che si li oit aproçere.
Ensi dame Gardeine la veut signiffiere
A celui que la deust avoir por sa muilere”.

3.2.100 Giovannino de’ Grassi (ca. 1350 – 1398) deixou uma belíssima coleção de desenhos, o *Taccuino dei disegni* (Cass. F. 1.21, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, Bergamo) com várias representações de guepardos [Figuras 3.88 – 3.91]:

⁹² Ver nota 68 *supra*.



Figura 3.88 Desenhos de animais com guepardo (Giovannino de' Grassi).



Figura 3.89 Guepardo (Giovannino de' Grassi).



Figura 3.90 Guepardo e leopardo (Giovannino de' Grassi).

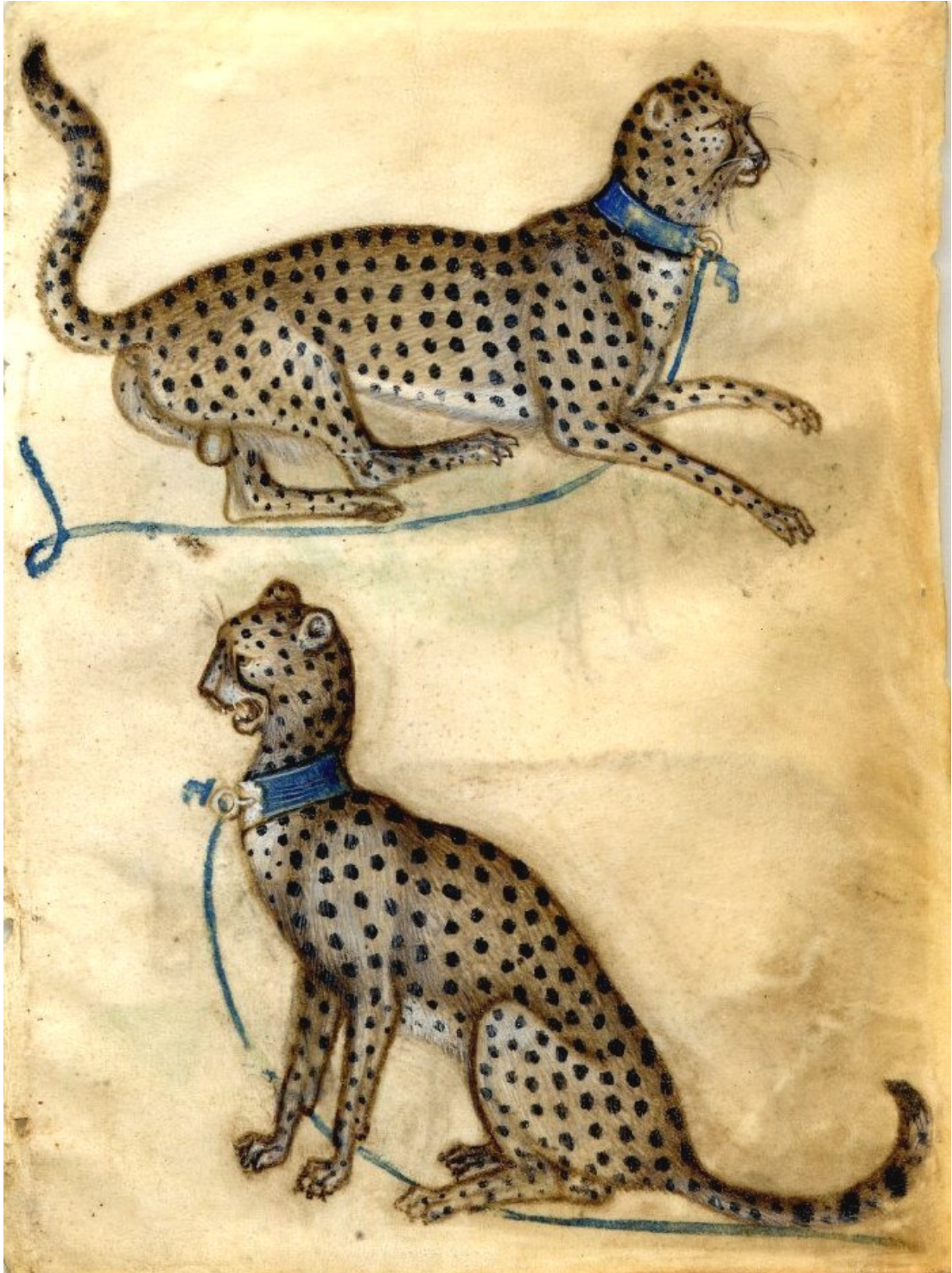


Figura 3.91 Dois guepardos (Giovannino de' Grassi).

3.2.101 Em 1389 fundou-se em Nápoles a *Ordine della Leonza*. Segundo Troyli (1751: 314-315; o mesmo texto encontra-se em Giannone, 1865: 157, em italiano moderno) (cf. tb. Caracciolo, 1623: 673; Giustinian, 1692: 705-709; Ruo, 1832: 93; De Angelis, 1840: 49-50; d'Ayala, 1847: 339; Ceva-Grimaldi, 1857: 35):

“Morto il Re Carlo III. *della Pace* in Ungaria nell'anno 1388., e venuto il Re *Luigi di Angiò* in Napoli; la Reina *Margarita* col suo picciolo figliuolo *Ladislao* si ritirò in Gajeta: donde facendo scorrere sovente le sua Galee per infestare il Porto di Napoli, che si rattrovava senza Legni, alla riserva di due Bergantini, e di una semplice Nave Catalana; molti Nobili del Seggio di Portanova, che seguivano il partito del Re *Luigi*, e si presoro a petto di voler difendere il Porto, e la Riviera da simili infestazioni; sovra di una Nave istituirono una Compagnia, che dell'ARGATA ['carretel'] si disse: avendo per insegna sul braccio sinistro una *Argata ricamata d'oro in Campo rosso*, somiglievole a quella di canne, o di legno, in cui le Donne raccolgon il Filato, e che *Arcolaio* i Toscani l'appellano. Volendo concio dinotare, che siccome il Filato tratto tratto si vede mancare in quell'*Argata*: cosi il Regno della Reina *Margherita*, e del picciolo suo figliuolo *Ladislao*, si vedea sminuito (...). Ma perche il Regno di *Lodovivo* venne più tosto a finirsi, che quello del Re *Ladislao*; questa Compagnia (che peraltro non ebbe il Re *Luigi* per suo Autore, ma alcuni Cavalieri privati, e non potè dirsi vero Ordine Equestre), venne tosto a finire (...).

Siccome i parteggiani del Re *Luigi* istituirono la Compagnia dell'Argata contro la Reina *Margherita* (...), cosi altri Cavalieri del medesimo Seggio di Portanova ben affetti alla mentovata Reina, istituirono la Compagnia della **LEONZA** (...), coll'Insegna di una Lionessa di Argento, ligata con uno laccio d'oro ne piedi, e nelle branche [Figura 3.92]. Dinotando con questa Impresa (che portavano nel petto [Figura 3.93]) la pazienza della Reina sovradetta, che quantunque ligata, e ristretta, non mancava nella generosità all'essere di magnanima, e di generosa Principessa. Ancorche questa Compagnia non meritasse tampoco il nome d'*Ordine Equestre*, perche istituita da privati Cavalieri, e non dal Re *ladislao*, o dalla Reina *Margherita* da lui madre...”.



Figura 3.92 Ilustração da *leonza* da Ordine della Leonza (Giustinian, 1692: 705).

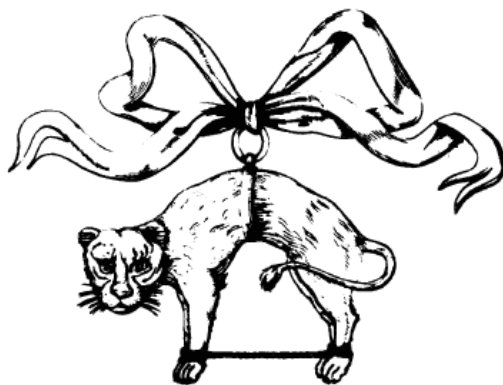


Figura 3.93 Pendente usado pelos cavaleiros da *Ordine della Leonza* (Ruo, 1832: pl. VI, fig. 2).

Na igreja de S. Agostino della Zecca, em Nápoles, está sepultado um dos cavaleiros da *Ordine della Leonza*, Petello Mirella. Uma inscrição nesse túmulo reza (De Angelis, 1840: 49):

“D. O. M.

HIC IACET CORPUS NOB. VIRI PORTELLI
SCANNASURICE DE SOCIETATE LEONTIAE
FILIIUS Q.m EGREGII MILITIS DOMINI
CAROLI DE SCANNASURICE DE DEAP. QUI OBIT
ANNO DOMINI 1408 DIE 22 M.s JUNII x. INDIT.”.

3.2.102 Andrea di Jacopo, dito da Barberino (ca. 1370 – ca. 1432) compôs um romance de cavalaria intitulado *Guerrino Meschino* [[Figuras 3.94 e 3.95]. Nele encontramos um interessante relato (Andrea da Barberino, 1477: LXXXVv-LXXXVIr, 1562 114r-114v, 1841: 193-194, 1850: 213-214):

Oltra da Enidonio la lettera, G. se parti da lui lacrimádo, e
e parti da alexádría: e prese camíto í verso la libia: per ádare
í affrica cõ quele dos guide, che lui aué dal soldano, e bene
í. ordíe a caualo. Intro per lo reame de renoica: e le guide ge disse: co
mo uolédo ádare í affrica lera meior ádare per mare. Lui domádo la
caaxone: e loro disseno che per terra da questo regó fino ala morea era
.ccc. mia senza habitaçõe. & eráo paesi ptes di lióí serpéti dragoí lió
pardi lióze e altri diuersi aiali. Lui domádo che cosa erano lióze. Li
disseno como erano generate de uno lió pardo e de una liona. domádo
che cosa era lió pardo. li resposeno che era generato de uno lióe e una
lió parda. e che questi doi aiali zoe lionza machio e feía nõ genera
ma fano como tra nui li muli. cusi fano liondri. & e poca differéncia
da luno alaltro: salvo la lioncissa e piu fiera che none la liondra ma
comunamente e chiamate leonze: per la poca differentia che ze .

De queste fiere sono assai i le pte de libia de la morea e de laffrica. p li grádi deferti che fa el mare renoso. E disseme che molte sono pe zore fiere queste trasuariate: che non sono nessuna de le altre. E disse che se queste trasuariate mēasseno fructo: p uno questo paese nō se po trobe habitare. Et se merauiaua como non generano. Disseli che muli de asina al caualo e de la cauala al asino maschio nasceua p grāde caldeza che la natura uiene archiniata: como fa larzēto uiuo: che p forza de sulfuri naturali fa oro o argento rame fero stagno piōbo. Et e pur argento uiuo. E uolēdo tramutar uno de questi metalli i uno al tro: secondo natura non po. zoe nō po de piōbo fare oro: ne de oro ramo: ne de rāo stagno: ne de stagno ferro: e chusi de li altri faci. cusi fa la cosa fata fora de natura luno da laltro. e po' quelli che naseno nō generano isieme. larzento el piōbo ogniuno luce: ma luno non se po saldare. p che el piōbo non dura al foco. Poi li tocavano de la moltitudine de li serpenti che erano p questi paesi ueduti: po pregolo che landasseno p mare.

GVERRINO DITTO MESCHINO

In questo libro se tratta una hystoria breue del Re Karlo Imperatore. Poi del nascimento di quello famosissimo caualliero nominato Guerrino Et prenomato Melchino; Et delle gran battaglie che lui fece con Turchi e Saraceni Et con molte altre generationi di gente. E della diuersità de animali che lui trouo andando alli arbori del sole Et de l'habitatione de la Sibilla e soi ingeni. Ancora narra de le pene del Purgatorio di Santo Patritio: Per lo quale si può intendere la situatione delle prouincie e Città e de la diuersità delli homini e li loro costumi. Con la tavola per ordine di capitoli: li, per la quale facilmente si potrà uedere quello che qui li contiene.
M. CCCCLXXVII



Figura 3.94 Frontispício da edição de 1477 do *Guerrino Meschino* de Andrea da Barberino.

**GVERRINO DET,
TO IL MESCHINO,
CON ACCVRATISSIMA
diligenza nuouamente corretto.
di maniera che in ogni sua
parte e fatto chiaro,
& illustre.**

**IL CONTENVTO NELL'OPERA
leggeffi nella faccia seguente.**



Figura 3.95 Frontispício da edição de 1562 do *Guerrino Meschino* de Andrea da Barberino.

3.2.103 Raffaele Marmora ou Raffaele da Verona (1379 – 1407), em seu *Aquilon de Bavière* (Raffaele da Verona, 1982) mencionou várias vezes o *liopard*:

1, III, 20

“[20] E depois voit venir un liom molt merveilos, e li part che li dragon lassast li **liopard** e asaltast li liom”.

5, C, 18

“[18] Allor li dus Anselme se mist al cef davant, sa lanze in mans, armés sor son cival cum une zornie de un zendal blanch cum um **liopard** rogie che bien resenble ome volonteros de joster”.

5, CI, 2

“[2] – Sire, vois cil chevaler a cil **liopard** rogie? Il moi fist l’autrer une vilanie, ch’il moi gieta de mon cival”.

5, CII, 7

“[7] Elle veit por la bataile ferant a destre e a sinestre e veit querant li chevaler al **liopard** rogie”.

5, CIV, 16

“[16] Mes tant vos sai bien dir ch’il port un **leopard** rogie in le camp blanze”.

5, CXIV, 6

“[6] Gaiete li garde e voit li **liopard** rogie e soi pensa ch’il fust cil che l’avoit abatue, e allor dist a un Franzois che li estoit de prés”.

5, CXIV, 7

“[7]- Amis, chi est cil chevaler a cil liopard?”.

7, CXV, 10

“[10] Por ma foi, dist Rainald, vos dites voire; gi l’ai trovee pluxor fois, e unches non demore ferme in nulle part; senpre cort ore a une part, ore a une autre, cum tante presteze ch’il basteroit a um **liopard**”.

3.2.104 Nicolò III d’Este, Marquês de Ferrara (1383 – 1446) [Figura 3.96] fez uma peregrinação à Terra Santa em 1413. O relato de sua viagem foi escrito por Luchino dal Campo, contratado pelo marquês para esse objetivo. Esse relato foi por primeira vez publicado por Ghinassi, onde consta ter recebido o Marquês, como presente, um guepardo (Ghinassi, 1861: 140-141):



Figura 3.96 Nicolò III d’Este.

“E poichè ebbero detto questo, con grande piacere ritornarono al loro alloggiamento, dove trovarono alcuni bellissimoi presenti, che erano stati portati li per presentarli al prefato s. Marchese per parte del re e della regina e di quelli suoi Fratelli: i quali primieramente erano uno bellissimo **leopardo**, una muletta, falconi, uccelletti di Cipro, sparvieri bellissimoi et altre cose assai con molti archi soriani e levrieri di Turchia. E ricevute queste cose graziosamente, ogni uom andò a posare, dato ordine di partirsi la mattina.

Mercordì, ultimo di maggio, a buon’ora monto lo s. a cavallo con la sua compagnia; e lasciato la bene andata a chi si convenia, si parti per tornare alla marina: e subito uscito di casa scontrò monsignor lo siniscalco e monsignor prencipe e monsignor di Lusignano che veniano per accompagnarlo fuori; e si fecero grandissima festa insieme, e poi si misero in via, e vennero fuori circa iiii miglia. Poi presa licenzia da essi, si parti e andò per trovar e far correre lo **pardo** predetto e quelli levrieri, e trovò più e più lepri, delle quali ne prese circa otto con lo **pardo** e con li cani”.

3.2.105 Tommaso III di Saluzzo (1356 -1416) escreveu o *Livre du Chevalier Errant*, entre 1294 e 396. Há duas ocorrências da palavra *lieppart* (Beltrutti, 1966):

“[189] Monseigneur Saint Jehan, ou livre de revelacion qui est appellés Appocalipsez, si dist que il vit une beste qui yssoit de la mer merueilleusement desguisee et trop espouventable, car le corps de la beste estoit de **lieppart**, les piez estoient d’ours, la gueule de lyon, et si avoit .vij. testez et .x. cornez, et par desseure les .x. cornez, .x. couronnez.

“[191] Ceste beste si diverse et si contrefaite segnefie le Deable qui vient de la mer, d’Enfer, qui est plain de toute doulour et de toute amertume. Le corps de la beste si comme dist Saint Jehan, estoit semblablez a **lieppart** car, aussi comme le **lieppart** a diverses couleurs, aussi a le Deable diverses manierez d’engins et de baraz a decepvoir et a tempter les gens. Les piez estoient semblanz aux piez d’ours, car ainsi comme l’ours qui a la force es piez, et ez braz tient forment et loie ce que il a dessoubz ses piez et ce que il embrace, aussi fait le Deable ceulz que il embrace et a abatuz par pechié”.

3.2.106 De autor anônimo, o poema *Histoire du Roy d’Angleterre, Traictant particulièrement la Rebellion de ses subiects et prinse de sa personne. Composee par un gentilhom’e François de marque, qui fut a la suite dudict Roy, avecq permission du Roy de France*, datado de 1399, foi publicado por Webb (1823); há uma breve citação dos *liepars*:

“En ce faisant le Roy, qui les **liepars**
Porte en blason, fist rens de toutes pars
Faire, et tantost panons et estandars
En hault lever” (Webb, 1823: 299).

3.2.107 Na *Historia Karoli Sexti Francorum Regis*, de autor anônimo, conhecido como o “Religieux de Saint-Denys”, do início do século XV, há uma referência aos *leopardi* (Bellaguet, 1841):

“Hiis ultra modum non solum gloriatus est, si palaciis et locis amenissimis, deditis quieti et ócio, construendis contemporâneos principes superaret, sed, quod nunquam adinventum, de urbe ad urbem transuendo juxta itinera publica stratam regiam separatam sibi soli appropriatam habebat. Nullus per eas incedebat sinepeccuniali emenda. Nec unquam provincias transibat, nisi turmis concomitantibus armatorum, lateraliter tamen et a longe distancium, ne delicatus dominus pulvere respergeretur. Tunc et si venacioni insistebat, ut hanc magnificencius ceteris dominis exerceret, non cum canum a feminibus, qui villis et villagiis sine numero subditorum sumptibus alebantur, sed cum **leopardis** vel domesticis feras venabatur” (Bellaguet, 1841: 132, 134).

“Non seulement il mettait sa gloire à surpasser les princes de son temps par la magnificence de ses palais et des maisons de plaisance où il allait se délasser des affaires, mais encore il était le seul qui eût imagine d’avoir sur les routes publiques une chaussée à part, réservée pour ses équipages, lorsqu’il se rendait d’une ville dans une autre; on ne pouvait y passer sous peine d’amende. Jamais il ne parcourait ses provinces sans se faire escorter par des hommes d’armes, qui se tenaient à ses côtés et à une certaine distance pour ne pas couvrir de poussière leur maître efféminé. Il déployait aussi à la chasse plus de magnificence que les autres seigneurs. Ce n’était pas avec des meutes de chiens, quoique ses sujets en nourrissent à leurs frais pour lui un grand nombre dans les viles et dans les villages, c’était avec des **léopards** et d’autres bêtes apprivoisées qu’il chassait” (Bellaguet, 1841: 133).

3.2.108 James I da Escócia, o segundo filho de Robert III, nasceu em 1394 e foi assassinado a 20 de fevereiro de 1437. Em 1405 foi capturado por um navio inglês quando se dirigia à França e aprisionado na Torre de Londres. Dois anos depois foi transferido para Nottingham, mas em 1414 voltou à Torre, onde permaneceu poucos meses, sendo então levado para Windsor. Aí, pouco antes de sua libertação em 1424, escreveu seu principal poema, *The Kingis Quhair* (The

King's Quire or Book), com cerca de 1400 linhas. Aí se encontra a seguinte estrofe (Skeat, 1871: 42):

“The *lyoun* king, and his fere *lyonesse*,
 The **pantere**, likevnto the *smaragdyne*,
 The *lytill squerell*, full of *besynesse*,
 The *slawe ass*, the *druggar-beste* of *pyne*,
 The *nyce ape*, the *werely porpapyne*,
 The *percyng lynx*, the *lufar vnicorne*,
 That voidis *venym* with his *euour horne*”.

3.2.109 Rinuccio d'Arezzo (ou Rimicius Aretinus) (ca. 1395 – *post* 1450) publicou uma tradução latina da obra de Gualterius Anglicus (Walter the Englishman): a *Vita Aesopi* (Rinuccio d'Arezzo, 1481, não paginado) [Figura 3.98]. Nele incluiu a fábula *De Panthera et Agrestibus*, a figura da pantera sendo bastante inusitada [Figura 3.97]:

Fabula .v. De panthera et agrestibus.
Oportet nos benignos esse cuiusque peregrino et igno-
 scere misero ne sit qui reddat genti. ut h. subiecta fabu-
 la edocet. **P**anthera inopia cecidit in foveam. agrestes ut vi-
 det multos prohibuit ne morte eius affligerent alij miserunt pa-
 nem. alij aut flevit huius infortunii ut sunt omne volūtates. **D**-
 derunt. alij sustibus ferunt alij sani tibi entea permittunt. qui-
 dam dixit contra pacem innocentis qui n. minem lesit. **U**t h. di-
 citur et venit illi abierunt omnes bonum. putantes ei nocte mo-
 rituram. deinde illa pices suas ut reficit languidus. veloci nitu se
 ex fovea liberavit et ad suū cubile properat timens. **P**ost paucos
 dies memor iniurie irata ad locū pergit. pecudes ille trucidat
 pastores dissipat. i. aratro impetu seuit agrestes et multa mas-
 sa devorando perdit. timent omnes non curant damna tantum
 sed pro pira cogant. **T**unc panthera molliter sic ad eos dixisse fec-
 rit. Memini qui fulrea dederit / qui mihi saxo paravit / qui in
 tique mihi gesserit / qui ire festinauerit / qui panem miserit. sed il-
 lis hostis reuertor qui me morti perierunt. **D**ec improbi et iniuri
 ou aulant. ne nli. quem ledant.



Figura 3.97 Fábula *De Panthera et agrestibus* de Rinuccio d'Arezzo (1481).

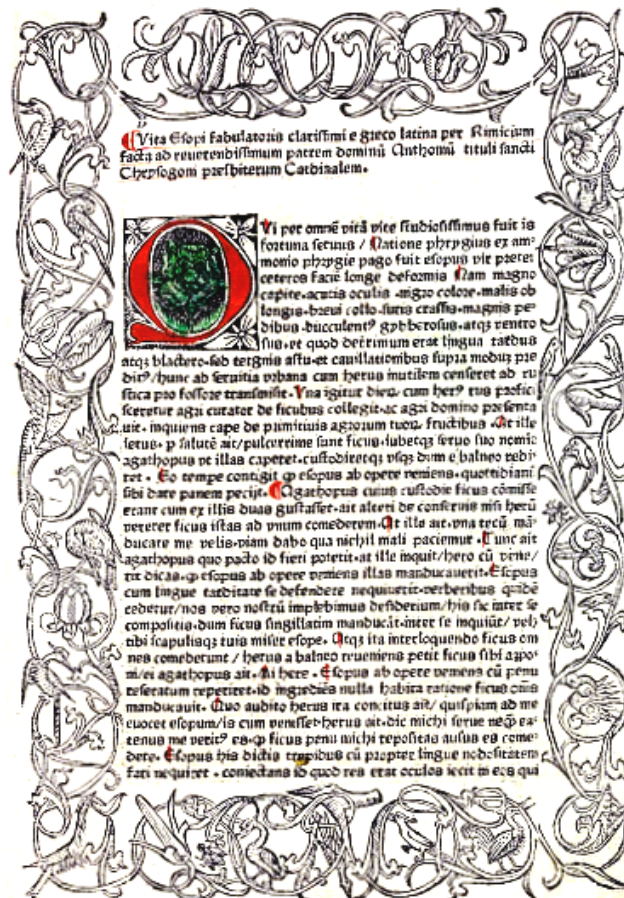


Figura 3.98 Primeiras duas páginas da *Vita Aesopi* de Rinuccio d'Arezzo (1481).

3.2.110 Méon (1826) publicou a obra coletiva *Le Roman du Renart*, compulsando os manuscritos da “Bibliothèque du Roi”, provenientes dos séculos XIII, XIV e XV. Há nessa obra os seguintes versos:

“Trois fil en sont remes moult bel
Qui sont moult cointe damoiseil:
Lor pere quident bien vengier
Einz que l’en doie vendengier;
Méu se sont por querre aïe
A ma dame **Once** la haïe”.

3.2.111 Giovanni de Marcanova (1410/1418 – 1467) foi o autor do manuscrito *Quadedam antiquitatum fragmenta*, terminado em 1465, e cnservado na Biblioteca Estense de Módena. Um de seus desenhos mostra uma representação ideal de uma jaula com um leopardo posto à direita do espelho central [Figuras 3.99 e 3.100]:

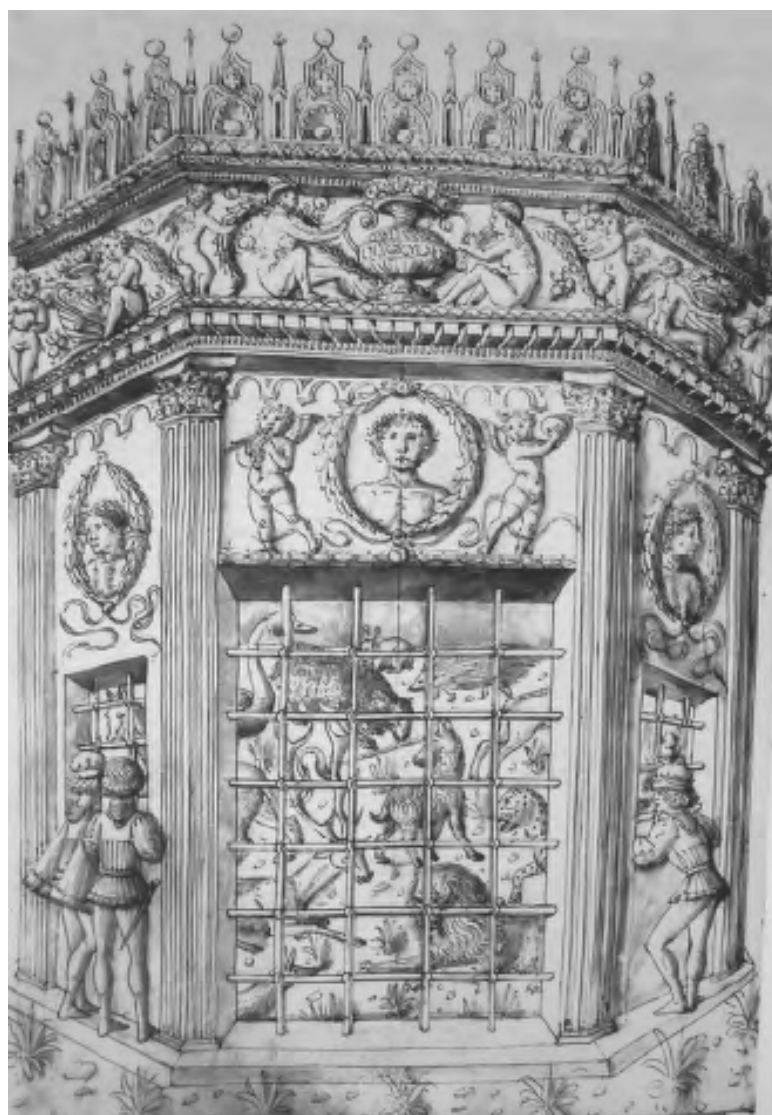


Figura 3.99 Jaula com animais (Giovanni de Marcanova) (Rocculi, 2009: 219).

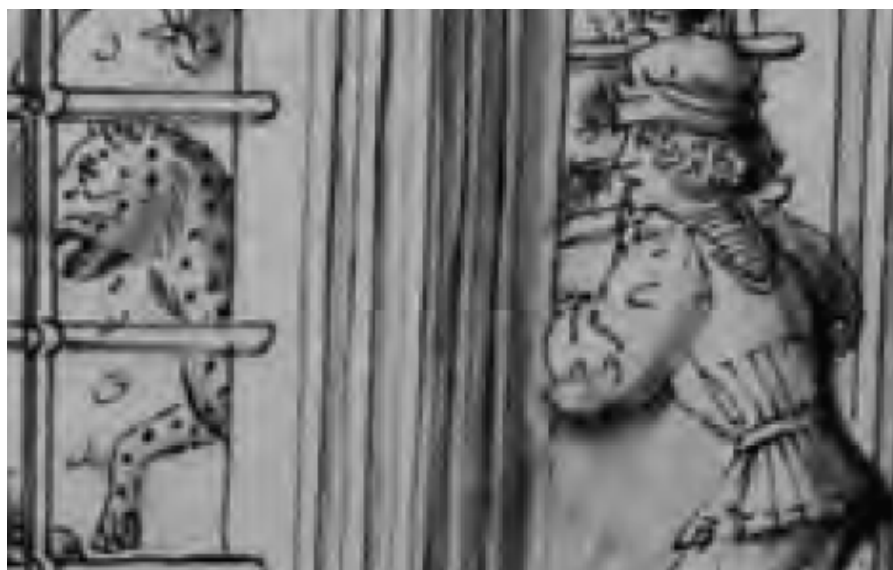


Figura 3.100 Detalhe da figura anterior, mostrando o leopardo.

3.2.112 Anovelo da Imbonate (fim do século XIV e começo do século XV), em sua ilustração da coroação de Gian Galeazzo Visconti, no *Messale di S. Ambrogio o dell'incoronazione* (MS. 6, Biblioteca Capitolare di S. Ambrogio, Milano), ladeou a pintura com guepardos [Figura 3.101].

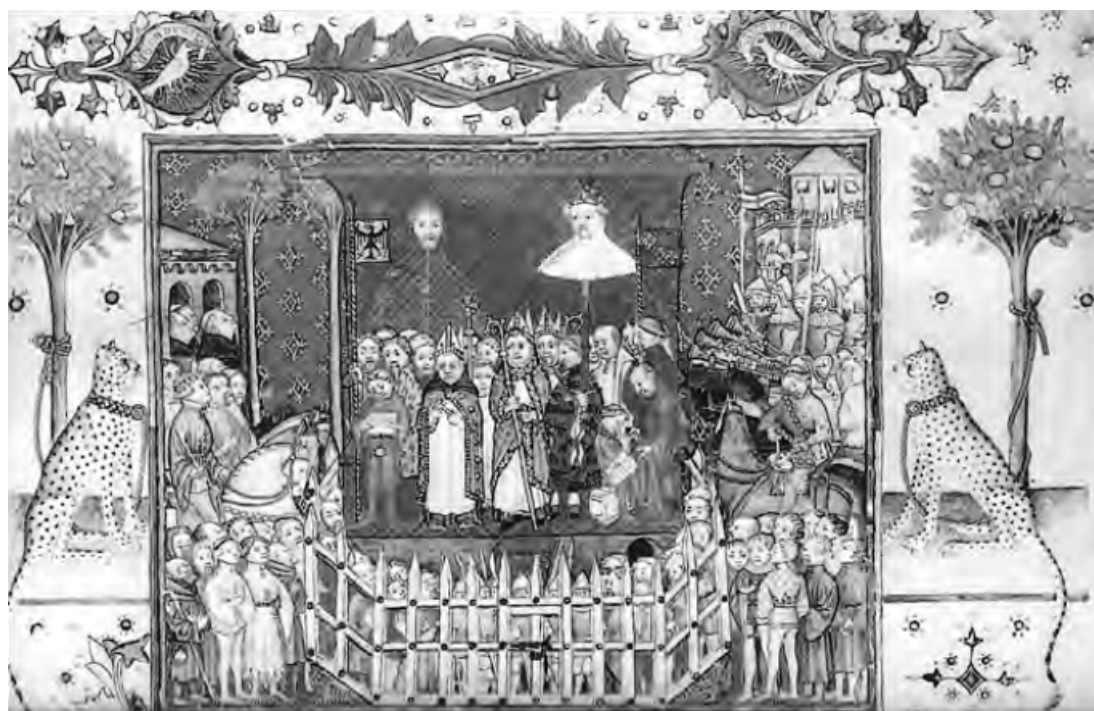


Figura 3.101 Coroação de Gian Galeazzo Visconti, com guepardos (Anovelo da Imbonate) (Rocculi, 2009: 220).

3.2.113 Giosafat (ou Giosaphat, ou Josaphat) Barbaro (1413-1491) foi enviado como embaixador de Veneza a Tana [Figura 3.102; ver canto superior direito], no mar de Azov, de 1436 a 1452. Fez diversas outras viagens pelo Oriente e regressou a sua cidade natal em 1479.

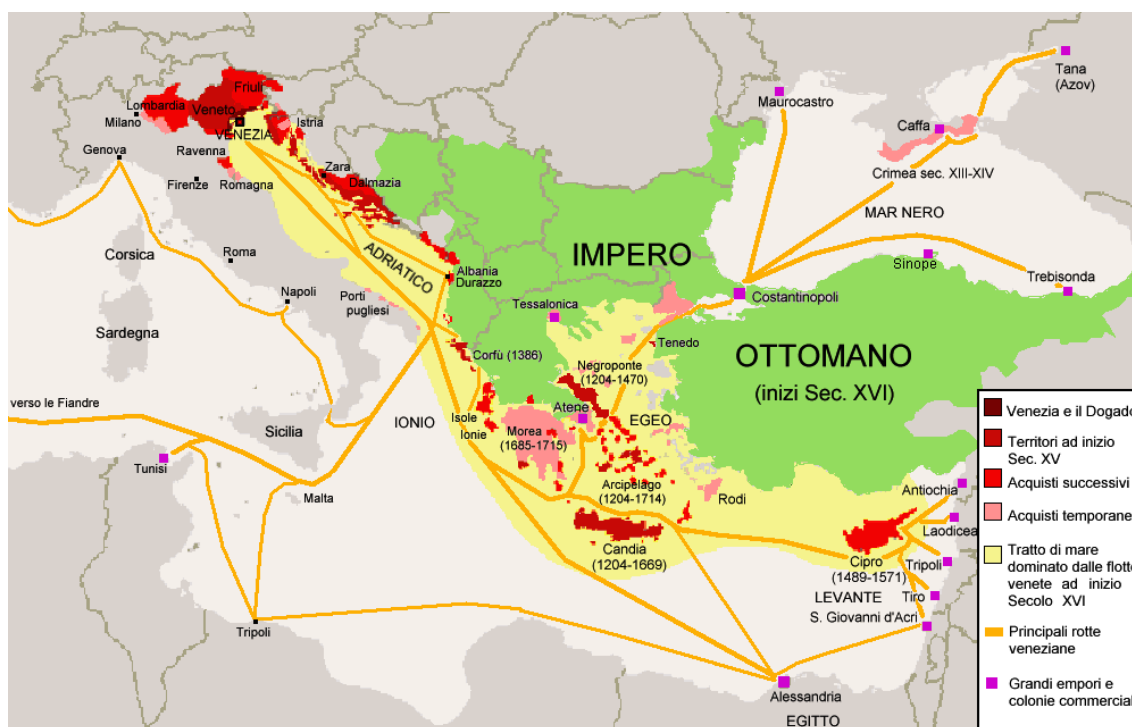


Figura 3.102 O império vêneto com suas rotas comerciais; as possessões de Veneza em vermelho.

Em sua enumeração das riquezas de Tauris, que vale a pena transcrever *in extenso*, declarou que o príncipe Assambei possuía cem leopardos (guepardos) caçadores (*leopardi da caccia cento*) (Manuzio, 1543: 41v – 42r):

“Fu fatta in quel tempo la mostra delle genti, & d’animali in questo modo. Vna campagna grandissima fu circondata da caualli che l’uno toccaua la testa dell’altro con li suoi homini suso, parte armati & parte no. & in una superficie de circa trentis miglia, in laaquale stettero cosi da la mattina per fino ad hore uintiquatro. Era qualch’uno che andaua sopra uedendo, & facendo la discriissione, non però che togliesse in nota il noke, ne i segni dei caualli, come si suol far di qua; ma solo dimndaua chi erano i capi, & guardaua il numero, & come erano in ordine, & scorreua. Io con uno famiglio scorrendo presto andaua contsndo con alcuni grani di faua, ìquali buttaua in la scartella, quando hauea numerata una cinquantina. Fatta poi la mostra feci la discriissione, et trouai il numero, & qualità delle infrascritte cose, le quali metterò secondo l’ordine che io ho, in scriptis. Padiglioni seimila. Cammeli trentamila. Muli da soma cinquemila. Caualli da soma cinquemila. Asini duemila. Caualli da conto uintimila. Et di questi caualli n’erano duemila, che erano coperti di certe coperte di ferro à quadretti laurati d’argento & oro, legati insieme con magliette, l quali andauano quase in terra; & sotto l’oro haueani una frangia. gli altri eran coperti, alcuni di cuoio à nostro modo, alcuni di seta, alcuni di giubba di lauoro tanto denso che non saria stato passato da uma freccia. Le coperte da dosso de l’huomo eran tutte in el modo di uma delle soprascritte. Quelle di ferro, che habbiamo dette in prima si fanno in Beschene, che in nostra lingua uuol dire Cinque uille: laquale è una terra che uolta due miglia; & è su un monte: in laqual non habita alcuno saluo che qualli del mestiero: & se alcuno forestiero uuol imparar il mestiero, è accettato con securtà di mai non si partir de li; ma stare insieme con gli altri, & fare il mestiero. Vero è que altroue etiandio si fa simili lauori, ma non cosi sufficienti. Numerai poi muli da conto duemila. Mandre di animali minuti uintimila. Animali grossi duemila. **Leopardi** da caccia cento. Falconi gentili e uillani ducento”.⁹³

⁹³ Na tradução inglesa de Thomas & Roy (1873: 65-66): “At this tyme were the musters taken as well of the people as of the cattell on this wise. There was a verie great champaigne environned wth horses, so ordered that eche of them too^hched the other’s heade, and the men vpon them were partely armed and partely vnarmed, comprehending about xxx myles in circuite, w^hin which ordre they all stode from the morneng vntill sonnesett. Than passed one

Mencionou também uma *leonza*, mas neste caso um tigre:

“...e mandommi à dir che andassi al Maidan, cioè alla ‘piazza, à uedere il Tafaruccio, cioè la festa. Andai à cauallo, & trouai su quella piazza circa huomini tremila à cauallo, & à piedi di due tanti; & i figliuoli del signore che stauano à uedere ad alcune fenestre. Quiui furono portati alcuni lupi saluatici legati per un pie di dietro con corde; liquali ad uno ad uno erano lasciati andar per infino à meza la piazza: poi uno atto à cio si faceua auanti alzando le mani per darli, & il Lupo all’incontro gli andaua alla uia della gola; ma per esser lui atto, & per sapere schiuare, non lo brancaua se non in le brazze, oue non gli gli poteua far mâe, per non potere passare con li denti quelle zubbe di che era uestito. Li caualli per paura fuggiuano fra gli altri, & molti di essi cascauano sottosopra, parte in quella acqua, & parte in terra: laqual acqua passa per la città: & quando haueuano stracco um Lupo, ne faceurano uenir uno altro: & questa festa faceuano ogni uenerdi. Finita la festa, io fui condotto dal signore nel luogo detto disopra; & fui fatto sentire in luogo Honorato: & sentati tutti quelli che poteuano sentire in questa loggia, & altri secondo le loro condition in su i tapeti alla moresca; furono messi mantili à torno su li tapeti, & auanti di ciascuno fu posto un bacile d’argento; nelquale era una ingristera di uino, & un ramino di acqua, & una tazza tuta d’argento. Vennero in questo mezo alcuni con certi animali che erano stati mandati da un signore di India; el primo delquali fu una **Leonza** in catena menata da uno che haueua pratica di simil cose, laquale in suo linguaggio chiamano Baburech, è simile ad uma leonessa, ma ha il pelo uermiglio, uergato tutto di uerghe nere per trauerso: ha la faccia rossa con tacche bianche e nere; il uentre bianco, la coda simile à quella di un leone; & mostra d’essere bestia molto feroce. Poi fu condotto un leone & messo con la **leonza** un poco da largo, & subito la **leonza** si mise guatta p voler saltare come fanno le gatte adosso al leone; se non che colui il quale l’haueua à mano la tirò da lontano. Dietro poi a questo furono menati due elephanti, liquali, quando frono per mezzo il signore, à certe parole chedisce colui che li menaua, guardarno detto signore abbassando la testa con una certa grauità, come se li uolessono far riuerentia. Il maggior di questi fu menato dipoi à uno arbore che era nel giardino grosso quanto è un huomo à tauerso, & dicendo colui che l’auueua in catena certe parole, mise la testa al detto arbore, & detteli alcune scrollate; poi si uoltò à l’altra mano, & fece il simile, in modo che lo cauò. Fu menata depoi uma Giraffa, laquale essi chiamani girnaffa, animale alto in gambe quanto un gran cauallo, e piu; ilquale ha le gambe di dietro mezo pie e piu corte di quelle che sono qualle dauanti, & ha lunghie fesse come ha il bue, il pelo quase pagonazzo; & per tutta la pelle sono quadri negri, grandi, e piccoli secndo il luogo; il uentre è bianco, con un pelo assai lunghtto: la coda ha pochi peli, cme la coda dell’asino, ha corne piccole similià quele d’un caprolo, & ha il collo um passo e piu longo. ha la língua lunga un braccio pagonazza, & tonda, come languilla: tira con la língua herba, & rami d’arbori liquali mangia con tanta prestezza che à pena si uede. La testa è simile à quella del ceruo, ma piu polita, con laqual stando in terra aggiugne alto quindeci piedi. ha il petto piu largo che um cauallo; ma la groppa stretta come d’uno asino. Mostra d’esser animal bellissimo, ma non però da portar pesi. Ditroà questi furono portati in ter

surueieng and making a reckenynge of them, not taking any mannes name or the markes of the horses in writeng as we vse in these pties, but only called for the cap^{nes} names, and considered the nombre wheather it were in order, and than passed on, wherefore I tooke my seru^{wnt} wth me, and passed through them apace, rekenynge wth beanes what nombres I founde, vseng for every L^{tie} to lett a beane fall into my pockett. And whan the musters were past, I made my reckenynge, and founde the nombres and qualities of those things to be, aftre thordre that I shall describe vnto yo^u :

Of pavyllions, vj^{ml};
Of camells, xxx^{ml};
Of cariage mooyles, v^{ml};
Of cariage horses, v^{ml};
Of asses, ij^{ml};
And horses of service, xx^{ml};

Of the which there were ij^{ml} covered wth certein armure of yron, made in litle squares and wrought wth gold and syluer, tacked togither wth small mayle, which hanged downe in maner to the grounde, and vnder the golde it had a frynge. The rest were covered, some wth leather aftre o^r maner, some wth silke, and some wth quilted wo^rke so thicke that an arrowe coulde not haue passed through it. The horsemens armo^r is of the same sorte before rehearsed. Those armures of yron that I first mençoned arr made in Besthene, which in o^r tonge signifieth the v townes, being of twoo miles compasse, and standeth on an hill wheare no man dwelleth but the craftsmen of that science. And if any straunger be desirouse to lerne it, he is accepted wth putting in sureties never to departe thense: but to dwell there wth the rest, and to applie that occupation. It is trewe that in other places like wo^rks arr made, but no wheare so excellent. Aftre this I nombred ij^{ml} good mooyles, in heardes of small cattail xx^{ml}, and of great ij^{ml}, **leopardes** to hunte wth all an c; fawcons gentle and bastarde, cc”.

gabbie ter para di colombi Bianchi & negri simili alli nostri; ecceto che haueuan il collo um poço lungo à simillitudine del'ocha; delliquali credo che in quel luogo sai grande penúria; perche altramente non gl'hauerian portati. Vltimamente dietro Pà questo furonio portati ter papagalli del becco grande di diuersi colori; & dui Gatti di quelli che fanno el zibetto” (Manuzio, 1543: 34r-35r, 1545: 31v; Ramusio, 1559: 102r-102v).⁹⁴

Bizaro (1601) publicou uma versão latina da viagem de Barbaro.

⁹⁴ Na tradução inglesa de Thomas & Roy (1873: 53-55): “...sending me worde w’hall that I shulde go to Maidan, that is, to wit, to the markt place to see the TARAFUCCIO* (*Ramusio has – Tanfaruzo, corruption if *tafarraj*, rejoicing), that is, to weete, the plaie. Thither I went on horseback, wheare in the market place I founde about iij horsemen and more than twies as many on foote, besides the King’s children, which were looking out at certain wyndowes. To this place certain wylde wolves were brought, ledde wth cordes tied to eche one of their hinder feete, and tehse wolves were by one and one let go in the midst of the place. And to the first there came a man appointed vnto it, offering to stryke him. The wolfe flew streighte towads his throte; but the man, which was nimble, shifted him in such wise as the wolfe tooke no holde but on gis arme, which coulde take no hurte by reason of his sleeves that were prepared for it. The horses fled for feare amongst the prease, and many fell, some in the place and some into the water which rennet through the citie. And whan they had wearied one wolfe than they let slyppe an other, which kinde of plaie they use every frydaie.

This pastyme being ended, I was brought to the King’s presence into the place before mancioned; and was caused to sit honorably, and likewise others being sett in their places as many as coulde conveniently sytt w’hin that lodge, and the rest according to their degrees sitteng vpon carpets after the Morisco maner, table clothes were spredde vpon the carpets, and every man had set before hym a sylver basen wth a pott of wine, and ewer of water, and a little dishe all of silver. This meane while there came in certain men sent from a Prince of INDIA, wth certain strange beastes; the first whereof was a **leonza** ledde in a chayne by one thay had skyl, which they call in their language Babureth. She is like vnto a lyoness: but she is redde coloured, atreaked over all wth blacke strykes; her face is redde wth certain white and blacke spottes, the bealy white, and tailed like the lyon: seeming to be a marvailouse fiers beast. Than was there a lyon brought foo^rthe and shewed to the **leonza** somewhat of. At the sight whereof the **leonza** suddainely squatted, as it had been a catted, and as though she wolde have leaped on the lyon, if the keeper had not drawen her backe. Afre this were twoo elephants brought, which, whan they came forneagainst the kinge after certain words spoken to them by their leader, looked vp to the kinge abd than enclnyed their heads wth a certain gravitie, as though they did him reverence. The greater of them was brought to a tree in the gardein as biggle as a mannes myddell, which (after certain words spoken by his keeper) he shaked on thone side wth his heade, and then to^rned and did as much on thither side: so that he plucked it vp.

Afre this was brought foo^rthe a GIRAFFA, which they call GIRNAFFA, a beast as longe legged as a great horse, or rather more; but the hinder legges are halfe a foote shorter than the former. And is cloven footed as an oxe, in maner of a violet colo^r myngled all over wth blacke spottes, great and small according to their places: the bealy white somewhat longe heared, thynne heared on the taylor as an asse, litle hornes like a goate, and the necke more than a pace longe: the tonge a yarde longe, violet and rounde as an eele, wth the which he graseth or eateth the leaves from the trees so swiftly that it is skarsely to be pceaved. He is headed like a harte, but more finely, wth the which standing on the grounde he woll reache xv foote high. His brest is broader than the horse, but the croope narowe like an asse; he seemath to be a mervailouse faire beast, but not like to beare any burden. Afre these were brought foo^rthe in three cages three pairs of doves, white and blacke like vnto ours, saving they are longe necked like a goose being (as I believe) rare byrdes in those parties, ells they wolde never have brought them foo^rthe. Finally after all these there were three poppingaies of diverse colo^{rs} brought foo^rthe, and twoo of those cattedes that make ZIBETTO* (*Zibetto is muske”).



Figura 3.103 Homem a cavalo com guepardo (Benozzo Gozzoli, Desfile dos Reis Magos).

3.2.114 Mathieu de Coucy ou Mathieu d'Escouchy (1420-1482), em sua *Histoire de Charles VII Roy de France* (d'Escouchy, 1661: 718) também mencionou leopardos sobre o dorso de cavalos [Figuras 3.103 e 3.104]:

“Or en cét estat ils vuiderent dudit Chasteau, & s'en allerent à l'esbat aux champs par vne des portes d'iceluy, où ils trouerent de petits chiens courans, chassans aux lieures; & si tost qu'il s'en leuoit vn, il y auoit trois ou quatre **Liepars** à cheual derriere des hommes⁹⁵, qui sailloient & prenoient les lieures à la course”.

⁹⁵ “Les rois [de France] ayant tous la passion de la Chasse, il était naturel que les courtisans et les valets cherchassent tous le moyens de la satisfaire. Chacun inventait des méthodes; on allait chez les peuples voisins: on leur empruntait des pièges, des armes, des ruses; on introduisait, en France, des animaux, inconnus auparavant, pour les multiplier et les chaser ensuite. Le renne fut apporté de la Norvège; le faisan, de la Tartarie; le léopard lui-même fut amené en France et dressé à prendre le gibier pour le compte de l'homme. Les chasseurs, à cheval, avaient derrière eux une caisse placée en façon de porte-manteau; sur cette caisse était placé le léopard [Figura]. Ces chasseurs couraient la plaine et les bois, precedes de quelques chiens pour faire lever le gibier. Du moment que la bête partait, le léopard bondissait après elle, et en trois sauts elle était prise. Les chasseurs mettaient alors pied à terre: ils présentaient au leopard un morceau de chair fraîche dans une sébile pleine de sang, et l'animal leur abandonnait sa proie” (Lacroix & Seré (1848).



Figura 3.104 Cavaleiro com pantera na garupa do cavalo (Straet, Galle & Kiel, 1634).

3.2.115 Alvise Cadamosto ou Alvise da Ca' da Mosto (ca. 1432 – 1483) foi um italiano traficante de escravos e explorador, contratado por Dom Henrique, o Navegador para explorar a África Ocidental, o que fez em duas viagens, em 1455 e 1456, acompanhado pelo capitão genovês Antoniotto Usodimare. São tidos ambos como os descobridores das ilhas de Cabo Verde e de vários pontos ao longo da costa da Guiné, desde o rio Gâmbia atéo rio Geba (na Guiné-Bissau). O relato de suas navegações foi publicado por Ramusio (1563: 96-110). No capítulo intitulado *Degli animali che nascono nel regno di Senega, & degli elephanti cose notabili*, há uma breve referência às **lionze** e aos **leopardi**:

“Animali di rapina siluestri, vi sono lioni, & **lionze**, & **liopardi** in grandissima quãtità, & etiam lupi, caprioli, & lepri” (Ramusio, 1563: 104v).

3.2.116 Camus (1888: 130) publicou duas cartas de Luís XI, rei da França, provavelmente de 1476:

“Or, vers le même temps la renommée des guépards de Ferrare [Figura 3.105] parvenait à la cour de France, comme on va le voir par deux lettres de Louis XI [1413 – 1483] au duc Hercule I^{er} d’Este [Ercole I d’Este, 1431 – 1505], que j’ai pu copier intégralement aux archives de Modène, où elles sont restées inédites jusqu’à ce jour.

La première, expédiée de Thouars et contresignée ‘*Le Mareschal*’, ne porte point l’année dans laquelle elle fut écrite, mais d’après diverses considérations, il est à supposer qu’elle date de 1746. Em voici le texte:

A mon tres cher e tres ame cousin le duc de ferrare.

Mon cousin quant pontbriand vint de deuers vous il me dist que vous aimiez les grands leuriers. Je vous en enuoye vng e vous assure que si le temps eust eusi este beau je vous en eusse plus largement enuoye, mais sil est a vostre gre et vous y prenez plaisir mandez le moy et je vous en enuoyeray tant que en voudrez.

Il ma dit que vous auez des liepars qui prengnent bien des lieures, je vous prj que men enuoiez vng et qu'il soit masle et menuoiez vng de vos gens qui le saiche bien priuer, et si vous auez point de beau chien pour lespervier sil vous plaist vous men enuoyerez. Et si vous voulez riens que je puisse, mandez le moy et je le feray. Et adieu mon cousin. Escrip a Thouars le huitiesme jour de decembre.

LOYS.



Figura 3.105 Desenho de guepardo na parte inferior do f6lio 187r de um brevi6rio feito em Ferrara, entre 1475 e 1490. As iluminuras foram pintadas por Fra Evangelista da Reggio e Jacopo Filippo de' Medici d'Argenta.

Quelque mois plus tard, le gu6pard demand6 6tant arriv6 6 bon port, Louis XI s'en montrait enchant6 dans une nouvelle missive (contresign6e *Picot*) qu'il adressa au duc pour le remercier. Toutefois il semblerait, d'apr6s les termes de cette seconde lettre, que le roi de France e6t auparavant, sinon poss6d6, du moins d6j6 vu quelque animal de ce genre:

Mon cousin jay receu le liepart que vous a pleu menuoyer par ce porteur lequel est le plus beau et le meilleur que je veiz jamais dont je vous mercye. Et vous prie sil y a aucune chose de par deca en quoy vous prenez plaisir que vous le me feres sauoir. Et adieu mon cousin qui vous ait en sa garde. Escrip au plessis du parc le XX^e jour dauril.

LOYS^o.

3.2.117. Luigi Pulci (1432-1484) [Figura 3.106] completou seu poema *Il Morgante Maggiore* por primeira vez em 1478, com 13 *cant6ri* (cantos); em 1483 aumentou-o para 28 cantos. Em Pulci (1768: 54; cf. tb. Pulci, 1855: 297) h6 os seguintes versos:

“La **lonza** maculata, e la pantera,
E'l drago ch'avea morto il liofante,
E nel cadergli adosso quella fera,
Avea ucciso lui come ignorante,
Che del futuro accorto gi6 non s'era:
Evvi il serpente superbo arrogante,

Che fiammeggiava fuoco per la bocca;
E col suo fiato attosca cio che tocca”.



Figura 3.106 Luigi Pulci.

3.2.118 Jean Raulin (1443 – 1514), em seu *Doctrinale de triplici morte* citou a pantera (Roch, 1585: 108):

“Philosophi dicunt, q’ **panthera** odoris fragrantia, attrahit cetera animaliam quae postquam senserunt suauitatis suae odorem, ipsam comitanyr etiam vsque ad mortem”;

3.2.119 Alessandro Vellutello (1473 - ?), autor de comentários sobre a Divina Comédia de Dante (Vellutello, 1544; conf. tb. Sansovino, 1596), falou da **leonza** [pela figura que ele apresentou [Figura 3.107] parece mais tratar-se de um guepardo:

“Et ecco quasi al cominciar de l’erta, cominciaua Dante a salir il colle, e quello, che significhi a sufficienza è stato dimostrato, ma per diuertirlo da questo buon proposito, mostra esser stato assalito da tre impedimenti, perche quelli, i quali si mettono, per la via, che conduce al sommo bene, quase sempre sono assaliti da ter principi incomodi, de’ quali il primo si è il diletto de’ sensi, figurato per la **Leonza**, & quella, per la lusura. Il secondo è la gloria del mondo, la qual significa, per il Leone, & quello, per l’ambitione, & superbia. Il tezo è l’acquisto de’ beni tēporali, i quali significa, p’ la Lupa, & quella, p’ l’auaritia. (...). La **Leonza**, noi la intendiamo per il Leopardo, per esser tra gl’animali, che hanno maculato il pelo il piu libidinoso, & prese la femina, perche in questo sesso è doppio l’appetito nel coito, di gettar il suo, & di riceruene l’altrui seme, & di simil maculata coperta on Virg. nel primo che Venere apparue ad Enea, oue dice, Cuim ater media sese tulit obuia sylua, & seguitando poco di sotto, Succintum pharetra, & maculosa tegmine lincis”.



Figura 3.107 Os três animais mencionados por Dante (Vellutello, 1544).

3.2.120 Santes Ardoini (ou Arduini) da Pesaro, nascido no último decênio do século XIV e ativo na primeira metade do século XV, publicou em 1492 o livro *De Venenis* (reedição em Ardoynus, 1662; ver também Zaccagnini, 2008). Nele há o capítulo intitulado *De Leone, Pardo, Leopardo & Leonza* (Zwinger, 1562: 426-427), em que fez uma resenha dos trabalhos de Oribasius, Alrasis, Albucasis, Avicena e Halyabas [Figura 3.108]:

De Leone, Pardo, Leopardo et Leona Cap. V.	LIBER SEPTIMVS: 427
<p>Leo est animal notum, ferox & liberale, prædæq; communicatum, propter quod rex ferarum ponitur. Pardu est animal ferè magnitudinis leopardi totum varietate distinctum maculis orbiculatis ad modum oculorum, ex flauo calore interdum ad album, & interdum ad coeruleum terminatorum, simile pantheræ animal, quod quidam dicunt ex cane, & panthera procreari, velox valde, potius saltibus quam cursibus prædam insequens, abundans in Africa. Leopardus est animal satis simile pardo, pellis rufè, nigris atq; rotundis maculis interpositis, quod equidem generatur ex leona & pardo, ferox & fortis iræ, præsertim cum in 3. vel 4. saltu prædam non capit. Leona est animal ferrox nimis, quod ex leone & leoparda foemina procreatur.</p> <p>NATVRA cuiuslibet prædictorum animalium, calida est & sicca, & præcipuè natura saluæ cuiuslibet eorum, calida est & sicca, aliquali venenositate participans.</p> <p>ACCIDENTIA consequentia morsuras prædictorum animalium, sunt consimilia, & sunt principaliter dolor vehemens, & inflammatio præcipuè loci morsuræ et apostema.</p> <p>CAVSÆ prædictorum accidentium, sunt solutio cõtinui, & mala complexio calida, & sicca venenosa, ad quas sequitur præcipuè dolor vehemens, & inflammatio præcipuè loci morsuræ, ad quod equidem sequitur cõcursus humorum, & per consequens apostema.</p> <p>SIGNA præfatarum morsurarum, sunt accidentia prædicta, & diligenza in formatio habitus, si aliquis ex prædictis animalibus momorderunt.</p> <p>PRÆSERVATIO sit præcauendo se à conuersando cum aliquo prædictorum animalium: & si contingeret aliquem cogi ad standum in loco vbi talia animalia, vel eorum aliquod solita sunt nocere, fiat ab eorum moribus præseruatio cum his quæ infra scripti auctores eos docent interficere, vel fugare.</p> <p>CURA verò sit sicut infra scripti docent auctores, & per hanc curam elici potest cura morsurarum cæterorum animalium consimilium. Galenus in libro de Virtutibus centaureæ ad Papiam: Est autem succositas huius, supple, centaureæ minoris factæ modo supra scripto in 3. capite quinti lib. siptica et siccatius, et calefactua cum virtute immanissima operans, quam non</p>	<p>est possibile exponere verbo, neq; ad excogitationem venire, ita est vitilis ad multa. Conferat autem & in feris venenosis interficientibus, in apum quidem, & incilluorum moribus vnctis cum vino, in reliquorum verò consimiliter, sicut & canis omnis, & propriè rabiosi, & leopardi, & crocodili, & similia, & Oribasilus libro primo de Dynamidjs, tractatu de emplastris: Emplastrum, quod vocatur Melene, facit ad omnia vulnera percussa, siue morfus venenatos, scorpionis, serpentis, canis rabiosi, & leopardi, &c. Hoc emplastrum descriptum est superius in 3. cap. 5. lib. auctoritate Oribasilij loco præallegato.</p> <p>Ralis 20 Continentis, cap. secundo, At Ralis in libro Animalium: Leo nõ appropinquat arbori, quæ producit glandes: leonza genus est pardi, fugit granatum.</p> <p>Ralis 8 Almanforis, cap. de his quæ venenosa animalia, & serpentes, & bestias rapaces, & lupos fugant. De bestias autem, dicunt quod leo propter galium album, & propter murem fugit. Et adip non approximat loco, vbi est scilla. Dicunt quoque quod leopardus terretur, propter arborem, quæ vocatur leopardi arbor, id est granati arbor. Et quod leo timet propter lignum, quod vocatur sindan, aliis lindam, id est, vt credo, quercum producenem glandes. Cæpæ verò quæ vocantur scilla, & elleborus, porcos, & canes, atq; leones, necnon ex beluis plurimas interficiunt. Herba etiam quæ leopardi strangulans vocatur, id est strangulator leopardi, leopardum cito interficit. Cap. de moribus canis non rabiosi, & beluarum, & furonum, & hominum: Horum moribus confert capas, & sal, ac mel per diem vnam, & noctem superponens. Deinde eum vnguento nigro curentur, quod sit ex cera, & sepo, & pice atque Galbano. Hoc enim vnguentum plus alijs omnibus vnguentis, moribus & perforationibus, quæ ex vnguis auium sunt, confert, atq; omnibus vulneribus, cum quibus accidit attritio aut separtio vel incilio magna, auxiliatur. Moribus verò leonis, atq; leopardi, & phecch, id est leonæ, in principio sunt ea adhibenda quæ attrahunt, deinde loca cum aceto, & sale lauanda, & ad vitium cum isto vnguento medicanda, si deus voluerit.</p> <p>Aluicatus secunda particula Azarauj, tractatu secundo, cap. de morsu Leonis, leopardi, & alphec, id est leonæ: Oportet superputti eis in principio venosam cum scarificatione, vt attrahatur sanguis, & venenum, deinde abluatur cum aceto, & sale: & apponatur desuper loco de vnguento nigro, quousq; sanentur. Auicenna, secundo canone, tract. 3. cap. de Stragulator leopardi Stragulator leopardi, suffocatur leopardos, & lynceas. Auicenna 4. canone, sen 6. tractatu tertio, cap. de Rebus, quas, quidã dixerit in destructione rapacium: Inquiunt strangulator leopardi, interficit leopardos. Tractatu quarto cap. de morsu leopardi, & genetz, id est animalis paulò minoris vulpecula, colorem habentis inter nigrum & croceum, maculis nigris interpositis, & leonis, & vulnere vnguitam eorum. Isti rapaces & qui simulantur eis, non sunt sicut canes salui, & homines, inò dentes eorum, & vngues ipsorum non sunt vacui à natura venenosa: quapropter oportet, vt curentur in primis cum attractione, deinde cum consolidatione, & in eius quidem attractione sufficit res parua, Halybas in Regali dispositione, quarto Practicæ cap. de Leonis, pardi, & leopardi morsu medela: Hos morfus medicaminibus curare oportet de attrahentibus, vt emplastrato quod de aristolochia fit, & hircos radice, ac melle, & naritisi capsa si teratur diligenter, & loco apponatur cum aceto, & aqua prodest, vnguentum etiam, quod diximus in quo aris cortices sunt, & zensiarum, id est zintar, id est vitide aris ac quemis prodest.</p>

Figura 3.108 Páginas 426 (parte) e 427 do *De Venenis* de Ardoynus (Zwinger, 1562).

3.2.121 Do poeta francês Pierre Gringore (1475? – 1538), imortalizado por Victor Hugo, que o transformou em um de seus personagens (Gringoire), no *Corcunda de Notre Dame*, temos as seguintes citações do *liepar*:

No poema *Des Prelatz et Gens d’Eglise. Sur l’espece des pasteurs* (Héricault & Montaiglon, 1858: 70):

“Le bon Pasteur, quand il vient en ses parcs,
Et qu’il treuve brebis, aigneaux espars,
Les rassembler les doit par bonne guise,
Et chasser hors loups, lyons et **liepars**;
Car s’il ne scet la science et les arts
De les chaser, il fait *folle enterprise*”.

E na *Sottye Nouvelle des Croniqueurs*, escrita em maio de 1515 (Picot, 1904: 230):

“Mais Marie arriva d’Angleterre,
Qui pour ung temps a fait cesser la guerre
Du Porc apic et des **Liepars** passans”.

3.2.122 Ludovico Buccadiferro (1482 – 1545), humanista italiano, em sua obra sobre os opúsculos de Aristóteles conhecidos como *Parva Naturalia*, citou brevemente a pantera (Buccaferreus, 1570: 30r, 40v):

“Secundo quoniam dicit quòd bruta percipiunt istos odores, sed non appetunt, nec persequuntur, sed quò verum est exemplum eius, quoniam inquit, ferae apprehendunt odores **pantherae**, qui dor est per se odor, ideo inquit **panthera** in senio illis vescitur feris, quoniam illas ad se allicit ex suavitate odoris, & haec etiam fuit Arist. sententia 13. problematum proble. 4. Ergo brutum appetit et prosequitur odores per se”.

“Dico, quòd licet sine arte, & primo aspectu non apprehendatur odor **pantherae** ab homibe, maxima tamen arte apprehendit odorem **pantherae** scilicet confricando illus corpus, ita dico ad Galen. quòd multorum corporum odor non apprehenditur ab homine, nisi cum maxima arte, vt cõfricando corpora illa vel comedendo, vel vehementius inspirando, ideo omnes odores apprehendit homo”.

3.2.123 O *Roman d'Alexandre*. O *Romance de Alexandre* é o nome de uma coleção de lendas sobre as façanhas míticas de Alexandre, o Grande. Sua primeira versão conhecida foi escrita em grego no século III, mas a verdadeira data de composição pode ser até mesmo pouco depois da morte de Alexandre, seis séculos antes. Vários manuscritos do século XV atribuem a obra ao historiador Calístenes, membro da corte de Alexandre, mas sabe-se que Calístenes foi executado anos antes da morte do rei e, sendo assim, não poderia ter escrito um relato completo de sua vida e morte. Por isso, às vezes o autor da obra é denominado *pseudo-Calístenes*. O texto conheceu um grande número de versões que vão do século IV, quando aparece a primeira versão em latim, ao século XVI, escrito tanto em grego e latim quanto em armênio, siríaco e na maioria das línguas europeias. No manuscrito datado de 1493 (La Du, 1937) existem as seguintes menções da pantera e do leopardo:

28

Desus vesti un peliçon hermine,
El dos li mist meesme la reïne.
Les gules furent d'une beste marine
Que fu trovee el lac Sainte Crestine;
Pantere a nom, e luist plus que verine
Ni que jagonçe ni que peire sardine,
La gole ot roge e tote la petrine;
Das c'om la voit tote voie l'encline.
Qui l'a sor soi si a tel medicine
Ja ni avra pel canu dedenz sa crine.

176

Eminedus broche lo bon chival liart.
E vit un duc de Baustre qui des Gres fait isart;
Il broche lo destrer, pognant vint cele part.
Li dus ne l'atent pas a guisa de cohart,
Tel li done en l'escu o hot peint un **leupart**
Que plein pé e dimei li mist el cors lo dart.
Quant il se sent nafrez, de maltalant toz art;
S'ors ne se pot venger, tendra sei a coart.
Li dus s'en est tornez, mas trop est meüz tart,
Eminedus lo fert derere ot un fausart,
A un sol cop per mi l'eschinee li part.

3.2.125 Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa Von Nettesheim (1486 – 1535) [Figura 3.109], mágico, escritor ocultista, teólogo, astrólogo e alquimista alemão, em seu *Occulta Philosophia*, mencionou brevemente a pantera:

“...& **pantherae** non attingunt perunctos iure gallinarum, praecipue si allium fuerit incoctum” (Agrippa, 1533: xiiii).

3.2.126 Numa carta de Jean Caulier dirigida a Margarida d’Áustria, datada de Amboise a 1º. de outubro de 1510 consta (Godefroy, 1713: 41-42):

“...& nous arrivez audit logis incontinent que fusmes descendus en tel estat que estions alla ledit Sr. *De Gurce* & nous avec luy, faire la reverence au *Roy* [Louis XII] qui l’atendoit en sa chambre, & le receut tres joyeusement, en luy disant qu’il ne vouloit plus user d’aucune serimonies & qu’il vouloit qu’il veint privement vers luy toutesfois qu’il voudroit, ce fait fut mené à son logis où il ne fut demy heure que le *Roy* ne l’envoyast querir pour aller à la chace où il fut environ une heure, & ny eust prinse que d’ung lievre que print ung **leopard**”.

3.2.127 Na *Epistre envoyée par feu Henry, roy d’Angleterre, à Henry son fils, huytiesme de ce nom, à present regnant oudict royaulme*, de 1512, há os seguintes versos (Montaignon, 1856: 34):

“Ung exilé, qu’on disoit Derby conte,
Henry nommé, comme l’histoire compte,
Lequel, ingrate du bien qu’il print en France
En son exil et durant sa souffrance,
Avec le roy nommé Charles sixiesme
Dressa grant guerre au roy Charles septiesme,
Qui lors estoit fort jeune et en bas aage,
Et, procedant d’ung très lache couraige,
De ses terres usurpa la plupart
Par le secours de ce tier **lipart**,
Duc de Bourgogne, et aultres mauvais princes...”.

3.2.128 Andrea Corsali da Monteboro (1487 - ?), em carta dirigida a Lorenzo de’ Medici, datada de 14 de setembro de 1517 e escrita em Cochim (atual estado de Kerala, sul da Índia), mencionou a **lonza** que o rei de Ormuz enviara para o rei de Portugal, D. Manuel I, o Venturoso, em 1513 (cf. Ramusio, 1550: 203v; Carrer, 1841b: 123-124):

“E alcuni mercãti vennero in Ormuz, & comperarono infiniti pãni rossi, nuoui & vsati, che qui valeuano assai, per far le berrette che gia hauẽmo nominate, la maggior parte di loro restò nel porto, aspettãdo la nostra partita, non fidandosi venire nell’isola dimorandoui l’armata. Cõ questa carouana vène vna **Lonza** da caccia, ch’ il Re d’Ormuz haueua ordinato per mãdare al Re di Portogallo, il quale mandò a domandarla per la santità di nostro signor, & consegnatola al Capitan maggiore, ci partimmo il giorno di tutti santi. Lasciato però nella fortezza d’Ormuz, molta gente per sua difensione, fummo costeggiando per lo stretto dalla banda di Persia, & entrati nel mar d’India, pigliammo porto nell’isola di Goa, in termine di xxx. giorni, ch’è lontan di Ormuz, leghe cccc. Qui hauemmo nuoue di x. nauì grosse ch’erano venute di Portogallo con 2000. Uomini: & che di già erano passati alle fortezze di Calicut, & Cochin. il che diede gran letitia à tutta l’armata. non facemmo dimora piu che tre giorni ã Goa, & fummo subito a camino di Cochin, doue arriuammo del mese di Decẽbre, & qui finimmo vn’anno giustamente, dal dì che di la erauamo partiti, & passati alli trauagli soprascritti. Qui mi truouo al presente, dando piu l’un’ giorno che l’altro gratie al nostro altissimo Signore Giesu Cristo, d’hauermi condotto à saluamento, et liberato di tãti pericoli corsi per questo camino dello stretto, che non fu poça gratia il tornare in India, essendoui morta infinita gente, & restandoui anchora noue nauì, tra grandi & piccole, lequali non sappiamo se sono perdute: & già quest’anno non possono tornare, piaccia à nostro signore che si siano saluate in qualche porto, & che à tempo nuouo si aspettino per la India.

Dopo la tornata del Capitan maggiore, non si attende, che à mettere in ordine ad altro che a mettere in ordine navi sei p̄ Portogallo...”.

3.2.129 O filósofo italiano Marcantonio Zimara (ca. 1470 – ca. 1532) citou brevemente a pantera em várias de suas obras:

“hominis sterco **panthera** q̄rit, cum uenenum pardalianches ab angore dictū comed, quo etiā leones intereūt. 9. de narura añ. ca. 6. uñ uenenis aduersat’, ut medicis etiam uidetur” (Zimara, 1543: 102v, 1556: 67v, 1562: 67v, 1568: 67r).

“Sed foeminae omnes minus quàm mares sūt animosae, excepta **panthera** & ursa” (Zimara, 1550: 49r, 1562: 56r, 1564: 56r).

“Cor magnum proportione lepori, ceruo, muri, hyaenae, asino, **pantherae**. Mustelae, & reliquis fere omnibus, quae aperte tímida sunt, aut propter metū maléfica” (Zimara, 1550: 81v).

“Nam quod durum obtinet cor insiēns est, & sensus hebetis existit: molle uero ingeniosum, sensusq̄ ualet. animalia autem, quae cor grande habēt, ut lepores, & quorum cor est magnum respectu suę mollis, ut **panthera**, & mures, pauida sunt” (Zimara, 1550: 84r).

“Cur animantium nullum suauiter olet, excepta **panthera**, quae etiā ipsa non nisi bestiis ita olet” (Zimara, 1560: 294v).

3.2.130 Agostino Nifo, em latim Agustinus Niphus ou Nyphus ou ainda Niphus Suessanus, por haver nascido em Sessa, no reino de Nápoles (ca. 1473 – *post* 1538) [Figura 3.110], escreveu duas obras com copiosos comentários sobre os livros de história natural de Aristóteles (Nifo, 1546, 1550).



Figura 3.110 Agostino Nifo.

São numerosas suas referências à *panthera* [Figuras 3.111 a 3.123]:

Quin etiam locis discrimē aliud existit. Quippe cum aliæ cauernas subeant, ut lacerti, ut serpētes. Aliæ per summa telluris degant, ut canis, ut equus. Ac aliæ foramen sibi excauent, aliæ nunquā eo munere fungantur. Et aliæ noctu uagentur, ut noctua, ut uespertilio. Aliæ interdiu tantū, addo etiam alias esse cicures, alias feras. Et alias perpetuo cicures, ut hominem, & mulum. Alias perpetuo feras, ut pantheram, ut lupum. Nonnullas etiā facile posse mansuescere, ut elephātos.

Figura 3.111 Nifo (1546 [*De Historia Animalium*]: 6).

Declarauit quædam animalia esse domestica omni tempore, sicut homo, qui mente perfecta participat, homo enim coniugalis, & ciuilis est, nec uiuere potest, nisi domestica fomenta hominumq; societatem habeat. Quod si aliquis homo sit syluestris ut pygmeus, non tamē secundum unam rationem nobiscum dictus est homo, licet aliquid hominis habeat indeliberatione, & loquela: ut deinceps disputabitur, declarauit etiam quædam animalia esse syluestria omni tempore, ut lupum, & pantheram, nam quauis uiderimus lupos et pantheram aliquando uiuere cum hominibus, tamē non omnia naturæ sue opera referunt ad mansuetudinem atque domationem, ideo nunquam perfecte mansuescunt. Cum hæc itaque declarasset, addit nunc { sed quin aliter partiendum est, genera enim quæcunque placida } idest domestica { sunt, hæc eadem fera quoque possunt reperiri } hæc eadem dixit non specie, sed genere { ut sues, equi, homines, oues, capræ, canes, boues. }

Figura 3.112 Nifo (1546 [*De Historia Animalium*]: 7).

Cū distingueret in marem & fœminam animal ipsum, & differentias assignasset inter illa, in hac parte præfigurare intendit uirilitem in leone, & fœmininum sexum in panthera. Nam in nullo animalium uirilitem magis apparet quam in leone, in nullo etiam magis fœmininus sexus q̄ in panthera. Virilitas autem colligi potest aut ex bonis corporis, aut ex ipsis animæ bonis, aut ex bonis fortunæ, quæ uero leo, aut panthera nihil possidet, ideo tacuit demonstrare uirilitem ex bonis fortunæ.

Figura 3.113 Nifo (1546 [*De Historia Animalium*]: 11).

Quadrupedum autem, quæ sanguine cōstant, eademque animal generant, aliæ multifidæ sunt, quales hominis manus, pedesque habentur. Sunt enim quæ multiplici pedum fissura digitentur, ut canis, leo, panthera. Aliæ bisulcæ sunt, quæ forci pem proungula habēt, ut oues, capræ, cervi, equi siuuiatiles. Aliæ infisso sunt pede, ut quæ solipedes nominantur. Ut equus, mulus. Genus uero suillum ambigū est. Nam & in terra Illyriorū, & in Pæonia, & nonnullis alijs locis sues solipedes gignuntur. Bisulca igitur binis fissuris utrinque, id est a parte priore posterioreque diducuntur. Solipeda partē continentem ex toto habent.

Panthera
παρθηρα
λυσ
Pardalis.

Cum narrasset qualitatem crurum in quadrupedibus nunc agit de pedū qualitibus, & dicit { quadrupedū autem, quæ sanguine constant eademq; animal generant } .i. quæq; animal intus, & extra pariunt { aliæ multifidæ sunt } .s. quæ habent pedes fissos in multos digitos { quales hominis manus pedesque habentur. Sunt enim quæ multiplici pedum fissura digitentur } .i. quæ fissione pedum in multas partes multos habeant digitos { ut canis, leo, panthera } quæ græce παρθηραλυσ dicitur.

Figura 3.114 Nifo (1546 [De Historia Animalium]: 34).

Cum egisset de fele, & ichneumone, nunc agit de lupis quibusdā, & dicit { Lupus itē canarius cæcos parit luporū ritu } id est more & lege luporū { numero cum plurimū } .i. ad summum { quatuor } appellat ab Aristo. παρθηρα & ab antiquo translate pāthera interpretatur, & sic secundū cum pāthera & lupus canarius idē est, apud uero Theodorū pāthera græce dī παρθηραλυσ pardalis, lupus uero canarius παρθηρα, panther: & sic nō est idem lupus canarius & panthera.

παρθηρα
Panthera
Lupus canarius.

Figura 3.115 Nifo (1546 [De Historia Animalium]: 199).

Item leones in Europa potius sunt, & ea Europæ parte, quæ inter Acheloum amnem & Nessum est. Pantheræ in Asia, in Europa autē nullæ. Bestiæ deniq; omnes fere efferatiorēs in Asia sunt, Fortiores in Europa, multiformiores in Africa. Vnde prouerbio quodam dicitur, semper aliquid noui Africam afferre.

Figura 3.116 Nifo (1546 [De Historia Animalium]: 256).

sed foeminae

nae omnes minus quam mares sunt animosae, excepta panthera, & urfa.

Figura 3.117 Nifo (1546 [*De Historia Animalium*]: 260).

exceptis panthera, & urfa, & dicitur { sed foeminae omnes minus quam mares sunt animosae, excepta panthera, et urfa. foeminae enim in his generibus } .s. urforum, & pantherarum

Figura 3.118 Nifo (1546 [*De Historia Animalium*]: 261).

De lupo, & leone herba, quam edunt, est gramin, & herba trimenti, & rapesta, quae uomitum prouocat. tertio speciatim de panthera ita dicit { panthera cum uenenum pardaliaches } sic graece dictum, ut Theodorus inquit, ab angore pardalis { ederit, quo leones etiam intereunt, stercus hominis quzerit. Eo enim ipso iuuatur } tunc affert modum, quo capiat panthera eiusmodi, & dicit { quocirca uenatores stercus ibi propinquum suspendunt ex arbore aliqua } in uase scilicet uel in aliquo tali { ne procul bellua abeat petens suum medicamentum, itaque insiliens ibidem } .i. saltans ibidem { & spe capiendi } stercus scilicet { in se efferenda perseverans } tandem { emoritur } stercus autem debet esse recens, quoniam non dum euaporata est uirtus antidoti. Deinde narrat prudentiam pantherae in captu caeterorum animalium, & dicit { eandem sese abscondentem uenari } scilicet caeteras feras { ferunt, propterea quod suo odore belluas delectari intelligat propius enim ita accedunt, quas corripit } & per hanc prudentiam ceruos uenatur, ut patet in graecis codicibus.

Figura 3.119 Nifo (1546 [*De Historia Animalium*]: 268).

Meminit Pantheris

Herodotus historicus, & Galenus medicus, sed non ita, ut genus animalis apertum sit. Quae uanquam Galenus significare uidetur genus illud lupi ignobile potius, quam ceruarii. Scribit enim esse nonnullos homines ita belluinos, ut edant carnes leonum, & pantherarum; quas recte pardales graece appellat. Alios uero esse, qui edant carnes canum, & pantherum, & uulpium. Quod enim pantherem non cum leone, & panthera enumerauerit, sed cum cane, & uulpe, illud potius genus lupi designare uidetur. Sed cum in parte altera sit Aristoteles, Arianus, & uulgu graecum, & Galenus fere; in altera Pollux, & Poetae, Oppiano excepto, & Romani qui nomen pantherae imposuere, utram partem sequi tandem debeamus, non hoc loco praetiniendum est, nec id propositum nobis est.

Figura 3.120 Nifo (1546 [*De Historia Animalium*]: 306).

Panthera græce *πάρδαλις*, sed alij inter pantheram & pardalim differentiam attulerunt quoddam pardus secundus post pantheram sit, & genus uarium, & uelocissimum, & ad sanguinem præceps, Ex adulterio uero pardi cum leæna leopardus nascitur. Sed Plinius libro octauo pardum & pantheram eiusdem generis esse autumat, nam pardos mares, pantheras fœminas in eodem genere esse dicit, nec alio nisi sexu, & candore discerni. Sed de ijs in libro de generatione animalium.

Figura 3.121 Nifo (1546 [*De Partibus Animalium*]: 97-98).

Ob id pedes priores quinque digitis distinctos habent: posteriores quaternis: ut leones & canes, atque etiam lupi, & pantheræ. Quintus enim eorum quinto magnoque manus respondet. Sed quæ paruula inter digitata sunt, posteriores etiam quinque digitos obtinent. Quoniam serpere solent scilicet, ut unguibus numerosioribus apprehendendo facilius obrepant ad sublimiora.

Cum dixisset de cruribus, nunc concludit rationem numeri digitorum in digitatis, & dicit: Ob id pedes priores quinque digitis distinctos habent } scilicet digitata } posteriores } scilicet pedes } quaternis } scilicet digitis distinctos obtinent } ut leones, & canes, atque etiam lupi, & pantheræ. Quintus enim eorum } scilicet qui uulgo dicitur grossus } quinto magnoque manus respondet } & uice illius habetur, estque pro pollice } sed quæ parua inter digitata sunt } ut damulæ, mures, & id genus } posteriores etiam } scilicet pedes } quinque digitos obtinent. Quoniam serpere solent } scandereque arbores, & muros } ut scilicet unguibus numerosioribus } apprehendendo, facilius obrepant ad sublimiora } Hæc de ratione numeri digitorum in digitatis.

Figura 3.122 Nifo (1546 [*De Partibus Animalium*]: 150).

Cum distingueret in marem & fœminam animal ipsum, & differentias assignasset inter illa, in hac parte præfigurare intendit uirilicatem in leone, & fœmininum sexum in panthera. Nam in nullo animalium uirilicetas magis apparet quam in leone, in nullo etiam magis fœmininus sexus quam in panthera. Virilitas autem colligi potest aut ex bonis corporis, aut ex ipsis animæ bonis, aut ex bonis fortunæ, quæ uero leo, aut panthera nihil possidet, ideo tacuit demonstrare uirilicatem ex bonis fortunæ.

Figura 3.123 Nifo (1550 [*Physiognomicorum*]: 11v).

3.2.131 Ludovico Ariosto (1474 – 1533) [Figura 3.124], no clássico *Orlando furioso*, mencionou o *pardo*⁹⁶:



Figura 3.124 Ludovico Ariosto.

- Canto I, xxxiv:

“Qual pargoletta o damma o capriola
Che tra le fronde del natio boschetto
Alla madre veduta abbia la gola
Stringer dal **pardo**, e aprirle'l fianco o'l petto,
Di selva in selva dal crudel s'invola,
E di paura trema e di sospetto,
Ad ogni sterpo che passando tocca,
Esser si crede all'empia fera in bocca” (Molini, 1823a: 9).

- Canto VIII, vii:

“Non vuol parere il can d'esser più tardo;
Ma segue Rabican con quella fretta,
Con che le lepri suol seguire il **pardo**.
Vergogna a Ruggier par, se non aspetta:
Voltasi a quel che vien si a piè gagliardo;
Nè gli vede arme fuor ch'una baccheta,
Quella con che ubbidire al cane insegna:
Ruggier di trar la spada si disdegna” (Molini, 1823a: 149).

⁹⁶ “Le célèbre auteur de l'*Orlando furioso* nous prouve par quelques unes de ses similitudes, qu'il connaissait parfaitement le guépard, et que la manière dont se comporte ce félin à la chasse l'avait fortement impressionné. Par sa position à la cour de Ferrare, l'Arioste, dans sa jeunesse, avait dû quelquefois prendre part aux chasses du duc Hercule I^{er}.”

- Canto X, lxxxv:

“Porta in azzuro uma dorata sbarra
Il conte d’Ottonlei nello stendardo.
L’altra bandiera è del duca di Marra,
Che nel travaglio porta il **leopardo**.
Di più colori e di più augei bizzarra
Mira l’insegna d’Alcabrun gagliardo,
Che non è duca, conte, nè marchese,
Ma primo nel salvatico paese” (Molini, 1823a: 216).

- Canto XXVI, xciii:

“Il primo giorno e l’ultimo, che pugna
Mai ricasasse il re d’Algier, fu questo;
Ma tanto il desiderio che si giugna
In soccorso al suo re, gli pare onesto,
Che se credesse aver Ruggier nell’ugna
Più che mai lepre il **pardo** isnello e presto,
Non si vorria fermar tanto con lui
Che fesse un colpo della spada o dui” (Molini, 1823b: 49).

3.2.132 Bernardino Zambotti escreveu o *Diario Ferrarese dall’anno 1476 fino al 150*, com referências aos *leopardi*:

“Lo illustrissimo duca nostro condusse lo reverendissimo cardinale di Mantoa e messer Allibale Bentivoglio suo genero, con tuta la Corte, a cazare in lo Barcho⁹⁷ a salvadexine⁹⁸, dove ge ne sonno de ogni raxone, con li leopardi⁹⁹, per piacere” (Muratori, 1934-1937: 58).

“E interim comenzò una caza, dove volorno molte qualgie, pernixe, faxani e conigli, e da epsi forno amazati, sopraggiungendo leoni, ursi, leopardi, cum quali longamente combatterno Et tandem, conquistati e incathenati li dicti animali, fecero insieme galanti danze” (Zamboni in Muratori, 1934-1937: 329-330).

⁹⁷ “Barco, vastissimo spazio tenuto a bosco, con grandi riserve di caccia, fatto costruire da Ercole I (Diar. Ferr., 73, nota 10)” (Muratori, 1934-1937: 58, nota 10). “Ma oltre le ville magnifiche situati quasi tutte in luoghi abbondanti di cacciagione, egli aveva, subito fuori della città, il Barco, formato recentemente tra il 1472 e il ’76, un vasto piano tenuto a rato con boschetti, macchie e laghetti qua e là (‘prata, lacus, syvas’ ne scrive Tito Strozzi), dove erano stati messi in gran numero lepri, conigli, damme, caprioli, cervi, cinghiali e pavoni. È probabile che qui se cacciasse, perchè tanti ospiti difficilmente si sarebbero potuti alloggiare in una delle delizie estensi, mentre dal Barco si rientrava immediatamente in città. È probabile pure che in questa occasione Ercole d’Este abbia messo in opera i suoi magnifici leopardi ammaestrati, com cui faceva la caccia più aristocratica. Quegli animali erano abilissimi a saltar giù dall groppa del cavallo dove si tenevano accovacciati, rincorrere la preda e ghermirla uccidendola col morso” (Muratori, 1934-1937: 90, nota 7).

⁹⁸ “Alla selvaggina: qui si accenna soprattutto agli animali più grossi, come a cinghiali, cervi e caprioli, che si cacciavano con i leopardi, mentre la caccia minuta si faceva con i falconi e gli astori” (Muratori, 1934-1937: 58, nota 11).

⁹⁹ “Questi animali dovevano essere assai rari e ben ammaestrati, se più tardi Ercole I ne fece portare alcuni fino a Milano per mostrarli al Re di Francia Luigi XII (Diar. Ferr., 233, 38). Con essi si faceva una delle cacce più interessanti e aristocratiche” (Muratori, 1934-1937: 58, nota 12).

3.2.133 Ercole I d'Este (1431 – 1505) [Figura 3.125], o segundo Duque de Ferrara de 1471 a 1505, foi um dos principais mecenas e homem de cultura do Renascimento. Segundo Cittadella (1864: 18-19):



Figura 3.125 Ercole I d'Este.

“Se nei secoli scorsi pochi erano i cultori delle scienze e delle lettere, per lo più appartenenti alla classe o certo medio, era generale però in tutti, e specialmente nel patriziato, un esercizio continuo delle forze vitali nei giochi ginnastici, nelle armi, nell' equitazione, ne' tornei e nelle giostre o quintane, per cui non poltrirono, come più tardi, nell'ozio, nell'inerzia e nella corruzione. La caccia era uno dei divertimenti più cari e ad un tempo laboriosi; mule di cani d'ogni sorta, dozzine di sparvieri e di falchi erano addestrati alla presa dei volatili; ed i **leopardi** [guepardos] furono anche adoperati alla presa dei cervi e delle lepri. E che ciò sia vero, ce lo dicono le cronache e le storie ove si racconta che Dorso, nel far dono al'Imperatore Federico III. in Ferrara nel 1452 di cinquanta sceltissimi cavalli, vi aggiunse pur cinquanta falconi addestrati, e che il Duca Ercole I. trovandosi a Milano nel 1499 per visitare il Re di Francia, mandò a prendere da Ferrara molti de' suoi leopardi e falconi, coi quali si fecero colà varie caccia; ed anzi troviamo che Nicolo d'Este, fermatosi nell'isola di Cipro per alcuni giorni, durante il suo viaggio a Gerusalemme nel 1413, assistè ad una caccia ove corse il **pardo** e i le vrieri, e si presero lepri circha otto tra con lo pardo e con li cani; ed alla sua partenza da colà ricevette, fra i doni fattigli, un bellissimo **leopardo**”.

3.2.134 Erasmo de Roterdã (1466 – 1536) citou a pantera em várias de suas obras:

- (i) Em *De rerum copia commentarius secundus* (Erasmo de Roterdã, 1703: coluna 104):

Item pantheram ac pardum verficoloribus maculis variegatum, aut si quod est aliud animal hujusmodi.

- (ii) Em *Declamatio de pueris ad virtutem ac literas liberaliter instituendis idque Protinus ad Nativitate* (Erasmus de Roterdã, 1703: coluna 496):

Excrementa humana habere vim adversus aconitum pantheræ docuerunt, aliaque cum his innumera remedia didicimus a brutis animantibus.

- (iii) Em *De parabolis sive similibus ex selectis auctoribus collectis liber* (Erasmus de Roterdã, 1703: colunas 612, 622):

Panthera sic avida est excrementorum hominis, ut si in vase suspendantur altius quam ut possit attingere, enecet fese, defatigati porrectu corporis: Ita nonnullis quod est foedissimum, id dulcissimum est.

Ut panthera bene olet, sed non nisi bestiis, quas ad se trahit, hominibus non item olet: Ita Scotus bonis ingeniis gravis est, stupidis istis & bardis quovis aromate gratior.

- Em *Colloquia familiaria* (Erasmus de Roterdã, 173: coluna 875):

Panthera fæva est in hominem & tamen adeo terretur ab hyæna, ut ne congrederi quidem sustineat. Hinc narrant, si quis quid secum gestet decorio hyænae, a panthera non appeti; tam sagax est naturæ sensus. Addunt & illud, si pelles utriusque belluæ suspendas, invicem ex adverso, panthericæ pilos defluere.

3.2.135 Giovanni Pietro Bolzani Dalle Fosse, mais conhecido pelos pseudônimos de Pierio Valeriano, Bolzanio Pierio ou simplesmente Valeriano [Figura 3.129] (1477 - 1558), humanista, teólogo e escritor italiano, em seu livro *Hieroglyphica* (Bolzani, 1556: 83v-84v) dedicou duas páginas e meia à pantera [Figuras 3.126-3.128].

Pierii Val. Panthera.

Gordiani tertij, decemq; tunc temporis fuisse in urbe Roma proficetur. Vifa uero tunc est illa dentis unius perpetua series, qua praedita est Hyæna: id quod ne mirum admodum sit, in quibusdam etiam hominibus aliquando spectatum. Nam Prusæ regis filius unum tantum os habuit dentium loco, obq; id Monodos appellatus. Ita & Pyrrhus rex Epirotarum. Porphyrius eo commentario quod de abstinendo ab usu carniū conscripsit, ab Indis ait Hyænam hanc Crocutā uocitari: sed Crocutam autores diuersam ab Hyæna ponunt. Reliquum est de antipathia quæ intercedit Hyænae cum Panthera, dicere, qualesq; inde factum sit hic roglyphicum: quocirca & hoc & alia eius significata memorabimus.

DE PANTHERA.

SPECIOSIOR ATQVE VALIDIOR A DETE-
RIORE SUPERATVS



Vam tetrum animal Hyæna sit, quamq; aspectu foedum, ex ijs quæ superius allata sunt constare unicuiq; potest. Longè uerò diuersa est Panthera, qua nulla penè fera est uillorum uarietate speciosior, uehementior nulla, nulla impetuosior: uis tamen occulta quaedam Hyænae, Pantheram exuperat. Quare cum sacerdotes Aegyptij superatum ab inferioribus uel à deterioribus hominem intelligi uellent, duo tergora, Pantheræ unum, Hyænae alterum committebant, affuebantq;: siquidem compertum est tanta inter se repugnantia ea dissentire, ut si simul affuantur, uel etiam contraria suspendantur, Pantheræ pili decidant, Hyænae uerò nullo detrimento afficiantur: quæ quidem tanto esse Pantheris metu dicitur, ut occupatæ ab ea, tanta animi consternatione despondeant, ut ne resistere quidem conentur. Hinc autem commentum putarim, pilos cuiuscunq; generis & inutiles, maximè palpebras, auferri medicamento quodam ex Hyænae corde in cinerem concremato, & cerebro eius illito. Præstant hoc etiam, quod Hyænae tergus in Pantheræ pilos efficit, Aquilarum pennæ, quæ admixtas reliquarum alituum pennas deuorant.

IMPROBITAS.

Insatiabilem autem hominem, & omnium appetitorem, per Pantheram significari ea de causa fertur, quòd nullum non animal ea uenatur, unde illi nomen: nam Panthera græcum omnino uocabulum agnoscit Varro, quod ab omnifaria feritate, adde etiam uenatione, deducitur: siue quòd omnium penè ferarū coloribus uariiegata spectetur: nam & hæc atq; Tigres maximè omnium animalium uarietate insignes perhibentur. Sanè inter pantheras, pardalinæ scemina, pardum marem pleriq; agnoscunt. Aristophanes huius non immemor improbitatis, pardali notam inurit impudentiæ, cum neq; ignem neq; pardalinæ æquè impudentes ait atq; scemina esse, quippe quæ omnia corripiat atq; consumat.

DISSIMULATOR INGENII.

Præterea hominē Aegyptij suorum uiciorū dissimulatorem, quicq; prauum, quo praeditus esset, ingenium ita occultaret, ne uel à domesticis deprehendi posset, pantheræ simulacro notabant. Ferunt enim eius odore mirè sollicitari quadrupedes, sed capitis toruitate terreri: quod ipsa docente natura satis intelligens, occultato eo, ac odoris tantum facta copia inuitatas corripit: atq; hæc est eius in uenando solertia, quamuis Plinius animalium nullum odoratum putat, nisi credamus, ait, de pantheris quicquid dictum est, Sentiunt tamen cum Aegyptijs

Figura 3.126 Página 83v de Bolzani (1556).

Liber undecimus.

84

A ptijs Aristoteles & Plutarchus, qui plurima dicunt animalia magno studio pantheram sectari odore eius delectata: quod, nisi Plinius odorem pro sua uolentia capit, non nihil admirationis afferre potest, cum ferarum & omnium dubio procul animantium odor quotidiana mortalium experientia canibus innotescat. Quin equi odore tantum Cameli percepto, in fugam auerti perhibentur. Recitata est loco suo historia, quemadmodum Cyrus aduersus numerosissimum Creese equitatum dimicaturus, Camelos contra instruxerit, quorum odore consternati equi, fugam ruptis ordinibus corripuerint, Creese conatum ita frustrati.

EBRIOSITAS.

Quod autem odore usque adeo intenso Panthera polleat, eam Philosophi cautam arbitrantur, quod maxima praedita sit caliditate, indeque odorem illum excitari: cumque ita cum uino consensum quendam habere uideatur, Baccho ea olim fertur dedicata. Sed quoniam sunt qui per eam ebriositatem intelligant, hieroglyphicum a re ipsa desumptum ego crediderim: sunt enim Pantherae uini ad modum auidae, & a uenatoribus ebriae plerumque capiuntur, fontibus quo potantur cunct, suauissimo, perueteri potentique uino medicatis, tanta copia, ut fonticuli aquula longè superetur: exiliores enim ad hoc fontes dedita opera peruestigant. Interdum ne rem perditum cant, & simul operam eludant, si latebrarum commoditatem iuxta fontem nacti fuerint, perforatas arundines intra terram modicum defossas in fontem uno immittunt capite, altero in locum ubi delitescunt, adducto, obseruatoque animalis aduentu, per utrem ad hoc paratum statim tubo uinum infundunt, quod uina ueluti uena de fonte profiliens, meracitate sua magis illectat, remque celerius maturat, illis plerumque antequam sitim expleuerint, procidentibus. Vidimus sane nummum antiquissimum ex aere quod apud Massaros habetur, in quo Liberi caput iuuenile hedera redimitum, ab altera uero facie Panthera & Thyrsus pulcherrimo opere cusi sunt. Et in Gallieni plerisque Pantherae uota est cum inscriptione LIBERO P. CONS. AVG. Sunt qui Tigrin esse contendant, de qua paulò infra dicemus.

MORVM VARIETAS.

Quoniam uero Panthera uarijs est maculis colorata, plerique morum uarietatem per eius pellem ostendere instituerunt. Nam & earum genus uariè ab autoribus appellatum, proque Pantheris Variarum nomen apud Latinos receptum. Quare animaduertendus est apud Padianum locus Vbi Vercias pro Varias haecenus serè passim lectum est: de Pantheris enim illic loquitur. Eadem & Africanæ simpliciter uocabantur, quod in Africa frequens admodum est earum genus: fuitque uetus senatusconsultum, ne liceret Africanas in Italiam aduehere, Gn. Aufidij tribuni plebis rogatione mox derogatum. Sanè Claudius Caesar in spectaculis, ut apud Tranquillum est, exhibuit Africanas, conficiente turma equitum Praetorianorum. Quantum uero pertinet ad colorum uarietatem, iocose dictum apud Plautum, Epidico, ubi Thesprio uariè se ualuisse dicit: cui respondet Epidicus, Caprigenum & Pantherinum genus sibi non placere, in quo quidem non coloris tantum uarietate sensus est, ut interpretum bona pars opinatur, sed ab ipsius Caprae natura sumptum, quae serè semper febricitat. Quod uero spectat ad Pantheram, uarietas morum non ex uario eius colore tantum intelligitur, sed quod & uehemens est, & ad impetum propensa, & pernix, corporeque ad agitationem perquam idoneo. Vnde per eam in diuinis literis uarij animorum motus indicantur, de qua Hieremias: Nunquid Aethiops pellem suam

Figura 3.127 de Bolzani (1556, p. 84r).

Pierii Val. Lupus.

immutauit, & suam Pardus uarietatem ? quod nō solum, inquit Ambrosius, de figura, sed etiam de mobilitate furoris accipitur, eò quòd Indorum populus, & atri homines Æthiopum genus, ad fidei pietatisq; candorem iuuitati, tenebrosis terræ cauernis infueti, inquietisq; ac mobilibus mentis atq; animi mutationibus decolorati, boni propoliti gratiam tenere non possint, neq; ad emendationē correctionē uē ullā remcare, qui ferinā semel induerit immanitatē. Eucherus pro dæmone accipit, qui subdolanus & uarius sit in humano genere peruertendo.

Figura 3.128 Final do texto sobre a pantera (Bolzani, 1556: 84v).



Figura 3.129 Giovanni Pietro Bolzani (Valeriano).

Na tradução de Chappuy (1576: 208-211):

“DE LA **PANTHERE** AV MOYEN DE LAQUELLE LE PLUS BEAU & LE PLUS FORT EST SURMONTÉ PAR LE PIE & MALOTRU.

Chacun peut sçauoir, par ce que i'ay escrit cy dessus, combien l'Hyene est laide & horrible à voir: mais la **panthere** est bien autre, pour estre la plus belle de tous les animaux à cause qu'elle est de diuerse couleur, & ne se trouue de plus vehemente & impetueuse beste qu'elle est: neantmoins l'hyene surmonte, par vne secreta force, la **pãthere**: partant l'on assemloit deux peaux de la **panthere** & de l'hyene qui estoient cousuës ensemble, à fin de represente vn home vaincu par vn autre inferieur & de moindre estoffe que luy, pour qu'il est certain que ces bestes sont tellemēt contraires l'une à l'autre, & les peaux tant repugnantes que si elles sont cousuës ensemble, ou seulement penduës l'une contre l'autre, le poil de la **panthere** tombera, & celuy de l'hyene demourra en son entier: laquelle hyene est tant redoutable aux **pantheres**, que si vne fois elles sont surprises par icelle, elles sont tellemēt esperduës & estonnees qu'il n'y a moien de faire resistance: de là (ce croy-ie) a lon trouué le moien de faire tomber le poil quel qu'il soit, par vne certain recepte, du coeur de l'hyene bruslé & reduit en poudre, & mesmes ayant esté enduit du cerueau d'icelle: les plumes de l'Aigle ont semblable vertu que la peau de l'hyene pour denuer la **Panthere** de son poil, lesquelles font decheoir & consommer les plumes des autres oiseaux quand ells sont meslees ensemble.

LA MARQVE DE MECHANCETE.

On dit que l'homme insatiable & desirant toutes choses est signifié ao moien de la **pãthere** pour autant qu'il n'y a beste qu'elle pourchasse, dont elle emporte le nom de **Panthere** qui vient de ceste insatiabilité & desir extreme dont elle est menee: ou de ce qu'elle est mouchetee quasi de toutes les couleurs des autres bestes: ce qui fait qu'avec le Tigre, elle est la plus belle de tous les animaux: aucuns mectent le **leopard** masle & femelle entre

les **Pantheres**. Aristophane se souenant de cette mechanceté taxe la femme d'impudence de **leopard**, disant qu'il n'y a feu ny **Leopard** femelle si impudente & effrôtee comme la femme, qui prend & cōsomme toutes choses.

L'HIPPOCRITE ET DISSIMULATEVR

notamment signifié & comment.

Les Aegyptiens signifioient par la figure de la **Panthere**, l'homme hypocrite & si grand dissimulateur de son mechât naturel que mesme il n'est descouert de ceux là qui demeurent avec luy: car on dit que les bestes à quatre pieds sont merueilleusement allechees par son odeur: mais offensees du regard espouyantable d'icelle: & pourtant cache elle son chef selon que nature luy enseigne, & surprend les animaux par le moyen tant seulement de son odeur, qui est toute l'industrie de laquelle elle se sert pour aller au pourchas & attirer la proye, combien que Pline soit d'avis qu'aucun des animaux n'est pourueu du sens de l'odorer, si l'on ne pèse, dit il, & si lon ne croit ce qui est escrit des **Pantheres**: Plutarque neantmoins & Aristote sont de mesme opinion que les Aegyptiês, qui disent que plusieurs des animaux suiuent la **Pãthere**, de l'odeur de laquelle ils sont merueilleusemêt delectez: ce qui est aucunemêt esmerueillable (si Pline ne prend ceste odeur pour ce qui sent bon) veu qu'on experimente tous les iours que les chiens ont l'odeur & sentiment des autres animaux. D'auantage di on que les cheuuax sont contraincts de prendre la fuite, aians senty le Chameau: i'ay recite à propos, comme Cyrus aiant à combatre contre la grosse gendarmerie de Cresus, il fit preparer & arranger force chameaux, par l'odeur desquels les cheuuax aians le coeur failly rompirent les reings & fuirent: & par ainsi Cresus fut trompé & frustré de son effort & entreprinse.

LA SIGNIFICATION D'IVRONGNERIE.

Les Philosophes tiennent que la cause de l'odeur de la **Panthere** est la grande chaleur d'icelle: & pourtant estoit elle (comme on dit) anciennement dediee à Bacchus, pour la conuenance qu'elle ha avec le vin, & d'autât que par icelle aucuns entendent l'iuromnerie, i'ay opiniom que ceste signification est tiree de la chose mesme: car la **Panthere** est fort amoureuse du vin, & volontiers est prise par les chasseurs quand elle est yure, ayant beu aux fontaines ausquelles a este mis du vinfort & delicat en si grande abondance que le vin surpasse de beaucoup l'eau: car mesme les chasseurs cherchent à cet effet les plus petites fontaines & quelquefois (de peur de perdre leur paine) voians qu'il y a moien de se cacher pres de la fontaine, font vn canal dessous terre qui va respondre, du lieu ou ils sont mussez, à la fontaine, & puis voians approcher la beste à fin de boire, entonnent là dedans du vin, lequel issant comme vne veine, de terre, attire plus volôtiers les bestes, pour autant qu'il est pur, & les faict trebucher auant qu'elles ayent acheué de boire. I'ay veu vne monnoie fort ancienne en la maison des Maffees, en laquelle estoit graué de chef de Bacchus enuironné de lierre & de l'autre costé vne **panthere** avec vn Thyrs: & mesmes en plusieurs monnoies de [Publius Licinius Eginstius] Gallienus est la figure de cette beste avec cette lettre LIBERO P. CONS. AVG. [Figura] *Dediee à Bacchus par Auguste*: aucuns maintiennent qu'il y a vne Tygre dont ie parleray cy apres.



LA DIVERSITE DES MOEVRS NOTAMMENT SIGNIFIEE.

Avcuns ont voulu declarer la diuersité des moeurs pour la peau tachetee de diuerses couleurs de la **panthere**: et partant à elle este appallee par les auteurs *Diuerse*: parquoy fault aduiser à vn passage de Paedianus¹⁰⁰ où il y a, *Vercias*, au lieu de *Varias*: car il parle en cet endroit là des **pantheres**: aussi estoient ces bestes appellees, *Affricaines*, simplement, pour autant qu'en Affrique il y en a grande quantité: ce que demonstre

¹⁰⁰ Referência a Quintus Asconius Pedianus (9aC – 76).

l'ancien arrest du senat par lequel estoit deffendu d'amener des Affricaines, c'est à dire de ces bestes d'Affrique, en Italie, qui fut incontinent apres cassé & annullé à l'instance & requeste de Gn. Aufidius. Claudius Cesar representa des **pantheres** aux ieux & Theatres publics, comme dit Tranquillus [Suetonius], que la troupe des gens d'armes du Preteur combatirent & meirent à mort. Quât à ceste varieté de couleurs, il y a vn passage gentil en Plaute, là ou Thesprion dit, qu'il s'est porté en diuerse maniere: auquel Epidicus fait response que l'engence de chieures & **Pantheres** ne luy est agreable, ce qui n'est seulement entendu de la diuersité de couleur, mais aussi est pris (suivant les interpretes) de la nature de la chieure, laquelle a tousiours la fieure. Quant à la **Panthere**, la diuersité des moeurs n'est pas seulement signifiée à cause de sa couleur, mais aussi de sa veheméce, impetuosité & agilité: c'est pourquoy elle denote en la sainte escriture les diuers mouuemens de l'esprit, de laquelle mesme Hieremie parle disant, *l'Aethiopien a il changé sa peau, & c le Leopard sa diuerse couleur?* ce qui est entendu, au dire de saint Ambroise, non seulement de la figure, mais aussi de la mobile & soudaine fureur, pourautant que les Indes & les noirs Aethiopiens ayans esté appelez à la cognoissance de la foy & religiõ, n'ont peu retenir le grand biẽ a eux offert, ny faire leur proffit de la Grace qui leur a este proposee, ains se sont accoustumez de sejourner aux lieux tenebreux & cachots de la terre, estans decolorez par le remuant & instable changement de leur esprit: & par ainsi n'est-il possible que l'homme qui s'est vne fois soubmis à ceste brutalité & prouueu de cete sauuage nature, puisse venir à aucun amendement. Euchere entend le diable par cette beste, pourautât qu'il est fin, caut, & diuers à tromper le genre humain".

3.2.136 De Marguerite de Navarre (1492 – 1549) [Figura 3.130], também conhecida como Marguerite d'Angoulême, Mrguerite de Valois e Marguerite d'Alençon (1492-1549), irmã do rei da França François I, conhece-se um manuscrito de meados do século XVI, com suas poesias, editado por Lefranc (1896). Aí às páginas 181-182 temos:

“Soyez, Amye, ung petit souverane
 Qu'en vous comptant de Beatrix et de Dante,
 Je n'oubliai de vous dire que troys bestes
 Mettoit au lieu des tyrantz deshonestes.
 C'est assavoir **Pourse** [sic], lyonne et louve;
 Lisez ses chatz, où tant de bien on trouue,
 Et vous verrez que ces troys bestes sont
 L'empechement d'aller à ce beau mont,
 Don't avoit veu l'espaule verte et nette,
 Vestue jà du ray de la planette.
 Qui mesne droit par le royal chemin
 L'homme fidelle et saige pelerine”.

Camus (1909: 6) esclareceu que “Très probablement la princesse avait écrit *loinse* (cfr. *oince* chez Rabelais, *Pantagruel*, III, 48) et son copiste a du lire *lourse*, erreur facile à comprendre pour qui connaît l'écriture française de la première moitié du XVI^e siècle”.



Figura 3.130 Marguerite de Navarre.

3.2.137 Um certo Frère Estienne Damien publicou por volta de 1530, a *Epistre du Chevalier gris envoyée à la très noble et très superillustré princesse et très sacrée Vierge Marie, fille et mère du très grant et très souverain monarque universel Jesus de Nazareth*, reproduzido por Montaignon (1856). Aí lê-se:

“Par dessus tous sa grant targette gette,
 Sans regarder force, sçavoir, avoir,
 Bealté de corps blanche, brunette, nette;
 Car elle met tout à son manoir noir.
 Celluy qui vault son salut pourveoir, voir,
 Doibt ses dangiers et [tous] ces soldatz darz
 Qui sont tousiours comme **liepars** espars”
 (Montaignon, 1856: 288).

3.2.138 Lincy & Michel (1837; como *La Farce des Brus*) e Picot (1912; como *Sottie nouvelle des trompeurs*) publicaram um poema baseado em um manuscrito de 1530 de autor anônimo. Nele constam os seguintes versos:

“Quant nous sommes aux bonnes villes,
 Nous faisons les freres frapars;
 Mais aux champs droictz demy **liepars**
 A poursuyuir filles & femmes”
 (Lincy & Michel, 1837: 19).

Esse poema fora antes publicado em Lyon, por volta de 1545, com seis fólhos. A primeira página foi reproduzida por Picot (1912: 5) [Figura 3.131]:

**Sottie nouvelle a
 cinq personnages:
 Des trôpeurs; cestas-
 lauoir.**

CSottie
Celle verte
Cfine mine
Chascun
Cet le temps.

A trompeur trom-
 peur et demy.

Sottie commence.



Dtz triumphans sctz brups
 antz sctz par faictz
Dtz glorieux sctz sur sctz
 autentiques
Sctz affottez sctz par dictz et par faictz
Sctz enforcez sctz nouveaus et antiqs
Sctz affottez sctz lauz sctz ecclesiastiqs
Sctz aduenans sctz mignons sctz
 por pars
Sctz enraigez hors du sens fanteslicqs
 Venez auant faulx de toutes pars
Sctz esueillez plus apres que liepars
Sctz de demoi beccarre et matire
Que faictes vous deuez vous estre es
 parre

Figura 3.131 Primeira página do folheto *Sottie nouvelle* (Lyon, ca. 1535).

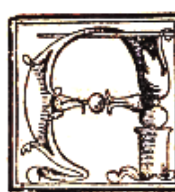
3.2.139 João de Barros (ca. 1496 – 1570) [Figura 3.132], no capítulo 4 (*Como Affonso Dalboquẽrque recebeo hum embaixador do Xequẽ Ismael com hum presente que lhe trazia, & o despacho que ouue de sua embaixada*, do Livro Décimo da sua *Segunda Decada da Asia* (Barros, 1553: fól. 134v; cf. tb. Barros, 1628: 222-223) descreveu em detalhe a cerimônia em que os portugueses receberam o presente do guepardo oferecido a Dom Manuel pelo rei de Ormuz [Figura 3.133]:



Figura 3.132 João de Barros.

“Afonso Dalboquẽrque que como em quanto durou segurár este lugar da fortaleza foy muyto ocupádo, & mays nam queria que este recebimento fosse no mar per honrra da pessoa cuja era a embaixada, entreteue o embaixador do Xequẽ Ismael que viẽra cõ Miguẽl Ferreira: & tambẽ de industria porq' vissẽ os mouros de Ormuz o presente q' lhe mandaua este principe q' naq'lle tempo era terror da Ibẽria & a totalas prouincias suas vezinhas, como homem que desejava de nos ter por amigos & contentes. E pera este dia de sua vinda a elle, mandou á põrta da fortaleza fazer hum cadafalso com estrádo alto cuberto de alcatifas & toldádo de panos de seda: & a parede a que se auia de encontár armada de tapeçaria, & hum dosel de brocádo cõ hũa cadeira rica pera sua pessoa & outra

pera o embaixador, ambas guarnecidas de veludo cramesim & ouro, & pellas ilhargas muytas almofádas de brocádo com todo o mays q' compria pera aquelle aucto. Ordenádas todas cousas pera esta óra da vinda do embaixador, assentou se Affonso Dalboquẽr q' em sua cadeira, vestido segundo estado com q' õ recebia, & derredor delle os capitães & fidalgos principaes vestidos de festa, & obra de seis centos hómẽes armádos póstos em ordenança: os quães estáuã ao longo da práya em rua per onde o embaixador auia de passár, & outra gente armáda mais limpa em cerco do estrádo, & afóra esta gente armada auia pella práya muita gente solta do pouo da cidade. Elrey de Ormuz a este tẽpo com seus governadores & emires q' sam os nõbres do reino, pos se ás janellas de suas cásas q' cayam sobre a vista deste lugar per onde entráua o embaixador: o qual ẽra acompanhado de dom Garcia de Noronha como pessoa principal & de muitos fidalgos & caualeiros, trazẽdo o embayxador o presente ante si nesta ordem. Tinhã dous hómẽes a cauállo & cada hum delles trazia hũa onça, os quães sabiam caçar montaria com ellas, & lógo a estes cauállos seguiam outros acubertádos cõ sáyas de málla dármas á sua vsança, & tras os cauállos vinha o presente q' ẽram jóyas douro, peças de brocádo de seda, pedras turquẽsas por lavrár assi como saem da mina, o que tudo podia valer atẽ tres mil cruzados: as quães peças traziã hómẽes em bacios de prata de agoa ás mãos altos todos hum ante outro, & detras vinha o embaixador com dõ Garcia q' õ acompanháua”.



Affonso Dalboquẽr que como em quanto durou segurár este lugar da fortaleza foy muy ocupádo, & mays nam queria que este recebimento fosse no már per honrra da pessoa cuja ẽra a embairáda, entreteue o embairador do xẽque Almasel que viẽra cõ Abdiguẽl Ferreira: & tambẽ de industria porq' visse os mouros de Ormuz o presente q' lhe mandaua este principe q' naquelle tempo ẽra terror da Índia & a todas as prouincias suas vezinhas, como hómẽem que desejava de nos ter por amigos & contentes. E pera este dia de sua vinda a elle, mandou á pórtã da fortaleza fazer hum cadafalso com estrádo alto cuberto de alcatifas & toldádo de panos de seda: & a parede a que se auia de encofár armáda de tapeçaria, & hum dosel de brocádo cõ hũa cadeira rica pera sua pessoa & outra pera o embairador, ambas guarnecidas de veludo cramesim & ouro, & pellas ilhargas muytas almofádas de brocádo com todo o mays q' compria pera aquelle aucto. Ordenádas todas cousas pera esta óra da vinda do embairador, assentou se Affonso Dalboquẽr q' em sua cadeira, vestido segundo estado com q' õ recebia, & derredor delle os capitães & fidalgos principaes vestidos de festa, & obra de seis centos hómẽes armádos póstos em ordenança: os quães estáuã ao longo da práya em rua per onde o embairador auia de passár, & outra gente armáda mais limpa em cerco do estrádo, & afóra esta gente armada auia pella práya muita gente solta do pouo da cidade. Elrey de Ormuz a este tẽpo com seus governadores & emires q' sam os nõbres do reino, pos se ás janellas de suas cásas q' cayam sobre a vista deste lugar per onde entráua o embairador: o qual ẽra acompanhado de dom Garcia de Noronha como pessoa principal & de muitos fidalgos & caualeiros, trazẽdo o embairador o presente ante si nesta ordem. Tinhã dous hómẽes a cauállo & cada hum delles trazia hũa onça, os quães sabiam caçar montaria com ellas, & lógo a estes cauállos seguiam outros acubertádos cõ sáyas de málla dármas á sua vsança, & tras os cauállos vinha o presente q' ẽram jóyas douro, peças de brocádo & de seda, pedras turquẽsas por lavrár assi como saem da mina, o que tudo podia valer atẽ tres mil cruzados: as quães peças traziã hómẽes em bacios de prata de agoa ás mãos altos todos hum ante outro, & detras vinha o embairador com dõ Garcia q' õ acompanháua. E perõ

Figura 3.133 Fólio 134v (parte) da *Segunda Decada* de João de Barros (1553).

3.2.140 O livro de Pierre Belon (1517 – 1564) [Figura 3.134], *Observations de plusieurs singularités*, teve várias edições (Belon, 1553a-b, 1554a-b, 1555a-c; cf. Teixeira & Papavero, 2014b). Em Belon (1554b: 71), podemos ler uma interessante notícia sobre animais mantidos em *menageries* em Constantinopla, na Turquia:

“Lon veoit les ruines d’un palais moult antique, que le vulgaire nomme le palais de Constantin. Le Turc y fait nourrir ses Elephants, & autres bestes douces. Il y a un lieu en Constantinople, ou le grand Turc fait garder des bestes sauvages, qui est une eglise antique, tout ioignant l’Hippodrome: & à chaque pillier de l’eglise il y a un Lion attaché, chose que n’ay peu veoir sans merueille, attendu qu’ils les detachent & manient, & rattachent quand ils veulent, & mesmement les meinent quelque fois par la ville. Et pource qu’il ne fut onc que les grãds seigneurs, quelques barbares qu’ils ayent esté, n’ayent eu plaisir de veoir les animaux singuliers & rares, tout ainsi chasque

nation du pays ou domine le Turc, ayant pris quelque animal sauvage, l'enuoye à Constantinoble, & là l'Empereur le faict nourrir & garder soigneusement. Il y auoit des Loups enchesnez, des Asnes sauvages, des Herissons, des Porcsepics, Ours, **Loups Ceruiers, & Onces, qu'on nomme autrement Linces**. Il n'est pas iusques aux plus petites bestes, comme Ermines, nommées en Latin Mures Pontici, c'est à dire Rats de Pont, qu'il ne nourrissent soigneusemēt. Il y auoit aussi deux petites bestes, ressemblantes si fort à vn Chat, qu'elles ne me sembloient differer sinon en grandeur, ausquels ie n'ay sceu trouuer nom ancien. Il fut vn temps que ie pensoye que ce fussent Linces: car ie prenoye les **Onces** pour Pantheres, toutesfois ne me suis sceu resouldre quelles bestes ce fussent. C'est merueille comme ils sçavent traicter toutes ces bestes la si doucement, qu'ils les rendent grandement apriuoisées, comme aussi les Genettes, qu'ils laissent eschapper par la maison, priuées comme Chats”.



Figura 3.134 Pierre Belon.

Também em seu livro *Le Qvatriesme Livre de la Natvre des Oyseaux de Riviere, qui n'ont le pied plat* Belon (1555d: 189-190) também mencionou a **once**:

“Entre les choses notables de l'incomparable dompteur de toutes substances animees, le grand Roy François, fit faire deux bastimēts, qui durent encore à Fontainebleau. qu'on nomme les Heronnières. Il sembloit que les elemens mesmes, & les qualitez tēperés d'iceux, obeissent à ses commendements: car de forcer nature, c'est ouurage qui se resent tenir quelue partiē de diuinité. Aussi ce divin Roy, que Dieu absolue, auit rendu plusieurs Herons si aduīts, que vennants du sauvage, entrans lens, comme par vn tuyau de cheminee, se rendoyent si enclins à sa volonté, qu'ils y nourrisoyent leurs petits. Mais cecy est peu, sçachant que comme nous tenons quelque petit chien pour cōpagniē, que faisons coucher sur les pieds de nostre lict pour plaisir: iceluy y auoit telles fois quelque Lion, **Once**, ou autre telle fiere beste, qui se faisoient chere comme quelque animal priué es maisons des paisants”.

3.2.141 Numa canção de caça italiana do século XV consta (Carducci, 1896: 83-84):

“Non dormite, o cazatore,
 Che la cerva s'è scoperta:
 La ne vien qua tutta esperta
 Per mangiare erbette e fiore.
 Non dormite, o cazatore.
 Ciaschedun lasse il suo cane
 Mentre che la sta in pastira:
 Non s'aspetta fin domane,
 Ch'un bel tratto poco dura:
 S'ella fuge per sciagura,
 Mancarano mei onore.
 Non dormite, o cazatore.

L'è si pronta nel fuggire
 Che la pare un **lionpardo**:
 Non è veltro si gagliardo
 Ch'a lei possa pervenire:
 L'há già fatto sbigotire
 Ne le selve più pastore.
 Non dormite, o cazatore...”.

3.2.142 François Rabelais (1494 – 1553) [Figura 3.135], em seu *Le livre des faicts et dicts heroïques du bon Pantagruel* (Rabelais, 1552: 160v-161r) grafou **oince**:

“Le trouue que les plantes sont nommées en diuerses manieres. Les vnes ont prins de nom de celluy qui premier les inuenta, cõgneut, mōstra, cultiva, apriuoua, & appropria, comme Mercuriale de Mercure: Panacea de Panace, fille de Aesculapius: Armoise, de Artemis, qui est Diane: Eupatoire, du Roy Eupator: Telephium, de Telephus: Euphorbium, de Euphorbus Medicin du Roy Iuba: Clymenos, de Clymenus: Alcibiadon, de Alcibiade: Gentiane, de Gentius Roy de Salauonie. Et tant a este iadis estimée ceste praerogatiue de imposer son nom aux herbes inuentées, que comme feut controuerse meue entre Neptune & Pallas de qui prendroit nom la terre par eulx deux ensemblement trouée: qui depuys feut Athenes dicte, de Athene c'est a dire Minerue: pareillement Lyncus Roy de Scythie se mit en effort de occire en trahison le ieune Triptoleme enuoyé par Ceres pour es homes monstrier le froment lors encores incongneu: affin que par la mort d'icelluy il imposast son nom, & feult en honneur & gloire immortelle dict inuenteur de ce grain tant vtile & nécessaire a la vie humaine. Pour laquelle trahison feut par Ceres transformé en **Oince, ou Loup ceruier**”.



Figura 3.135 François Rabelais.

3.2.143 O grande naturalista suíço Conrad (1516 – 1565) [Figura 3.136], em seu livro *Animalium lib. I de Quadrupedibus uiuiparis* tratou longamente da pantera e do leopardo (Gesner, 1551 935-948); e em seus *Icones Animalium quadrupedvm viviparorvm et oviparorvm* (1560), considerou a pantera (pp. 67-68) e o leopardo (do qual considerou sinônimos *lonza, uncia e unza*) (pp. 68-70) como animais distintos [Figuras 3.137 e 3.138]:

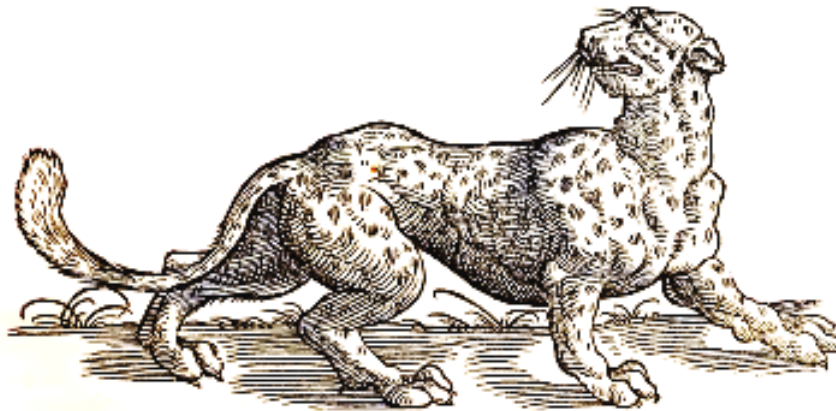


Figura 3.136 Conrad Gesner;

LATINE Panthera, Pardalis, Varia, Africana, Leopardus. Pardum Plinius à Panthera sexu tantùm differre putat, quanquam dubitat.

ITALICE Leonpardo. **GALLICE** Leopard.

GERMAN. Leppard. Sind Heit vnd groß. Vide sequentes duas figuras.



PARdalium duplex genus est, inquit Oppianus. sunt enim aliæ maiores, sed cauda minore, aliæ minores, cauda maiore, robore non inferiores. Eandem coloris varij, & figuræ corporis speciem similitudinemq; ambæ, præter caudam, gerunt, &c. Alnermer (inquit Andreas Bellunenſis) est animal minus Lyncei, id est, Lupo ceruati,

Leopardo simile figura & colore: sed aliquanto maius, pedibus quoque & unguibus maioribus & acutioribus; oculis obscuris & terribilibus, ut ipse uidi. Idem Leopardus (qui Arabicè nominatur alhed) fortius, ferocius, & audacius est. Inuadit enim & dilaniat homines. Sic ille: ex cuius uerbis conijcias alnemer, Pantherum seu Pardalin Oppiani maiorem esse: Leopardum uerò seu alhed, minorem. ¶ Alius est Græcorum Panther, masculini tantum generis, qui Lupis adnumeratur. alij enim hunc ceruarium Lupum esse uolunt, qui uulgò Lynx nominatur: alij canarium, (ut Theodorus & Niphus ex Aristotele uertunt,) quem Græci etiamnum Pantherem uulgò appellant, Arabes Lupum Armenium, Turcæ Cicalum, animal uile, minus Lupo, & cætera longe degenerans. Idem animal Pantherion & Lycopantheros nominatur, &c. Qui hunc Lupum canarium dicunt, ex Lupi Canisq; coitu natum insinuant: quale animal nos non rarò uidimus, Cani domestico perfimile, nulla cum Pantheris similitudine. Qui uerò Lycopantherum nominant, Lupi & Pantheræ sobolem faciunt: qui Leopardum, Leonis & Pantheræ. Sunt qui ut Pantheræ, Pardalidis, Pardisq; nomina non distinguant, (nisi quòd Pardalis usitatus est Græcis, Panthera Latinis: Pardus Latinis frequens, in Græcis libris qui extant semel tantum legitur, quod sciam, apud Scholiasten Pluti Aristophanis, sexu tantum, teste Plinio quanquam dubitante, à Panthera differre uidetur;) ita ne Leopard quidem, Leopardi certè nomē apud Græcos, Latinosq; ueteres hæcenus non legimus, præterquam recentiorum quendam Græcum innominatum, qui Constantini Monomachi ætate in libro De animalibus caput unum *παιδὸν λεοπαρδάλιον* inscripsit, alterum *παιδὸν ασωπέριον*. *Leæna* (inquit) cum conceptum è Pardalide foetum ediderit, ne Leo inuentum dilaniet, se unà cum illo abscondit, & plurimis aquis adulteri odorē abluit. Deinde tertium *παιδὸν ἄγριον*: Pantherem, inquit, mater è multorum animalium coitu grauida parit. Indicus uerò Panther odoris sui fragrantia feras ad latibulum suum allectas deuorat. Sic ille. Exdebat fanè Leopardus propriè dici id tantum animal, quod Leonis Leænæ uel cū Pardo coitu nascitur. Sed obtinuit ferè consuetudo, ut Leopardus simpliciter pro Panthera ponatur: unde & uulgares linguæ suæ mutuantur nomina, peregrinū animal omnes uno ferè peregrino nomine uocitantes. Græci Grammatici annotant Pardalis per *a*, scribi pro femina, Pardalis uerò per *o*, pro mare, sed authores hoc discrimen obseruare non uidentur, Pardalis quidem dicta uidetur ab Hebraico *Pardes*, quod est hortus: quòd macularum oculis tanquam floribus, pellis eius pulcherrimè ornetur. Aristoteles scribit chamæleontem habere pellem pallidam nigris distinctam maculis, ut Pardalia, *παιδὸν ἄγριον*, &c. ¶ In aula regis Galliarum Leopardos duorum generum alij audiimus, magnitudine tantum differentes: maiores uultu corpulentia esse, humiliores, oblongiores: alteros minores ad canis molem accedere,

Figura 3.137 Descrição da pantera (Gesner, 1560: 67-68).

ITALICE Lonza.

GALLICE Vnza, uel Vncia.

GERMAN. Ein Vnz/ oder kleiner Leppard. mag ein Hundleppard/ (oder Hundpard/ Wolspard/) genennet werden/ dann er ist von größe wie ein Hund/ &c.

PANthera Pardalisue minor uidetur, quæ à recentioribus Vncia uocatur: quanuis impropriè, ut conijcio, uidetur enim Vnciæ nomen à Lynce corruptū. Est autè Lynx ducta quidè & sui generis fera, Vnciæ tamen dicta: tum corporis specie, tum natura & moribus similis. ¶ Vnciæ effigiem hic exhibitam Io. Caius (qui & alias multas rarissimorum animalium icones descriptionesq; mihi communicauit, eo nomine de hac parte naturæ & eius studiosis optimè meritus) ex Anglia ad me misit cū hac descriptione. Vncia (inquit) fera est sæuissima, canis uillatici magnitudine, facie & aure leonina: corpore, cauda, pede & ungue felis, aspectu truci: dente tam robusto & acus

to, ut uel ligna diuidat: ungue ita pollet, ut eodē contra nitentes in aduersum retineat: colore per summa corporis pallescentis ochræ, per imacineris, asperfo undiq̃ macula nigra & frequenti, cauda reliquo corpore aliquanto obscuriori & grandiori macula. Au-



ris intus pallet sine nig: o, foris nigricat sine pallore, si unam flauam & obscuram maculam è medio eximas. Ea è duplici pelle (ea uidelicet quæ è regione exteriori maxillæ affurgit, & quæ à summo capite conuenit) in summa aure coeunte, constituta est, facileq̃ in sicco capite (quale domimæ habeo) & uideri & separari eadem possunt. Reliquum caput totum est maculosum frequentissima macula nigra, (ut & reliquum corpus,) nisi ea parte quæ inter nasum & oculum est, qua nullæ sunt, nisi utrinq̃ duæ, & eæ paruæ: quemadmodum & cæteræ omnes in extremis & imis partibus, reliquis sunt minores, maculæ in summis quidem crurū partibus & in cauda, nigriores sunt & singulares, per latera uerò compositæ, quasi singulæ maculæ ex quatuor fierent. Ordo nullus est in maculis, nisi in labro superiori, ubi ordines quinq̃ sunt. In primo & superiori, duæ discretæ: in secundo, sex coniunctæ, ut linea esse uideantur. Hi duo ordines liberi sunt, nec inter se commisti. In tertio ordine, octo coniunctæ sunt, sed cum quarto ubi finis commiscuntur. Quartus & quintus in suo principio (quod ad nasum habent) tenui admodum discrimine separati, statim se committunt, & unà decurrunt per totum superius labrum, faciuntq̃ non maculam per totum id, sed latam lineam. In mortuo animali ita se habent maculæ, propter cutis (puto) cōtractionem. In uiuo maculæ istæ in suis quæq̃ ordinibus uidentur separatæ. In ipso medio inter hos utrinq̃ ordines, aliæ minores sunt exactè per quincuncem dispositæ. Sed in imo labro maculæ, etsi magnitudinē, non tamen ordinem seruant. Nasus nigrescit, linea per longitudinem perq̃ summam tantum superficiem inducta leniter. Oculi glauci sunt. Dentes illi anteriores hinc inde sex sunt, humanis non absumiles, nisi quod ex his, qui in medio collocantur, minores: qui per extrema, maiores sunt, ut & superiores imis. His utrinq̃ dens grandis, acutus, atq̃ longus est, in ima maxilla cæteris iunctus, in superiori, tanto spacio disiunctus, quanto dens inferior capi possit. Hi labris uelantur in uiuo animali, sed in mortuo non item, reductis præ siccitate labris. Grandis ille dens, longus est digitos Romanos duos, in ambitu ad radicem non nisi digitis duobus cum semisse comprehensus. Denti inest cauitas quædam exilis per totam longitudinem, quæ tamen non apparet nisi rumpatur dens. Inferior maxilla durum os est & rigidū, tres dentes habens magnitudine inæquales, ut & superior, quatuor. Caua etiam ea est intus per longitudinem. Inter magnum dentem & maxillariū primum inferioris maxillæ, spacium est unius digiti uacuum, à quo positus statim est primus, cæteris duobus minor. huic contiguus alius est grandior. & post hunc tertius etiam, secundo maior. In summa maxilla, in medio illo spacio (quod digiti unius Romani esse dixi) inter dentem grandem & primum maxillarem, dens est exiguus admodum & informis, demittens se tantum leniter è maxilla, nullo inferiore, qui illi respondeat, existente. Dimidiati digiti post eum spacio, secundus est, cui iunctus tertius est, & post hunc quartus. Inter se ita superiores & inferiores maxillares mortui cōmittuntur, ut pectinatim coeant. Duo priores in inferiori, & secundus & tertius in superiori maxilla dentes, eius sunt figuræ, cuius est iris in summo diademate coronatorum aureorum regis Angliæ atq̃ Franciæ. Eius etiam figuræ tertius est in infe-

riori, & quartus in superiori, nisi quòd interior utriusq; ala, quæ gulæ propior est, natura demitur. His coniuncti nulli erant alij in utraq; maxilla. An post interuallum unius digiti, finita dentium serie, relictum integrũ, alij erant inserti, nescio. Illud scio, non nisi post id spacij amputatas maxillas, quasi studio monstrandi dentes id effect factum, indicioq; nullos superuisse. Viuit ex carne. fœmina mare crudelior est & minor. Vtriusq; sexus una, ad nos ex Mauritania est aduecta naue. Nascitur in Libya. Si quod illis coeundi statum tempus est, hic mœsis Iunius est, nam hoc mas fœminam superuenit, Leones cicurari possunt, id quod ex hoc intelligo, quòd in urbe Londino, & in arce Londinenſi Leones custodum suorum oscula excipiunt, cõtractum admittunt, & colludunt. Ipse uidi. ista animalia, tam ferocia sunt, ut custos cum primo uellet de loco in locum mouere, cogebarur fuisse in caput actõ (ut aiunt) semimortua reddere, atq; ita in capsula lignea ad hoc facta, & respirationis gratia perforata reponere, atq; transportare. Post horam reuiuisebant tamen hæc, ut cati, non nisi extremis iniurijs obnoxia morti. Itidem fecit custos cum è capsula exemit. Iam uerò nouas rationes inuenerunt reponendi & eximendi, trahendo ea in capsulam fune, & eam promouendo. Aiunt hæc animalia sæpe cum Leone contendere. Paruũ canem non lædunt, nisi fames urgeat: magnum uel satiati læcrant. Iratum, uocem ædit irati canis, r, literam geminantis, sed quàm quiniis canis maiore, ex amplo pectore & arteria ductam; qualemq; canis uillaticus redderet, si in cupa grandiori inclusus, ad iram stimularetur. Quod scribunt esse cane longius, id mihi non uidetur. nam sunt apud nos multi canes uillatici, qui longitudine æquent, pecuario tamẽ & maior est & longior, ut & uillatico humilior. Vanum est: quem Vncia uulnerauerit, eum murium concurſu permictũ interire. Nã nos uidimus duos custodes ab una Vncia uulneratos, nec tamen mures accurrerunt, nec perminxerunt, neq; ex uulnere grauius quid est infecutum, quàm si ex sano cane, aut incisione leui uulnus esset. Quem ferit, caput perit si possit, idq; aut ex insidijs, si imparem se putet: aut simulata beneuolentia. Ita enim canem uillaticũ (sic M. Varro & Columella eum nominant, quem hodie Molossum uocant: cuius generis præcipui pugnaresq; apud nos sunt in Britannia, ut si uspiam terrarum, adeo ut ne cum urſo quidẽ certare singulari certamine uereantur) dudum interfecit intromissum. primo enim conspectu, caudæ motu applaudebat: mox se psternebat tanquã supplex, tum appropinquabat uelut ludibunda, exporrecto pede uno, ut feles solent cum ludere gestiunt. tandem ubi securũ putabat canem, ac de uita paruũ sollicitum, naçta opportunitate, impetu insultabat, ac morſu iugulũ petijt, nec nisi mortuũ dimisit. à morte, ungue læcrando, pectus aperuit, & cor eduxit, primũq; uorauit, crudeli more. Hucusq; Caius. ¶ Alphec (melius Alphed, quod nomen Andreas Bellunenſis simpliciter Leopardum interpretatur. Vide supra in Panthera) animal est per quàm ferox & noxium; multi in Italia, Gallia & Germania Leuzam (ma lim Vnciam) uocant, Albertus. Vncia (inquit Isidorus, neq; apud antiquiorem Isidoro ullum hoc nomen legi puto) est animal fœuissimum, non altius cane, sed longius corpore. canibus ualde infensum, prædam non edit nisi in sublimi. & sæpe cum ad arborem uenit, à summo ramo suspensam uorat, &c. Aliqui corruptius Lauzannum pro Vncia scripsisse uidentur.

Figura 3.138 Descrição do leopardo (Gesner, 1560: 68-70).

3.2.144 Joannes Leo Africanus (ou al-Hasan ibn Muhammad al-Wazzan al-Fasi; em árabe حسن الوزان محمد ابن الفاسي) (ca. 1494 – ca. 1554?) [Figura 3.139] foi um berbere andalus e diplomata mourisco, autor de uma *Descrittione dell’Africa* [Figura 3.140], publicada por Ramusio (1563: 1r-95v). Nessa interessante narrativa há várias citações dos leopardos:

Terza Parte. Capitulo *Mader Auuam*. “Questa è vna città edificata a nostri giorni da vn thesoriere del pontefice Habdulmumen su la iua del fiume di Buragrag non per altra cagione, che per veder quei luoghi. per certe certe minere de ferro esser molto frequentati, è lontana da Atlante circa dieci miglia, & fra le città & Atlante, sono molti oscuri Boschi, ne iguali si truouano grandissimi & terribilissimi Leoni & Leopardi...” (Ramusio, 1563: 29r)¹⁰¹.

¹⁰¹ Na edição francesa ([Leo Africanus], 1556a: 133, 1556b: 118-119): “Mader auuan est vne cite, qui á este edificée de nôtre tẽps par vn tresorier du Põtifẽ Habdul Mumen, sus la riue du flueue Buragrag, non à autre effet que pour



Figura 3.139 Possível retrato de Leo Africanus.



Figura 3.140 Frontispício da edição de 1556 das viagens de Leo Africanus.

cognoistre ces ieuw estre fort frequentez à cause des mines de fer. Elle est distante d'Atlas enuirõ dix mile, entre laquelle & la montagne y á plusieurs grans bois, là ou se trouuent, & repairent de grans Lyons, & furieux **Leopars**".

Terza Parte. Capítulo *Palazzo di Faraone*. “Nel circuito de lei passano due fiumicelli, qual da vna parte, & qual da vn'altra. & tutte le valli & le colline viine a questa sono terreni piantati d'oliue. Non molto lontano, v'è bene vn gran bosco, doue si trouano Leoni & **leopardi** in molta quantità” (Ramusio, 1563: 45r)¹⁰².

Terza Parte. Capítulo *Gauata Monte*. “Gauata monte nella difficulta dell'ascēdere è símile al sopradetto, discosto da Fez circa quindici miglia verso ponente. ha buoni terreni, cosi nella sommita, come nella costa, ne quali nasce gran quantità d'orzo e di lino. estendosi da leuante a ponente circa a otto miglia, et per larghezza è circa a cinque. sonui in lui molte valli & Boschi, doue si troua gran numero di simie & di **leopardi**” (Ramusio, 1563: 54v)¹⁰³.

Terza Parte. Capítulo *Selego Monte*: “nel detto monte sono molti Leoni, **leopardi**, et simie: lequali a chi vede par di vedere vno essercito di gente armata, in tanta copia ve ne sono” (Ramusio, 1563: 55v)¹⁰⁴.

Terza Parte. Capítulo *Monte, & passo di Corui, detto Cunaigel Gherben*: “la state suol venire a lui certi Arabi, detti Beni essen per le sue fresche acque, & per le ombre grate, che ci sono anchor che vi siano Leoni, & **leopardi** terribili” (Ramusio, 1563: 57r)¹⁰⁵.

Quinta Parte. Capítulo *Buggia Città*: “intorno della città vi sono infiniti giardini copiosi di frutti, & massime fuori della porta che vā verso leuante: vi sno molti monti aspri, & pieni di Boschi, doue si trouano infinite simie, & **leopardi**...” (Ramusio, 1563: 63v)¹⁰⁶.

Nova Parte. Capítulo *Leopardi*: “Habitano questi animali ne boschi di Barberia, et sono molto gagliardi et crudeli, ma nõ nuaciono all'huomo, senon quando alcune rare volte auuiene, che lo incontri qualche streno calle, doue l'huomo non possa dargli luogho, ò se alcuno gli sgrida à da loro noia, all'hora gli s'auuenta adosso, & con gli artigli aggrapandoli il volto, tanta carne ne porta via, quanta egli ne prende, & tal voglia gli spezza il ceruello, & vccide l'huomo, nõ vsa di dar molto assalto al gregge, ma de cani è nimico mortalissimo, & gli ammazza & mangia. i montanari della regione di Costantina sogliono loro dar caccia cõ caualli, chiudēdone tutti i pasti, onde il **Leopardo** fuggendo, come troua à vno da pasti la quantità de caualli, corre à vn altro, & lui trouando il medesimo, al fine doppo molto ritornare in su & in giu è occiso. & chi se lo lascia fuggire dalla sua parte è tenuto di fare vn conuito à tutto il numero di cacciatori se fussero ben trecento” (Ramusio, 1563: 92v-93r)¹⁰⁷.

¹⁰² Na edição francesa ([Leo Africanus], 1556a: 202v, 1556b: 186): “dans le circuit d'icelle passent deux fleuues, s'écoulans l'un deçà, & l'autre de là: & les cotaus & valées qui sont au contour de la cité, sont toutes couuertes d'oliuiers. Vn peu plus là, se trouue vn bois, ou repaire grande quantité de Lyons, & **Leopars**”.

¹⁰³ Na edição francesa ([Leo Africanus], 1556a: 142r-142v 1556b: 226): “Cette montagne n'est moins facheuse & âpre que la precedente, estant distante de Fez, enuiron quinze mile du cote de Ponât, & á bon terroir tant à la sommité cõme à la plaine: là ou il nait de l'orge & du lin en grande quantité. Son étendue deuers Ponât est de huit mile, & de cinq en largeur. Il y á plusieurs combes, & bois, ou repairent Singes, & **Leopars** en grande quantité”.

¹⁰⁴ Na edição francesa ([Leo Africanus], 1556a: 245, 1556b: 229): “En cette montagne á plusieurs Lyôs, **Leopars**, & Singes, qui semblent à les veoir en troupe vne grosse armée, tant grand en est le nombre”.

¹⁰⁵ Na edição francesa ([Leo Africanus], 1556a: 250, 1556b: 235): “Les Arabes qui s'appellent Beni essen ont coutume s'y acheminer en temps d'été, pour les douces eaus & plasans ombrages, qui y sont: encore que plusieurs Lyons & terribles **Leopards** y repairent”.

¹⁰⁶ Na edição francesa ([Leo Africanus], 1556a: 262, 1556b: 277): “Au tour de la cité y a vne infinité de iardins produisans fruits en abondāce: & mémemēt hors la porte, qui regarde du coté de Leuant. Outre ce, on y void plusieurs montagnes fort scabreuses, qui sont toutes couuertes de boys, dans lesquels se nourrit vne infinité de Singes, & **Leopars**”.

¹⁰⁷ Na edição francesa ([Leo Africanus], 1556a: 400v-401r, 1556b: 381): “Du **Leopard**. Cet animal-cy repaire les boys de Barbarie, estant fort agile, & cruel, mas il ne s'adrēce à l'homme pour l'endõmager s'il ne l'aborde en

Há mais duas edições francesas da obra de Leo Africanus (Temporal, 1830 e Schefer, 1896-1898).

3.2.145 Clement Marot (1496 – 1544) [Figura 3.2.141], em seu poema *De la fondation de Venise, & des Loix & Meurs de Veniciens* mencionou o *lyepar*:



Figura 3.141 Clement Marot.

“Normanville a dessoubz ses estandard
Mille & cinq cens Normans hardiz souldars,
Cinq cens Picards Montcaurays a miss us,
Cadet Duras ameine de ses pars
Mille Gascons humains comme **lyepars**,
Ayans les doys aussi prenans que glus”
(Marot, 1731b: 75).

3.2.146 No *Zootropheion* de Georgius Pictorius (1500 – 1569) o trecho relativo ao leopardo consta da Figura 3.142 (Pictorius, 1560: 7):

quelque d etroit, l a ou on ne le puisse eduire, alors se jet e sur celui qu’il rencontre & avec les grifes luy d echire le visage: emportant autant de chair, qu’il en peut empoigner: & quelque fois penetre jusques au cerueau, exterminant la personne. Il n’assaille pas souuent les troupeaus de brebis: mais il est ennemy mortel des chiens, lesquels il tue, & deuore l a ou il les peut joindre. Les montagnars de la region de Constantine ont coutume luy donner la chasse avec les cheuaus, en serrant tous les passages, dont le **Leopard** voulant escamper, & trouuant vne quantit e de cheuaus, lesquels luy serrent le pas, court   vn autre, qui estant semblablement serre,   la fin apres s’estre bien trauaill e en vain, ne pouu at trouuer lieu pour as defaite, & contraint demeurer en la place, & rendre les aboys. Mais auenant, que quelqu’vn de son cote luy laisse gagner le haut, il est tenu de payer le banquet   toute l’assembl ee des chasseurs: voire & excedassent ils le nombre de trois cents”.

SEV LEPORARIUM. 7

Si illineas tumefacta fera modò membra cruore, Sanguis me-
Decrescit lento uel tumor iste gradu detur tumori
Et pollem narrant aduersus fulmina tutum Pellis contra
Reddere, quàm castum si modò se teneat. fulmea.

DE LEOPARDO.

Cap. 2.

Oritur ex Pardo Leopard, diraq; Leona,
 Distincta maculis qui tenet ecce cutem.
Quadrupedes gaudent uaria tam pelle colorum, Animalia leo-
Illas sed dirum territat usq; caput. pardu amte.
Hic trahitur uini multum dulcedine, casses Leopardus
Sunt illi fortes, Massica pocla nimis. uino gaudet
Et quum diuersis tentantur corpora morbis,
Natura adornat pharmaca certa tibi.
Testis & hinc foedus Leopardi menstrua causat Testiculus
Dexter commansus, sed madefactus aqua. dexter men-
Si cerebro erucam cum lymphâ adiunxeris, istud Cerebrũ ma-
Duricies steriles pro ratione sedat. trici duritiẽ
Inuida si maculet faciem lentigo decoram, curat.
Seuum daphnileo consociato fera. Seuũ leonis
Namq; hoc unguento maculoso ex ore fugabis contra lenti-
Sordis, uel rugas pellere sic poteris. guem.

DE CERVO

Cap. 3.

DE ceruis Scythicis multum si scire laboras,
 Quid scribãt docti perlege scripta, s. e. s.
 N A H

Figura 3.142 Página 7 do Zootropheion de Pictorius (1560).

3.2.147 O médico judeu português Garcia d’Orta (1501/1502 – 1568) [Figura 3.143], em seu *Coloquios dos Simples* (d’Orta, 1563: 34r; cf. tb; Ficalho, 1891: 123) foi o primeiro a registrar *chita*, o nome indiano do guepardo:



Figura 3.143 Garcia d’Orta.

“...quando estes reys tomã algũ gentio pa q’ o sirua, se ho não querẽ muito hõrrar, acrescẽtão lhe ao nome propio Naiq’ como Salua naique, Acem naiq’: e quãdo o querẽ muito hõrrar chamãlhe Rao, assi como **Chita** roo, que eu conheço, e he nome soberbo: porque **chita** quer dizer **Omça**: assi que quer dizer Chita rao, Rey tam forte como hũa **omça**”.

3.2.148 Pier Andrea Matthioli (1501 – 1577) tratou do acônito (*pardalianches*) e seu efeito sobre as panteras.

Em seus comentários a Dioscórides (Matthioli, 1562: 565-566):

ACONITVM SECVNDVM.



cant. Folia habet cyclamini, aut cucumeris, tria aut quatuor, minora, & subhirsuta: caulem palmo altũ: radix scorpij caudã æmulatur, & alabastri modo splêdet. Torpescunt, vt fama est, scorpiones admora radice, stupentque: qui rursus ellebori contactu, excitantur. Oculorum medicamentis leuandi doloris gratia adiicitur. Enecat pantheras, fues, lupos, & feras omnes, in carnis obiectum.

Na tradução francesa (Matthioli, 1579: 604):

DE L'ACONIT. CHAP. LXXII.



'Aconit est apellé d'aucuns Pardalianches, ou Cammoron, ou Thelyphonum, Myotonum, ou Theriophonon. Il a les feuilles comme le pain de pourceau, ou concombres, moindres, aucunement velues, trois ou quatre en nombre: la tige haute d'un empan: la racine est ne plus ne moins que la queue d'un scorpion, luisante comm'albastre. On dit que les scorpions touchés de la racine deuiennent tous étourdis, & amortis, & reuiennent en leur naturelle vigueur touchés d'ellebore. On en met aux medic. des yeux pour appaiser la douleur. Meflé parmi la chair tue les sangliers, loups, pantheres, & toutes autres bestes fauuges.



Aconit Pardalianches de Diosc.

E em carta escrita a Bartolomeo Maranta (Matthioli, 1674: 172):

Hactenus de Aconito Pardalianche Plin. cujus verba si recitanda

expendas, non magno sanè negotio cognosces claudicare in hoc sententiam tuam, cum de ipso tantum Theophrasto Theophr. hac scripserit. Plin. Hac, inquam, si expendere, non parva sanè injuria te Gal. affectisse fateberis. Galenus defenditur. Quippe qui l. 6. de simpl. med. facult. Aconitum Pardalianchen, inquit, putrefaciendi fac. obtinere, & letale esse medicamentum: ideoq; in cibo potuq; fugiendum. Præteribo Dioscor. Pauli, Aetii, & Avicenna testimonia, qua tibi maxime adversantur, cum notiora sanè sint, quàm à nobis describi mereantur. Nam hi omnes inter venena hujusce Aconiti meminere. Nec placet deinde, quòd scripseris non aliam ob causam hujusce Aconiti meminisse Dioscor. quàm quòd palàm faceret eo necari Pantheras, Lupos & cætera quadrupedia, qua illud devorant. Si quidem cum nonnulla sint animalium horum partes, quibus ad varios morbos utimur, affirmas hanc doctrinam existimasse Dioscor. non fore Medicis inutilem quòd objecto quadrupedibus hujusce seris Aconito una cum carnibus sine alio venenationis negotio ea consequi possent. Atqui docere Medicos hac animalia venenis interficere, ut post hac eorum partibus utantur ad morbos profligandos, ab omni prorsus ratione videtur alienum, cum animalia à serpentibus ista vel veneno interempta ubiq; corrumpantur, & præsertim ubi Aconitum devoraverint, cui magna vi inest putrefactoria: quemadmodum & cætera que propria facultate sumentes interimunt.

3.2.149 Damião de Góis (1502 – 1574) [Figura 3.144], por sua vez, nos capítulos 55 e 56 da “Terceira parte” da *Chronica do felicissimo Rei Dom Emanuel* [Figura 3.145] (Goes, 1566: fols. 99v-101v), descreveu detalhadamente a solenidade em que o guepardo foi oferecido a Leão X:



Figura 3.144 Damião de Góis.

CHRONICA DO FELICISSIMO REI DOM EMANUEL, COMPOSTA PER DAMIAM DE GOES, DIVIDIDA EM QVATRO PARTES, das quaes esta he ha primeira.



¶ Foi villa. & approuada por ho R. P. Emanuel da veiga examinador dos liros.
 ¶ Em Lisboa em casa de Francisco correa, impressor do serenissimo Cardinal Infante, a hois xvij dias do mes de julho de 1566.
 ¶ Esta taxada esta primeira parte no regno em papel a Juzentos, & cinquenta reales, & fora delia segundo ha diligençia dos lugares onde se vender, & has outras tres partes pelo mesmo modo naquillo em que forem taxadas.
 Com priuilegio Real.

Figura 3.145 Portada da *Chronica* de Damião de Góis (1566).

“Capítu. lv. Da embaixada, e obediência que elRei mandou aho Papa Leão.

No fim do anno passado, de mil, & quinhentos, & treze, ordenou elRei q’ fosse a Roma por ebaixador Tristão da cunha, pera dar obediência aho Papa Leão dçimo, a quem quomo per premiçias dar por elle hum presente, em q’ entrava hũa capa, manto, almatargas, & frontal de brocado de peso, todo borlado, & guarnecido d’ perlas, & pedraria de muito preço, a cousa mais rica de sua qualidade, que de memoria de homens se nunca vira. Alem deste pontifical lhe mandou elRei joias d’ grãde valor, & hum Elephante [Figura 2.31], & hũa **Onça de caça** com hũ cauallo Persio q’ lhe mandara elRei de Ormuz cõ hũ caçador da mesma prouinçia q’ trazia ha **Onça** sobelas âcas do cauallo, posta em hũa cuberta neruada, & dourada muito bẽ feita. Cõ esta ebaixada partio Tristão da cunha de Lisboa p’ már, indo cõ elle por açessores os doutores Diogo pachequo, & Ioã de faria, & por Secretairo Garçia de Resende, & por guarda do Elephante Nicolao de faria estribeiro pequeno delRei. Leuaua Tristão da cunha cõsigo Nuno da cunha, que depois foi veador da fazenda delrei dõ Ioão terceiro, & governador da India, & Simão da cunha, & Pero vaz da cunha seus filhos, com algũs fidalgos seus parentes, & amigos, que ihão por gêtis homens da embaixada atte numero d’ vinte, & outra gête d’ sua familia, toda mui bẽ conçertada. Fazendo assi sua viagem chegou aho porto Dalicante em oito dias dahi foi ter a Iuiça, & Malhorca, donde com bom tempo chegou aho porto Hercule, que he da señoria de Sena, no fim do mes de Ianeiro de M.D.XIII. Dali partio Tristão da cunha per terra pa Roma, onde chegou ahos xiiij dias d’ Feuereiro: & porque ho Elephante ho nam detiuessse no caminho, deixou cargo a Nicolao de faria q’ ho desembarcasse, & de su vagar se fosse cõ elle, & cõ a **Onça** a Roma, no q’l caminho foi sempre acõpanhado de tãta gête de pé, & de cauallo q’ vinha ver ho Elephãte, q’ nam podia passar pelas estradas, nẽ êtrar nos lugares senam cõ muito trabalho. Algũs dias depois de Tristão da cunha ser ã Roma & toda sua familia, & dos q’ cõ elle iham, & assi Nicolao de faria, cõ ho Elephante, & **Onça**, ordenou Papa q’ fizesse sua êtrada no primeiro domingo da coresma, xij dias de Março, no qual dia se foi ante manhã a hũas casas, & jardim do Cardeal Adriano, que estam junto da çidade, donde ás duas horas depois do meo dia começarã todos de caminhar pera ella, leuãdo diante suas familias, & apos ellas hos trombetas, & apos hos trombtas hos charamellas, & tras elles a **Onça**, & ho Elephante [Figura 3.146], jũto do qual iha Nicolao de faria, em hũ fermoso ginete da estrebaria delRei, ajaezado darreos q’ lhe mandou douro smaltado, cordões, nominas, & caparazão, & peitoral tudo laurado douro moçoço, perlas, aljofar, & seda de cores. Atras elles seguirã hos gentis homens da Embaixada, apos hos quaes iha Garçia de Resende, & diante de Tristão da cunha, & dos dous açesores da embaixada ho Rei darmas Portugal com sua cota, dos q’ es Diogo pachequo iha á mão direita de Tristão da cunha, & Ioão de faria á ezquerda. Indo assi nesta ordem, hos primeiros que chegarão a elles foram has familias dos Cardeaes, com seus Prelados, & apos

elles chegou o Embaixador delRei de Polonia, & logo ho Dinglaterra, & apos estes ho delRei de França, depois vierão ho Duque de Barre, irmão do Duque de Milão, & Alberto do carpe que estaua por embaixador do Emperador, & juntamête veo com elles ho embaixador delRei de Castella, & hos do Duque de Milão, & por derradeiro chegatã hos de Veneza, Luca, & Bolonha que eram todolos embaixadores que então andauam na corte de Roma, hos quaes chegado a Tristão da cunha, lhe fizeram cada hum delles particularmente muitos offereçimentos, louuando has grandezas, & magnifiçienças delrei dom Emanuel, & vigilância q' tinha nas cousas da Fé, & guerra que continuamente fazia ahos infieis, aho que tudo respõdia na mesma lingoa latina em que elles fallauam hó doutor Diogo pachequo, mas nam aho embaixador de Castella, porque este falou em lingoa Castelhana, aquê Tristão da cunha, pela entender mui bem, respondeo na Portuguesa, pola saber melhor, quomo sua natural. Feitas todas estas arengas, & çerimonias, sendo ja todos juntos a tiro de bésta da porta da çidade, saihó ho Governador d Roma com todolos Prelados, & familia do Papa, & ali fez hũa arenga em nome de sua Sanctidade a Tristão da cunha, dádolhe da sua parte a bem vinda, com grandes offereçimentos, e mostras da boa vontade que tinha a todalas cousas delRei, aho que ho doutor Diogo pachequo respondeo ho que taes, & tão bõs effereçimentos requerião. Neste lugar poserã hos mestres das çerimonias ha embaixada na ordem com que hauia dentrar pelo modo seguinte. Ha mão direita de Tristão da cunha, ho Duque de Batre, & á esquerda ho governador de Roma. No segundo lugar poseram Diogo pachequo com ho Bispo de Nicosia á sua mão direita, & Alberto carpe á esquerda. No terceiro poseram João de faria, & á sua mão direita ho Bispo de Napole, & ho Embaixador de França á esquerda, & atras elle iha ho Embaixador de Castella com hũ prelado, & apos lle ho de Inglaterra com outro: & assi nesta ordẽ & lugar acostumado a cada hum, seguirão hos Embaixadores delRei de Polonia, Veneza, Milão, Luca, & Bolonha, & tras elles numero infinito de Arçebispos, Bispos, & outros Prelados. Diante dos embaixadores iha o Rei darmas Portugal, & logo hos Maçeiros do Papa, & diante destes Garçia de Resende só, & hum pouco mais auante ihão hos filhos de Tristão de cunha, cõ hos outros fidalgos da embaixada. Diãte destes fidalgos iha Nicolao de faria com ho Elephante, & **onça**, & trombetas, & charamellas. Diante deste ihão hos trombetas, & charamellas do Papa, aos q' es preçedia a sua guarda de Suiços, em ordenança com seus piques, & a diante ha familia do Papa, & diante a sua guarda de caualló, com seus bésteiros, & diante destes iha ha familia d Tristão da cunha, & a diante ha do doutor Diogo pachequo, & diante desta, ha do doutor João de faria, & diante destes hos Portugueses cortesãos, que andauão ã Roma, assi clerigos, como leigos, & diante destes ihã as familias dos Cardeaes, cada hũa em seu lugar com muitos Phipharos, atambores, & trombetas: na qual ordem entrarão na çidade, onde era tanta ha gente, que alem da que estáua pelas janellas, & sobre telhados, se não podia passarpelas ruas, senão a força de Alcades, & outros offiçiaes d Iustiça. Caminhãdo nesta ordem chegarão a vista do castello de sancto Angelo, onde ho Papa estaua com hos Cardeaes, pera dali ver passar ha Embaixada, donde sendo a vista começou a desparar ha artelharia, q' he muita, & mui fermosa, & de mestura tanger has charamellas do Castello: ho que tudo durou atte desapareçerem, passando pela ponte do Tibre, donde tomarão a volta pela rua dos Banqueiros, & dali passando câpo de Frol chegarão á pousada, donde se despediram todlos que acõpanhauam a Embaixada, no que se passou todo aquelle dia. Neste caminuó, em ho Elephante chegando aho Castello ante ho Papa, que estaua a hũa janella do mais baixo apousento delle, com algũs Cardeaes, fazendo sua reuerença tres vezes, tomou agoa na trõba d hũa grande dorna, & ha lançou tão alta, q' passando a çima da janella onde ho Papa estaua, foi dar nas outras em q' per tres vezes borrifou muitos Cardeaes, & outras pessoas d qualidade q' nellas estauão, & voltandosse pera ho pouo que ho tinha çerca fez o mesmo, tanto á sua vontade que sairão dali hos mais bem molhados. Acabadas estas, & outras cousas que ho Indio, que ho governaua, lhe dezia que fizesse, fez sua reuerença, & passou adiante, sem ho Papa nunca tirar hos olhos dele atte desaparecer.

Capitu. lvi. De quomo Tristam da Cvnha foi dar ha obediença aho Papa, & dos negocios que com elle trattou, & impetrou segundo has instruções que pera isso leuaua, & de sua tornada pera ho Regno.

Passadas estas vistas, ordenou que á segũda feira, xx do mesmo mes de Março lhe viessem hos embaixadores fallar, no qual se foram aho paço cõ hos charamellas, & trombetas, & ho Rei darmas diante com sua cota, acompanhados das familias dos Cardeaes, onde hos do Papa reçebeo na primeira salla, em hũ estrado alto, com hos Cardeaes aho redor, em seus assentos, & hos ãbaixadores, & Barões de Roma cõ algũs Prelados. Aho qual estrado sobirão hos nossos embaixadores a beijarlhe ho pé, & tras elles todolos fidalgos da embaixada, & familiares: ho que feito, Tristão da cunha lhe deu ha carta delRei, que ho seu Secretairo leo em alta voz: a qual lida começou de orar ho doutor Diogo pachequo per tambom stylo, & com tanta graça, & desenuoltura, q' foi louuado de todolos que ho ouuirão. Acabada a oraçam, ho Papa respondeo na mesma lingoa latina, & per mais espaço deque he costume ho fazerem hos Papas, tudo em louuor delRei, & da naçam Portuguesa. Acabado este razoamento, ho Papa se leuntou, leuãdolhe Tristão da cunha ha faldra atte sua camara, donde se despedirão delle, & assi se acabou esta segunda vista, & loguo á terça feira seguinte foram na mesma ordem com ho presente, pera ho q' ho papa hos foi esperar em Beluender, porque ho Elephante nã podia sobir aho paço, onde perante todolos Cardeaes, & embaixadores que estauam em Roma, reçebeo ho presente do Pontifical, & outras joias, ho q' andou de mão em mão, sem ficar Cardeal, nem embaixador que ho nam visse cõ espanto. Ho que feito, ho Papa se aleuntou pera ir ver ho Elephante, & **onço** aho jardim, onde esteue um bom pedaço, vendo has habilidades, de

que ho Elephante vsaua, & ho modo que ha **Onça** tinha em caçar, pera ho que ali mandou trazer algũas alimarias, q' logo mattou: ho que feito pergũtou a Tristão da cunha se q'ria logo audiença, ouque ficasse para outro dia, ho que se remeteo pera quinta feira seguinte, em que ho Papa hos esperou no paço, & reçoebio com muita honrra, & gasalhado, ouuindo mui bẽ tudo ho que lhe da parte delRei dixeram, do que hos pontos geras erã sobela proseguição do Conçilio, reformaçam da Egreja, & guerra cõtra os Turcos....”.



Figura 3.146 D. Manuel, o Venturoso e elefante enviado ao Papa Leão X.

3.2.150 John Kay (latinizado como Ioannes Caius) (1510 – 1573) [Figura 3.147] publicou o *De rariorum animalium et stirpium liber unus*, onde tratou longamente da **uncia** (Caius, 1570: 26-31):



Figura 3.147 John Kay (Iohannes Caius).

“*De Uncia.*

Uncia fera est saevissima, canis villatici magnitudine, facie & aure leonina; corpore, latere promisso, cauda, pede & ungue felis, aspectu truci; oculo splendore radiante, dente tam robusto & acuto, ut vel ligna findat; ungue ita pollet, ut eodem contra nitentes in adversum retineat: colore per summa corporis pallescentis ochrae, per ima cineris, asperse undique macula nigra & frequenti, cauda reliquo corpore aliquanto obscuriori & grandiori macula; quam extremam movet, ut felis, cum lubet, reliqua immota. Auris intus pallet sine nigro, foris nigricat sine pallore, si unam flavam & obscuram maculam è medio eximas. Ea e duplici pelle (ea videlicet quae e regione exteriori maxillae assurgit, & quae a summo capite convenit) in summa aure coeunte constituta est, facileque in sicco capite (quale domi meae habeo) & videri & separari eadem possunt. Reliquum caput totum est maculosum frequentissima macula nigra (ut est reliquum corpus) nisi ea parte quae inter nasum & oculum est, qua nullae sunt, nisi utrinque duae, & eae parvae: quemadmodum & caeterae omnes in extremis & imis partibus reliquis sunt

minores. Maculae in summis quidem crurum partibus & in cauda nigriores sunt & singulares, per latera vero compositae, quasi singulae maculae ex quatuor fierent. Ordo nullus est in maculis, nisi in labro superiori, ubi ordines quinque sunt. In primo & superiori duae discretae: in secundo sex conjunctae, ut linea esse videantur. Hi duo ordines liberi sunt, nee inter se commisti. In tertio ordine octo conjunctae sunt, sed cum quarto, ubi finit, commiscuntur. Quartus & quintus in suo principio (quod ad nasum habent) tenui admodum discrimine separati, statim se committunt, & una decurrunt per totum superius labrum, faciuntque non maculam per totum id, sed latam lineam. In mortuo animali ita se habent maculae, propter cutis (puto) contractionem. In vivo, maculae istae in suis quaeque ordinibus videntur separatae. In ipso medio inter hos utrinque ordines aliae minores sunt, exactè per quincuncem dispositae. Sed in imo labro maculae, etsi magnitudinem, non tamen ordinem servant. Nasus nigrescit, linea per longitudinem perque summam tantum superficiem inducta leniter. Oculi glauci sunt. Dentes illi anteriores hinc inde sex sunt, humanis non absimiles, nisi quòd ex his qui in medio collocantur, minores: qui per extrema, majores sunt, ut & superiores imis. His, utrinque dens grandis, acutus, atque longus est, in ima maxilla caeteris junctus, in superiori tanto spatio disjunctus, quanto dens inferior capi possit. Hi labris velantur in vivo animali, sed in mortuo non item, reductis prae siccitate labris. Grandis ille dens longus est digitos Rom. duos, in ambitu ad radicem non nisi digitis duobus cum semisse comprehensus. Denti inest cavitas quaedam exilis per totam longitudinem, quae tamen non apparet nisi rumpatur dens. Inferior maxilla durum os est & rigidum, tres dentes habens magnitudine inaequales, ut & superior quatuor. Cava etiam ea est intus per longitudinem. Inter magnum dentem & maxillarium primum inferioris maxillae, spatium est unius digiti vacuum, a quo positus statim est primus, caeteris duobus minor. Huic contiguus alius est grandior: & post hunc tertius etiam, secundo major. In summa maxilla, in medio illo spatio (quod digiti unius Rom. esse dixi) inter dentem grandem & primum maxillarem, dens est exiguus admodum & informis, demittens se tantum leniter è maxilla, nullo in inferiore, qui illi respondeat, existente. Dimidiati digiti post eum spatio, secundus est, cui junctus tertius est, & post hunc quartus. Inter se ita superiores & inferiores maxillares morsu committuntur, ut pectinatim coeant. Duo priores in inferiori, & secundus & tertius in superiori maxilla dentes, ejus sunt figurae, cujus est iris in summo diademate coronatorum aureorum Regis Angliae atque Franciae. Ejus etiam figurae tertius est in inferiori, & quartus in superiori, nisi quòd interior utriusque ala, quae gulae propior est, natura demitur. His conjuncti nulli erant alii in utraque maxilla. An post intervallum unius digiti, finita dentium serie, relictum integrum alii erant inserti, nescio. Illud scio, non nisi post id spatii amputatas maxillas, quasi studio monstrandi dentes id esset factum, indicioque nullos superfuisse. Pudendum iis est felis. Mari statim sub meatu, quo alvi excrementum redditur, positi testiculi duo sunt parvi, quibus ab ima parte junctus caulis est, non propendens, sed in suo praepudio extuberans tantum leniter. Vivit ex carne. Foemina mare crudelior est & minor. Utriusque sexus una ad nos ex Mauritania est advecta nave. Nascuntur in Libya. Si quod illis coeundi statum tempus est, hic mensis Junius est. Nam hoc mas foeminam supervenit: si id natura fecit ac non lascivia. Leones cicurari possunt, id quod ex hoc intelligo, quòd in urbe Londino, & in arce Londinensi leones custodum suorum oscula excipiunt, contactum admittunt & colludunt. Ipse vidi. Ista animalia tam ferocia sunt, ut custos, cum primò vellet de loco in locum movere, cogeatur fuste in caput acto (ut aiunt) semimortua reddere, atque ita in capsam ligneam ad hoc factam, & respirationis gratia perforatam reponere, atque ita de loco in locum tuto transportare. Post horam reviviscebant tamen haec, ut cati, non nisi extremis injuriis obnoxia morti. Itidem fecit custos cum è capsam exemit. Jam vero novas rationes invenerunt reponendi & eximendi, trahendo ea in capsam fune, & capsam eis admovendo conto. Foeminam jamdudum ira sustulit: parvi canis consuetudine mansuescit mas, adeo ut resupinatus complectatur canem pedibus & colludat, ita ut nec dente laedat nee ungue. Vestigia habet Leoninis prorsus similia. Eodem enim die & **unciae** & Leonis vestigia vidi, hujus cum homine, illius cum parvo cane ludentis. Ungues habet validos, uncos & acutos, falculosque aversos, quorum mucrones condit in corporis vaginas ut leo & felis, nec nisi appetendo praetendit. Aiunt hasc animalia saepe cum leone contendere. Parvum canem non laedunt, nisi fames urgeat: magnum vel satiati lacerant. Iratus, vocem edit irati canis, r. literam geminantis, sed quàm quivis canis majorem, ex amplo pectore & arteria seu curculione ductam; qualemque canis villaticus redderet, si in cupa grandiori inclusus ad iram stimularetur. Quòd scribunt esse cane longius, id mihi non videtur. Nam sunt apud nos multi canes villatici, qui longitudine aequant. Pecuario tamen & major est & longior, ut & villatico humilior. Vanum est, quem **Uncia** vulneravit, eum murium concursu permictum interire. Nam nos vidimus duos custodes ab una **Uncia** vulneratos, nee tamen mures accurrerunt, nec permixerunt, neque ex vulnere gravius quid est insecutum, quam si ex sano cane, aut incisione levi vulnus esset. Quem ferit, caput petit si possit, idque aut ex insidiis, si imparem se putet: aut simulata benevolentia, si insidiis non possit. Ita enim canem villaticum (sic M. Varro & Columella eum nominant, quem hodie Molossum vocant; cujus generis praecipui pugnacesque apud nos sunt in Britannia, ut si uspiam terrarum, adeo ut ne cum urso quidem certare singulari certamine vereantur; uti in libro nostro de canibus Britannicis diximus) dudum interfecit intromissum. Primo enim conspectu, caudae motu applaudebat: mox se prosternebat tanquam supplex, tum appropinquabat velut ludibunda, exporrecto pede uno, ut feles solent cum ludere gestiunt. Tandem ubi securum putabat canem, ac de vita parum sollicitum, nacta opportunitatem, impetu insultabat, ac morsu jugulum petiit, nec nisi mortuum dimisit. A morte, ungue lacerando pectus aperuit, & cor eduxit, primumque voravit, crudeli more. Dentes non denudat nisi irata. Non absimiles istis mores Pantheris sunt. Etenim tradunt odore earum & contemplatione armenta mire affici, atque ubi eas persentiscant, properatò convenire, nec terreri nisi sola oris

torvitate. Quam ob causam Pantherae statione absconditis capitibus, quae corporis reliqua sunt spectanda praebent, ut pecuarios greges stupidos in obtutu populentur segura vastatione”.

3.2.151 No poema de Rémy Belleau (1528 – 1577) [Figura 3.148] *Les amours et nouveaux eschanges des pierres précieuses, vertus et propriétés d’icelles*, escrito em 1576, consta (cf. Crépet, 1861: 403):



Remy Belleau.

Figura 3.148 Rémy Belleau.

“D’un pié prompt et legier, ces folles Bassarides
Environnent le char; l’une se pend aux brides
Des **onces** mouchettez d’estoiles sur le dos,
Onces à l’oeil subtil, au pié souple et dispos,
Au muffle herissé de deux longues moustaches;
L’autre met dextrement les tigres aux attaches,
Tizonnez sur la peau, les couple deux à deux;
Ils ronflent de colere, et vont roullans les yeux;
Un fin drap d’or fries, semé des perles fines,
Les couvre jusqu’au flanc; les loupes à crespines
Flottent sur le genou; plus humblesdevenus,
On agence leur queue en tortillons menus”.

3.2.152 Filippo Sassetti (1540 – 1588), em carta ao cardeal de’ Medici em 1584, desde Cochim (no atual estado de Kerala, no sul da Índia), declarou (cf. Carrer, 1841c: 164):

“Sonci dipoi **lonze**, e tigri di fiere brave, in tanto che non è molto sicuro andare per la foresta”.

3.2.153 Frei Juan de Pineda (1513 – 1593), no *Dialogo veyntiocheno* de sua *Agricultura Christiana*, pôs na boca de seu personagem Philaethes o seguinte:

“Primero quiero poner el texto sancto, y despues le salpicaremos con algunas palabras que le hagan mas inteligibles: y agora llega el punto del Antichristo, por tanto notad que dize S.ⁿ Iuan que vio salir de la mar vna bestia com siete cabeças y diez cuernos (como la tuuo el dragon bermejo) y sobre cada cuerno vna corona, y esto no lo tuuo el dragon. Esta bestia era manchada como vn **leon pardo**, o la bestia que llaman **onça**, y sus pies como de osso, y su boca como de leon: y dio la de el dragon su grã potestad y virtud: y la vna de sus cabeças se mostro como muerta, mas fue curada, y toda la tierra se admiro dello, y adoraron al dragon que dio poderio a la bestia, y adoraron a la bestia diziendo que quien seria su semeiante, ni podria entrar en batalla con ella” (Pineda, 1589a: 139v).

E em seu *Los treynta y cinco diálogos familiares de la agricultura christiana* disse, através de seu personagem Pamphilo:

“Y de lo del Antipathia me ocurre q’ mi familiar Pierio Valeriano trahe como la piel de la **Panthera**, q’ deue ser la que lláman **onça**, o **leon pardo**, o el que quiẽ biẽ lo supiere quisiere, se corrompe juntandola com la de la Hyena, de manera que se pela toda...” (Pineda, 1589b: 84v).

3.2.154 Joachim du Bellay (ca. 1522 – 1560) [Figura 3.149], em seu poema *Prosphonematique au Roy Treschrestien Henry II*, citou o leopardo como sinônimo da Inglaterra:

“Je voy tomber sous les feschés Françoises
Le **Leopard**, ton antique ennemi,
Qui souloit bruire aux forests Escossoises,
Le feu vengeur desia vole parmi
La nef captiue: au sang Anglois encore
L’azur marin de pourpre se colore”
(Du Bellay, 1597: 117v).



Figura 3.149 Joachim du Bellay.

3.2.155 Lorenz Sauer (latinizado como Laurentius Surius (1522 – 1578), hagiólogo e historiador, ao publicar a obra do beato Heinrich Seuse (Henricus Suso, 1295 – 1366), místico e teólogo germânico, na biografia que compôs sobre esse autor, comparou seu poder de atração com o da pantera (Surius, 1615: 462):

“His nimirum animus illius iuuenis alliciebatur, perinde vt **panthera** dicitur suauem spirans odorem, feras alias ad se adducere”.

3.2.156 Jean Nicot (1530 – 1600) [Figura 3.150], immortalizado por haver introduzido o tabaco na França [Figura] e ser honrado com o gênero *Nicotiana* e a nicotina, foi autor de um *Thresor da la langve francoyse* (Nicot, 1606: 370), onde consta:



Figura 3.150. Jean Nicot apresentando a planta do tabaco a Catarina de Médicis.

“**Leopard.** Beste engendre d’un Lion et d’une panthere, Leopardus”.

3.2.157 Girolamo Mercuriale (1530 – 1606), em seu *De morbis cvtaneis et omnibvs corporis hvmani tractatvs* (Mercurialis, 1625: 144) citou brevemente a pantera:

“**Pantheram** ,cũ venenum pardalianches vocatũ hauserit, auidissimè stercora nostra captare, auctor est Aris. lib. 9 de hist. anim. cap. 6”.

3.2.158 Na *Ode de la Chasse* de Etienne Jodelle (1532 – 1573) [Figura 3.151] lemos os seguintes versos (Jodelle, 1872: 11):

“Parler aussi du Leure on peut
 Qu’à force on prend, ou d’une sorte
 Rare, quand le **Leopard** veut
 En quatre ou cinq sauts l’emporte:
 Mesme on peut discourir combine
 A leurette on se peut plaire,
 Quand en plain erase on voit faire
 Au lieure & aux leuriers fort bien”.



Figura 3.151 Étienne Jodelle.

3.2.159 Nicolas Barnaud (ca. 1539 – 1604?), sob o pseudônimo de Froumantau (Barnaud, 1581: 27), em seu *Secrets des finances de France*, escreveu:

“*Gardes des Lyons, Onses, Dogues & autres animaux.*”

Aux Gardes de Lyons, **Onses**, Dogues & autres animaux estranges, la somme de quatre vingt mil liures, tant pour leurs gages, despense desdits animaux, que pour la conduite d’iceux, Appert par estats, contrerolles, & contes sur ce rendus en la Chambre des contes. Parquoy cy

III^{XX} M P’.

3.2.160 No livro *Universae Naturae Theatrum* do jurista francês Jean Bodin (em latim Ioannes Bodinus andegavensis) [Figura 3.152] (1529/1530 – 1596) encontramos (Bodin, 1597: 136):



Figura 3.152 Jean Bodin.

“Th[eodorus]. Quotuplex est nō ruminantium genus?

M[ystagogus]. Duplex fissum vngula, vt sus, equus, ferus: non fissum vngula diplex est, scilicet digitatum & solidipes: huius duo sunt genera, dentibus exertum. Vt Elephas, & Hippopotamus: & dētibus planum, vt equus, asinus, & monstrum duplex ex vtroque genitum: digitatorum species sunt leo, tigris, **panthera**, lupus, **linx**, vrsa, canis, vulpes, melis, feles, mus”.

3.2.161 Giovanni Battista dalla Porta (1535 – 1615) [Figura 3.153], em seu *Magiae naturalis libri viginti* citou a pantera e o leopardo [Figura 3.154]:



Figura 3.153 Giovanni Battista della Porta.

“Dissidet hyena cum panthera: unde qui hyaenae corio se loricat iam mortuam fugiunt quaeq’ nec congrederi quem sustinet: & si eorum pelles regione adversantes suspendes, pantherarum pelles pilis defluunt...” (Porta, 1597: 34, 1644: 31).

74 MAGIÆ NATVR. LIBER II.
Ex diversorum animalium commixtu varia esse animalia genita. CAP. XI.
Ex diversis animalibus specie differentibus commixtiones indicabimus, mox ex iam genitis aliam commixtiones experiendo, ut quæ sitas species instituas, & ex fortibus, qui plus matris, patrisve retineant, confidebimus. ut voti compotes efficiamur, & primo
ex pardo & leona leopardum generare.
 Ex leona & pardali nascitur leopardus. Leenam dicunt ad coitum feruere, & leonem non admodum posse coire, propter nimium temperamenti calorem, ideo leonem admittit pardum in leonum cubilibus, ubi vero pariendi tempus appetit, in montes confugit, & loca pardalibus consuecunt: pariunt enim maculosos catulos, propterea in densissimis siluis occultatos nutriunt, simulantes se venationis gratia à maribus abesse. Leones. n. si catulos deprehenderit, lacerant, & sobolem tanquam adulterinam perdunt ex Philostrato. In siluestribus Hircanæ locis pardi sunt, secundum à pantheris genus, noti satis, nec latius exequendi, quorum adulterinis coitibus degenerantur partus leonarum, & leones quidem procreant, sed ignobiles. Solinus. Ex adulterio pardi, & leonæ leopardus nascitur, & tertiam originem efficit. Isidorus. Leones, quos creant pardi, remanent iubarum inopes. Plinius, & Solinus. Odore pardi coitum sentit in adultera leo, totaq; vi confurgit in pœnâ: idcirco aut flumine abluatur, aut longius comitatur. Sed si leona ex pardo concipit, & corpore sibi similem gignit, animo dissimilem, sic panthera si ex leone concipiat, & maculosum gignat faciem, ut duo sint leopardi genera, sicut mulus, alius ex equo & asina, alter ex asino & equa: nam omnia bigenera plus à matre accipere videntur, præsertim quo ad magnitudinem, & formam corporis. Claud.
*Obusa flumines properant ad vulnere pardi,
 Semino permisso geniti, quum forte leona
 Nobilitatem sterum viridum corruptis adulter,
 Cum maculis patres referunt, & tergoe matres.
 ex hyena & leona crocitant nasci.*

Figura 3.154 Página 74 do livro *Magia naturalis* de Giovanni Battista Porta (1597), em que trata da geração do leopardo.

3.2.162. Nos “Comentários” do médico italiano Lodovico Settala (em latim Ludovicus Septalius) (1550 – 1633) [Figura 3.155] consta:

“Sed non contra inuenimus omnia animalia siluestria itidem etiam domestica inueniri: non enim leones, non **pantheras**, non viperam, non complura alia, vt leporem, bubonem & similia domestica esse nouimus” (Settala, 1607: 118).



Figura 3.155 Lodovico Settala.

E à p. 234 assim discorreu sobre o *párdalis*:

Cæterū aduersus hanc Arist. sententiā ab initio propositā, qua ex animantib. nullum excepta pardali bene olere scribit, aliqua sunt, quæ non leue negotiū facere possunt; siquidē scim⁹ Gazelā zibetti, capreolū moschi, tū & mures quosdā aliquid in se habere, q̄ suauissime olet. Quin & Alex. Magni corpus aromatibus oliuisse testatū reliquit Theophrastus. Corpus insuper Ioan. Tzetzi itidē aromatib. oliuisse testis ipse est in expositione dierū & operū Hesiodi. Secundo dubitari potest, verū ne sit q̄ Arist. dixit pardalim bene olere, & si verū sit, cur in hoc problem. illius causam nō tradiderit. Quantū ad primū attinet duo dicere poterim⁹, quorū primū est antiquis illis rerū naturalium indagatorib. incognitas fuisse species illas animantium: & propterea neq; zibetti neq; moschi sicut nec ambari vllā fecisse mentionē: neq; .n. tantū laborasent in odoratis pastillis & vnguentis p̄parandis; vt videre licet apud Theophrast. lib. de odoribus, & Athenēū in Dipnosophistis: neq; tā suaves odores, aut solos, aut mixtos omisisset. Secundo dicere poterimus odorē illū suauē, & beneolentē exhalationē nō ex animantiū illorū corporib. aut carnibus provenire, sed ex cōcreto quodā succo aut ex cremēto in folliculis collecto, & mox aut extracto, aut certe expulso, absterfoue. Quod vero de Alexand. Macedone & Ioan. Tzetze contrariū adduci potest, nihil facit ad infringendū, q̄ ab Arist. hoc loco propositū est: siquidē Arist. totā speciem illius animalis pantherę scilicet, aut plantæ, vt gladioli intelligit. nēpe omnē pantherā & gladiolum omnē suauiter olere. Omnis autē homo nō bene olet, sed pauculi quidā bene, multi male olēt. Nā corpulēti pingues, calidi & humidi male olēt, vel nō olēt. sicci autē & calidi aliqui bene. circa veritatē autē rei pantherane aliis brutis animantib. bene oleat nec ne: semp̄ anceps ac dubius fui, cū Arist. & hoc loco & alibi, & Theophr. obseruauerim lib. de causis plantarū 1. & 26. id nō afferere, sed dubitādo p̄ponere, & poti⁹ ex mēte aliorū. nā Arist. hoc loco quasi dubitādo p̄ parēthesim dicit: has etenim feris ipsis, aiūt, suauiter olere. & Theophrastus, Pardalim, inquit, cæteris animalib. suauiter olere quidam affirmāt, & c. & c. 26. animal nullū penitus odoratū est, nisi quis pardalim dixerit sensui belluarū bene olere. sed si q̄ ab Arist. lib. de sensu, & iis q̄ in sensum cadūt, & à Theoph. 6. de causis plantarū, tum q̄ à nobis lōga oratione demonstrata sunt diligēter ad pensum reuocemus, vtiq; affirmare poterimus neq; etiam bestiis, vt neq; nobis bene olere pardalim dici posse. neq; .n. cætera animalia vno excepto homine odorib. bene aut male affici iā demonstrauimus vel potius suauiter aut moleste. odores etenim certos animalia quædā sectari cōstat, sed hoc ratione cibi solū vt optime docebat Theophrastus; cū ex odore, quid ipsorū naturę cōueniat p̄cipiant: vt ea fortassis eis solū bene oleāt, & longē ēt ad ea pelliciuat, q̄ in cibū eis venire possunt nō vt merā odoris gratiā captēt. Plin. aut Aelianus, & Philostratus tanquā historici bruta animatia vestigia p̄therę insequi scribūt, & ob odorē quidē id fieri se credere aliorū opinione testant, cū varietate potius coloris oblectamentū feris id afferre verisimile sit. Hac igit̄ fortasse ratione Arist. hoc loco causam nō tradidit, cur ex animalib. ex solę feris bene oleāt, & cur nō hominib. potissimū cū, q̄ de pardali dixerat, incidēter ēt p̄posuisset.

3.2.163 Camillo Baldo (1550 – 1637), em sua obra *In Physiognomica Aristotelis Commentarii* (Baldo, 1621), escreveu:

- P. 273:

“In **panthera**, vero (quam **pardalim** vocat), faeminei sexus, Non secus atque timiditatem in lepore agnoscimus, audaciam in mustela, venenum in basiliaco angue, quem regulum vocant, quod autem Leo formam habeat masculinam probat Aristoteles dicens”.

- P. 292:

“FAEMINEI CORPORIS, ET ANIMI QUALITATES. Cap. XXXX.

Pardalis autem, inter ea quae fortia videntur, foemineae formae magis est, nisi secundum crura, his operatur, & aliquod opus fortitudinis facit.

Pardalem, quam vocat, puto esse **pantheram**, quae in specie **pardi**, faemina est, quamque, vt vrsam, dicit esse in sua species ferociorem, quam sit masculus. Primum igitur dicamus, quaenam sit Aristotelis intentio, cur pantheram potius quam leaenã acceperit, aut aliquam molliorem si genus faeminile designare volebat, deinde quod sit talis tum **panthera**, tum quae per hanc designatur mulier,

(...).

Cur autem **pantheram** potius, quam leaenam acceperit, aut equam, aut equam, aut aliquã aliam faeminam, vt ceruam quae ualde tímida est, timorque mulierum est proprium, quaerit Suessanus, &

3.2.164 O xeique Abu'l-Fazl ibn Mubarak (em persa **الفضل ابو**) (1551 – 1602) [Figura 3.156], também conhecido como Abu'l-Fazl, Abu'l Fadl e Abu'l-Fadl 'Allami, foi um cronista, historiógrafo e vizir do grande imperador mogol Akbar [Figura 3.157]. Escreveu a *Akbarnama* (em persa **نامه اكبر**)¹⁰⁸, história oficial do reinado de Akbar, em três volumes, sendo o terceiro volume conhecido como *Ain-i-Akbari* (em persa **اڪبري آئين**) (“as crônicas de Akbar”). Na tradução de Blochmann (1873: 285-290) pode-se ler o interessantíssimo relato do xeique sobre a caçada de leopardos, sua alimentação, o salário pago aos seus guardas e as estratégias de caça desses felinos:

“**Leopards**, when wild, select three places. In one part of the country they hunt; in another part they rest and sleep; and in a third district they play and amuse themselves. They mostly sleep on the top of a hill. The shade of a tree is sufficient for the leopard. He rubs himself against the trunk. Round about the tree, they deposit their excrements, which are called in Hindi *ák'jar*.

Formerly, hunters used to make deep holes and cover them with grass. These pits were called *odi*. The leopards on coming near them, fell down to the bottom; but they often broke their feet in pieces, or managed by jumping to get out again. Nor could you catch more than one in each pit. His Majesty therefore invented a new method, which has astonished the most experienced hunters. He made a pit only two or three *gaz* deep, and constructed a peculiar trapdoor, which closes when the leopard falls into the hole. The animal is thus never hurt. Sometimes more than one go into the trap. On one occasion no less than seven leopards were caught. At the time of their heat, which takes place in winter, a female leopard had been walking about on the field, and six male leopards were after her. Accidentally she fell into a pit, and her male companions, unwilling to let her off, dropped in one after the other, - a nice scene, indeed.

His Majesty also catches leopards by tiring them out, which is very interesting to look at.

Another method is to fasten nooses at the foot of the above mentoned tree. When the animal comes to scratch himself, it gets entangled

His Majesty generally hunts leopards thirty or forty *kos* from Ágrah, especially in the districts of Bári, Síwáli, Alápúr, Sunnám, Bhatindah, Bhatnir, Paṭan in the Panjáb. Fathpúr, Jhinjhanú, Nāgor, Mirth'ha, Jodhpúr, Jaisalmír, Amrsarnáyin; but several other more remote spots have been

¹⁰⁸ Uma edição do *Akbarnámah*, em persa, foi editada por 'Abd-ur-Rahím (1877, 1879).



Figura 3.156 Abu'l-Fazl entregando seu livro *Akbarnámah* ao imperador Akbar.



Figura 3.157 O imperador Akbar (1542-1605) caçando com guepardos dentro de um cercado.

selected as hunting grounds. His Majesty used often to go to the first mentioned places, take out the leopards that had fallen into a pit, and hand them over to the keepers. He would often travel over great distances, and was perhaps just on the point of resting a little; but before he had done so, good news were brought from some other hunting ground, when he hastened away on the fleet courser.

In former times, people managed to train a newly caught leopard for the chase in the space of three months, or if they exerted themselves, in two months. From the attention which His Majesty pays to this animal, leopards are now trained, in an excellent manner, in the short space of eighteen days. Old and active keepers were surprised at such results, and extolled the charm of His Majesty's knowledge. From good motives, and from a desire to add splendor to his court, His Majesty used to take it upon himself to keep and train leopards, astonishing the most experienced by his success.

A rather remarkable case is the following. Once a leopard had been caught, and without previous training, on a mere hint by His Majesty, it brought in the prey like trained leopards. Those who were present had their eyes opened to truth, and experienced the blessing of prostrating themselves in belief on His Majesty.

Attracted by the wonderful influence of the loving heart of His Majesty, a leopard once followed the imperial suite without collar or chain, and like a sensible human being, obeyed every command, and at every leopard chase enjoyed it very much to have its skill brought to the test.

There are two hundred keepers in charge of the *khāçah* leopards. A proper system of training has been laid down.

A'IN 28.

THE FOOD ALLOWED TO LEOPARDS. THE WAGES OF THE KEEPERS.

First class leopards get 5 *s.* of meat every day; second class, 4 ½ *s.*; third class, 4 *s.*; fourth class, 3 ¾ *s.*; fifth class, 3 ½ *s.*; sixth class, 3 ¼ *s.*; seventh class, 3 *s.*; eighth class, 2 ¾ *s.* The meat is given in a lump; and as on Sundays no animals are killed, double the daily portion is given on Saturdays.

Formerly every six months. But now annually, four *ser*s of butter and one-tenth of a *ser* of brimstone are given as ointment, which prevents itch. Four men also are appointed to train and look after each leopard; but now there are three men told off for such leopards as sit on horses when taken to the hunting ground, and only two for such as sit on carts and on doolies. The wages of the keepers vary from 30 *R.* to 5 *R. per mensem*; but they have at the same time to look after the cattle which draw the leopard carts. The servants who look after the cattle, are divided into seniors and juniors, each class being subdivided into five divisions. The senior get 300 *d.*, 260 *d.*, 220 *d.*, 200 *d.*, and 180 *d.*, which is the lowest allowance; the juniors get 160 *d.*, 140 *d.*, 120 *d.*, 110 *d.* and 100 *d.* For the sake of show, the leopards get brocaded saddle cloths, chain studded with jewels, and coarse blankets, and *Gushkāni*¹⁰⁹ carpets to sit on. Grandees of the court also are appointed to superintend the keepers of each leopard; they are to take care that the animals are nicely dressed, and that new ones are added to the establishment. Each leopard has a name which indicates some of his qualities. Every ten leopards form a *Misl* or *Ṭaraf* (set); they are also divided according to their rank as follows. One thousand¹¹⁰ leopards are kept in His Majesty's park, and an interesting encampment they form. The three first sets are *khāçah*; they are kept at Court together with two other sets. For their conveyance two litters (*mihaffah*) are hung over the back of an elephant, one litter on each side. On each litter one leopard sits, looking out for a prey. Litters are also put on camels, horses, and mules. Carts even are made for the leopards, and are drawn by horses or cattle; or they are made to sit on horses; and sometimes they are

¹⁰⁹ Nota 3 de Blochmann (1873: 287):

This should perhaps be **گوشکاني** or **گشکاني**
goskhāni, Goshkán, (in Arabic *Joshqán*),
being a town in Irán, famous for its
carpets.

¹¹⁰ Nota à página 288 de Blochmann (1873):

¹ “Among the curious events which happened during the present [Jahāngir's] reign, I must mention that a leopard in captivity covered a female leopard, which gave birth to three cubs. The late emperor [Akbar], during his youth, was passionately fond of leopards and hunting with leopards. He had about 9000 leopards collected during his reign, and tried much to pair them, so as

to get cubs, but in vain. He even allowed some leopards to run about in the gardens without collars, letting them walk about and hunt after their fashion: but they would not pair. During this year a male leopard broke its collar, and covered a female, which after a space of two months and a half gave birth to three cubs. They went on well, and grew big.” *Iqbāl-nāmah*, p. 70.

carried by men in doolies. The best leopard which His Majesya has, goes by the name of *Samand mánik*; he is carried on a *Chaudol*, and proceeds with much pomp. His servants, fully equipped, run at his side; the *naqqúarah* (a large drum) is beaten in front, and sometimes he is carried by two men on horseback, the two ends of the pole of the *Chaudol* resting on the necks of their horses. Formerly two horses were kept for each leopard; but now three horses are given to two leopards. Others have a dooly, or a cart drawn by four oxen. Many travel alone on one and the same dooly. A tame, trained leopard has the dooly carried by three men, others by two.

Skill exhibited by hunting leopards.

Leopards will go against the wind, and thus they get scent of a prey, or come to hear its voice. They then plan an attack, and give the hunters notice where the prey is. The hunters keep the animal near themselves, and proceed to catch the prey. This is done in three ways.

1. *U'parg'hañi*. The hunters let off the leopard to the right from the place where the deer was seen. The leopard swiftly seizes it with his claws. 2. *Rig'hni*. The leopard lies concealed, and is shewn the deer from a distance. The collar is then taken off, when the leopard, with perfect skill, will dash off, jumping from ambush to ambush till he catches the deer. 3. *Muhári*. The leopard is put in an ambush, having the wind towards himself. The cart is then taken away to the opposite direction. This perplexes the deer, when the leopard will suddenly make his way near it, and catch it.

It is impossible to describe the wonderful feats of this animal; language fails to express his skill and cunning. Thus he will raise up the dust with his forefeet and hind legs, in order to conceal himself; or he will lie down so flat, that you cannot distinguish him from the surface of the ground.

Formerly a leopard would not kill more than three deer at one and the same chase; but now he will hunt as many as twelve.

His Majesty has also invented a method called *chatrmandal*. The hunters lie in ambush near a place frequented by deer, and commence the chase from this place, as if it was a *qamarghah* hunt (in which drivers are used). The leopards are then let off in all directions, and many deer are thus caught.

The men employed to train and keep the imperial leopards, receive presents on all occasions when the animal exhibit skill, as an encouragement to further exertions. A special present has been fixed for each animal but I cannot specify this.

Once, from the kindness shewn by His Majesty, a deer made friendship with a leopard. They lived together and enjoyed each other's company. The most remarkable thing was this, that the leopard when let off against other deer, would pounce upon them as any other leopard.

In former times leopards were never allowed to remain loose towards the close of the day; for people were afraid of their stubbornness and anxiety to run away. But now, in consequence of the practical rules made by His Majesty, they are set loose in the evenings, and yet remain obedient. Formerly leopards were also kept blindfolded, except at the time of the chase; for the leopards used to get brisk and run about as if mad. But now-a-days they are kept without covers for their heads. The Grandees of the court are allowed to bet on forty *kháçah* leopards; whoever wins takes the amount of his bet from the others. If a leopard is first in bringing twenty deer, his *Doriyah* [the man who holds the chain to which the leopard is fastened] gets five rupees from his equals. The Grandee in charge of the *kháçah* leopard, Sayyid Ahmad of Bárha, gets one nuhur from each bet, by which he makes a good deal of money. As often as a Grandee lays before His Majesty twenty pairs of deer horns, he takes the *Ashrafi* from each of his equals. So also do the *Tarafdars* and *Qarawals* bet; in fact every one shews his zeal in trying to get as many deer as possible. The skins of the deer are often given to poor people as part of money present.

It is remarkable that His Majesty can at once tell by seeing a hide to what hunting ground the deer belonged. His Majesty, in a vow made by him before the birth of the eldest prince, never hunts on Fridays”.

3.2.165 John Lily (1553 – 1606), em seu *Euphues and his Ephoebus*, escrito em 1579, mencionou brevemente a pantera (Skeat, 1871: 329):

“Wherefore if ther be any Father that would haue his children nurtured and brought vp in honestie, let him expel these **Panthers** which haue a sweete smel, but a deuouring minde”.

3.2.166 Matthieu Guillemot (15.. – 1610), em sua obra póstuma *Histoire de la mort deplorabile de Henry III. Roy de France et de Navarre* (Guillemot, 1613: 398) aludiu ao odor da pantera:

“La Panthere apres les longues pluyes n'exhale pas vn parfum si odorant...”.

3.2.167 Prospero Alpini (1553 – 1617) [Figura 3.158], médico e botânico italiano, acompanhou Giorgio Emo, que havia sido nomeado cônsul da Sereníssima República no Egito. Partiram de Veneza a 21 de setembro de 1580, mas só chegaram a Alexandria a 22 de março do ano seguinte, por causa de epidemias e de uma navegação agitada por tempestades; entretantes explorou várias das ilhas gregas. Demoraram mais três meses para atingir o Cairo, sede oficial do consulado. Alpini permaneceu no Egito três anos, realizando várias observações. Regressou à Itália em novembro de 1584, passando a residir em Gênova. Em 1593 foi nomeado professor de botânica e diretor do jardim botânico da Universidade de Pádua. Ao morrer, deixou um manuscrito sobre a história natural do Egito, editado como *Historiae Aegypti naturalis pars prima* (Alpini, 1735).

No capítulo X (*De Elephante, Camelo-Pardali, Leone, Pardali, Tigri, atque Zibetho*), às páginas 237 e 238 [Figuras 3.159 e 3.160] discorreu sobre o leopardo/pantera.



Figura 3.158 Prospero Alpini.

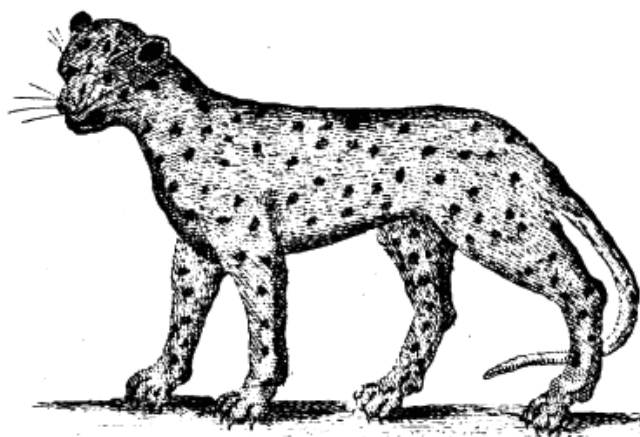


Figura 3.159 A pantera de Alpini (1735: 238, pl. XV, fig. 2).

Sed jam ad feras quidem, quas in ea regione observavimus dicendas declinamus; quæ fuerunt Leones, Pardales, Tigres, Hyenæ, Civetæquæ. Leones ibi habentur, sed non multi, usque adeo à prima ætate cicurati, ut mansuetissimi evaserint, & maximè fideles. Minores ibi vivunt quam in Asia, atque in Æthiopia vivunt; ita audio eos & mansuescere, & disciplinari, ut in venatu ipsis multi perinde atque vulgo canibus, utantur. Leæna Tigri fœminæ simillima est, totum corpus maculatum habens, leone mare longè crassius. Tigres ex Æthiopia in Ægyptum convectas vidimus, etsi nullo modo cicuratæ hæ mansuefiant, neque unquam ferinam naturam relinquunt. Sunt leænis quam similes, & forma, & colore albicante, rotundis maculis fulvescentibus evariato, sed leænis longè majores sunt. Inibi vero Pardi, Pantheræ copiosius vivunt. Pardus mas est, Panthera fœmina. Animal longum est, colore albicante, maculis varium, oculatis enim ex fulvo, aut nigro circulis ejus color albicans infectus est, ut breviter dicam, hoc animal Leoni quam simillimum, sed in vultu ad Felem maximè declinat: atque ut Felis stertit, dormit libenter in molli strato, habet pilos eodem albicantes supra os, qui in Felis labiis visuntur: est sane Pardus Leoni quam simillimus, dico longitudine, atque figura, differt vero à Leone, quoniam & jubam non habet in collo, ut Leo, & maculis rotundis, parvisque fulvescentibus toto corpore infectus est. Minus vero animosus est quam Leo, & cum ipso pugnat à tergo, insidiis uti semper studet. Panthera vero & longe animosior est, & cum Leone pugnam nunquam declinat. Quo tempore perveni Alexandriam, duos Pardos uti Leones maximos vidi apud Antonium Calepium nobilem Bergomatem pro Veneta Natione Pro-Consulem, ibique magnum mercaturæ negotium agentem, qui ex iis semper aliquot nutrebat lucri causa. Unum aliquando vendidit quingentis coronatis. Usque adeo cicures erant, ut una cum eo dormirent felium modo stertendo: ii mansueti erant, semperque in lectulis Pro-Consulis decumbentes dormiebant, culcitraque illi etiam fericeas, & magni pretii lacerantes: carne eos nutrebat. Sæpe à nobis cum Pardo ibatur ad venandas Gazellas, & pugnam inter ipsos pulcherrimam quæ fiebat, admirabamur, præsertim Gazellæ artificium cum Pardo, cornibus durissimis armatæ pugnando, sed eam tandem multum defatigatam, atque ex pugna admodum defessam, interimebat. Cauri postea vidimus quandam Heleam, Græcam meretricem, quinque catulos recenter à Panthera effusos, aureis Turcicis triginta, ex Arabe coëmisse, eosque ut feles aluisse, eos enim parvulos lavabat, pectebat, omnique cibo humano consuefaciebat. * Erant omnino visu pulcherrimi: albicabant colore, maculis parvis rotundis toto corpore evariato; parvos feles pulcherrimos æmabantur: fere semper ut feles dormiebant, atque non citra stertorem, non minus quam catulos eos mansuetos reddidit. Parum quidem differentiæ inter Pardum, atque Pantheram intercedere observavimus. Panthera major quidem Pardalis, & toto corpore, & capite est, atque multo ferocior.

* *Vid.*
Tab. XV.
Num. 2

Figura 3.160 Páginas 237 (parte) e 238 da obra de Alpini (1735).

3.2.168. Matthäus Rader, S. J. (1561 – 1634), filólogo e historiador, fez o seguinte comentário sobre o epigrama CIV do Livro I de Marcial (ver Seção 1.5.16 acima) (Rader, 1602: 148):

Hoc lemma tractatum supra epig. 15. 33. 41. 49. 52. 61. nunc elegantissimè per *αὐτοματῶν*, seu comparationem expolitur, cum ludicrum hoc leonum, & leporum spectaculum contendit cum aliis feris arte cecuratis, & magistro obtemperantibus, seu pardos iungat ad iugum, seu cervis freno iniciat, seu vrfos habena regat, seu apris capistrum induat, seu bisontes cogat effeda trahere, elephantos iubeat saltare, leones, omnes feras arte superare cum parcant leporibus capris, caprosque dimittant, ac recipiant, milleq; modis innoxie cum illis ludant, quod, blandiendo poetæ Cæsaris diuinitati adsignat.

PICTO COLLO PARDYS) Pardi, pardales, pantheræ, variæ, Africanæ, vnum genus ferarum putantur, pardos mas. pardalis & panthera, scemina, de quibus Plinius lib. 18. cap. 17. Aelianus passim, Oppianus li. 3. Cyneg. Aristoteles, Plutarchus, alij. Fœmina ferocior mare, unde panthera dicta, quasi penitus fera, *πανθηρὸν τὸ πᾶσι θῆρῶν*, vel *θηρῶν*, venatio, Varro. Pierius lib. 11. seu quod omnium ferarum coloribus variegata cernatur, seu omnis generis feras venerit. Picto collo ob varietatem villorum, qua speciosior est omnibus feris. Oppianus lib. 3. Cyneg.

Πρὸς τοὺς λέωνας, γένει ἐπιμαρτυροῦμαι,

Κατὰ δὲ τὰς λέωνας, μιμνήσκου.

Et ibid.

Εἴθε δὲ ἀποτίποντο ἡ μάστιγι δαδὸν ἄσπετον.

Forma autem vitæ, similis variegatur.

Latinis inde variæ, à macularum varietate appellata. **IUGA DELICATA**) *μαρτυροῦμαι*, iuga enim propriè non delicata, sed pardorum colla iugum trahentia, quanquam & iuga nō plaustralia, vel equina, sed mollia elegantia, modica, sericaq; & aurea vocare possit delicata, qualia pardi ferebant. Indorū pardos & tigrides. Aelianus lib. 17. c. 14. docet mansuefactos regibus offerri. Romæ quis primus varias exhibuerit, Plinius nocat lib. 18.

3.2.169 Wolfgang Franz (Frantzius) (1564 – 1628) [Figura 3.161], teólogo luterano alemão, publicou uma *Animalium Historia Sacra* (Franz, 1613, 1653), na qual percorreu amplamente sobre o leopardo [Figuras 3.162 – 3.170] e sua geração híbrida [Figura 3.171].



Figura 3.161 Wolfgang Franz.

C A P U T VIII.

De Pardo.

P A R D U S , qui etiam aliàs appellatur *lupus Canarius*, ein *Panterthier*/ item *Panther* / cujus fœmina appellatur *Pardalis*, seu *Panthera* , est animal Asiaticum, magnitudine viruli quod maris, vel canis venatici mediocris quoad fœminam , ferocissimum, astutū, habens pellem variis maculis pictam.

1. *Præter modum hoc animal est feron*, & cùm potest . summo cum impetu ruit in oculos hominum , sicut inter alios annotavit. *D. Basilus* , his verbis : *Vidi ego* (inquit) *partim audivi* (res certa est) *inter animalia hominibus inimicissima Pardalium* , quandoque in stadiu hominis oculos pro ira in-

Figura 3.162 Página 59 da 5ª. edição da *Animalium Historia Sacra* de Franz (1653).

vadere. Qui fera deludere furorem quarunt, homines imaginem ei ex charta ostendunt, illam statim furibunda concerpit atque dilaniat, hoc argumento satis ostendens, quanta sit ejus adversus hominem inimicitia. Sic item diabolus, quo fit erga Deum odio, in imagine Dei offendit, quando Deum ipsum attingere nequit: sic & contra nos bellum ipsius satis ostendit, Dei esse illum adversarium, & per omnia Deum petere. Hactenus Basilus.

Et *Osee* cap. 13. vers. 7. *Dominus minatur se velle ita punire Iudaos, & ita in ipsos irruere sicut Pardus.*

2. Sicut ferocissimum est, neque unquam mitefcit: ita quoque mirabili celeritate est pradisum & non invadit, sed cum saltu ruit in pradam. Refert enim *Oforius* lib.9. de rebus Portugallicis, quod *Rex Portugallia Romanis ad Papam miserit Pantheram nonnihil mansuefactam, qua insidebat Persico equo aurato tegumento instrato, quam regebat Persicus Venator. Itaque in sylvas adducta mirabili celeritate in agros & cervos insiluit, eosque statim jugulavit. Et hoc sibi vult, quod DEUS Habac. cap. 1. vers. 8. dicit, se addacturum Chaldaos, quorum equi sint leviores Pardu.*

3. *Pellem admodum pulchram & variatam maculis, seu quasi oculatam habet, quia ac si esset plena oculis, ita undulatim asperfis lunulis, vel maculis nigris in mare, subalbis in fœmina conspicua illa. Huc respexit Jeremias cap. 13. vers. 23 Nunquid mutabit Pardus varietates suas?*

4. *Astutissimum hoc est animal, & venatur reliqua omnia animalia, caput quidem habet admodum deforme, quod metuent animalia (sicut omnia animalia læva sunt feli similia) sed reliquum corpus est suave & jucundum. Itaque caput suum occultat, ut solummodo corpus reliquum extet. Accurrunt igitur omnis generis animalia capta pulchritudo corporis, in qua ipsa summo cum*

Figura 3.163 Página 60 da 5ª. edição da *Animalium Historia Sacra* de Franz (1653).

impetu irruit. Huc spectat, quod Jeremiæ 5. vers. 6. dicitur: *Sicut Pardus vigilabit super nos, sicut Leo percutiet, sicut Lupus vastabit.* Sæpe enim simulat se esse mortuum, aut resolutum in somnum, aut alio modo se abscondit in perniciem reliquarum bestiarum.

5. *Nullum ex omnibus animantibus tam gratum & fragrantem ex sese perhibetur emittere odorem corporis, exhalantem unà cum spiritu oris, atque hoc ipsum animal.* Et hac ipsa ratione decipit reliqua animalia, quæ suo suavi odore ad se allicit. Legatur quæstio 4. sect. 23. in Problemat. Aristotelis, ubi de causa felicitatis quærit, cur reliqua animalia minus bene oleant excepta Panthera. Videntur autem eruditi rationem depromere ex loco, nempe Asia, quæ est fervida regio, & in omni bono odore necesse est abundare caliditatem & siccitatem. Posset tamen de hac re non immeritò dubitari, vel saltem certior requiri historia.

6. *Quando edit venenum, postea quærit fercus humanum, quo devorata manet tutum & incolume adversus noxam veneni.*

7. *Tres quandoque dies continuos dicitur dormire, & excitatum à somno vehementer clamare, & melius olere, unde tunc quoque catervatim feras ad se allicit, sed de hoc eadem fit judicandi ἐρωχῆ' atque de præcedente.*

8. *Utcunque sit ferocissimum, est animal tamen gratitudinis studiosissimum.* Testibus enim historicis, illum, qui illius catulos liberaverat, ex erroribus sylvarum in viam reduxit. Et *Ælianus* scribit, *Pardum à teneris consuevisse cum hædo: tandemque hædum à domino studiose laniatum, & Pardo ad edendum fuisse propositum, Pardumque penitus ab hoc suo contubernali abstinuisse perpetuò, cum homines quandoque suos necessarios & consanguineos sponte excrucient & devorent.*

9. *Moritur quando tangit carnes venenosas.*

Figura 3.164 Página 61 da 5ª. edição da *Animalium Historia Sacra* de Franz (1653).

10. *Dissidium habet naturale cum tribus: 1. cum draconibus, sed & aliàs familiare est omnibus animalibus excepto dracone, cujus nec vocem nec odorem potest ferre. 2. Cum Hyena tantum dicitur exercere odium etiam post mortem, ita ut Hyena irruat in hominem, qui saltem corium Pardi habet. Et si suspendantur pelles hyenæ & pardi in una domo, dicuntur decidere pili ex pardi pelle. 3. Cum gallo, cujus ossam non potest ferre, præsertim si fuerit incoctum alium. Vescentes igitur ossa galli nec tangere quidem dicitur.*

11. *Panthera femina non est tam sava atque Pardus masculus. Cor enim ipsa habet magnum, & ita necessariò est timidior, & quando malefica est, propter metum hoc facit.*

12. *Pardus masculus admodum est libidinosus, & coit non tantùm cum Pantheris, verùm etiam cum Leznis.*

13. *Suaviorem cutem habet Panthera, quàm Pardus.*

14. *Quanquam sagax & astutum, animosum & udax, robore & celeritate maxima præditum sit hoc animal, tamen facillimè vino inebriatum opprimitur. Cum enim vini sit avidissimum, venator in fonte, ex quo prima luce bibere solet, aut in alio loco vicino vinum suave & odoratum fundit. Cum igitur Pardi sitientes ad fontem accedunt, aut alias odori vini ex antris eliciuntur, hausto vino accenduntur & discurrunt, unaque ludunt tum Pardi tum Pantheræ, ut sic corpora Venere somnoque resolvantur. Hac ratione sine difficultate opprimuntur, & capiuntur.*

Hæ sunt præcipuæ proprietates hujus animalis Asiatici: nunc videndum est, cujus rei imagines in hoc animalis contineantur. Et si ad plurima hæ proprietates se sinunt accommodari, ut ad feroces, ad Diabolum, &c. tamen illustre est, quod Sacra Scriptura, tum totam tertiam Monarchiam Gracam,

Figura 3.165 Página 62 da 5ª. edição da *Animalium Historia Sacra* de Franz (1653).

tum imprimis Alexandrum Magnum principium mem-
brum Græcæ Monarchiæ, Pardo vel Panthera compa-
rat. Illius comparationis hæc possunt esse capita princi-
pua, juxta Pererium & alios.

1. Quemadmodum Pardalis est magnitudine canis ve-
natici prædita, nec æqualis Elephanto aut Leoni: ita
Alexandri Magni Imperium habebat tenue princi-
pium. Nam valde exiguo apparatu & parvo cum
exercitu 4000. totum Orientem debellavit, com-
meatum, non nisi ad 30. dies sufficientem secum de-
tulit, & pro stipendiis militum vix 40. talenta unà
accepit. 2. Sicut Pardalis est animal velocissimum: ita
quoque Alexander Magnus brevissimo temporis
spacio, nempe 12. annis, totum Imperium est con-
secutus. Nam 20. anno ætatis suscepit Imperium
patris, & 33. mortuus est, quæ ætas in plerisque so-
let esse expertis omnis consilii, omnis experientiæ,
autoritatis, patientiæ. His igitur 12. annis quan-
tum sit Imperium consecutus, caput tertium colla-
tionis monstrabit. Ipse enim interrogatus, qua ra-
tione tantas res tam brevi temporis spacio tam fe-
liciter confecisset, respondit, μηδὲν αἰνὰ βαδίζωντος,
id est, sine omni mora, vel nihil cunctatus. Vix au-
tem dici potest, quàm igneum habuerit imperium,
unde Appelles ipsum pinxit tanquam gestantem
fulmen, cujus maxima est celeritas, & mater Olym-
pias gravida somniabat fulmen decidere in uterum
ipsius, & inde magnum excitari ignem. Septende-
cim diebus extruit nobilissimam urbem Alexandri-
am ad Tanaim, tribus sæltē præliis victor totam
Asiam cœpit, exædificavit septuaginta civitates, &
ut Hieronymus rectè inquit: *Victoriū potius quam
præliis totum orbem percurrit.* Rectè autem dicitur in
Daniele cap. 7. vers. 6. *ipsi datam fuisse istam,
potestatem, quod & ipse agnovit.* Nam cum veniret
Hierosolymam, & haberet obvium Pontificem
maximum, in genua procidit, illumque honoravit.
Interrogatus autem cur ita se humiliasset, respondit,

Figura 3.166 Página 63 da 5ª. edição da *Animalium Historia Sacra* de Franz (1653).

se non hominem, sed DEUM honorasse: nocte enim pracedente Deum tali forma ei apparuisse; & certas victorias totius mundi promississe. 3. Quemadmodum pardus omnia venatur animalia: ita summa fuit amplitudo imperii Alexandri, de quo dicitur in Daniele, quod imperavit universa terra. Et in cap. prioris Maccabeorum dicitur pertransivisse usque ad fines terra, ita ut subsisterit terra coram ipso. Subjecit autem sibi optimam partem Europæ, totam Macedoniam, Asiam, Armeniam, Iberiam, Albaniam, Cappadociam, Syriam, Ægyptum, Taurum (montem) Caucasum, Bactrianam regionem, Mediam, Persiam, Indiam, imò uno verbo totum Orientem, quia certatim sese dedebant ipsi gentes & urbes & Reges: Atque ulterius fuisset progressurus, nisi importuna militum inobedientia fuisset revocatus, ut legent Studiosi apud Curtium. Ex Oriente rediens Babylonem, ibi reperit legationes omnium gentium, non tantùm quas devicerat, sed etiam quas non vicerat, ex Africa, Hispania, Gallia, Italia, etiam ab ipsis Romanis fuerunt missi legati. Et jam modo jusserat parare classem, qua vectus toto mari mediterraneo etiam totum occasum sibi subjugaret, quod etiam fecisset, si paucos annos supervixisset. Vere igitur fuit Daniel. 2, v. 32. 39. sicut as, quod clarissimum edit sonum & longissimè auditur. Quemadmodum Pardalis odorem suavem ex se emittit: ita quoque non tantum suavissimos mores, jucundissimam fortunam, & felicissimos successus licebat videre in Alexandro Magno: verum etiam ut Plutarchus refert, calor ex cute & membris ejus jucundissimum odorem efflabat, quia temperamento corporis erat humido & igneo. Nihil jam dicimus quod barbaros convertit, ne amplius occiderent & devorarent parentes, sed eos alerent, (illud faciebant Soctaini) item docuit Persas ab-

Figura 3.167 Página 64 da 5ª. edição da *Animalium Historia Sacra* de Franz (1653).

finire à concubitu cum matribus. Ex ipso autem
 egressi sunt quatuor Reges, Antipater in Macedo-
 nia, Antigonus in Asia, Seleucus in Syria, Ptolom-
 zeus in Ægypto. 5. *Sicut Pardus animal est fero-*
cissimum & saevissimum: ita Alexander nullum ho-
stem adiit, quem non vicerit, nullam urbem obsce-
dit, quam non oppugnavit, sæpe inermes ipsius mi-
lites cum armatis hostibus congressi, tamen victo-
riam reportarunt: sæpe ipse solus pugnavit, solus
mœnia conscendit. 6. *Sicut callidissimum hoc est*
animal: ita Alexander sua sagacitate etiam sapien-
tissimos senes vincebat: non tantum autem in ipso
erat incredibilis vigor ingenii, summa celeritas in-
genii, verum etiam alios doctos & magnos viros
plurimum amabat. 7. *Quemadmodum in Pardo va-*
ria macula, sed tamen jucunda: ita in Alexandro
Magno conjuncta fuerunt plurima virtutes, quæ in
aliis summis viris, vix fuere singulæ. erat fortis ut
Achilles, castus ut Agamemnon, pius ut Diomedes,
magnanimus ut Cyrus, Sagax, ut Themistocles,
perstissimus sicut pater Philippus; sed quæcunque
dici poterunt de ipso, longè sunt minora & infe-
riora, quam ut laus ejus summa requireret. 8. *Si-*
cus Pardus animal est iracundum & non nisi vino ca-
pitur: ita quoque Alexander Magnus & avidissi-
mus erat vini, & in ebrietate multa committebat
detestanda. Sæpe tantum bibebat, ut totum tridu-
um dormiret, instituebat certamina potationum,
& victoribus distruebat præmia: in ebrietate
sua sit maritus fœminæ cujusdam, accendit no-
bilissimam urbem Orientis Persepolin, in ebrieta-
te interfecit Clitum familiarissimum suum, &c. Po-
stea tantum doluit, ut parum abesset, quin sibi ipsi
mortem conscisceret. Uni convivio adhibuit no-
vem millia convivarum & singulis donavit pari-
nam auream. Quis ergo totum vincebat mundum, &
instio continentissimus erat, tandem nec iram, nec
libidinem nec voluptatem epulandi & bibendi vin-

Figura 3.168 Página 65 da 5ª. edição da *Animalium Historia Sacra* de Franz (1653).

cere poterat. Excusat quidem ipsum Curtius lib. 10. sed frustra.

Poterunt autem studiosi has ipsas proprietates Pardi accommodare ad alios multos Heroicos viros, qui destituti custodia Filii Dei, cum antea in rebus gerendis fuissent strenui, nec ullis laboribus & periculis succubissent, postea tamen voluptatibus fracti, non modò omnem vim animi & ingenii insignibus probris deformarunt, sed etiam calamitosos & tragicos exitus sibimetipsis accersiverunt.

Hercules vere fuit Pardus, interficiens omnes latrones sui temporis, sed tandem libidinibus pollutus, etiam sceminae inserviebat, cujus sandalio percutiebatur.

*Themistocles qui vicerat omnes Persas, & servaverat totam Græciam, tamen in extrema senectâ in eam incidit libidinem & petulantiam, ut à quatuor sceminis loco equarum in forum trahi vellet. Omis-
to Pausaniam, Davidem, Salomonem & alios infinitos.*

Tandem sicut D. Basilus, ita nos commodè Pardum comparare possumus diabolo. 1. Nam quemadmodum Pardus animal est immane & astutum, ita quoque verbis non satis potest exponi, quanta sit tum malitia, tum caliditas hujus nostri hostis. 2. Nam sicut Pardus ex se fertur emittere suavem odorem; ita quoque Satanas sæpe se convertit in Angelum lucis.

3. Deinde sicut Pardus sæpe sese abscondit, aut somniat se esse mortuum, vel esse oppressum somno: ita quoque diabolus sæpenumero tegit suas fraudes ut fallat incautos. 4. Sicut item Pardus cum summa vehementia & saltu rursus in prædam: ita quoque diabolus non cum aliqua pigrizia, sed 5. sicut Leo vigilans & rugiens rapit ad se impios. Sicut idem Pardus nunquam mutat suas maculas: ita quoque Diabolus nunquam deponit animum fallendi. Imo cum tot annorum usu factus sit ipse callidior, nunc circa fi-

nem mundi idèd magis sævit ,quo minus videt restare temporis ad iudicium. Orandus est Filius Dei, ut ipse hanc immanissimam belluam coërceat & confundat. Sed de hoc satis.

Figura 3.170 Página 67 da 5ª. edição da *Animalium Historia Sacra* de Franz (1653).

C A P U T XXIX.

De mixtis Animalibus Quadrupedibus.

HÆtenus explicata sunt proprietates illorum animalium, quæ gignuntur ex suis similibus. Nunc paucis restat dicendum de illis, quæ juxta autores oriuntur ex commixtione diversorum, idque juxta auctores plerunque in Africa. Nam in Africa propter siccitatem animalia ex variis locis concurrunt ad unum flumen, & extimulatâ libidine coeunt sæpè diversæ species, ut nascantur mixta, ceu sunt: Leopardus, Camelopardalis, mulus. Leopardus nascitur ex coitu Pardi & Leænz. Leo enim propter calidissimum temperamentum non ita frequenter coit, & tamen Leæna libidinosissima esse solet, unde sese miscet cum Pardo, & ita gravis facta excurrit in montes quasi prædandi gratia, ut possit parere sine periculo. Parit autem Leopardos, id est, similes Leonibus & Pardis. Hos igitur quando reperit Leo, mordicus dilacerat. Sed ne fiat, Leæna in secessibus parit. Similiter Camelopardalis nascitur ex commixtione Cameli & Pardalis. Mulus ex asino & equa, item ex tauro & asina: ita canes producuntur ex commixtione vulpis & canis, item & lupi. Ita Lycopantherus gignitur ex Lupo & Panthera, ita in Rhætiâ crebro ex ariete & capra nascitur mixtum animal, quod anteriore parte est ovis, sed posteriore capra.

Figura 3.171 Página 220 da 5ª. edição da *Animalium Historia Sacra* de Franz (1653).



Figura 3.172 Jahangir numa caçada a leões.

3.2.170 Nur-ud-Din Mohammed Salim (em persa جهانگیر سلیم نورالدین), mais conhecido por seu nome imperial Jahangir (1569 – 1627), filho do imperador Akbar, foi o quarto imperador mogol, tendo reinado de 1605 até sua morte em 1627. Apaixonado por caçadas [Figura 3.172], em sua autobiografia, intitulada *Tuzuk-e-Jahangiri* ou *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* (em persa تزک جهانگیری), também chamada *Jahangirnama*, enumerava repetidamente o número de animais mortos em suas explorações venatórias. Na tradução de Rogers & Beveridge (1909: 83) encontramos uma referência aos leopardos:

“Three months and six days passed in hunting; 581 animals were captured with the gun, hunting **leopards** and nets, and a *qamargāh* [ring-hunt]; of these 158 were killed by my own gun. The qamargah was held twice; on one occasion in Girjhāk, when the ladies were present, 155 animals were killed; and in the second time, in Nandīna, 110. The details of the animals killed are as follows: mountain sheep, 180; mountain goats, 29; wild asses, 10; Nilgai, 9; antelope, etc., 348”.

3.2.171 Eerik de Putte (em latim Erycius Puteanus) [Figura 3.173] (1574 – 1646), humanista e filólogo dos Países Baixos, citou três vezes a pantera (De Putte, 1617):



Figura 3.173 Erycius Puteanus, por Antoon van Dyck.

- P. 69 (THAVMA Γ):

Er-
go terrorem quoque Parthenius sumet Proteus,
sed in hostes Virginis: erit, quidquid Homerus
fingit: Leo, & rugiet; draco, & terrebit; panthera,
& sæuiet, aper, & proscindet.

- P. 70 (THAVMA Γ):

: si noui Nestorij,
qui non è Virgine Deum , sed hominem è non
Virgine prodiisse Christum docent; in Deum pa-
riter Virgineque impij; exfurgēt Panthera, læ-
fūmque numen vindicabit : si noui Apollinares
& Eutyches, qui natum quidem è Virgine Chri-
stum volunt, sed carnem è Virgine non sumpfi-
se ; Apri violentiam inuenient.

- P. 72 (THAVMA Δ):

ATTAMEN & draco pulcher est, & panthera
pulchra, & fus pulcher : acceptam à naturâ,
imò à terrâ, formam gerunt. Homo, qui in dra-
conem, pantheram, suam degenerat, pulcher
non est : mentem, diuinæ particulam auræ, per-
uerso viuendi more inquinat. Demus affectibus
imagines; draco liuorem, panthera sæuitiam, suis
immunditiem notabit; omnes terram. Sed è ter-
rà has Proteus Homericus formas sumit, ac de-
formis est: quippe

— δρόκων, ἢ πάροδων, ἢ δὲ μέγας οὐς.
draco, panthera, & aperingens.

3.2.172 William Hawkins (ca. 1585 – 1613) (cf. Fisher, 2007: 59-75) chegou à corte do imperador Jahangir, para obter permissão de instalar uma base da *East India Company* inglesa na Índia. Em 1611 descrevia em suas *Relations of the occurrents which happened in the time of his residence in India* a magnífica coleção de animais do imperador mogul (cf. Purchas, 1905: 33-34):

“Here followeth of all sorts of Beasts.

“Of Horses there are twelve thousand. Whereof there bee of Persian Horses foure thousand, of Turkie Horses six thousand, and of Kismire two thousand, all are twelve thousand.

Of Elephants, there be twelve thousand, whereof five thousand bee teeth Elephants, and seven thousand of shee ones, and yong ones, which are twelve thousand. Of Camels there be two thousand. Of Oxen for the Cart, and all other services, there bee tenne thousand. Of Moyles there be one thousand. Of Deere like Buckes for game and sport, there be three thousand. Of **Ounces** for Game, there be foure hundred. Of Dogges for hunting, as Greyhounds and other, there be foure hundred. Of Lions tame there are an hundred. Of Buffaloes, there be five hundred. Of all sorts of Hawkes there bee foure thousand. Of Pidgeons for spot of flying, there be ten thousand. Of all sorts of singing Birds, there be foure thousand”.

3.2.173 John Leech (*fl.* 1623), em seu *Epigrammatum libri quatuor* escreveu os seguintes versos (Leech, 1623):

“IN OLIDUM PHANTIUM

Anguis virentem non amare fraxinum
non brassicam vitis solet,
lupis et agnis nulla par concordia.
Par nulla feli et muribus,
barrum draconi, et noxiis serpentibus
camelo aecum quis junxerit?

Quae blanda nisos diligit columbula?
Quis scorpionem stellio?
Carebum an ulla polypumque saecula
videre amoris in jugo?
Panthera hyenas, et lacerta cochleas,
fugitque balaena orculas,
et toxicatam te malorum originem
mens horret haec medullitus.
Non fulminanti qui trisulca dextera
detorquet altus spicula,
nec qui leonem, taurum, echidnam vicerat
equosque Thracis Hercules;
pestem bonorum te mihi conjunxerint;
pari parem concordia;
Pari imparem te, aut imparem pari, volo, aut
pari parem discordia”.

3.2.174 Claude Saumaise (1588 – 1653) [Figura 3.174], em suas *Plinianae exercitationes in Caii Iulii Solini Polyhistora* escreveu (Saumaise, 1629: 213) [Figura 3.175]:



Figura 3.174 Claude Saumaise.

in his siluestribus & pardi sunt] siluestria vocat, πῆ ἀρχαῖα. silmatica alij. vnde nostrum *sammage*. nam *selmaticum* & *salmaticum* etiam infima ætas scripsit. Trebellius Pollio de Odenato: qui à prima atate capiendis leonibus & pardis & vrsis ceterisque siluestribus, sudorem officij virilis impendit. Pardos autem diuersi generis à pantheris facit, in eoque à Plinio & veritate dissentit, & secum ipse pugnat. Nam cum suprâ dicat pantherarum tergum vel cærum vel album oculatis ex fuluo circulis distingui, tam pardos quam pantheras comprehendit. siquidem pantheræ propriè acceptæ candidam tergi supellestem habebant, fuluis orbiculis pictam. ideo Plinius ex quorundam sententia pantheras à pardis solo candore discerni tradit, nec aliam esse differentiam. sanè non aliud discrimen inter pardum & pantheram, quam quod Græci ponunt, inter πῆρδαλι, & πῆρδαλι. Athenæus: πῆρδαλις δὲ καὶ πῆρδαλις, πῆρδαλις δὲ καὶ πῆρδαλις. nā πῆρδαλις est pardus: πῆρδαλι, panthera. at passim Latini πῆρδαλις etiam pantheras reddunt. Pardi siue πῆρδαλις pellem ceruleam fuluis oculis variatam gestabant. vnde *virides Pardi* Claudiano, id est cærulei. atque hi mares erant, vt plerisque visum: idem Claudianus de leopardis loquens:

— cum fortè leana

Nobiliorum uterum viridis corruptit adulter.
 ὄρχου πῆρδαλι Pollux dici notat, quod de cæruleo pardo accipiendum. Romani teste Plinio *varias* & *pardos* in eo genere appellabant mares: fœminas vero *pantheras*: & *varias* quidem καὶ ἑοικῶς pardos mares sic vocabant, quia pulchriores, & magis coloribus variati. Glossæ: *varia*, πῆρδαλις, πῆρδαλι. legitur apud eundem Plinium: *primum Scaurum Edilitate sua varias centum quinquaginta vniuersas misisse, Pompeium Magnum quadringentas decem, Diuum quadringentas viginti.* hoc magnum tot *varias* id est tot pardos, & mares omnes misisse. ideo notarum. magis enim magnificum, quam si totidem fœminæ, id est pantheræ, vna missione essent editæ. & alias missio huiusmodi siluestrium animalium per sexus discreta fiebat. hinc in Vitis imperatorum sæpe legere est, centum leones vna missione editos, & centum leonas. vt apud Vopiscum in Probo: *editi centum Leopardi Libyci: centum deinde Syri: editæ centum leana.* additur ibidem. *edidit alia die in Amphitheatro vna missione centum Leonos iubatos.* sic *varia* sunt pardi,

pantherarum scilicet masculi. certè πῆρδαλι Latini *pantheram* vertunt. πῆρδαλις Græcis aconitum dicitur, quo pantheræ necantur. ita Plinius alijque. Horatius:

Diuersum panthera genus confusa camelo.

Camelopardalim intelligit. ergo πῆρδαλι panthera. Glossæ: πῆρδαλις, *Panthera*. at πῆρδαλι & pardum eundem esse ratio nominis probat. sic pardus & panthera, idem genus non diuersum, vt Solinus autumat, qui & sibi ipsi contradicit. pardos porro etiam vocabant ex pardo & leona genitos, qui propriè *leopardi*: hi leonis colore, maculas habebant vt pardi. Claudianus:

*Omnia fulminei properent ad vulnere pardi
 Semine permixto geniti. & paulo post:*

Hi maculis patres referunt, & robore matres.

Lampridius in Heliogabalo: *ebrios amicos plerumque claudibat, & subito nocte leones & leopardos, & vrsos exarmatos immittebat, ita vt expergefatti in cubiculo eodem leones, vrsos, pardos cum luce inuenirent.* pardos & leopardos pro eodem animali posuit. nec dubium est hoc loco Solinum pardos pro leopardis vsurpasse, cum dixit pardos à pantheris secundum genus esse. nam certè leopardi secundum à pantheris genus, ex pardo quippe & leona geniti. secundum etiam genus à leonibus ex utroque genere mixti. si muli secundum genus sunt ab equis & asinis. sed quod sequitur adulterinis eorum coitibus degenerari partus leonarum, id pardis hoc est πῆρδαλι, non leopardis conuenit. sic dare solet auctor iste: diuersas res & sententias sæpe in vnum miscet. circulatorum etiam hodierni qui animalia exotica circumferunt, leopardos pro pardis & pantheris & contra nobis obtrudunt.

& leones quidem procreantur, sed ignobiles] non leones sed leopardi, qui & pardi dicti, quod patres pardos haberent, matres leonas. nec leones vnquam tales appellati. sed vt solet aliorum Plinij verba interpretatus est, qui ita scribit: *leoni præcipua generositas, tunc cum colla armosque vestiunt iuba. id enim atate contingit leone conceptis. quos vero pardi generare semper insigni hoc carent, simili modo fœmina.* non dicit Plinius leones esse, aut appellari quos pardi generare, vt hic accepit. πῆρδαλι nomine apud Græcos comprehenduntur, vt Latine etiam pardi solent vocari. maculosi enim sunt vt pardi. Vox autem *leopardus* tota est Latina non Græca, ex duabus Latinis composita, *lea* & *pardus*. nam *leam* pro *leona* dixerunt veteres. Glossæ: *lea*, λῆα. ita scribendum. λῆα πῆρδαλις tamen etiam apud Græcos legi, sed leones appellari absolute non legi, nec verum est.

Figura 3.175 Trechos sobre o leopardo de Saumaise (1629: 213).

3.2.175 Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522-1605) [Figura 3.176], em sua obra póstuma *De quadrupedibus digitatis viviparis* (Aldrovandi, 1637), tratou longamente do pardo (pp. 64-89). Dividiu seu enciclopédico texto nas seguintes seções: *Aequivoca* (p. 64), *Synonyma eorumq. Etymvm* (p. 65), *Genvs, differentiae, descriptio* (p. 66), *Anatomica* (p. 69), *Physiognomica* (p. 69), *Locvs, temperamentvm, gressvs* (p. 70), *Natvra, ingenivm, mores* (p. 70), *Vox* (p. 72), *Coitvs, partvs* (p. 72), *Victvs* (p. 73), *Gratvs animvs erga benéficos* (p. 73), *Capiendi ratio* (p. 74), *Antipathia, et sympathia* (p. 74), *Venenvm pardi, et cvratio* (p. 75), *Aegritvdines pardorum, & medellae* (p. 76), *Epitheta* (p. 76), *Denominata, & cognominata* (p. 77), *Mystica, et alleforica* (p. 78), *Moralia* (p. 79), *Proverbia* (p. 81), *Hieroglyphica* (p. 81), *Emblemata, & symbola* (p. 81), *Phenoschemata* (p. 82), *Aenigmata* (p. 83), *Apologi* (p. 83), *Pardi qvibvs diis sacri* (p. 84), *Somnia* (p. 85), *Simulacra, statvae, et insígnia gentilica* (p. 85), *Numismata* (p. 85), *Problemata* (p. 86), *Historica* (p. 86), *Vsvs in cibus* (p. 87), *Vsvs in medicina* (p. 87), *Vsvs in ludis & spectaculis* (p.88), *Vsvs in venatione* (p. 89) e *Vsvs pellis* (p. 89). Ilustrou também o felino [Figura 3.177].

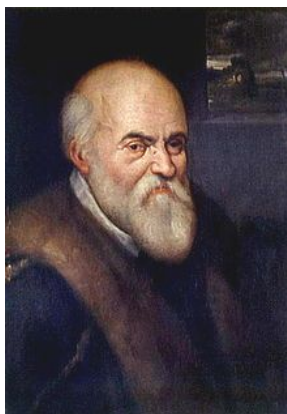


Figura 3.176 Ulisse Aldrovandi.

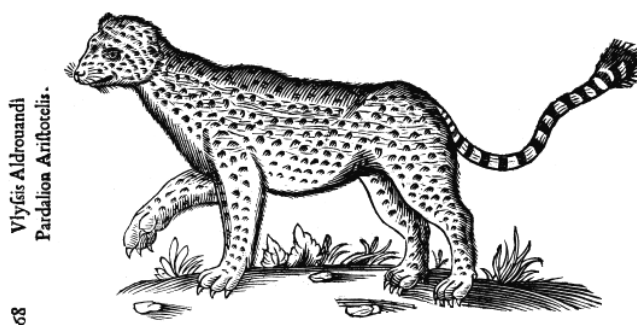


Figura 3.177 Figura do leopardo de Aldrovandi (1637: 68).

3.2.176 Samuel Bochart (1599-1667), em seu *Hierozoicon* (Bochart, 1712: colunas 785-805) tratou abundantemente do leopardo e animais relacionados (Figura 3.178):

CAPUT SEPTIMUM.

De Pardo.

Pardus à leone ordine dignitatis secundus. Leo & pardus in Sacris Libris & exoticis saepe juncti. Pardus **פַּרְדִּים** Hebraeis, Chaldaeis, Syris, Æthiopicibus. *Varia pardi pellis. Παρδαλις non solum pardi pellis, sed & alia quævis, modo varia. Varii coloris animalia quæcumque, ut porphyriam, chameleon, chæus, seu rhabanus, gryphæ, equi Orynges dicti, cum pardo conferuntur. Africa pardi similis. Pardus à macula* **פַּרְדִּים** dictus, ut panthera Latine varia. Arabica pardi Epitheta hæc pertinetia. Pardus alludit ad **פַּרְדִּים** pardi. *Macula pardi* Jerem. 13. 23. in Chaldaeo **שֶׁלֶשׁ**, id est, scutula. Scutulata vestes. Scutulati equi. *Cur hæ macula* Hebraicè **הַכִּבְרוֹת** Leviter pardi, Hab. 1. 8. *Mendum in Syro Interpretat. Pardi tam ad cursum, quam ad saltum agiles. Druifus notat. Pardus infidiosus, Of. 13. 7. Vespilæ in Judææ urbes, Jerem. 5. 6. Pardum cum hædo cubare, ut El. 11. 6. quam infalitam. Quomodo tertia Monarchia pardo similis, Dan. 7. 6. Pardus in venabula præcepti ruit. Idem vini avidus. Bacchi nartices in panthera mutata. Panthera fragrantia. Luca dicit à pardi. Of. 13. 7. an Veteres rectè legerint, Ut pardus in via Affur?*

IN feris pardo damus secundum à leone locum, Arabes sequuti, quorum verba in Damire sunt in capite De Pardo, **مترتبة من السباع في** **منرتة من الاسد** Ordinem quod attinet, **فردس** in feris est à leone secunda. Et paulò post, **وفي طبعه عداوة الاسد والظفر بينهما شهاد**

Et, cum naturale sit illud in leonem, vultoria inter eos alterna est. Proinde in Sacris Libris leo & pardus saepe junguntur, tanquam animalia aliquo modo homogenea. Sic Com. 4. 8. De lastris leonem, de montibus pardorum. El. 11. 6. Pardus cum hædo cubabit, vitulus & leonculus &c. erunt simul. Jerem. 5. 6. Permissi eos leo de Syria, &c. pardi vigilans super eorum urbes. Of. 13. 7. Ero eis ut leo, ut pardus in via observabo. Quod imitatus Sirachides Eccles. 28. 23. al. 27. Immittetur, inquit, in eos tanquam leo, & ut pardus devorabit eos. Et ex exoticis Scriptoribus Homerus, Iliad. 4.

Οὐκ ἔστι παρδαλιῶν τίσις ῥῆσθ, ἔστι λιοντῶν, Nec pardi videntur, nec est videntur leonum.

Et apud Nonnum libro quinto *Albeon*, dum à canibus lacerabatur.

Ἄλθε λίαν με δάμοσσι ἰσθίδιμου! Ἄθε με σῶμα Πιρδαλιῶν αἰσλῶντι ἀνίσχεται!

Utinam me demississet montanus leo! Utinam me vario dorso pardu trahens dispersisset! Quomodo in Eliani Varii lib. 14. cap. 4. Aristides Laertensis, à Tariffia mustela demorsus, dixit morietis, ἔτι πολλὸν ἄθλον ἔσ' αὐτῷ δεχθῆναι ὑπὲρ λιοντῶν, & παρδαλιῶν ἀποθανῆναι, multò sibi jucundiores mortem futuram fuisse, si ex leonibus, aut pardi morsu obisset.

Pardum Hebraei פַּרְדִּים namer vocant. Nec multò aliter Chaldaei, Syri, Arabes, & Æthiopes. Proinde quoties in Prophetarum scriptis occurrit פַּרְדִּים, Graeci constanter παρδαλις reddunt, & Hieronymus pardum.

Pars I.

Et Apoc. 13. 2. pro Graeco παρδαλις, Arabes Pardis edunt, **أثيوبي**, & Syri habent **ܢܘܪܘܢܐ**, vel **ܢܘܪܘܢܐ**. Et in Arabica versione Dioscoridis aconitum occidere

legitur **النمور والخنارز والذجاب** id est, **παρδαλις**, **نور**, **نور**, **نور**, ut in Graeco habetur. Et in Avicenna aconitum **παρδαλιγγίς** vocatur **النمر خاتق** strangulator pardi. Sed huc

maximè facit definitio **פַּרְדִּים namer**, quam afferunt **Asfarib**, **Damir**, & **Aben-bitr**. **النمر حيوان** فيه شبه من الاسد الا انه اصغر منه

نمور animal leoni simile, nisi quod minus est, & pellem habet nigra maculis distinctam. Hæ maculae Hebraicè dicuntur **הַכִּבְרוֹת**. Sic Jerem. 13. 23. *An mutabit Chulius pellem suam, & pardus maculas suas?*

Græci τὰ **κνιδιματα ἀντί** & Hieronymus varietates suas. Chaldaeus **שֶׁלֶשׁ רַקְטָתָה** sentia recantationis suæ, ut ita dicam, id est, operis Phrygionici. Et scura vocat, quomodo nos *seculo* vocamus segmenta in vestibus, & maculas in equis; unde *scutulata* vestes, & *scutulati* equi. Plinius lib. 8. cap. 48. *Pluribus locis texere, qua polymita appellant, Alexandria insinit, scutulis dividere Gallia. Juvencalis Satyra secunda;*

*Carulea indatus scutulata, aut galbana rufa. Palladius lib. 4. cap. 13. Colores equorum hi præcipui, badius, aureus, obivius, rufus, mareus, cervinus, gilvus, scutulatus. Hebraea vox הכברות alibi non reperitur. Sed הכורה est levar; unde geminatis Radicalibus הכברות *liventes maculas* explicant. Quid, si ad Arabicam linguam referas, qua *est* **نور**, vel **نور**, & **أحمر***

signare, neam iurare? Itaque הכברות erunt nota in pilis impressa. Oppianus **σφραγίδας**, id est, **signa**, aut **sigilla** vocat, cum describit Orynges equos. De varia pardi pelle multa Veteres. Homerus de Menelao, Iliad. 4.

Παρδαλιῶν ῥῆσθ πάντα μεταθήσονται ἰνὺν κάλυψα Πικύλις. ---

Primum quidem varia pardi pelle latum dorsum tenet. Philoophus De Generat. anim. lib. 5. cap. 6. In animalibus τὰ ῥῆσθ τῆ γίνεσι ποικίλα, ὅπερ παρδαλις, ἔστι τινὲς, quedam toto genere varia sunt, ut pardu, & pons; quedam ex parte tantum, ut boves, & caprae.

Itaque in ejusdem Physiognomonici capite quinto ad pardi descriptionem pertinet τὸ **χρῶμα ποικίλον, ὑστίνος color**. Plinius lib. 8. cap. 17. *Panthera (id est, pardi forma) & tigris maculorum varietate præpè sola bestiarum spectantur. Et paulò post, Pantheræ in candido breves macularum oculi. Solimus, Panthera quoque numerosa sunt in Hyrcania minutis orbiculis superpicta: ita ut, oculos ex fatis circulis, vel carulea, vel alba distinguatur tergi supellex. Martialis lib. 1. Epigrammate 105.*

Pisto quod iuga delicata collo Pardus sustinet, &c.

Juvencalis Satyra decima quinta, --- **parcit**

Cognatis maculis similis fera. ---

id est, pardo pardu, & tigris tigris. Oppianus in pardi descriptione libro tertio **ὀρυγγετικῶν**, **ῥῆσθ δαυδαλιῶν, χρῶμα τῆ ἰσπαμφανίση**, **ἡρῆσι, πικύλις μελασμοῦχρον ἐκπαλις**. **Cæcis dadalo, color lucidus (malim χρῶμα τῆ ἰσπαμφανίση)**

D d d

φαινωσθ, colore lucido) obscura, crebris oculis nigricantibus. Inde παρδαλις vocatur non solum pardi pel-
 lis, sed & alia quaevis, modo varia. Ita Sarracum
 vestem textilem vocat Πολινα παρδαλιν ὄψασθαι. In
 Ορβει, vel Ονομαστρις vetus Αρξαομαστρις, Cθiron
 dat Ορβει, ad Καλκεις profecturo, νεβη παρδαλιν,
 id est, bipennis pellem variatam. Αρξορβειος in Αουθου
 porphyriticis describit παρδαλις ἐλαμψις, παρδαλις
 νεβηος, id est, pictis pennis. Quae ipsa de causa quae-
 cunque animalia varia sunt, cum pardo conferuntur.
 Sic in Αρξοβειε Hist. lib. 2. cap. 11. chamaeleon habet
 χροιαν ἄχραν μιλαι, ἀπερ τὰ παρδαλια, διακεποι-
 κωμην, colorum pallidum, ut pardi, nigro distinctum.
 Plini lib. 8. cap. 19. Ραρπει Μαγνι iudi primum obse-
 derant ebanus, quem Galli rharpius vocabant, effugit
 lupi, pardorum maculis. Ορπιανι Συνηγεσιου libro pri-
 mo, Ορπηου equorum nonnulli

— ἰστροχάλοι περιήρημα θαλάσσιον
 Σφραγιτιν κικηθην, ἐμίλια παρδαλιου,
 rotundis in orbem variantur densis notis, pardorum instar.
 Ρουσανι in Arcadiis aut gryphibus, uti pardi, se-
 gmentatam & maculis distinctam esse pellem. Africa
 quoque Straboni libro secundo est ἰσουλια παρδαλις, par-
 do similis; quia κατὰ σικιτιν ἐστὶ ταῖς ἰσουλιας περιχρημιαι
 ἰσουλια, ἔστι ἀνὸς ἡ γῆ, interpretata est habitatioibus,
 quae terra deserta & iniqua ambiantur. Unde Dionysium
 Περιηγεσιου,

Παρδαλις δὲ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰσουλίου ἐστὶ ἰσοῦς,
 ἢ γὰρ διὰ τὸ τὴν ἄνθρωπον τὴν αἰσθησιν
 τῆ ἔστι τῆ κικηθῆ κατὰ σικιτιν φιλίθησιν.

Et Priscianus,
 Huiusmodi similes pardi dixerunt priores,
 Namque saltem quallens urbes distinguunt opacas,
 Hoc sitis, hac humeris laevi variatur in agris.

Quo eodem alludens Cicero in Somnio Scipionis, Vides
 habitari in terra variis & angustis in locis, & in ipsa
 quasi maculis, ubi habitatur, vestis solitudinis interje-
 ctiva. A maculis, quas diximus, pardo nomen esse

النمر سبع النمر سبع النمر سمي للنمرة التي في
 maculis, quas habet. Nempe Arabicè نمر tamara
 variatum esse, & نمرّة nomina maculam sonat. Ut Syrii

نمور varius, & ناممير nammer variare.
 Sic panthera Latini varia dicitur. Plinius, ubi supra,
 Nunc varius, & pardo, qui mares sunt, appellant.
 Item, Primum autem Scaurus a Edilitate sua variatam
 universam tenuit. Glossæ, Varius, ποικίλος, παρδαλις.

Eodem pertinent Arabice pardi Epitheta, seu cognomi-
 nita: الارقاش alarqas, id est, albus cum maculis ni-
 gris; & ابو الرقاش pater varius; & ابو الارجد
 pater grandinatus, seu maculis tanquam grandine asper-
 sus. Nec desunt, quibus in usitatum παρδαλις apud Α-
 ρξορβειαν Scholiastem, unde pardo, παρδαλις, & παρ-
 δαλις, videtur alludere ad Hebraicum פֶּרְדִּים pardi, pro
 hortis; quia ut hortus floribus, ita maculis variatur
 pardi pelles. Quae ipsa Metaphora frequens est in Ορ-
 πιασι. Sic libro primo Venaticorum equis Ορπηγιδου,
 qui pardorum instar maculosi sunt, tribuit

— παλαιοθῆσι κάθη,
 floridam speciem. Et libro tertio tigridis pellem de-
 scribit

— ἀπὸ τοῦ μαρμαίοντα,
 floribus micantem. Et libro quarto Bacchi, nutricibus
 suis in pantheras mutatis,

— κατὰ γαμψῆν ἂν ἔστι τῶν
 Πικρῶν ὄψασθαι —
 picris in illarum dorso pellem floribus autummalibus.

Ecce aliud de pardi Hab. 1. 8. Leviares sunt pardi
 equijui: nempe equi gentis Chaldaicae! Syrii perpe-

ram, Leviares sunt لحيه احم aquilis: de quibus
 Prorbeta in fine commatis, Volabunt ut aquila. Sed
 Scribis id imputandum, qui, una litera mutata, scri-
 pserunt لحيه pro لحيه. Graeci, ἡξάλονται ὡς
 παρδαλι, Exsurgent supra pardos: ac si nihil aliud in
 pardi hic commendetur, quam levitas in saltu, quae
 revera summa est. Proinde Cyrillus in hunc locum,
 Πεδιτικὴ δὲ λίαν ἡ παρδαλις, ἔστι πολὺ λίαν ἰσχυρὴ οἷς
 τὸ καταδρῦσθαι δύνασθαι ἢ διακρηθῆναι. Pardo ad sal-
 tum est valde agilis, & promptus ad insiliendum in eos, quas
 insequitur. Neque aliter si λέωθιν. Plinius lib. 10. cap.
 73. Insidunt in eadem Africa pardi condensa arborum,
 occulataque eorum ramis in praeteruentia desiliunt, aere
 i volucrum sede grassantur. Lucanus de Scæva, Caesaris
 milite fortissimo, in obsidione Dyrrachii, libro sexto,
 — non segnier extulit illum
 Saltus, & in mediis jecit super arma catervas,
 Quam per summa rapu celerem venabula pardum.

Philostratus in Tyrrhenis libro primo Iconum de panthe-
 ra, Πεδῶ κῆφῃ, ἔστι ἰσα ἔναδι, Leviares saltus instar
 Bacche. Pollux, ἔχει τὴν εὐμα ἴγγῃν, τοῖσιν αἰσῶν, πο-
 λὺμαρπον, παθηταῖς, ἀλτικῶν. Corpus habet molle, flexile,
 agile, desultorium. Dicitur quoque idem animal describit

بعيد الوثيمة فرما وثيت اربعين ذراعا
 longinquus saltus, ita ut quandoque quadraginta cubitis sal-
 tu superet. Sed & idem saepe laudatur a celeritate cur-
 sus. Homerus Hymnicus Hymno in Venereum,
 — παρδαλις τε θῆσι, κρημῶν ἀίρηται,
 pardi celsi celeres, qui damis montium saltantur. Ae-
 lianus Hist. lib. 8. cap. 6. Ἡ παρδαλις δὲ αἰρῆ θῆσι
 τὰ πλάτη, ἔστι ἔτι καὶ μάλλον ἢ πῆδησιν. Pardo cele-
 ritate cursus cum alia animalia, tam maxime simia as-
 quitur. Opprianus libro tertio Synageticis,
 Παιτῶν θῆσι, ἔστι ἄλλοις θῆσι ἰσῶν;
 Φαίς ἰσῶν ἴθου διακρηθῆσιν.

Celerissimi currit, & fortiter restat iuvvis. Diceret, cum
 videret, tam citius ferri. Et de Perichlymeno Τζελεσι
 Chiliad. 2. Hist. 45.

Ἐν ταῖς πελοποιε ἀπαθῶν τὰς θῆρας ἰμυμῶν,
 Παρδαλιος ἐξήτατα, λείοντι μίγα θῆσιν.
 In bellis omnes feras imitatur, pardorum velocitatem,
 leonum magnam robur. Ita etiam Patrum plurimi. Ba-
 silius in Hexaemeron Homil. 9. describit hoc animal τῶ
 κῆφῃ ταῖς ἑ φαχῆς κρημῶν (κατὰ μῶν, levitate sua
 autem maxime sequens. Hieronymus in Of. 13. Nihil
 panthera velocius. Theodoretus in Dan. 7. vult Alexan-
 drum illi comparari διὰ τὸ ταχῆ, ἔστι ἐξῆ, ἔστι πικίλον,
 propter velocitatem, celeritatem, & varietatem. Cyril-
 lus in Of. 5. ἀετῶν λίαν καὶ ἄν δὲ ἴσους φησὶται
 θῆσιν, ἰσχυρῆς δὲ θῆσι ἴσους ποιεῖ, ὡς μὴδὲ ἴσους ἰσῶ-
 θαι ταχῆσιν, μὴτὲ μὴ ἰσχυρῶσθαι τὴ γῆ. Incen-
 tissimo cursu fertur in quoscunque visit, & tam levi pede
 saltu, ut vix vestigium ejus cernatur, neque illum signum
 homini relinquat. Et Eschylus in Hexaemeron, τῶν ἀλ-
 λων διαφῆρον ἐξήταν, ἔστι θῆσι τὰς ἴσους ἢ θῆσιν
 ἰσῶν κρημῶν. Alii animalibus celeritate praestat, & ante
 venatorum oculos quasi volat. E recentioribus denique
 Olearum (Mofcovitici & Persici aineris lib. 4. pag. 398.)
 pardum venaticum Scamachiasse vidisse profertur quo-
 vis cane Gallico velociorem, qui in lepores incidens
 eos statim assequabatur, ita ut nullus evaderet. Ita-
 que pardorum levitas, quam verbis tam illustribus
 Prorbeta deprædicat, tam ad cursum potest, quam
 ad saltum referri. Et fallitur Drusus in Of. 13. 7. ubi
 pardum asserit cursu minus valere.

Est & pardo animal insidiosum Of. 13. 7. Et ero eis
 quasi leo, ut pardo super viam speculaver: nempe ut in
 praetercuntes insiliam. Ita enim pardi solent. Ita nuper
 Plinius, Insidunt pardi condensa arborum, occulataque
 eorum ramis in praetercuntes desiliunt. Eodem refer haec
 Jeremiae capitis quinti versu sexto, Pardo τῶν
 ἰσῶν super eorum urbes. Nempe in malum, ut Jerem.

70

70

31. 28. *Vigilem super eos, ut disolverem, & destruerem, & dissiparem, & disperderem, & affigerem.* Et *Jerem. 44. 27. Vigilate super eos in malum, & non in bonum.* Et *Dan. 9. 14. Vigilem Dominum in malum, & hoc adduxit super nos.* Quibus locis agitur de malo poenite. Sed mali culpæ respectu dicitur *Es. 29. 20. Et succidentur qui vigilam super iniquitatem.* Eo sensu in *Jeremia* describitur pardus vigilans super *Judaicorum* urbes, nempe ut illas pessumdet & destruat, ut habetur *Sirach. 28. 27. Imminetur in eos tanquam leo, & ne pardus perdat eos.* Græcè οὗ παράλυτος λυμαίνται ἀντί τῶν λυμαίντων, id est, ἄγριον. Sic *Dan. 6. 12. Oculisti es leonem, ὄφελον λέοντα* & non perdidit me, Græcè, καὶ ἐν ἡμετέροις με. In *Sirachide* *Aldi* editio, & *Basilienſi*, pro λυμαίνται ineptè legunt λυμαίνται, fame affigit.

Esaiæ, magnam rerum mutationem prædicens sub *Messia* futuram, inter cætera hæc habet capitis undecimi versu sexto, *Et pardus cum bardo accubabit.* Quod ita utcumque exprimitur *Sibyllinæ* carmina libro tertio,

--- παράλυτος ἰσχυροῦς ὄμα βοδύονται.
Nempe lupus & agnis quanta fortius obtigit, tanta pardus est cum hædis discordia. Et panthera quidem in *Æliano* (lib. 6. cap. 2.) cum prima die ab oblatto bardo abstinentiūlet διὰ κληρονομίαν, quia jam aliunde facta erat; & secundâ itidem, fame nondum oborta; tertiâ quoque ὄμα ἰσχυροῦς, γαστροῦ διὰ ἡμετέροις ταυτὶ φίλου, ἢ κροῦφάτου, ἀδὲ ἐκείνου μὴ ἀσθεν, ἀδὲ ὄμα ἰσχυροῦς, bardo quidem, quocum per biduum amici videret, non accipit, sed illo relicto alteram sumpsit. At *Ælianus* id recert ut rem planè insolitam, occasione quoque inde sumit in eos invehendi, quibus omnia cognationis atque amicitie jura perdere & violare ludæ est.

Dan. 7. 6. cum pardo confertur tertia Monarchia, id est, *Alexandri, & Græcorum.* 1. Nempe ut pardus futurâ parvus est, sed animo & robore maximè præstans, ita ut cum leone & procerissimis quibusque feris congregari non vereatur: sic *Alexander* penè *Regulus*, & cum exiguo apparatu, *Regem Regum* aggredi ausus est, id est, *Darium*, cujus regnum à mari *Ægeæ* usque ad *Indas* extendebatur. 2. Nul- lum animal est pardo velocius: ita *Alexander* tanta pernicitate in rebus gerendis usus est, ut magnam partem habitati orbis annis duodecim subegerit. Proinde illum pinxit *Apelles* fulmen manu gestantem, quod in obstantia rapidè fertur, & maximo cum impetu: atque ipse, interrogatus quâ ratione res tantas tam brevi temporis spatio consecisset, respondi- dit, μάστιγι ἀνοχασαίμην, Nihil cunctatum. Ut eum verissime dixerit *Hieronymus* victoris potius quam prælis totum terrarum orbem percussisse. 3. Maculus pardi referunt gentium, quibus imperavit, diversi mores. In his, præter *Macedones, & Græcos, & Thracas, & Ægyptos* in *Europa*; & in *Africa, Libyæ, Ægyptios, & Tragodyas*; *Asiaticæ* fuisse gentes omnes usque ad *Gangem*, quem trajecisset etiam, si licuisset per milites tot victoris fatigatos. Sunt, qui hanc similitudinem subcilis fortasse quàm solidius persequentes, inconsultam *Alexandri* temeritatem cum pardi furore conferant, quo in venabula præcepserunt de vita sua parum sollicitus. *Homerus* *Iliad. 9.*

--- πηδὶ δαυὶ πεκαρήθη ἐν ἀπολόγῳ.
Ἄλλοι, πηδὶ γ' ἐν ἐπιλάμβαναι ἐν δαυίοναι.
Etiam *basia* *traxifixa* (panthera) non cessat à robore (id est, à pugna) donec comitibus congregatiōem, aut succentibus. *Oppianus* *Halienicis* libro secundo,
ἢ ἢ καὶ περὶ ἡμετέροις γίνεσθαι δαυίοναι
Ἄγρια κεραιώτα παρὰ τῶν αἰσῶν ἄρα λαμβάνει
ἢ τῶν δαυίοναι χαλαράτων ἰσχυροῦς ἀγρῶν.
Illa autem aciem videns acuti ferri ferociter fluctuans in-
rnat, *Ridu* autem tanquam ibica *aræus* trabis *causidem*.
Paris I.

Et ibi *Scholias*, ἢ ἢ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰσχυροῦς ἢ δαυίοναι ἢ δαυίοναι εἰδῶν, ἰσχυροῦς ἢ ἢ ἀντὶ ἀγρῶν. Illa autem, quævis aciem *basia* ferunt videat, tamen continere se non potest, quis in illud irrnat. Ita in *Luci* casu factus

--- per *summarapit* celerem venabula pardum.
Et in *Iudoro* *pardus* factus ad mortem suam. Addunt *Alexandrum* vini fuisse avidissimum, ut pantheræ; de quibus *Oppianus* libro tertio *Cyreneis*,
--- ἴσχυροῦς καὶ κροῦφάτου, ἀγρῶν καὶ κροῦφάτου, ἀγρῶν καὶ κροῦφάτου, ἀγρῶν καὶ κροῦφάτου, ἀγρῶν καὶ κροῦφάτου.

Pantheræ etiam dona *Bacchi* domitans, *dolofus* venatoribus *dolofus* potum fundentibus. Quod quâ ratione fiat eodem libro multis *Poëtæ* profequitur à versu 318. utque ad versum 351. Ita etiam ex *Arabibus* apud *Dami-*

rem, النمر يعبث شرب العنبر فانذا ودع
له في مكان شرب منه حتى يسكر فعند
نذكي *Pardus* potu vini delectatur: & cum
alicubi illi apponitur, ex eo bibit usque ad ebrietatem, in eoque statim capitur. Unde *Poëta* nata est occasio fingendi *Bacchi* nutrices in pantheris fuisse mutatas. Observatum quoque illud est, quod ex *Aristoteli* *Commentariis* de *Alexandro* refert *Plutarchus*, ἴσχυροῦς ἢ ἢ ἀποχρῶν, καὶ τὸ σίμα κατὰ χροῦφάτου καὶ τὸ ἐκείνου πᾶσαι, ἢ πλεονεχίαι τὸς χροῦφάτους, ὁδὸν ex cane ejus gratissimum exhalasse, os quoque & carnem totam tantum habuisse fragrantiam, ut eâ replerentur interiora *ionica*. Quod ipsum de panthera Veteres magno consensu tradunt. *Aristoteles* *Hist. lib. 9. cap. 6.* λέγει ἢ καὶ καταπονεῖται τὸν παράλυτον, ἢ τὸν ἴσχυροῦς καὶ τὸν δαυίοναι, ἀποχρῶν τῶν ἰσχυροῦς. Panthera enim, cum feras sciat odore suo delectari, sese abscondere, ut eos venentur. Idem *Problematum* Sect. 13. §. 4. quaerit. αἰσῶν τὸ ἢ μὴ ζῶναι ἐν τῶν ἰσχυροῦς ἢ, ἢ καὶ παράλυτος; *Car* animalium nullum fuerit oleum præter pantheram? Cætera ibi vide. Idem in *Theophrasto* reperire est *De causis plantarum* lib. 6. cap. 5. In *Plutarcho* etiam, in *Plinio*, in *Solino*, in *Æliano* denique *Hist. lib. 5. c. 40.*

A pardis, vel pantheris, loca dicta, hæc in scriptura occurrunt. *Nimra*, Num. 32. 3. *Beth-nimra*, Num. 32. 36. & *Jos. 13. 27.* Et *agrus Nimrim*, *Es. 15. 6.* & *Jerem. 48. 34.* Quæ tria videntur esse unius loci nomina. *Mofes, & Josue* in *Gadibus* ponunt, *Esaias & Jeremias* in *Moabitibus*, qui in vicinis *Gadibus* tum temporis usurpaverant. *Ævo* *Hieronymi* vocabatur *Benamerium*, id est, *Βεν-μεριμ* *Beth-nimrim*, *domus pardorum*. Insuper *Cant. 4. 8.* memorantur *montes pardorum*: sive à *Salomone* sic appellentur montes quilibet pardis frequen- tes, præcipuè *Libanus, Amanus, Senus, & Hermous*, quorum ibidem est mentio: sive aliqui tum fuerint montes circa *Libanum* peculiariter sic nominati; ut is, de quo *Brocardus*, *A Tripoli* per duas leucas est mons *Leopardorum*, rotundus & albus, una leuca à *Libano* distans. Putatur etiam agri de pardis circa *Affricam* *Os. 13. 7.* ubi ultimum hemistichium, *Ut pardus in via* *speculabatur*, *Græci* reddunt *ὄμα παράλυτος κατὰ τὴν ἰσχυροῦς* & *Hieronymus*, *Sicut pardus in via* *Affricanæ*, & *Syriæ*, *ὄμα* *κατὰ τὴν ἰσχυροῦς*, & *Arabi*,
مثل النمر في طريق الموصلين

Omnes in eandem sensum. Nam in *Syro* *ὄμα*, *arab*,
D d d 2 est

est Arīpa, vel Affria. Et in Arabe الموملين
 Masfienſes ſunt incolæ urbis Maſfal. Maſfal au-
 tem eſt ad Tigrim, è regione ruderum urbis Niniveſ,
 quæ olim fuit Affria caput. Nempe hi quatuor In-
 terpretes pro ⁷⁹⁸ ſpeculatores legerunt ⁷⁹⁸ Aſur, id
 eſt, Affriam. Quæ lectio eſſet percommoda, &
 fortalſe præferenda, ſi puncta Vocalia abeſſent.
 Quævis Liveliſm in hunc locum etiam Hebræorum
 lectiōnem conetur eò trahere hac nota non contem-
 nenda, Nihil dubito, quin ⁷⁹⁸ hic idem valeat, quod
⁷⁹⁸ ⁷⁹⁸, quia brevis Vocalis in longam mutatio Hebræis
 familiaris eſt, ut ⁷⁹⁸ pro ⁷⁹⁸, & ⁷⁹⁸ pro ⁷⁹⁸ præter
 alia multa. Græci Interpretes, & Hieronymus ita in-
 tellexerunt: atque ex recentioribus Caſtaliſ, & Mol-
 lerus. Calvinus quoque, eſt dubitatur, in contextu ta-
 men nomen Aſſur poſuit, quaſi hanc ſententiam magis
 probârît. Senſus eſt, Deum illis in Aſſyriam ſpem
 quaſitum præſecturæ abſtuturum eſſe. Conſentaneus ille
 quidem capitis quoniam verſus decimus quartus, “Profe-
⁷⁹⁸ ⁷⁹⁸ eſt Ephraim ad Aſſyriam, qui cum juvare non
 poterit. Ego enim illi, quaſi leſ, &c. Sic capitis ſe-
 ptiſimi verſus duodecimus, curabit in Aſſyriam ſe vere
 expanſurum minatur Deus. Et Jerem. 2. “Quid tibi in
 “via Aſſyriæ? Caſtigabis te molitru ſua, & deſectioſus
 corripies te.

CAPUT OCTAVUM.

Tigris, Lynx, Pardus, Panthera, Panther, & Leopardus, quomodo inter ſe differant.

Tigris aliis animal leoni ſimiliſimum, aliis idem cum
 pardo. Tigris Ariſtoteli perum notus, & ad
 canem accedere creditus. Theophrastus variam
 deſcribit. Nearchus in India ſolam pedem vi-
 dera. Tigres nonnullis maximis, & elephanti
 viribus parit, aliis thaurum genuit. Tigris Var-
 ronius avo nondum Romæ viſus, ſed ſub Au-
 guſto primus. Excide tigris Romam ſæpe
 allati. Pelle in tigride per canas, in panthera
 per rotandas maculas variatur. Equi Ornyges.
 Adenſa tigrina & pantherina. Virgata tigris.
 Tigris quomodo decatur Perſicè & Arabicè,
 Pnuxit, curſor. Tigris thauri ſimilis. A venis
 concipi credita. Per vitæ ſphæras capiti.
 Lynx varia, ut pardus, & tigris. Baccho
 ſacra. Indicum, & Æthiopicum animal, non
 Italicum. Lyncurium pro Liguria. Animal
 in Africa panthera ſimile, ſaltem valens, perſona-
 caſſimè retinet, Arabicè phehed: quo in ven-
 tionibus utitur, non ſine periculo, quia valde
 iracundum. Fama maximè indacile. Hæret
 venationis primi auctor. Cur ab Euripide lynx
 vocatur dicitur. Lynx deſcriptio non convenit
 in omnibus cum phehed. Lynx timida, fugax,
 imbellis. Idem de panthera Veteres. Lynx vi-
 ſus acutiſſimus tribuitur, quod de Lynceſ Poetæ
 dixerunt. Lyncurium lapidem ex urina lynce
 conciteſcere ſabuloſum. Phehed animal ſomnu-
 loſum. ⁷⁹⁸ phabada, dormire, pundiculari.
 Proverbium Arabicum, Mendicior ⁷⁹⁸ phehed.
 Lynx Gallicè coce, Pantheram & ⁷⁹⁸
 idem eſſe animal, probatur decem ratiōibus con-
 tra Allatium, & alias, qui pernegant. Camelo-
 pardalis ex camelo & panthera. Pardalis gen-
 ma à panthera nomen. Pardaliatibet pantheras
 necos. Panthera ex Cilicia à Cicerone miſſa
 Plutarcho ſunt ⁷⁹⁸. Plinius ad pantheras

refert, quod Græci dicunt ⁷⁹⁸ magno eſſe
 corde, odorato, quaternis mammis, ſumam
 mari prævalere, & pilis decidere adorta pelle
 hyana. Pantheras à pardis in Plinio ſolo ſexu &
 candere diſtingui. An panther à pardo, aut
 panthera differat. Scriptores ſæpe diſtinguunt, Pan-
 ther Oppiano minimum & imbellis animal. Au-
 noniades eſt ibis. Tamen etiam panther idem cum
 pardo. Panther, magnum animal, carolis cæcis
 parit, ut in Plinio panthera. Eſt ⁷⁹⁸, &
 odoratum. Πανθηρις ad Bacchi pedes. Vini
 potu delectatur. Diluuntur obſectantes. Pardorum
 duplex genus. Leopardus, animal ex pardo &
 leone, non ex leone & panthera natum. Jubis
 caret. Leopardi nomen ſerò uſurpant. Igratii
 epulo cur ſuſpecta. Leopardus hodie idem qui
 pardus, & jam inde ab Hieronymi ævo.

Conabor hic docere quod pauci ſciant, quid à
 pardo differant, aut cum pardo quomodo con-
 veniant tigris, lynx, panthera, ⁷⁹⁸, & leo-
 pardus.

I. Tigris quale ſit animal, non fatis conſtat. Multi
 cum leone conferunt, quaſi ſit leonis ſpecies, aut ani-
 mal, exceptis maculis, leoni quam ſimiliſimum. Varro,
 De ling. Lat. lib. 4. Tigris eſt in leſ varius. Oppianus
 libro tertio Cynegeticum,

Πάρτα μιν αβρίνας ἐπίθετος τῶν λιανῶν,
 Νέφε μίνα μίνα, ἢ αἰλλῶν ἐπιφάνια.

Per omnia ipſam videri montanam veluti leonam, præter
 ſolam pellem, qua varia cuncta eſt. Apud Talmudicos
 Tractatu Cholin. lib. 59. 6. in Gemaro ⁷⁹⁸ tigris à
 Rabbi Juda deſinitur ⁷⁹⁸ ⁷⁹⁸ ⁷⁹⁸ leſ ſylva Iſra-
 Eodem videntur facere hæc Hieronymi Job. 4. 11. Ti-
 gris perit, eò quod non haberet prædam. Ibi enim tigris
 eſt pro Hebræo ⁷⁹⁸, id eſt, leſ. Aliis tigris eadem eſt
 cum panthera, aut pardo. In qua ſententia cum ho-
 die multi ſint, neſcio an fuerit quiſquam Veterum,
 ſi Plutarchum excipias, qui quod de panthera refert
⁷⁹⁸ (Hiſt. lib. 6. cap. 2.) de tigris narrat his
 verbis in libro Ura antiq. τῆρι δὲ φαίει, ἵριφ
 παραδεδίει· αὐτῆ, χερσίν θηάτι, μὴ φαγῶν ἰφ,
 ἠμῶν δὲ τῆ δὲ τῆρι πρῶτος αὐτῶν δὲ, τῆ τῆ
 γαλλῶνται παραδεδίει, ἰαῖν δὲ φησὶν αὐτῶν εἶν
 τρεῖς ἔχον ἔδη, τῆ εἰναι. Tigris autem ajunt,
 cum dietam ageret, ab obſtato hordo per biduum abſtinuiſ-
 ſe: die autem tertia eſurientem aliud petiſſe, & caveam
 deſcepiſſe, illi autem hodo peperciſſe, ut quoniam pro
 canibus & domeſtico jam habetur. Videt, Lecter,

tigri tribui quod ⁷⁹⁸ ſuprà de pardo ſcripſerat,
 quaſi pardus & tigris ſint idem animal. De tigris
 primus meminit Ariſtoteles, ſed obiter ſolum his
 verbis Hiſt. anim. lib. 8. cap. 28. φησὶ δὲ ἐν τῆρι
 τῆ κατὰ γινῶναι τῶν ἰνδαῖν νῖνας. Canes Indicos naſci
 ajunt ex tigris & cane. Et De generat. lib. 2. cap. 7. οὗ
 ἰνδαῖ δὲ αἶνε ἐν θηρίε πρῶτος ἀνοῖται γαῖοντα, τῆ
 νῖνα. Indici autem canes procreantur ex ſera quadam,
 qua caninum habet ſpeciem, & canem. Tigriſ ſcilicet
 putavit ad canis formam accedere, quod falſi arguunt
 poſteriores. Ariſtoteleſ enim diſcipulus Theophrastus
 (Hiſt. plant. lib. 5. cap. 6.) variam in ea pellem eſſe
 innuit, cum ex arbore quadam in Tyſe inſula ſcribit
 excindi τῶν βακτηρίων καλῶς ἐφῶντο, κοιλίας δὲ τοῦ
 τῆ ἔχοναι, ἵριαν τῆ δὲ τῆρι δὲ ἵριαν, bucalis valde
 pulchros, coloris varietatem quandam habentes ſimilem
 pelli tigris. Et Alexandri comes Nearchus tradit apud
 Arrianum in Indiis, τῆρι δὲ θηρίε μὴ ἰδῶν, αὐτῶν
 δὲ τῆρι ἰκ ἰδῶν. αὐτῶ τῶ ἰδῶν γὰρ ἀπὸ γινῶναι τῆρι
 αὐτῶ μίνα δὲ μὴ ἰδῶν δὲ μίνα ἵριαν τῆ δὲ κα-
 τῆ, τῆ αἰλλῶν, ἰδῶν αὐτῶ αἰλλῶν τῆρι γὰρ ἰκ
 αὐτῶ ἰδῶν ἰδῶν, ἰκτῶν τε ἰδῶν τῶ καφῶν τῶ
 ἰδῶν, τῆ αἰλλῶν, τῆ αἰλλῶν ἰκτῶν ταῦτα δὲ, ἔς τῶν
 τῆ αἰλλῶν ἰκτῶν, τῆ τῆρι καφῶν, θῖνα αὐτῶ αἰλλῶν,
 τῆ μίνα ἵριαν τῶ αἰλλῶν, ſe pellem qui-

dem vidisse tigris, ipsum autem tigrim nequaquam: sed narrari ab Indis tigrim habere maximi equi magnitudinem, colorate autem & viribus nullum animal illi esse par. Elephanto enim congregentem, & in caput ejus insistentem, facili strangulare. Eas verò, quas nos videmus, & tigres vocamus, ibos esse maculosos, & alius ibois majores. Ex quo loco tria hæc collige: 1. Tigrim, si Indis credimus, tantæ esse proceritatis, ut cum cane coire non possit, quod asseruerat Philostratus. 2. Parum esse credibile, quod Ammianus asserit libro vigesimo tertio, in Hyrcania tigrum nulla multa cerni, cum Nearchus, qui Hyrcaniam, & Indiam partem cum Alexandro peragraverat, & Indica clasi præfectus fuerat, profiteatur se vivam tigrim nunquam vidisse, sed solam tigris pellem. 3. Jam tum pro genuina tigris suppositum fuisse aliud animal, quod re verà non erat tigris. Nearchus statim excipit Megalobates, qui & ipse, India sub Seleuco Nicatoris peragrata, India scripsit, ex quibus recentiores multa profertur. In his Strabo libro decimo quinto, Τίγρις ἐστὶ τοῦ Πρασίου γένους μαγίστε, ὁμοίη δὲ τῇ εὐδαιμονίᾳ λυγρὴν δύναμιν ἔχει, ὡς τὴν ἡμίονο τῆς ἀγέλης ὑπὸ τειχῶν, τὴν ἐπιβῆναι ἐκείνους διαξέμενον ἡμίονο, βιάσασθαι, καὶ ἰλκύναι πρὸς ἀντίον. Tigres apud Prasios maxime gignit, & leonibus ferè duplo majores, adeo robustas, ut unus de mansuetis, à quatuor hominibus ductis, mulum postulare pede apprehensum vi ad se pertraheret. Hæc ferè de tigris Greci vetustiores. Sequuntur Romani tempora, quibus ignota fuit tigris usque ad Parthiam; cuius verba sunt, Tigris, qui est ut leo varius, vivis capi adhuc non potuit. Sed exinde, Romani imperii finibus usque ad Parthos propagatis, tigris ex Armenia, aut India, & Hyrcania per Parthos Romanos usque coepit adduci. Et Q. Tubero & Fabio Maximo Consulibus IV. Non. Maji, Theatri Marcelli dedicatione, tigrim primus omnium Romæ ostendit (Divus Augustus) in coena mansuetillam. Divus verò Claudius simul quatuor. Ita Plinius libri octavi capite decimo septimo: & Dion in Augusto, καὶ ἰδοὺ, ποικιλοχρῶν ἰσχυροί, φιλίας τῆς ἐπιπέρας, δῆλον πρὸς ἀντίον ἀνά τε, καὶ τῆς ἡγίας πρῶτον τῆς Παρθίας ἐφθίναι. Et Indi, qui antea quoque legatos miserant, sine amicitiam dari materibus confirmaverant, in quibus præter cætera fuerunt tigres, que tum primùm à Romanis visa sunt. Sed Augustum sequuti Cæsares hoc idem animal Romanis oculis sæpe exhibuerunt. Hinc sub Tito Martialis in libro Spectaculorum Epigrammate 18.

Lambere securi dextram consueta magistri,
Tigris ab Hyrcano gloria rara iugo,
Seraferam rapido læcer avis dentis leonem,
Res nove non nullis cognita temporibus.
Et sub Domitiano libri primi Epigrammate 107.
Pille quod iuga delicata collo
Pardus sustinet, improbaque tigres
Indulgenti patientiam flagello.

Et Julius Capitolinus in Antonino Pio, Omnia ex toto orbe terrarum cum tigrilibus exhibuit. Et Lampridius in Heliogabalo; Janxi & tigres, Liberum se vocant. Et Capitolinus rursus in Gordiano tertio, Fuerunt sub Gordiano Romæ tigres decem. Et Vopiscus in Areliano, in descriptione triumphæ de Zenobia, & Tetrico; Præcesserunt tigrides quatuor, camelopardalis, alces, &c. Leonis speciem tigridi tribuunt Scriptores illorum temporum, excepta pelle varia. Ita Varro, & Oppianus, qui multis rem persequitur. Aliter in tigribus, aliter in pantheris pellis variatur. Illæ enim longas tenias, hæc rotundas habent maculas. Hinc idem Oppianus, ubi de equis Orxygibus libro primo De Venatione.

Δια δὲ τῶν ἀρίστων τελεθῆναι ποικιλοχρῶν κἀνά, τῆς μὲν γὰρ δούρης, καὶ ἰσχυρῆς ἔστιν ἡ πάντα γυμνάσασθαι δολοχθῆτος ἰσχυρῆς ταυρίσης, Τίγρις, οἷα δούρι, κραιπνὴ Ζεφύρου γυμνά.

Ταὶ δὲ αἱ ἰσχυροὶ περιέμεναι δαυδάδατα
Ξφραγέσθαι πικρῶς, ἡμῶν παρθαλίτου.
Duplex verò Orxygium equorum sunt florida genera. Alii namque colum, & pulchris crinibus lato terga insigniti sunt longis confertim vitis, ut veloces tigrides, perniciosi Zephyri siboles. Alii alii rotundis in orbem variantur sigillis densis, quomodo pardi. Hinc in cædrinis menis tigrinæ dictæ, quæ oblongas, pantherinæ, quæ rotundas habuere maculas. Plinius libri 13. capite 15. Μένειν ἐκ κεδρῶν πρᾶσινα δὲσ ἐν νεμῶν κρῖσι, ἢ ἐν νεμῶν κρῖσι: illud oblongo evenit discorsu, idemque tigrina appellantur, hoc intorto, & ideo tales pantherina vocantur. Neque aliud sunt Pardiis virgata tigres, quam longis tenias variæ. Seneca in Hippolyto,

— Tunc virgatas
India tigres decolor horret.
Et in Hercule Octavo,
— Te Rhodope tulit,
Te præcipuus Athos, te fera Caspia,
Quæ virgata tibi præbuit ubera.
Silius lib. 5.
Caucasiam instratus virgato corpore tigrini.
Claudianus in Srilichoni Panegyrico primo,
— aut longe virgatas figere tigres.
Ita melius in veteri Claveris codice, quam ut vulgò legitur,
— virga transfigere tigres

Tigris Arabicè & Persicè dicitur البريد albahir; & البريد alberid, & الفرائق alpharanik. E tribus nominibus duo posteriores deduci videntur à celeritate cursus. Nam بريد berid est veredas, seu cursus. Et pharanik est φραγνίς, quod etiam cursorem sonat, cumque valde expeditum. Hæschio certe προνοίσι sunt φραγνίς ταχῆς, ἔξῃ, ἰσχυροί, γαργῆ, μιδινοτοί, cursores veloces, cū, expediti, celeres, mercenarii: & Σαῖδα φραγνίς, φραγνίς, γαργῆ, Cursor, cū. Byzantinam vocem esse scribit Julius Pollux à novæ Comædiæ Scriptoris usurpatam: ego ex Chaldeis, aut Persis malim arcessere; quia פראנקא פרנקא, Chaldaicis tabellarium sonat: Glossa Talmudis פראנקא, seu cursorem, explicat in Tractatu, Succa fol. 48. b. Verè me conjectasse doceant hæc Damir,

البريد ضرب من السباع يعادي الاسد
من العدو لا من العزاة ويقال له
يعادي البريد الفرائق
Albahir, feræ species, quæ يعادي البريد
præcurrit leonem, voce يعادي deducta ab العدو
id est, cursu, non ab العزاة id est, odio. Ac
præinde dicitur etiam berid, & pharanik. Sequitur,
وهو شعبة جادن اوي
Et similis est τῷ ἰβανω
vi, id est, iboi. Agitur ergo de illis tigribus,
de quibus supra Nearchus; Εα, quas nos videmus,
& tigres vocamus, ibos sunt maculosi, & alius ibois
majores. Addit Damir, ويقال انه متولد
من البرقان واللبوء
Et generari dicitur ex be-
zarkan & leona. Bezarkan quod sit animal pla-
nè nescio. Vox videtur esse Persica. Sed quid-
quid significet, tigrim certum est non esse hybri-
dam, ut mulum, led animal sui generis. Pergit,

ومن طبعه ان الانثى منه تلحق من
البريد
Ddd 3

الريح ولهذا كان عدوه كالريح لا

يقدّر احد علي صيره Et è natura ejus est,

ne fœmina è vento concipiat. Proinde cursus ejus est qualis venti, nec eam possit venari quisquam assequi. Ecce alteram fabulam priore puriorem, quæque illam destruit! Neque enim tigris ex bezarkan & lezema procreatur, si mater ex vento concipit. Sed Arabes hac in parte Veterum vestigiis insistant. Ita enim Oppianus libro primo Cynegeticus,

Τίγρης εἰς θυοῦ, κραίηντι Ζεφύρου γαίθλα,
Ubi cetera tigris, permixta Zephyri soboles. Et libro tertio,

Ἄντιον τίλαθι ὃ θυῶν πανταίωρα θυῶν
Ἄντι γὰρ τε θυῶν ἰαλῆ Ζεφύρου γαίθλα.

Multa celerissima est inter veloces fera: est enim ipsi Zephyro generi cursu similis. Quam tamen fabulam idem refellit versibus quinque sequentibus. Claudianus libro tertio De rapto,

--- fremis illa maris
Mobilior Zephyro.

Symplicius in Ænigmate De tigris,
Ἰανίλογοι sum vento, vento velocior ipso:
Est mihi das ventus natus, nec quero maritum.

Subjungit Scriptor Arabi, وإنما تسرقه جراوه

فنبجعل في مثل التوارير من جراج

ويركن بها علي الخيول السابقة

فانا ادركهم اجوها الفوا اليه قاروره

منه فيشتغل بالنظر اليها والحيلة في

اخراج ولده منها فبقوة يقبعتها فتربي

حينئذ من الصبيان وتانس بالانس

Et caulis ejus proripiuntur, & postea in specie quadam vasorum vitrearum citatis equis auferuntur. Raptores autem cum assequitur pater, novum ex vasis illis ei prajiciunt: cujus aspectu dum desinetur, cogitatus qua arte catulum suum inde educat, reliquos amittit, qui cum pueris aluntur, & ab hominibus cicantur. Quas venatorum artes ita describunt Claudianus, ubi supra,

Aratus Hyrcana quatuor sic matre Niphates,
Cujus Achæmenio Regi ludibriagator
Avenit tremebundus eques: fremis illa maris
Mobilior Zephyro, istamque virentibus iram
Dispersit maculis, jamjamque hiansa profundo
Ore curans, vitrea tardatur imagine forme.

Et Ambrosius disertus Hexæmeri lib. 6. cap. 4. Ubi vasorum vitrea soboles cubile reperit, illico vestigiis raptoris insidit. At ille, quamvis equo vehtu fugaci, videtur tamen velocitate fera se posse præverti, nec evadendi altum suppere sibi posse subsidium, technam hujusmodi fraude molitur. Ubi se contiguum viderit, sperans de vitro projecit: at illa imagine sui ludatur, & sobolem putans revocare impetum, colligens fatum desiderans. Cujusmodi Scriptores sic imitatur Arabi, ut quod illi rectè docent, prava interpretatione aliò detorqueat. Neque enim, quod is asserit, tigris caules vitreis vasis includi dicunt, quod esset per absurdum: sed matri vitreos globos projici, in quibus tanquam in speculo se ipsam intuens, quam videt imaginem putat esse sobolem suam. De robore ti-

gridis mira narrat Fossus noster in Melam pag. 248. & 249.

Lynx etiam varia est acque ac pardus, & tigris. Euripides in Alcesti,

--- βαλσαι τε λύγας.

Virgilius lib. 1. Æneidos,
Succinctam phœetra, & maculosegmine lynxis.
Et lib. 3. Georgicorum,

Quid lyncei Bacchi varia, & genus acre luporum?

Ideo Bacchidicunt, quia ut tigris, & pantheræ, ita etiam lyncei Baccho sacre. Hinc Ovidius de Baccho Fabula ultima lib. 3. Metamorphoseos,

Quem circa tigris, simulacraque isthæia lynceum,
Picturamque jacens fera corpora Pantherarum.

Et lib. 4. Fabulâ 1.

--- subjugum pictis insignia frons
Colla premis lynceum. ---

Et lib. 15. Fabulâ 40.

Falsa racemifera lyncei dedit India Baccho.

Unde obiter collige lyncei esse Indicum animal. Est & in Æthiopia. Plinius, lib. 8. cap. 21. Lyncei vulgò frequentes, & sphingis fusco pilo, mammis in pectore geminis Æthiopia generat. Proinde peregrina idem vocat lib. 28. cap. 8. Peregrina, inquit, sine & lyncei, que clarissime omnium quadrupedum cernunt. Falluntur itaque, qui lynceas, & lyncurium è Liguria, aut ex Italia arcessunt. In quibus Theophrastus, Zenothemis, Suides, & Veterum alii. Neque is posterior fides, qui ponant in luporum genere, ut Salinus, & Isidorus. Mihi lynx est animal pantheræ simile, quod ex Aliano probò, apud quem Mæuri, lynceas cum pantheris conferentes, eas ajunt παραλλῆλος μὲν ἐστὶ τῆς πλείου τιμῆς, ἀλλὰ γὰρ μὴ τὰ ἀπὸ λαίης, panthera quidem maxime esse similes, & summi hirsutis auribus. Addit animal esse ἀλλοίωθις, ἐξὶ καταρῶν βλαϊετατά τε, ἐξὶ ἔχρηστικα κέρηρα, saltu maxime valens, & ad firmissime & pertinacissime retinendam validissimum, nempe ea, que unguibus semel corripuit, quæ pantherinum ingenium magis expriment. Itaque lynx videtur esse idem, quod Arabicum ألفهد alphebed, animal pantheræ simile,

de quo Damir, مراجع النمر Temperamen-

tum ejus est temperamentum pardis. Proinde Arabes sepe jungunt ut feras homogeneas. Sic Avicenna (a) in (a) Lib. 6. Cap. 6. في غصن النمر والفهد

De morsu namir, & phebéd, id est, pardis, & lyn-

cis. Et Alcanus, الكئمة النمو والفهد

charysams, namir, & phebéd. Sensus est, utrum-

que animal contineri sub nomine Charysams. Atque ut scias animalia esse vicinæ naturæ, eadem vox vige-

bat in Apoc. 13. v. 2. in Arabico versione Parisiensi edita. وهو نمر

Utramque feram in Oriente ad venationem instituit his verbis docet Pantus Fimem lib. 2. cap. 17. Magnas

Cham habet cicuratos leopardas, (النمور) qui mirum

in modum venationi inserviunt, multasque capiunt bestias. Habes & lyncei (الفهود) non minus ad venan-

dam industrios. De quo genere venationis multa Arabes, & qui eorum scribis compilârunt. Roffi in libro

De animalibus, ألفهد (الفهد) id est, Lynx

cicuratur aliquando, & venationi assuetus ut canis: cum autem errat in venatione, retrogreditur iram.

Damir in capite De ألفهد, وهو تقيل الجئة

يعظم

أوله يعظم ظهر الحيوان في ركوده
ris gravis est, ita ut contrax dorfum animalis, quod in-
equitat. Eques enim Tartarus, ad venationem se con-
ferens, pardum, aut lynxem habet à tergo. Sequitur,

ومن خلفه الغضب وذلك أنه إذا وثب
علي فريسة لا يتنفس حتى نبالها
فيحتمي لذلك مراجه وتمتلي ربه
من الهوا الذي حبسه وإذا اخطا
صبره رجع مغضبا وربما قتل سايسة

Natura sua iracundus est ita ut non respiret, cum
super prædam insilit, donec eam assignatur. Præin-
de effervescenti temperamentum ejus, & replatur pul-
mo ejus aere, quem continet. Et cum aberrat à
præda, redit ita iratus, ut nonnunquam interficiat in-
stitutorem suum. Hoc ipsum alii leopardus, id est,
pardo) tribuant. In his Albertus Magenus, Aliquando
cicuratam hoc animal ducitur ad venandum: & nisi
admodum blanditur ei venatur, retrahitur, & occidit
homines, & canes. Et Vincentius, Doctrin. libri deci-
mi sexti capite nonagesimo, Domesticeatur (id est,
cicuratatur) ad venandum. Itaque cum ad prædam in
venatione ducitur, relaxatur. Quam si quarto vel quin-
to saltu capere non poterit, feraciter iratus subsistit. Et
nisi statim venatur furenti bestiam aliquam obtulerit, in
ipsum venatorem, vel in quoslibet obvius irruat. Im-
possibile est enim eum placari nisi sanguine. Sed in
hoc providi sunt venatores, & agnos penes se, vel
alia animalia semper habent, quibus iratos placent.
Pantheram ad venationem sic institutam Leonis De-
cimo dedisse Lusitania Regem Emmanuelem scribunt
Maffius libro quinto, & Osarius libro nono. Cum
anhelat in saltu alphebed, vocem è gutture emittit,
quæ Arabice خع dicitur. Auctor Alcomus, خع

الفهد صات من حلقته إذا أتبه في هروه
Foemina alphebed mari difficiliter institui collige ex
his Damiris in capite De cane, السلوقي

أنا أن السلوقي

أكثر تعليما من الزكور والفهد بالعكس
Canes fumina Salucienfes (id est, ex Arabia Feli-
cis oppido Salæ, ubi canes venatici sunt eximii)
maribus sunt dociliores, contra quam in alphebed.
Si quis scire aveat à quibus hoc venandi genus
primò fuerit institutum, & usurpatum apud Ara-
bes, en tibi apud Damiram in Alphebed! أول

من صاد به كليب بن وايل وأول من

حمله علي الهيل يزيد بن معوية وأكثر

من أشهر باللعب به أبو مسلم الهراستاني

Primus ea fera in venatione usus est Chalib, Wailis fi-
lius. Et primus illam in equo tulit Jazid, filius Muaviz.
Et à Poëta Abu Musallim Chordasanius ea maxime laus:
ad est, hoc venandi genere maxime delectatus est,

aut in hoc argumento inprimis se exercuit. In his Ex-
ripidi versibus,

"Hæc d' in' d'pou è evòs φίλον βάλω,
"Η τὴ ἀμαρτωλὸν λύγα, δίκεται δάκω."

Venis autem humeris aut apris ferens ens, aut defar-
mens lynxem, bestiam difficilis partus. Aelianus (Hist.
lib. 14. cap. 6.) à Criscis querendum ait, cur lynx
vocetur λίσσα, id est, difficilis partus. An quia
facta propter uteri pondus venari nequit, nec nisi
maris indulgentia ab interitu servatur? Unde Damir,

يغال أن الفهرة أنا ثقلت بالحمل حتى
عليها كل نكر يراها من الفهود
ويواشيها من صيده قانا أرادت الولادة
ذهبت الي موضع قد أغدته لذلك

Cum alphebeda (seu lynx fumina) propter conce-
ptam gravis est, illius misereri dicitur quisquæ è lyn-
cum maribus eam videt, & è venatione sua illi lar-
giri. Et cum paritura est, ad locum, quem ad id
paravit, illa se confert. Quid, si lynxem δίκεται
ideo dici quis putet, quia illi sit imputatum, quod
alii de leæna scribunt, & de panthera? Isidorus,
Orig. lib. 12. cap. 2. Hæc semel omnino parturit,
&c. Nam cum in utero maris coalescere catuli, ma-
turisque ad nascendum viribus pollent, adiant tem-
porum moras. Itaque onerata fatibus vacuum, tan-
quam obstantem partui, unguibus lacerauit, & effun-
dit illa partum, seu potius dimisit dolore cogente,
&c. Fatendum interim descriptione lyncis non
convenire in omnibus cum descriptione lyncis,
qualis extat apud Veteres: sive illi lyncis nomen
satis extenderint; aut naturam ejus non habue-
runt satis perspectam. Primò enim الفهد alphe-
bed est iracundum animal, & ferox, ut panthera,
quodque non solum in feras, sed & in hominem
sæpe irruit; cum lynx timida, fugax, & planè im-
bellis à Poëta describatur. Horatius libri secundi Oda
decimã tertia,

Nec curas Orion leones,
Aut timidos agitare lynces.

Et libri quarti Oda sexta,

Delixæ tutela Dea, fugaces
Lynxæ & cervos cubitentis arcu.

Et de Chironide Achilles apud Statium libro secundo
Achilleidas,

Nonquam ille imbellis Offiza per avia lynces,
Sediti, aut timidos passus me cospide damas
Sterneræ. —

Sed à Poëta timiditatis & imbelliæ nota lyncibus ideo
potuit inuri, quod in amphitheatris illas fugere vide-
bant, quoties cum leonibus, & pantheris, & ursis,
& majoribus feris committebantur. Quamvis id ipsum
pantheris objici videam. Aristoteles, De partibus ani-
mal. lib. 3. cap. 4. Μεγάλα δὲ τὰς καρδίας ἔχουσι λα-
γυαί, ἰλαφθῶ, μίς, ὕαια, κάρδαλι, γυλῆ, ἐπὶ τῷ
δὴνα γυλῆ πάντα ἴσα φανερὰ δειλὰ, ἢ διὰ φύσιν κα-
κῆρα. Unde Plinius libri 11. capite 37. Maximum est
eorum præparatione maribus, lepore, oleo, ceræ, panthe-
ra, muscicis, lyanis, & amibus timidis, & propter
metum malefici. Aelianus lib. 17. cap. 43. Πάρδαλις
Καρπῆ, ἐπὶ Δυνακῶ, ἢ ἐπὶ ῥῆθ' Ἰνδοκί. Panthera in Ca-
ria, & Lycia non est animosa. Secundò, alphebed non ce-
lebratur ab acumine visus, ut lynces, quas Oppianus (b)
λυγκύων, id est, perspicaces nominat; & Plinius (c)
clarissime omnium quadrupedum cernere asserit. Sed cap. 8.

fabu-

fabulosam id esse puto, & lyncei animali perperam tribui, quod de Lynceis, Ida fratre, scripserant Poëtarum vetustissimi. Tertio, urinam p̄ p̄bed in lapidem concretere nemo scripsit, quomodo lyncei urinam, ex qua lapis lycurium, ut tradunt Aristoteles, Theophrastus, Dioscori, Demoftratus, Ovidius, Plinarchus, Solinus, & Alianus, & Veterum non pauci alii. At hoc commentum pridem explofit Plinius lib. 37. cap. 3. Ego, inquit, falsum id istam arbitror, nec visam in eis nostris gemmam ullam eo appellari, & quod de medicina sicut proditur, calculas vesicae eo potestidi, & morbo regio occurrat, si ex vino bibatur, aut si parietur. Et pro lynceis λυγίων, vel λυγίων multi scribant, ac si sit lapis ex Liguria allanus. Vide Græcos Interpretes, & Vulgatum Æscl. 28. v. 19. & 39. v. 10. (21. 12.) & Joseph. Antiq. lib. 3. cap. 8. Quin apud Plinium contendit Suidius arborem esse, quæ lycurium gignat in Liguria. In qua eadem sententia & Metastorua fuit. Strabo quoque libro secundo in Liguria descriptione, Πανθηρῶν δὲ καὶ τὸ λυγίων καὶ ἀντιῶ, ἢ τινεῖς ἡλιότερον προσγοροῦντες. λυγίων nota per i, non λυγίων per y. Quamvis id non satis rectè. Scribendam enim λυγίων, ut jam diximus. Quarto, de lynce nemo scribit, quod de alphebed Arabes, fomiculosam esse animal, & gravissimi capitis. Da-

mir, يضرب بالفهو المثل في كثرة النوم

Ad alphehed pertinet Proverbum de multo somno.

Nempe فهو من نوم p̄ p̄hed somnolentior.

Cui aliud est non ab simile, أنكل راسا من فهو

Capite gravior τῷ p̄hed. Quin & Verbum فهو

phahida, inde formatum, dormire, oscitare, & pandericari sonat. Alcanus, فهو نام وتعاقل عما

يجب تعهده واشبه الفهه في تسرده ونومه

Phahida, dormio, & id neglexit, quod sibi curandam fuerat, somnoque ac pandericacione τῷ p̄hed fuit similis. Liceat de hac eadem fera tertium addere Proverbum usu tritum apud Arabes,

فهو من فهو

Hic هو أكسب من فهو

الفهود الهرم التي, Cujus hæc est ratio,

تعجز عن الصيد لانفسها أنجمع علي

فني فهو فيصير لها في كل يوم طعنها

Alphabud (id est, Lyncei) senes, qui sunt infirmiores, quam ut sibi venari possint, ad juvenem p̄hed congregantur, qui venatur illis cibum in dies. Hæc, & alia Græcos Scriptores de animali parum noto omisisse nihil mirum est. Ignæ Gallicæ once dicitur, L. exciso ex nomine λυγίος, ac si sit L. Articulare: ut in azur pro lapide cyaneo ex Persico لآزورد lizard. Alphehed esse leopardam quidam ex eo colligunt, quod in Damire, dicunt Arabes,

فهو من فهو

فهو من فهو

فهو من فهو

فهو من فهو

فهو من فهو

فهو من فهو

فهو من فهو

فهو من فهو

فهو من فهو

فهو من فهو

فهو من فهو

فهو من فهو

tur alphehed ex diversa specie: sed mater est الفهرة

alphebeda, de cujus scetura & partu supra egimus. Proinde catuli p̄ alphehed non semel meminit

Alcanus, eumque vocat العوجر alcaubar, vel العوجر alcaubar.

Pantheram & pardalis diversa, imò diversissima esse animalium genera multi contendunt. In his Leo

Allianus in Enstathi Hexaëmeron. Ego, ut idem genus esse asseram, his moveor rationibus. 1. Camelopardalim ex camelo & panthera componi dicunt Romani Scriptores. Varro De Ling. Lat. lib. 4. Ut Alexandrii camelopardalus nuper adducta, quid erat figura ut camelus, maculis ut panthera. Horatium libri secundi Epistola prima,

Duoferum confusa genus panthera camelo.

2. Iidem pardalium gemmam à panthera dici volunt. Plinius libri trigesimali septimo capite undecimo, Sum

& à leoni pelle & panthera nominata leonias, pardalies. 3. Et aconitum pardalianches, eò quod pantheras necat. Plinius libri octavi capite vigesimo septimo, Pantheras perficiata carne aconitis (venenum id est) barbari venantur. Occupat illico fauces earum angar: quare pardalianches id venenum appellaverit quidam. Et libri vigesimali septimo capite secundo, Tangunt carnes aconitis, necantque p̄biam earum pantheras, &c. Ob id quidam pardalianches appellaverit. Et Solinus, Fauces earum angina obfidetur. Ideo gramen pardalianchi appellaverunt. 4. Apud Plinarchum in Cicero, Καλις (lege Καλις) ἢ τῆτις δὲ δερμῶν παρδαλίου ἀντιῶ πρὸς τὴν θύαν ἢ τῶν τῶν ἐν Καλιῶν ἀποσῆλαι, καὶ ἀποσῆλαι τῶν περὶ γῆρας, γράφει πρὸς ἀντιῶ ἐν θύαι παρδαλίου ἐν Καλιῶ, περὶ γῆρας γὰρ ἢς Καλιῶ, ἀρμακτικῶς, ὅτι μίαι πολυμῆται, παρτα εἰρήνη ἔχεται. Caelio Oratori, ut παρδαλίου sibi ex Cilicia Romam mitteret ad quoddam spectaculum roganti, eum aliqua ream à se gesturam juliania rescripsi, παρδαλίου ἐν Καλιῶ non esse, quippe in Cariam fugisse, indignatus in communi pace non nisi secum geri bellum. Παρδαλίου, id est, pantheras. Ita enim ipse Caelius ad Cicero nem libri octavi Epistola secunda, Ut tibi cura sit quod ad pantheras acrius rogo. Et Epistola quarta, Item de pantheris, ut Cilyrtatas arestias, carestque, ut mihi veniantur. Et Epistola sexta, Turpe tibi erit pantherarum greges me non habere. Et Epistola nona, Fere suavi amibus tibi de pantheris scripsi. Cicero quoque ad Atticum libri sexti Epistola prima, Caelius liberum ad me misit, & literas accurate scriptas, & de pantheris, &c. Et ad Caelium ipsum libri secundi Epistola undecima, De pantheris, per eos qui venari solent, agitur mandato meo diligenter. Sed mira paucitas est. Et eas, quæ sunt, valde opti queri, quod nihil cuiquam infidelium in mea provincia nisi sibi fiat. Itaque constituisse dicuntur in Cariam ex mea provincia decedere. Quem Cicero nisi locum à Plinarcho respici patet. 5. In loco Aristotelis De partibus supra citato παρδαλις est in iis animalibus, quæ μεγάλας τὰς παρδαλίας ἔχει pro quo Plinius, Maximum est cor proportionè panthera.

6. Quæ de pardalis fragrantia Græci scribunt, Romani ad pantheram transferunt. Ita hæc Plinii de pantheris libri octavi capite decimo septimo, Ferunt odore earum mirè sollicitari quadrupes canitas, sed capitis servitate terreri. Quamobrem, occultato eo, reliquis dulcedine invitatas carripiunt, in Aristotele sic habentur Historia animalium libri noni capite sexto, λυγίος δὲ καὶ κατασκευαστικὸς τὸν παρδαλίον, ὅτι τῷ ἀντιῶ καὶ τῷ θύαι, ἀποσῆλαι τῶν ἀντιῶ θύαιων.

Rursus Plinii verba libri vigesimali primi capite sexto, Animalium nullum odoratum, nisi de pantheris quod dicitur est credimus, sumpta ex his Theophrasti, De causis libri sexti capite vigesimo sexto, Ζῷον δὲ ἴδιον (ινερμῶν) ἢ μὴ τῷ παρδαλίον φαι, καδῶ-

10

20

30

40

50

60

70

80

90

100

110

120

130

140

150

160

170

180

190

200

210

220

230

240

250

260

270

280

290

300

ινωδης. Quin, teste Philoſopho Problematum Sect. 13. Quæſt. 4. Ἐ μὲν ζῷον ἰδίον ἰωδὲς ἴσα ἴξω ἢ παρδαλιος, præter pardum nullum animal ſuavitè ſlet. Quod ipſum confirmat Theophrastus, De cauſis lib. 5. cap. 6. & 26. & Plinius lib. 21. cap. 6. Neque enim Zibethi ſelem noverant, neque muſci caproolum. Itaque, ſi panther benè olet, ex illorum ſententia non poteſt eſſe animal à pardo ſpecie diverſum. VII. In ſcenis Veterum verſatilibus ſemper ante Bacchi pedes fingebatur παρδιρικὸς. Hero Παρδι αὐτοματεποιητικὸς, quem citat Salmaſius in Solinum pag. 212. Παρκαδιζήτας δὲ παρδιρικὸς πρὸς τοὺς δ' αἰωνεύει παρδί. Ad Bacchi pedes affidet pantheriſcus. Pantheriſcus eſt parvus panther, vel, quod idem, parva panthera; Baccho ſacrum animal, ut jam probatum. VIII. Eodem facit quod ſequitur de ſcypho, quem Bacchus habet in manu: κα δὲ δ' ἰσὺφῳ ἰνῳ ἐκχυθῆναι ἐπὶ ἰσοκλίμῳ παρδιρικῷ. Ex ſcypho autem vinum effunditur in ſubjectum pantheriſcum. Quia ſcilicet vini potu panthera maximè delectatur, ut ex Græcè & Arabibus jam ſuprà probavimus. IX. Præterea, ſi panthera eſt pardus, quod in Veterum ſcriptis omnino clarum, quidni etiam παρδις id ipſum ſit? Certè ut ſera factam ex *Salice φῆρ* pro *θῆρ*, ita etiam panthera ex παρδις. Et pardo proſus convenit παρδις nomen, cum odore ſuo putetur omnes ſeras ad ſe allicere. Ita παρδις eſt reiſ genus, quo capiuntur omnes ſera: alii πάουρας vocant. Varro, De Ling. Lat. lib. 4. *Ferarum* vocabula item partim peregrina, ut panthera, leo. Utraque Græca, à quo etiam *ῶ* reiſ quoddam panther: lege pantheron. Quod penè omiferam, in *Gloſſario Latino-Græco* veteri per capita digeſto more *Nomenclaturarum*, in capite *De beſtiis*, panthera Græcè eſt παρδις.

Jam, ut objecta diluam, notandam eſt pardorum eſſe duo genera. *Oppianus* *Cynegeticum* libro tertio, Παρδαλιος δ' ἴδιον, ἰδιώτης γινῶται μὲν ἰσῆι. Μείζωνος δὲ ἴδιον, καὶ πάουρας ἰσῆι ἰσῆι. Ἄν δ' ἴν' ἰδιώτηρας μὲν, ἀπὸρ μὲν δὲν χειρίων. Ἐθνα δ' ἀμφιπέτρων ἰσῆι δαδῶδονται, Νίεφρ μίνας ἰσῆι, τῆ ε' ἰσῆι αὐτὸς ἀπῆρται. Μίνας μὲν μίνας ταλίδι, μεγάληρ δὲ μίνας.

Panthera autem pernicioſa duplex genus: alia quidem ſunt majores oſſeſtu, & ampliores lata dorſa: alia verò minores quidem, ſed robore neutiquam deteriores. Forma autem utriſque ſimiles variegantur, præter ſolam candidam, quæ diverſa conſpiciuntur: minoribus quidem major eſt, magnis autem minor. Quod ita paucis Arabes in *Damiro*

وهو صنغان صنق عظيم الجثة فصير الزنب وكنس Hujus (pardus) dua ſunt ſpecies, una magni corporis, & brevis cauda, & altera contra: hoc eſt, parvi corporis, & caudæ longioris. Aliter diſtinguit *Plinius*, nempe à ſexu, & colore. Pantheris, inquit, in candido breves macularum oculi. Et paulò poſt, Nunc (pantheras) varias, & pardos, qui maris ſunt, appellat. Et ruruſ, Quodam ab his pantheris candore ſolo diſcernant. Et in *Solinio*, *Plinius* ſimia, pantheræ ſunt minutis orbiculis ſuperpilla, ita ut oculatis ex ſulvo circulis vel carula, vel alba diſtinguantur tergi ſupelleæ. Et in *Iſidoro*, Beſtia eſt hæc minutis orbiculis ſuperpilla, ita ut, oculatis ex ſulvo circulis, nigra, vel alba diſtinguantur varietate. Itaque vel ex ſexu, vel ex mole corporis, vel ex variis maculis factum, ut in eodem animalis genere aliud propriè παρδις, aliud παρδαλιος diceretur. Neque aliud volunt Veteres, qui pantheres & pardos diſtinguunt ut diverſa animalia. Proinde ut pantherem *Iſidoro*, ita pantheram à pardo *Solinus* diſertè diſtinxit: quam tamen ejuſdem eſſe cum pardo generis inſictis rationibus probare conati ſumus. Et *Oppianus* fruſtrà opponitur, in quo παρδις

χαρκεῖ, quos cenſet in minutis & infirmis animalibus, non ſunt ii παρδις, quos inter majores ſeras memorant vetuſti Scriptores, ſed recentiorum παρδις, vel λυκαπιδις, aut λυκαπιδις. A poſterioribus Græcè thoibus id nominis inditum eſt; quia in lupina forma pellem pantherinam habent. Unde eſt, quod thoës naſci fabulantur ex lupi cum panthera coitu. *Oppianus* libro tertio *Venaticorum* verſu 336.

Δεδάκι δ' αὐτὸ λίκου καὶ παρδαλιῶν δαφινὰς ἔτι ἰσῆι ἐκλάσσει, ἴδιον κρατιέρον φίλον, θῆρ' ἰσῆι δὲ φῆρ(ι) δὲ πῶρ(ι) μαμυγῆρ(ι) δὲ δὲ, Μετῆρα μὲν ἰσῆι, πρῶτον δ' αὖ γυνεῖρα. *Sapienter* autem lupinam pantheris concubitu ad concubium accedat, unde robuſta ſecula thoës (procreantur): ſimul autem ſeras duplicem & mixtum ſorem, marrem quidem pelle, & facie patrem (referentes.) Quod quidem in præſentem conſectum eſt, cum thoës ſit animal ſui generis, & ſaturà corporis pantherà longè minor. Itaque thoëm *Homeri* vetus *Scholiſtes* non vocat ſimpliciter παρδις, ſed παρδις ἰσοκρικῆς, id eſt, parvum pantheron. Interim vel inde conſtat pantherem cum pardali idem eſſe animal: cum παρδις, vel λυκαπιδις thoës ideo nominetur, quod ex lupi & pardali procreari credatur, & ad illum facie, ad hanc pelle accedat, ut diſerte habet *Oppianus*. Hæc forteſta pluribus in *Geſnerum*, *Bodinum*, *Ritteriſium*, *Alſacium*, & viros alios impenſè doctos, quibus παρδις nihil quidquam eſt, quam animalculum à panthera toto genere diverſum.

Leopardi vox composita ſignificat animal ex pardo & leæna natum. *Plinius* in *Africa* naſci ſcribit, & à vulgari leone in eo diſſerre, quod juba ſemper caret. *Leoni*, inquit, præcipua generoſitas inſe, cum colla armoſque veſtunt juba. Id enim aetate contingit ex leone conceptis. Quis verò pardus generare, ſemper inſignis hoc caret. Et paulò poſt, *Africa* hæc maxime ſpeltas, inopia aquarum ad paucos annos congregantibus ſe ſeris. Meminit & *Solinus*, ubi de pardis, Quorum adulterinis, ut ait, coitibus degenerantur partus leonarum, & leones quidem procreantur, ſed ignobilis. Et *Claudianus* *Panegyri* in *Mantu* *Theodori* *Conſulatus*.

Obvia fulminei properans ad vulnera pardis, Semine permixto genit, cum ſeris leæna Nobiliorem iterum viridis corruptis adulter. Hi maculis patres referunt, & robora matres.

Si *Iſidoro* credimus, *Plinius* dicit leonem cum pardo, ut pardum cum leone concubere, & ex utroque coitu degeneres partus creari. Sed pardum pro panthera, aut cum panthera coire leonem nemo dixit ante *Iſidoro*, qui hoc *Plinio* perperam imputat. Quin ex *Plinio* diſcere eſt adulterinum hunc coitum leoni tam eſſe odioſum, ut in altum non ſinat. *Odore*, inquit, pardis coitum ſentis in adultera leo, itaque vi conſurgit in panam. Idcirco aut culpa fulmine abluunt, aut languiſ emittunt. Quibus concinit *Philoſtratus* in *Apolonio* libri ſecundi capite ſeptimo, ubi, poſtquam leonarum cum pardis coitum deſcripſit, ενῶδιν, inquit, τίνα(ι)ρ ἴδιον κῆρταρον ἀνῶν, καὶ θηλάζοντα το ταλιδῆι λεχμαῖ, πλατῆρδρα ἀφῆρμῆνῶν πρὸς δῆρ(ι)αν ἢ γῶρ θηλάζοντα τυτῆι μίνας, διακῆρτῶν τῆς εὐρίων, καὶ ζῆρ(ι)ων τῆς κῆρ(ι)αν ἢ ἴδιον, partium maculoſos (catulos:) propterea illos in denſis virgulis occultatos nutriunt, ſimulantes ſe venatoribus cauſà abſcondere. Nam, ſi leones deprehenderint, catulos dilacerant, & in ſabolem ſpurium cadunt. Hæc Veteres de leonarum cum pardo concubitu, unde novum monſtrum editur. Cui deſignando conſectà videtur leopardi vox. Ad quam interim duo notanda. Primò illam ſerius uſurpari coepiſſe, nempe *Conſtantini* ævo. Cum enim totis tribus ſeculis poſt *Chriſtū* natum in *Romanis* Scripturis naſquam reperitur, quarto & exinde paſſim occurrit.

Spæ-

CAPUT NONUM.

De Urſis.

Spartium in Antonino Geta ad Conſtantinum Auguſtum, Urſi ſevius, leones rugians, leopardi rillanti. Lampridius in Helioſabalo etiam ad Conſtantinum, Habuit leones & leopardas exarmatos in deliciis. Julius Capſulinus in Gordiano tertio ad eundem Conſtantinum. Euerunt ſub Gordiano Romæ, &c. tigres decem, leones manuſecti ſexaginta, leopardi manuſecti triginta. Fl. Vopifcus, his fere æqualis, in Probo ad Ceſſum, Editi deinde centum leopardi Libyci, centum deinde Syriaci. Symmachus libri quarti Epistolâ duodecimâ Scilicet, Cùm Romanam caveam leopardorum curſus impleverit. Ex libri ſeptimi Epistolâ quinquageſimâ nonâ Decio, ſacra mihi litera Julius agens in rebus exhibuit, leopardorum manuſectatiam contententes. Ambroſius in Hexameron libri ſexti capite quarto, Leopardus caprea aggreſſu ſanguinem bibit, & vini languoris evitat. Item, Quid dicam alio homines delictari, & illud ad eſſam ſumere, quod leopardus fugit? Paulinus in Ambroſii vita, Dimiſſi leopardi ſaltu celori ad eundem locum, in quo ſederant, qui de Eccleſia triumphatim aſcendentes, graviter ſanctos reliquerunt. Proinde Ignatii ad Romanos Epistolam, quam circumferunt, eo demum ſeculo fuiſſe ſcriptam; vel ex hoc argumento colligas, quod leopardorum diſſertè meminit. Ibi enim vir ſanctus inducitur ſic loquens, ἀπὸ Συρίας μέχρι τοῦτες θηριμαχῶν, &c. ἐκδιδοῦναι δὲ καὶ λέοντες. A Syria uſque Romam eam beſtiam rugno, uinctis cum decem leopardis. Neque id uocabulum puto apud Græcum Scriptorem uſquam alibi extare. Vox enim eſt merè Latina, pro qua Græcè dicitur λεωνιστάριον, vel λεωνιστάριον, quamquam neutrum legerim. Secundo, quamvis leopardi vox præciſè ſumpta animal ſignificet ex leone & pardo natum, tamen καταρχητικῶς pro pardo jam olim uſurpata eſt: ut in his Fl. Vopifci, editi deinde centum leopardi Libyci, centum deinde Syriaci. Nam in Syria leopardi ex mixto ſemine nulli ſunt, ſed ſolum in Africa. Nec in ipſa Africa tam numeroſi occurrunt, ut Reges potuerint edi per centurias. Neque aliud uoluit Symmachus, cùm Romanam caveam ſcriptiſſet leopardorum curſus impleviſſe. Itaque in his Lampridii in Helioſabali vita, Ebruis amicis plerumque clandestinè, & ſubito nocte leones, & leopardos, & urſos exarmatos imminebat, ita ut expergeſſiſſi in cubiculo eodem leones, urſos, pardos; cum luce, uel, quod eſt gravius, nocte inuenirent; uocantur pardis, qui paulo antè leopardi. Ità in Hieronymo paſſim leopardos pro pardis uſurpari manuſectum eſt: ut libro primo in Iovinianum capite decimo ſeptimo, ubi hæc citat ex Cantico Solomonis, Acubilibus leonum, à manibus leopardorum; cùm Hebraica habeant פַּרְדִּים נְסִירִים à montibus pardorum. Ex paulo poſt ſic alludit ad locum Jeremias de pardo, Fuge leopardorum montes, qui non poſſunt mutare uarietatem ſuam: Hinc in veteri Gloſſario Latino-Græco, in capite De beſtiis, leopardus eſt παρδαλις. Quæ καταρχητικῶς noſtris ſeculis ita invaluit, ut plebs hodie leopardi nomine nihil quàm pardum intelligat. Sunt, qui Hebræis jam olim putant leopardorum meminiſſe; quia in Hieronymi Rabba legunt ferè in fine Sectionis 77. פַּרְדִּים נְסִירִים וְאֵרִיב אֲנִי לֹא כִלְבִּי חַיִּים Fuit illi canis aggreſſus, & leo παρδαλις, id eſt, pardus maculis uſque. Quod animal quid aliud fit, quàm leopardus? Sed hæc lectio, quamvis recepta & conſtituta in Jalku Sectione פַּרְדִּים & in Arabib, Radice אֲרִי, tamen falſa eſt; & legendum פַּרְדִּים אֲרִי, lions amari, leo cicut, qui aggreſſus cani oppoſuitur; cum naturâ ſua canis ſit cicut, leo ſerpis. Itaque in eodem Arabib ſic legitur in uoce פַּרְדִּים. Ibi uide doctiſſimum Bucariſium Lexici Talmudici pag. 126.

Urſo Hebræum nomen à pilis, quia eſt animal hirtiſſimum. Septentrio cur Æthiopicè Ἐθιοπία dabitur, & Urſa cœleſtis οὐρανὸς Chald. in Heſychio. Urſi ovibus quàm infeſti. Urſi ruſtrum, & amplexus quàm terribiles. Urſi pedes anteriores manuum inſtar. Urſus ferus, triſtis, obſcuri uultus, & quaſi obſcurato. Cur idem Græcè ὄφις. Ioni de urſo Ecceſt. 25. v. 24. Varia lectio, mira præſentenda. Urſarum eſt θυρῶν, ſeuire, uncare, genere, Hebræicè אֲרִי, Chaldæicè אֲרִי. Urſus, & ἀργεῖς unde dicitur ἄργεῖς quaſi ἀργεῖς, quia pigrum animal. Amos 5. v. 19. Leonem fugiens in urſum incidit. Proverbium eſt hiſtoria natum. Ejuſ Allegoria expoſitiones. Urſus infeſtiſſimus. Namquam eſt idem. Inſignitatem Hebræicè pro Optativo, Urſa orbara nihil feracior. Idem de ſeri. Urſa cur caculis amet ardentis. Origo fabula de urſa partu inferni. Urſa mare ſerius & feracior. Cui caculis habet, ualde irruabilis, uſu ademptus, implacabilis. Prov. 28. v. 13. קָרָא אֲרִי urſus eluſiens. Alia verſiones reſelluntur. Laeta tauri cum urſa frequens. At El. 11. v. 7. bos & urſa ſimul paſcuntur. Monarchia Perſarum quomodo urſa ſimilis Dan. 7. Urſus quam vorax. Perſæ camari. Urſi manticia. Perſarum immunitas. Urſi quàm loſcivi. Ceram urſi projici viatores, ut evadant. Beſtia quarta Dan. 7. cur habet urſi pedes. Urſi graſſi tardus, ſed firmus: ita Romani imperii progreſſus. De quadraginta diebus pueri Bethelæ ab urſi dilaniatis. Bethelæ cur Eliſeo infeſti. De luſu calvine naga Hebræorum. Bethel à Jordane quantum diſtat. Calvitiæ cavillis quàm obtaxium. Cama inſigne ornamentum. Propheſia non immiſſi urſos, ut privatum injuriam ulciſceretur. Syria præpe Bethelæ. Hiſtoria Allegorica expoſitiones.

Urſum Hebræi, Chaldæi, Syri, Arabi, Æthiopes אֲרִי dōb, vel dōb uocant. Radix אֲרִי Hebræicè loqui, vel obloqui, Arabice reperi ſignificat, quæ parum videntur ad rem. Sed & Arabice دَابَّ دَابَّ dābba eſt pilosam habere faciem: unde دَابَّ dābba, vel دَابَّ dābba, faciei pili & villi; & أَدَبٌ adabba eſt facie pilosus, aut in genere uidiſſi & hiſpidus, ut Arabib. Quod in omnibus feris urſorum eſt maxime proprium. Hinc Philoſophus, De partibus animalium libri ſecundi capite decimo quarto, Ὅμοιο δὲ τῷ (ἀμα δαὲ) λίαν πικρὰ (ὡς οὖνο) τέτοις ἐκείνῃς ἔχει τὰ κτῆ τῶν κτῶν ὅτι ἐστὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπιβόλου. Quibus natura corpus facit ualde pilosum, illis parum eſt caude; ut in urſis contingit. Et Plinio libri undecimi capite quinquageſimo, Cande parca uillioſi, ut urſi. Et Opriani libri tertii Cyreneticum, verſu 141. Δάχνη μὲν πικρὰ δὲ πικρὰ καὶ ἀμφίπλοια, Villa quidem denſa & aſpera urſi uoſſi ſunt. El. v. 170. Καὶ μὴ χυρμητὸν παροπώρημα δίδωκε ἔμωι, καὶ λατὴν πρὸς ἴσθμῳ, — Sane hybernæ impetium (urſa) maxime times, quamvis uis ſit hirtiſſima. Neque aliter Poeta vetuſtior. Hæmonius Hymericus de Baccis inter Tyrrenoſi latrones, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰσθμῶν λατὴν ἔμωι. — Urſum facie hirtiſſima cervicè. Orpheus, ſeu Onomacritus uerſus, de Arceæ Arcadæ Argonauticum verſu 199. Ἄρ' ἀπὸ λείων γέρας ἀμψάγρο δέμα, Sed hirtiſſa urſi pelle peſſus uindictæ. Ovidius Aſtamatyrbos ſeu lib. 2. Fab. 5. de Calliſti in urſam mutata, Brachia caperum nigris hirtifcere uillis.

Part I.

Ecc 2

Et

Figura 3.178 Colunas 785-805 de Bochart (1712).

3.2.177 François l’Hermitte (ca. 1601 – 1655) [Figura 3.179] foi um dramaturgo francês que escrevia com o pseudônimo de *Tristan l’Hermitte*. Em seu poema *La Lyre*, de 1641, falou de vários animais, entre eles a **once** (Bever, 1909: 71):

“Si les hôtes de l’air respectent cette voix,
 Ceux dont la cruauté déshonore les bois,
 Et qui sur les troupeaux font de sanglantes ravages,
 Ne sont point en ce lieu plus fiers ni plus sauvages.
 La biche et le chevreuil se trouvent sans danger
 Près du **cervier** cruel, et de l’**once** léger;
 Le lion, dépouillant sa naturelle audace,
 Souffre qu’après de lui le taureau prenne place;
 L’indomptable éléphant dans cette attention
 Près du rhinoceros n’a point d’émotion.
 La brebis et le loup suivent cette harmonie,
 L’un sans aucune peur, l’autre sans tyrannie,
 Puisque durant l’excès d’un si charmant plaisir
 Ni l’effroy, ni la faim ne les peuvent saisir”.



Figura 3.179 François l’Hermitte.

3.2.178 No *Digestum Sapientiae* de Frei Yves de Paris (1588 – 1678) (em latim Yvone parisino capucino) temos:

“Panthera suavis suo odore allicit ad se animalia, quae laniat, & devorat” (Yves de Paris, 1648: 62).

“Panthera blanditur homini, qui catulos in foveam lapsos eduxit” (Yves de Paris, 1648: 113).

3.2.179 Kaspar Schott, S. J. (1608 – 1666), jesuíta alemão especializado em física, matemática e filosofia natural, fez duas breves menções à pantera:

“Pantherae contra aconitum sibi humanis stercoribus medentur” (Schott, 1659: 354).

“Pantheris quoque esse in metu hienae dicuntur, ur nè conetur quidem resistere, & aliquid de corio eatum attingere: & si pelles utriusque contrarè suspendantur, ferunt decidere pilos pantherae” (Schott, 1659: 355-356).

3.2.180 Frei Agustín de la Madre de Dios (1610 – 1662) redigiu, enquanto viveu no México, o *Tesoro escondido en el Monte Carmelo*, onde, em duas passagens, menciona **onzas**:

[Capítulo XII. Fundan los religiosos el primer convento en la ciudad de México, toman la administración de barrio de Thumatlan, vuelve a España el padre Fray Ignacio y confirma Su Majestad todo lo hecho]: “Pero entre las demás cosas que allí guardaban al indio era gran cantidad de bestas fieras, tigres, **onzas** y leones, víboras, basiliscos y serpientes con otras innumerables a las cuales llamaban dioses bravos por su braveza horrible...”. (Agustín de la Madre de Dios, 1986: 39).

[Capítulo XVIII. Da dos principios a las pruebas, el demonio a las natallas y la naturaleza a las enfermedades de esta sagrada virgen]: “...de cuando en cuando enviaba Lucifer gran cantidad de demonios para hacer guerra a esta virgen (...). Los que venían de nuevo era en diferentes formas de leones, **onzas**, toros, lagartos y cocodrilos, perros rabiosos, (...) y de otras bestias fieras que con dientes, con cuernos y con uñas la daban mil tormentos, le ocasionaban mil males...”. (Agustín de la Madre de Dios, 1986: 336).

3.2.181 Melchior Weinrich (*fl.* 1615) escreveu, em seu *Aerarium Poeticum* (Weinrich, 1664: 463):

“Panthera, Panterthier / ein Weiblein.

Panthera picta, capta, non fusa Camelo.

Pardus, Parderthier.

Pardus celer, volucris, viridis, fulmineus. Magno sublimis hiatu. Semine permixto genitus. Leopardus pilos miscet ex flavente & albo: tota cútis maculata est variis notis. Vità privare solet draconem. Non tamen morsu in feras reliquas, Venatorus solertia non tradit captum, nisi domitus sit roe meri somno somniferi. Nascitur ex Pardi & Laeaenae coitu. Geminum cui cornu vertice prominet, fulgetque corpus insigni tegmine distinctum”.

3.2.182 Em seu *Discours de l’amitié et de la haine qui se trouvent entre les animaux*, Marin Cureau de la Chambre (1594 – 1669) [Figura 3.180] teceu os seguintes comentários:



Figura 3.180 Martin Cureau de la Chambre.

“Entre les Animaux farouches, la **Panthere** & la **Tigresse** semblent estre ceux qui ont plus d’amour pour leurs Faons: car quand on les leur a enleveez, elles font des Cris & des rugissements étranges, & courent avec tant de vîtesse après le voleur qui les emporte, qu’il est bien difficile qu’elles ne l’attrapent. Si elles ne peuvent

recouvrer, elles entrent en fureur, & il s'en est trouvé qui de rage & de desespoir en ont perdu la vie. Por la **Panthere**, elle marche toujours devant les Faons quand ils sortent de leur repaire; & sans craindre ni le nombre des hommes qui l'attaquent, ni la multitude des traits qu'on luy lance, elle demeure ferme, & se resout plutost de mourir, que de les abandonner" (La Chambre, 1667: 69).

"On dira sans doute que les Animaux n'aiment pas la **Panthere**, mais son odeur seulement. Il est vrai qu'Aristote le dit dans son Histoire, & en ses Problèmes. Neantmoins si on pren garde à ses paroles, il ne l'assure pas, il rapporte seulement l'opinion de ceux qui avoient cette croyance, λέγουσι, ὅτι τῆ ὀσμῆ αὐτῆς χαίρουσι καὶ θηρία, que les Bestes se plaisent à son odeur. En effet, comment l'auroit-il pû croire, puisqu'il assure que hors l'Homme, il n'y a aucun Animal qui prenne plaisir aux odeurs: C'est-à-dire aux odeurs considerées en elles-mesmes; Car il ne faut pas douter qu'ils n'aiment les odeurs qui leur font connoistre la bonté des alimens, leurs Femeles qu'elles sont en amour, & autres pareilles necessitez de la vie. Au reste, il paroist bien par ce texte d'Aristote, que la **Panthere** & la **Pardalis** ne sont qu'une mesme chose, quoy que Xenophon en parle comme si c'estoient deux especes differents. Παρδάλεις, dit-il, και πανθηρες. Car outre qu'Aristote ne nomme la **Panthere** en aucun endroit, il dit que les Animaux prennent plaisir à l'odeur de la **Pardalis**, ce qui ne se dit d'aucun autre Animal que de la **Panthere**" (La Chambre, 1667: 137-138).

"Le *Dragon* hait la **Panthere**. Car c'est vn animal farouche qui attaque tout ce qu'il rencontre" (La Chambre, 1667: 201).

"Porta dit qu'un homme est en seureté des **Leopards**, s'il est couvert de la peau de la *Hyene* des Anciens; mais c'est vne imagination de cet Auteur, qui a de costume d'estendre la Haine que les Animaux ont ensemble jusques sur leurs dépouilles. Il n'a pas certainement fait l'experience dont est question; puisque la *Hyene* des Anciens est ignoré. Il en faut croire autant de ce qu'il dit, que si vne femme grosse entend le son des cordes faites des boyaux de Vipere, elle avortera" (La Chambre, 1667: 247).

"Pline dit que ceux qui sont oingts de graisse de *Coq*, ne sont point attaquez des **Leopards** & des **Pantheres**; mais c'est aussi vne imagination fondée sur la Haine que le Lion a contre le Coq; le **Leopard** et la **Panthere** estant du mesme genre que le Lion" (La Chambre, 1667: 247-248).

3.2.183 Olfert Dapper (ca. 1635 – 1689) [Figura 3.181], médico e escritor holandês, mencionou o leopardo em sua *Naukerige beschrijvinge der afrikaensche gewesten* (Dapper, 1668):



Figura 3.181 Olfert Dapper.

- P. 20:

"Het verzamelen der Leeuwen geschiert van achteren, en het paren t'allen tijden van't jaer, maer inzonderheit in de lente. Dan oefenen zy een bloedigh gevecht tegen elkandre, en vervolgen met hun acht of tien een eenige Leeuwin. Na verloop der lente, wanneer de mannerjes ter oorzake van de groote hitte zich onbequaem

bevinden, vermengen zich de Leeuwinnen met den **Pardel**, daer een **Lupard**; met den **Panther**, daer een vucht zonder manen; en met de Hyena, daer een Krokuta afkomt. Desgelijx vermengen zy zich ook met de honden”.¹¹¹

- Pp. 22-23:

“De **Pardel** of **Luipert** heeft een lang voorhoofd, rontachtige ooren, en een zeer lange en dunne hals, aen de borst kleine ribben, een lange ruch, en de billen en dyen vlezigh. Hy is plat ontrent den buik, en heupen, menigerlei van verruwe, en desselfs geheel lijf is ongeleed, en niet evenmetelijk. Aen het midden des buiks zijn vier spenen, aen de voorste voeten vijf, en aen d’achterste vier klauwen; d’oogen zijn in den donker vuuriger, dan andere dieren, en verdoven in de Zon. De huid, zoo Oppianus schrijft, is donker gout-geel, en met zwart op wit gespenkelt. Het wort gezeit, dat hy en plek als een wassende maen, en niet maensgewijze kromme hoornen op zijne schoften heeft. Hy is gevlamt van tong, scherp van tanden en nagels, en, ten aenzien van zijn groote, groot van hert: hy heeft vaste benen, maer weinigh vets, dat door de groote hitte vertaert wort. De **Pardel** onthoud zich in geheel Kristenrijk niet, maer veel in Afrika, also ook in Asien, in het landschap Komeri en in Bengate.

Zijn verzameling geschiet dikwils met den leeu, zomwijl met honden, een ook met den wolf. Aen de veelheit der spenen blijkt, dat hy vele jongen op eenmael werpt. Isidoor verhaelt, hoewel zulx een beuzel is, dat de jongen hun geboorte-tijd verhaeften, en door ongedult de lijf-moer opscheuren. Hun haet tegen den mensch is zoo groot, dat hy denzelven, op papier getekent, verscheurt, en vlucht, na het zeggen van zommingen, voor het dootshoofd van een mensch; hoewel eenige zeggen, dat hy alleenlijk voor’s menschenaenzicht schuw is: ‘t welk by Gesner de Beesten-hoeder van den Koning van Vrankrijk vevestight, die zekeren **Panther**, na dat hy hem op de jacht gezonden had, niet dan rucchelings kon weerom leiden. Hy draeght ook groote vyandschap tegen den Haen, Slangen en Look. De geen, zeit Plinius, die met hanen-zap bestreken is, wort van den **Panther** niet aengerant. Desgelijx is de geen, die een kleed van **Panther**-vellen aanheeft, van het beschadigen der Slangen bevryd. Met zoo groot een vyandschap is hy tegen de Hyena ingenomen, dat het **Panthers**-vel, indien beider vellen tegen elkandre over hangen, zijn hair verliest, indienmen Plinius geloven magh”.¹¹²

¹¹¹ Na tradução francesa (Dapper, 1686: 14): “Les Lions s’accouplent par derriere, & dans toutes les saisons de l’année, mais sur tout au printemps. Alors ils s’entrebattent jusqu’au sang, & se mettent huit ou dix après une Lionne. Quand le printemps est passé, & que la chaleur excessive rend les mâles impuissants, les Lionnes se mêlent avec le Pardel d’où naît un Léopard, avec la Panthere, d’où se forme un fruit sans poils sur le coû. & avec l’Hyène d’où procede une Crocute. Elles s’accouplent aussi avec les Chiens”.

¹¹² Na tradução francesa (Dapper, 1686: 15): “Le Leopard a le front long, les Oreilles rondes, le coû long & mince, les côtes de la poitrine petites, le dos ovale, les fesses & les cuisses charnuës, Il est plat autour du ventre & des hanches, il est moucheté de diverses couleurs, & tout son corps n’a point d’articles & est mal proportionné; il a quatre mammelles au milieu du ventre, cinq griffes aux pieds de devant & quatre aux pieds de derriere. Ses yeux paroissent tout en feu dans l’obscurité; mais au Soleil ils sons sans éclat; leur peau est d’un jaune brun, tachetée de blanc & de noir. On dit qu’il a une tâche comme un croissant, & des cornes crochuës sur ses epaules, mais non pas en forme de Lune. Son coeur est grand, si on le compare à la grosseur de son corps, il est peu chargé de graisse, parceque la chaleur excessive la consume. Il a la langue perçante, les dents & les ongles aiguës. On ne trouve point de Leopard dans toute la Chrétienté, mais on en voit beaucoup en Afique, & en Asie, dans les Provinces de Comeri & de Bengate.

Ils s’accouplent souvent avec les Lions, quelquefois avec des Chiens, & meme avec des Loups. On connoit au number des mammelles, celui de petits que la femelle aura. Isidore raconte là dessus une fable, c’est que les petits avancement leur naissance, & déchirent par impatience la mere qui les environne. Ils ont tant d’aversion pour l’homme, que s’ils en voient un dessigné sur le papier, ils le déchirent. On dit que la vuë d’une tête de mort met le Leopard en fuite; mais d’autres affirment qu’il n’a de l’aversion que pour la face humaine, ce que Gesner, grand veneur du Roi confirme en rapportant, qu’ayant envoyé une Panthere à la chasse, il ne put la ramener qu’à reculons. Il est grand ennemi du Coq, des Serpens & de l’ail. Quand on s’est frotté de jus de Coq, dit Pline, on ne doit pas avoir peur d’être attaqué par la Panthere, & ceux qui sont habillez de peau de Panthere n’ont pas sujet de craindre les Serpens. Le Leopard n’a pas moins antipathie avec l’Hyène, & si l’on en croit le meme Pline, quand les peaux de ces deux animaux sont penduës l’une vis à vis de l’autre, le poil de la Panthere tombe”.

- P. 195:

“Nevens de muuren van’t Paleis, een half uur van de stad leit een zeer heerlijke en vermakelijke bogert of lust-hof des Konings, *Montserat* geheten, die met over de vijftien-duizent Limoen-bomen, en een gelijk getal van Oranje- en Dadel-boomen, en met ontrent zes-en-dertigh-duizent Olijf-boomen beplant is; behalve veel ander flagh van boomen, bloemen en heilzame kruiden. Het water komt uit het geberghe aen d’ene zijde in dezen bogett sehierten, en aen d’andere zijde daer weer uit vloueien, en bebesproeit en vevoehticht niet alleen de gewassen, maer voet ook velerlei slagh van visschen. In het midden des tuins leit een vierkante plaets, met een **luipert** van blanken marmer, met zwarte plekken na’t leven gespikkelt, op ieder hoek, en rontom omringt met marmer-steen, in welks midden een pilaer staet opgerecht, waer op een marmere leeuw staet, die veel klaer water ten monde uitbraekt”.¹¹³

- P. 390-391:

“Het dier *Kquoggelo* geheten [um pangolim], is van fatsoen byna al seen krokodil, zes of zeven voeten lang, hoewel’er ook kleine zijn, met een zeer lange tong. Het is een zeer onweerbaer beest, echter van zich zelf zeer sterk, dicht met kantige schelpen over’t geheel lijf bezet, daer door het alleenlijk van menschen kan beschadicht worden; maer wort het van een **luipert** besprongen of verrast, dan komt het zich zelf in een, en steekt zijne kantige schelpen over einde, zulx de **luipert** daer geen varten aen heft. Zijn voedsel is mieren, die hy met zijn lange tonge uit het nest der mieren haelt en jaeght, en dan oplokt”.¹¹⁴

- Pp. 392-393:

“Tigers, by hen genaemt *Quellyqua*, en **luiperts**, die zy *Quelly* heten, zijn’er in de bosschen by menigte, twee direren, die elkande groote vyandschap toedragen; hoewel de tiger des **luiperts** meester is: waerom de **luipert**, wanneer de tiger hem vervolgh, des tigers voetstappen achter hem met zijnen steert zal uitgeven, om niet verder vervolgh te worden. Zy zeggen de tiger meester in’t bosch te zihn, dan aengezien de **luipert** meer schade doet, en de tiger daer te lande geen menschen, maer alleenlijk beesten beschadicht, zoo wort de luipert by hen Koning van’t bosch genaemt.

Het is een gewoonte by hen, wanneer in eenige dorpen buiten’s Konings wooninge een **luipert** gevangen wort, dien doot in’s Konings dorp te brengen, om dar geslacht en gegeten te worden. Dan naerdien die van’s Konings dorp niet gedogen, dat de vangers den **luipert** in het dorp brengen, met bybrengen zulx hen tot een schande te zullen strekken, dat een ander heer, meinende den **luipert**, dien zy heer van’t wout noemen, van iemand zonder tegenstand in het dorp zoud gebracht worden, zoo vallen zy gewapender hant met alle man den **luipert**-dragers aen; de welke daer mee op gewapent zijn, om met geweld d’anderen tegenstant te bieden.

Wanneer zy nu buiten’s dorps aen elkandre raken, met stokken en worstelen elkandre te keer gaen, en de **luiperts**-dragers of vangers niet tot hun voornemen kunnen komen, en den moed verlooren geven, dan komt iemand uit’s Konings dorp, en haelt de **luiperts**-dragers en den **luipert** in het dorp, die op de speel-plaets gebraght en daer gevilt wort, gevende het vel en de tanden aen den Koning. Zijn vleesch, gekookt, wort by de gemeente op de speel-plaetsgegeten, daer zy dan voorts met spleen en danzen den dagh doorbrengen. Dan de Koning eet niet van den **luipert**, aengezien geen dier, zeit hy, zijns gelijk eet, en hy derhalve ook geen koning behoort t’eten: want de **luipert**, gelijk gezeyt is, wort by hen voor koning van’t wout geacht.

¹¹³ Na tradução francesa (Dapper, 1686: 131): “A demi lieuë de la ville, vis à vis les murailles du Palais, il y a un verger Royal qu’on appelle le *Monserat*, où il y a plus de 15000 Limoniers & autant d’Orangers & de Palmiers, & environ 36000 Oliviers, sans conter plusieurs autres arbres, & grand nombre de fleurs & de Simples. L’eau qui baigne ce verger est fort poissonneuse, elle décend des montagnes, entre par un coté & sort par l’autre. Au milieu du Jardin, il y a un bassin quarré de marbre blanc & à chaque coin un **Leopard** de la même matiere, mouchetté de noir & de blanc. Une colonne qui sôutient un Lion est erigée dans le centre de ce bassin, & ce lion jette un torrent d’eau par la gueule”.

¹¹⁴ Na tradução francesa (Dapper, 1686: 256): “l’Animal qu’on appelle *Quaguelo* ressemble fort à un Crocodile, il a six ou sept pieds de long mais il y en a de plus petits; sa langue est fort longue. C’est une bête qui ne sait pas se defendre, mais qui est pourtant naturellement assez forte: car elle a tout le corps couvert d’écailles & quand un **Leopard** l’attaque, elle s’enfonce toute dans ses écailles, de sorte que son ennemi n’y trouve point à mordre. Elle se nourrit de fourmis [essa tradução não incluiu a última sentença desse parágrafo]”.

Zoo nu de **luipert** by het volk van een klein dorp gevangen is, 't welk genen moet heft om de bravade of wint-brekerij tegens die van's Konings dorp te maken, dan zoeken zy onder hen iemand, die, op vast betrouwen van zijn *Belly* of Fetysjen, zich vermeet den **luipert** door kracht van zijne kunsten in's Konings dorp te brengen. Dees dan, met hulpe van een of twee zijner makkers, draeght den **luipert**, zonder gezien te worden, in het dorp, leit hem op de speel-plaetse neer, en gaet ten huize van eenen zijn bekenden, wachtende tot iemand van't dorp den **luipert** heeft vinden leggen, die dan met groot getier al't volk tzamen roept, en dese woorde daer over flackt: *Hier is noch een koning, zonder ons weten, ingebracht*. Op dit getier springt al het volk ten huize uit, en de bringer maekt hem dan mee bekend den **luipert** gebraght te hebben: waer over een ieder hem de hant geeft, en met de vingeren, naer hun wijze, knipt, zeggende: *Ghyzijt een man, daer men in not zich op verlaten magh. Wy hebben uw werk gezien*.

Voorts wort de **luipert** gevilt en gekookt, en onder hen gegeten, als vooren. De Koning verkoopt de vellen des **luiperts**, gemerkt hy daer nie op begeert te zitten, nocte daer over, op d'aerde leggende, te stappen; insgelijx eet hy van geen wilt, dat den **luipert** ontjaeght is; 't welk hy alles zeer scherpelijck onderhoudt, om *Bolly* of Fetysien in kracht te houden; maer de tanden, die by hen hoogh geacht zijn, geeft hy zijne vrouwen, die de zelve tot cieraet aen haere kleeren dragen, en, onder kralen gesnoert, om den hals hangen".¹¹⁵



Figura 3.182 Athanasius Kircher, S. J.

¹¹⁵ Na tradução francesa (Dapper, 1686: 257): “ Les Tigres s'appellent chez eux Quellyqua & les Leopards Quelly. Ce sont deux bêtes qui ne se peuvent souffrir: mais le Tigre est le plus fort & quand le Leopard se sent poursuivi, il efface ses traces avec la queuë afin que son ennemi ne les puisse reconnoître. Cependant comme le Tigre n'y fait point de mal aux hommes, & que le Leopard est le plus cruel & le plus dangereux, c'est aussi à lui qu'on tend le plus de pieges. Quand on en a pris quelcun dans un de ces villages où le Roi ne demeure pas, on est obligé de le porter au lieu de sa residence, & il faut remarquer que ces Negres appellent en leur langue le Leopard le Roi des forêts; parce que cela a produit une plaisante coûtume. Les habitans du village royal sortent au devant des porteurs du Leopard, pour se battre avec eux, croyant qu'il leur seroit honteux qu'un autre Roi que le leur entrât dans la place, sans qu'ils fissent quelque resistance. Les autres qui se font un point d'honneur de forcer le passage les attendent de pié ferme: on en vient d'abord aux mains, les coups de poing & les coups de bâton volent de part & d'autre. Enfin quand ils sont las de se battre, si les porteurs ont du dessous, il vient une [sic] homme de la part du Roi, qui les introduit dans le village. On les mene sur le marché où tout le people est assemblé, là on écorche le Leopard, on donne la peau & les dents au Roi, & après avoir fait cuire la chair, on la distribue au people, qui passe tout ce jour la, comme si c'étoit une fête solemnelle. Pour le Roi, il ne mange point de cette chair, parce, dit-il, que nul animal ne mange son semblable, il ne vet pas meme s'asseoir sur sa peau ni y marcher dessus, & pour éviter ce malheur il la fait vendre aussi-tôt: pour les dents il en fait present à ses femmes, qui les pendent à leurs habits ou en font des colliers mélez de corail. Quand les gens du village qui a pris le Leopard sont en trop petit nombre, ou n'ont pas le courage d'aller faire la bravade accoutumé, ils s'adressent à quelcun de leurs joüeurs de passe passe, qui se fait fort de porter le Leopard dans le village du Roi. Cet enchanteur prend avec lui deux ou trois hommes resolut & épiant l'occasion de n'être vu de personne, il entre la nuit dans le village, & va poser le Leopard au milieu du marché, puis se retire dans la Maison d'une personne de sa connoissance, jusqu'à ce que quelcun ait vu le Leopard. Celui qui l'apperçoit le premier, s'en va criant par toute la ville, *on a amené un autre Roi sans que nous le sachons*; tout le people ému par ses cris s'assemble en foule. Alors le porteur du Leopard se découvre, & chacun lui passant la main sur l'épaule, *allez, lui dit-on, vous êtes um homme auquel on peut se fier en cas de besoin, nous avons vu que vous savez faire*”.

3.2.184 Athanasius Kircher, S. J. (1601-1680) [Figura 3.182], em seu livro *Arca Noë* (Kircher, 1675: 68-69) citou brevemente o *leopardo* – híbrido formado pelo leão e o pardo após a saída desses dois animais da arca de Noé:

“*Leopardus* animal est, ex *Leone & Pardo* constitutum, vel ipsa forma monstrat animalis [Figura 3.183], capite jubato ad instar *Leonis* [sic!] insignitum, reliquum corpus maculis pulchris depictum *Pardus* refert”.



Figura 3.183 Leopardo (Kircher, 1675: 68).

3.2.185 No *Commentarius in Oseam Prophetam* de François Vavasseur, S. J. (1605 – 1681) consta (Vavasseur, 1709: 562):

7. *Et ego ero eis quasi leæna.* Denunciat quam acerbas & graves pœnas sumpturus sit scelerum de Israelitis: non enim mitiorem futurum in animadvertendo, quam sævissimæ quæque bestię, panther, pardus, urfa, leo, quævis alia fera, sive infestas, fame dominante habeant vias; seu prole amissa, incurrant inraptorem impetumque faciant. Hic LXX. ^{לפ} non leænam, sed pantherem reddunt, ubi Hieronymus ex interpretatione verbi, panther, inquit, tam nomen bestię, quam omnis bestia accipi potest: ut quidquid sævum in bestiis est, hoc in Dei indignatione cognoscas. Sed vide aliquid supra cap. 5. v. 14. distinctius: ut panthera per Assyrios regnum Samariæ subito evertendum velocitate notet, leo regnum Juda per Chaldæos vexandum fortitudine ostendat.

3.2.186 Jean de La Fontaine (1621 – 1685) [Figuras 3.184 e 3.185] incluiu o leopardo em duas de suas famosas fábulas: *Le Singe et le Léopard* [Figuras 186-189] e *Le Lion* [Figuras 190-191]:



Figura 3.184 Jean de la Fontaine.



Figura 3.185 Jean de La Fontaine (alegoria de Oudry, 1755).



Figura 3.186 *Le Singe et le Léopard* (Ilustração de Oudry, 1756: pl. CLCCII, entre as pp. 112 e 113).

“*Le Singe et le Léopard*”

Le Singe avec le **Léopard**
Gagnoient de l’argent à la Foire.
Ils aflichioient chacun à part.

L’un d’eux disoit: Messsieurs, mon mérite et ma gloire
Sont connus en bon lieu: le Roi m’a voulu voir,
Et si je meurs, il veut avoir
Un manchon de ma peau, tant elle est bigarrée,
Pleine de taches, marquetée,
Et vergentée, et mouchetée.

La bigarrure plaît: partant chacun le vit. [Figura 3.152]
Mais ce fut bientôt fait, bientôt chacun sortit.

Le Singe de sa part disoit [Figuras 3.153 e 3.154]: Venez, de Grace,
Venez, Messieurs, je fais cent tours de passé-passe.

Cette diversité don’t on vous parle tant,
Non voisin **Léopard** l’a sur soi seulement:
Moi je l’ai dans l’esprit: votre serviteur Gille
Cousin et gendre de Bertrand,
Singe du Pape en son vivant.

Tout fraîchement en cette ville,
Arrive en trois bateaux exprès pour vous parler;
Car il parle, on l’entend; il sait danser, baler.

Faire des tours de toute sorte,
Passer en des cerceaux [Figura 3.155], et le tout pour six blancs;

Non, Messieurs, pour un sou: si vous n’êtes contents,
Nous rendrons à chacun son argent à la porte.

Le Singe avoit raison: ce n’est pas sur l’habit
Que la diversité me plaît: c’est dans l’esprit:
L’autre, en moins d’un moment, lasse les regardants.
O que de grands Seigneurs, au **Léopard** semblables,
N’ont que l’habit pour tous talents!”

[Oudry, 1756: 111-112; Doré, 1868: 574-575; Grandville, 1870: 339-340; Guillon, 1803: 188-189].



Figura 3.187 *Le Singe et le Léopard* (ilustração de Grandville, 1870: 339).



Figura 3.188 *Le Singe et le Léopard* (Ilustração de Doré, 1868: 574).



Figura 3.189 *Le Singe et le Léopard* (Ilustração de Oudry, 1756: pl. CLCCII, 2e, planche, entre as pp. 112 e 113).

“Le Lion.

Sultan Léopard autrefois
Eut, ce dit-on, par mainte aubaine,
Force Boeufs dand ses prés, forces Cerfs dans ses bois.
Force moutons parmi la plaine...”. [Figuras 3.156 e 3.157].
[Oudry, 1759: 45; Doré, 1868: 695; Grandville, 1870: 418; Guillon, 1803: 366].

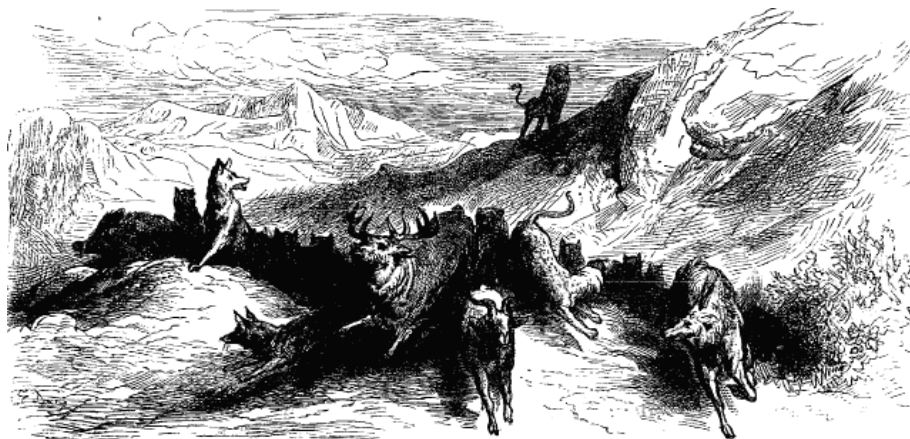


Figura 3.190 “Sultan Léopard autrefois/ Eut, ce dit-on, par mainte aubaine,/ Force Boeufs dans ses prés, forces Cerfs dans ses bois.] Force moutons parmi la plaine...”. (Ilustração de Doré, 1868: 695).



Figura 3.191 *Le Lion* (Ilustração de Oudry, 1759: pl. CCV, entre as pp. 46 e 47).

3.2.187 Johannes Smetius (Sr.) (1590 – 1651) organizou uma coleção de antiguidades romanas encontradas na sua cidade natal de Neimegen, na Holanda. Seu filho Johannes Smetius (Jr.) (1636 – 1704) publicou a descrição das peças dessa coleção, mencionando a pantera (Smetius, jr., 1678: 146) [Figura 3.192]:

Pantherarum totidem, quibus corpora fuerunt admodum fera, unde Ovid. *Metam.* lib. 111. Fab. x. *Fera corpora Pantherarum.* Pantheræ istæ antiquitus Baccho sunt sacratæ, sic habeo Gallieni nummum, in cuius altera parte est figura Pantheræ, nisi Tigridis esse malis (quum hæc duo animalia, uti & Leopardos ac Lynces difficile est in picturis, cælaturis ac similibus distinguere) cum inscriptione LIBERO. CONS. AVG.

Cur autem Animal hoc, Libero seu Baccho sit sacrum, rationem dat Philostratus, quod animalium calidissimum leviterque ac Bacchæ instar saliat. Addit duas alias rationes summus Philologus Ger. Joh. Vossius Lib. IX. *Idolatr. Gentil.* cap. XXIX. *Panthera*, inquit, *efferrum est animal; & Ebrii multi pantherinum in modum efferantur. Præterea Bacchus ebrietate gaudet: & panthera, si vinum istuc collocaris, quò ventitat, eo sic se inebriat, ut somno sopita capiatur, Eliano & Oppiano testibus, quorum hic etiam in tertio & quarto, de Venatione refert, Bacchi nutrices, quia vimose forent, in pantheras fuisse conversas, & Penthea ab his discernit.*



Figura 3.192 Johannes Smetius Jr.

3.2.188 John Ray (1693: 166), em sua *Synopsis methodica animalium quadrupedum* [Figura 3.193]:



Figura 3.193 John Ray.

“*PARDALIS*, cujus mas *Pardus*, *Panthera* Latinis, item *Varia* simpliciter, & *Africana* Plinio, ut probat *Joan. Faber*, notis in *Animalia Mexicana Recchi. A Leopard.* A Tigride differt magnitudine quâ eicedit, & macularum figurâ orbiculatâ”.

3.2.189 Jean Racine (1639 – 1699) [Figura 3.194], em sua tragédia *Esther* (Gombert, 1828: 28) citou o leopardo:



Figura 3.194 Jean Racine.

“Tout le Choeur.
Arrachons, déchirons tous ces vains ornemens
Qui parent notre tête.
Une Israélite.
Quel carnage de toutes parts!
On égorge à la fois les enfans, les vieillrds.
Et la soeur et le frère,
Et la fille et la mere,
Les fils dans les bras de son père!
Que de corps entassés, que de membres épars.
Privés de sépulture!
Grand Dieu, tes saints sont la pâture
Des tigres et des **léopards**”.

3.2.190 Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri (1651 – 1725) [Figura 3.195], aventureiro e viajante italiano, partiu em 1693 em direção ao Egito, Constantinopla e à Terra Santa. Atravessando a Armênia e a Pérsia, visitou o sul da Índia e foi até Pequim, na China. De Macau dirigiu-se às Filipinas, de onde passou para o México, embarcando de Cuba de volta para a Itália, após cinco aventureiros anos de viagens. Em seu *Giro del Mondo* (Careri, 1700: 12), parte terceira, que tratava do “Indostão”, mencionou pela segunda vez na história (o primeiro, como vimos acima, foi Garciad’Orta, em 1563), o nome chita (que ele grafou, em italiano, *citò*), dado ao guepardo:



Figura 3.195 Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri.

“Tigri ve n’ha di tre spezie, cioè Bibò [?], **Citò**, e Reale, ciascheduna differēte dall’altra nella grandezza del corpo, e varietà delle macchie. Come che elleno vanno sempre mai in traccia de’ cinghiali; questi dalla natura insegnati a difendersi, si voltolano nel fango, e si asciuttano al Sole tante fiato, fin che quella scorza sia divenuta ben dura. In si fatta guisa armati, in vece di rimaner preda, sbranano sovente, coll’acute zanne, le Tigri; imperocchè dando elleno coll’unghe nell’indurito fango, lunga pezza si dibattono per trarnele fuori; e così danno tempo al Cinghiale di ucciderle.

I Portughesi usano di cacciar le Tigri in due maniere: l’una è, ponendosi in aguato dentro un fosso, vicino all’acqua, dove denno venire a bere; l’altra, andando in una carretta, tirata da bovi lentamente per lo Bosco (che lo permette il terreno, e l’altezza degli alber) ed indi tirando sulle fiere. S’ingegnano però con ogni studio di colpirle nella fonte, perche al primo colpo non rimane la Tigre abbatutta; tale è la sua fierezza, accresciuta poi dal dolore della ferita, che s’avventa, e sbrana senza fallo il cacciatore”.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ Na tradução inglesa (Careri, 1704: 198-199): “There are three sorts of Tigers, call’d *Bibo*, **Cito**, and the Royal. Each differing from the other in bigness of Body, and variety of Spots. In being their Property to be continually in search of wild Boars, these taught to defend themselves by Nature, tumble in the Mire, and dry themselves in the Sun so often, till the Mud is crusted hard on them. Being thus arm’d, instead of being made a Prey, they often gore the Tygers with their sharp Tusks; for they working with their Claws on the hard Mud, are a long time pulling it off, and by that means give the Boars time to kill them.

The *Portugueses* have two ways of killing Tygers, one is lying conceal’d in a Ditch, near the Water where they come to Drink; the other going in a Cart drawn gently though the Wood by Oxen, and thence shooting them. But they use all their Endeavours to hit them on the Forehead, for if the Tyger falls not the first Shot, it grows so enrag’d with the Hurt, that it certainly tears the Hunter in pieces”.

Note-se que o tradutor deixou a a grafia italiana **Cito**, quando deveria ter transcrito em inglês *chito*, pois a letra *c*, em italiano, diante de *e* e *i*, é uma consoante fricativa palatal surda [tʃ].

Na tradução francesa (Careri, 1727: 25-26) a palavra foi transcrita como *chito*, já que o som [tʃ] inexistente no francês: “Les tigres sont de trois espèces; sçavoir, *Bibo*, **Chito** & la *Royale*, toutes différentes entr’elles par la grosseur du corps & la variété des taches. Comme ils vont toujours sur la trace des sangliers ceux-ci instruits par la nature à se defendre, se roulent dans la fange, & vont se sécher ao Soleil, jusqu’à ce qu’il se soit fait une croûte bien dure. De cette sorte, au lieu de demeurer la proie de leurs ennemis, il arrive souvent, qu’ils les déchirent avec

3.2.101 Peter Kolbe (também escrito Kolb, Kolben ou Colbe) (1675 – 1726) [Figura 3.196] foi enviado à África do Sul por Nikolaes Witsen, prefeito de Amsterdam, na qualidade de astrônomo oficial. Kolbe trabalhou na região do Cabo da Boa Esperança de 1705 a 1713, coligindo grande soma de dados sobre a vida diária do país, geografia, clima, flora e fauna, dedicando-se também a estudar os Hotentotes e sua língua, religião, modo de vida e costumes. Publicou o relato de sua viagem, em alemão, em 1719. Foram publicadas posteriormente as versões holandesa¹¹⁷ (Kolbe, 1727a-b), inglesa (Kolbe, 1731a-b) e francesa (Kolbe, 1742c-d).

Na edição de 1719 encontra-se a seguinte passagem sobre o leopardo [Figura 3.197]:



Figura 3.196 Peter Kolbe.

leurs défenses aiguës, ayant tout le temps de les tuer, pendant que les Tigres enfoncent leurs griffes dans cette fange pour l'arracher.

Les Portugais chassent aux tigres de deux manières: ou ils se mettent à l'affût dans un fossé proche des endroits où l'on sçait qu'ils viennent boire, ou ils vont dans une charette tirée lentement par deux boeufs, autant que le terrain & la hauteur des arbres le permettent, là ils tirent sur ces animaux: ils tâchent sur tout de les atteindre au milieu du front, parce que si le tigre n'est pas tué du primer coup, il entre dans une telle fureur, se sentant blessé, qu'il s'élançe sur le chasseur, & le met en pièces".

¹¹⁷ Na edição holandesa Kolbe dedicou 45 páginas aos mamíferos, 22 às aves, 24 aos peixes e 20 às cobras, insetos e outros animais.

Leoparden
und Pan-
terthiere.

Der Leoparden, oder der Panter?
Thiere ihr eigenes Vaterland, soll nach
Franzii Meynung, Asien allein seyn,
wie er in seiner Hiltoria anim. pag. 94.

schreibet; da es doch gewiß, daß
auch Africa keinen Mangel daran ha-
be; wie solches schon viele, als Ges-
nerus, Bochartus und andere bezeug-
et, auch die vielfältige Erfahrung er-
weist. Weil aber auch dieses Thier
zweyerley Gattungen haben soll, und
selbige nur von ihrer Grösse herrühret:
so will ich davon weiter nichts sagen, in-
dem mich düncket, daß die Grösse keinen
besondern Unterscheid machen könne: an-
gesehen sonst vielerley Pferde, Ochsen,
Kühe und andere Thiere seyn und heraus
kommen müßten.

Denjenigen Unterscheid aber, wel-
cher sich zwischen einem Tyger und Leo-
parden befindet, und wirklich ist, grün-
det sich, wie ich sehr oft und viel gesehen,
auf die Grösse und Runde der Flecken.
Denn ein Tyger ist sehr viel grösser als ein
Leopard, und hat schönere, rundere und
zugeschlossnere Flecken, als ein Leopard.
Man halte einen Leoparden gegen einem
Tyger, so wird man augenscheinlich be-
finden, daß ein Leopard nicht kleiner vom
Leib seye, als ein Tyger; welcher auch
ganz runde und zugezogene dunkelbrau-
ne, inwendig mit etwas gelblichten Haa-
ren angefüllte Flecken besitzt: da inzwi-
schen die von einem Leopard, die Form ei-
nes Huf-Eisens haben, und nicht vollkom-
men zugezogen oder geschlossen seyn: uner-
achtet beyde Thiere in meist allen übrigen
Eigenschaften miteinander überein kom-
men, und keines dem andern an Listig-
keit, Blutdürstigkeit oder Grausamkeit,
etwas bevor giebet.

Unter-
scheid
zwischen den
Tygern
und Leo-
parden.

lich seine letzten Kräfte an, hielte diesen feinen truzigen Bespringer treuherzig bey dem Kopff, drückte ihn zur Erden; grief in seinen Sack, zog sein Schnap-Messer, welches ihm unter wählenden Kämpffert einfiel, heraus, und erlegte damit seinen Blut-dürstigen Feind, indem er ihm damit den Hals abschnitte; unerachtet er selbst bereits ziemlich abgemattet war, viele Wunden hatte, und aus denenselben sein häufig herausdringendes Blut erblickte; wodurch er auch also entkräftet worden, daß er lange hernach nicht wieder zu seiner vorigen Gesundheit gelangen, noch von den Wunden geheilet werden, oder seine verlorne Kräfte erhalten konnte.

Ich könnte viele Exempel hier beybringen, welche diesen Satz erläuterten; doch ich hoffe, mein Herz werde solches an zweyen zur genüge ersuchen können. Heinrich Boumann, vormal in Diensten der Illustren Compagnie, anjetzo aber ansehnlicher Bürgermeister allhier, ein starcker und vigourcuser Mann, als er einmahl über Land gieng, und sich nichts Böses besorgte, wurde er unversehens von einem Enger besprungen, der ihm alsobald die Klauen auf den Kopff einschlug, und mit dem Maule nach dem Hals fahren, auch daselbst sein Blut aussaugen wolte. Weil er nun hierüber wie leicht zu erachten, hefftig erschrad, und nicht wußte, was ihn vor ein Thier besprungen hatte; so rang er mit selbigen, wehrete sich dapffer, und fiel mit diesem grimmigen Thier zur Erden. Da nun alle Hoffnung aus zu seyn schiene, und er ermüden wollte, spannete er end-

Enger
wird mit
cinem Wes-
ser erlegt.

Anno 1708. sind zween Leoparden in des Herrn Nicolai Ortmanns Schaafstall gekommen, welche ihm in kurzer Zeit über 80. bis 100. Stücke Schaaf erwürget, und von derselben Blut sich gesättiget haben. Nach verrichteter Mordthat, sind ihre drey Junge drauffen vor dem Schafstall gestanden, welchen sie von der Beute zugeschleppt, und jedes mit einem todten Stück fortgeschicket haben: sie aber selbst haben jeder eines genommen, und sind damit durch den Garten fort gewandert. Weil aber eine besondere Belohnung auf die Tödtung dergleichen schädlichen Raubthiere von der Illustren Compagnie gesetzt worden, so haben des gedachten Herrn Ortmanns Slaven, ihr bestes gethan selbige zu erlangen: und haben dahero geladene Stellrohre aufgelegt, wodurch sie die Leoparden auch alle nach einander, auffer den Vater oder dem Männlein getödet und erschossen, und ist also keiner als der Vater mit dem Leben darvon kommen.

Es werden Leoparden erlegt.

Wie das Fleisch der Tiger und Leoparden beschaffen.

Das Fleisch der Leoparden und Tiger ist überaus delicat; von Geschmack gut, weiß und gesund, also, daß ich es allezeit wo nicht lieber, dännoch eben so lieb, als das beste Kalbs- oder wenn sie jung sind, Hünnerfleisch gegessen habe; inmassen solches vielmal probiret, und allezeit gut befunden. Das einige, so jemand davon abhalten sollte, bestehet darinnen, daß man weiß daß es ein Raubthier ist, und dahero sehr wild schmecket; weil es aber niemals ein todes Maas von andern Thieren erwürget, vielweniger stinckendes Luder frisset, wenn man auch gleich ein solches auslegen, und es dadurch anlocken wollte, daß es sich selbst durch ein Stellrohr

erschösse ; so kan man sich auch diesen
Scrupel gar leicht selbst benehmen,
zumal wenn es sonst, wie anderes
Fleisch, wohl und sauber zubereitet, ge-
handelt und gebraten wird.

Figura 3.197 Páginas 156 a 157 de Kolbe (1719).¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸ Na tradução inglesa consta (Kolbe, 1731b: 97-98):

“ *Of the LEOPARD.*

The Leopard, or Panther, and the Tiger, which are Beasts of a like Nature, hold, for Fierceness, the next place to the Lion. The Leopard differs in nothing from the Tiger but in Size and the Manner of the Spots. The Tiger is much larger than the Leopard; and is distinguished by Rings of black Hair, enclosing Spots of Yellow; whereas the black Streaks on the Leopard are not round, but form'd with an Opening, in the Manner of a Horse-Shoe.

The Flesh of a Tiger or Leopard is very white, tender and well tasted, and, in my Opinion, much finer Eating than the finest Veal. I have been often regaled with it. It has every good Quality I can wish for in Meat, and not one bad one. Yet strengthening and delicious as it is, there are Numbers of *Europeans* at the *Cape*, who care not to touch it, on Account of I know not what terrible Ideas they have with Relation to the ravenous mischievous Nature of those Animals. Neither Tiger nor Leopard will eat Carrion, nor touch a Bit of a Carcass that has been kill'd by another Beast. They will eat no Creature, which they themselves do not kill. Their Flesh is delicious wholesome Food, either roasted or boil'd. And the Flesh of the young ones is as tender as that of a Chicken.

I shall set down an Instance or Two of the fierce ravenous Nature of those Creatures. One *Bowman*, a Burgher at the *Cape*, walking by him self in the Fields, was surpris'd by a Tiger. The Beast leapt at Mr. *Bowman's* Throat, and endeavour'd to fix his Mouth in it, in order to suck his Blood. Mr. *Bowman*, tho' terribly frighten'd, had the Presence of Mind to contend for his Life; and seizing the Tiger by the Head, and struggling stoutly with him, threw him on the Ground, and himself upon him. Having got the beast down, he held him by the Weight of his Body, and with one Hand, till with the other he drew a Knife out of his Pocket and cut the Tiger's Throat. The Beast expir'd immediately: But Mr. *Bowman* receiv'd so many Wounds and lost so much Blood in the Conflict, that it was a long Time before he recover'd.

In the Year 1708, two Leopards, a Male, and a Female, with Three young ones at their Heels, enter'd a Sheep-Fold at the *Cape*, and having kill'd near 100 Sheep, regaled themselves with the Blood of the Slain. When they had suck'd their Fill of Blood, they tore a Carcass into three Pieces, and carried to each of the young ones, which they had left at the Door of the Fold, a Piece. They then took each a whole Carcass; and the Troop, thus loaden'd with Booty, began to move off. But having been perceiv'd, when they first enter'd the Fold, they were way-laid on their Return; and the Female, with Three Young ones, were kill'd; but the Male got clear away”.

4. SOBRE A IDENTIDADE DO LANZANI/ LAZANI/ LAUZANI/ LAUZANUM/ LOZANUM

4.1 Um outro nome de animal, *lanzani*, surge no século XII; Jacques de Vitry (? – ?1170), em sua *Historia Orientalis, sive Hierosolymitanae* (Moschus, 1597: 176; Bongars, 1611: 1100-1101), no capítulo intitulado *In terra promissionis, & in alijs partibus orientis quaedam sunt animalia, quæ in alijs partibus mundi non habentur* citou-o assim:

Est ibi saeuissimū quoddam animal, quod **Lanzani** nuncupatur; à cuius crudelitate nulla bestia potest esse tuta: nam, ve dicunt, ipsum Leonē terret”.

Causa espécie a palavra *lanzani* ter sido tratada como um substantivo no singular por Jacques de Vitry e outros autores subsequentes, quando a terminação *-i* indicaria estar no nominativo plural da segunda declinação.

A solução foi dada por Camus (1909: 7):

“Si l’on remonte plus haut vers la source, tout change. La Bibliothèque Nationale de Turin possède deux précieux manuscrits de l’*Histoire Hierosolymitana* de Jacques de Vitry, dont l’un, du XIV^e siècle, coté D, II, porte (fol. 45 r^o): ‘animal quod *lanzani* nuncupatur’, et l’autre, du XIII^e siècle (G, II, 34) fol. 122 v^o: ‘quod *lunzam* nuncupant”. Dès lors nous tenons la clé de l’énigme: la terminaison *-ani* est une fausse lecture de *-am*; et, à la première syllabe de *lanzani* et de *lanzani*, l’*a* s’explique par la forme de cette lettre dans certains manuscrits (copiés dans l’Orient?) comme celui de Turin (G. II, 34), ou *lu...* et *lai...* sont traces presque identiquement.

[...]

Quant au nom de *lunza*, il me semble avoir éré forgé sur l’italien *lonza*, donné comme nom vulgaire de l’hyène dans la *Vita Sancti Raynerii*, écit du XII^e, dont Jacques de Vitry avait du prendre connaissance lorsqu’il recueillait les éléments de son Histoire de Jérusalem. Fra Benincasa de Pise, auteur de cette legende, raconte que S. Raynerius se rendant au mont Thabor rencontra dans le désert: “*duas hyenas, quas vulgus vocat lonzas, leone valociores et audaciores, quae quidem, ut aiunt, de leopardo et leaena sive de leone et leoparda generantur*” etc. Mais le bon frère pisen fait ici toute une confusion, qui doit resulter de la lecture de quelque bestiaire latin, où se trouvaient mêlées ensemble d’anciennes mentions du *leopards*, de la *hyena* e de la *lynx*”.

A forma *lonzam* também aparece posteriormente, no início do século XIII, na obra de Maître Thetmar (cf. 3.2.49).

4.2 Alberto Magno (antes de 1200 – 1280), em seu *De Animalibus* (Alberto Magno, 1651: 601) comentou:

“*De Lanzani.*

Lanzani, vt dicit Solinus [sic]¹¹⁹, animal est saeuissimum, ita quod etiam ipsos deterret leones: persequitur tamen omnes bestias, & praecipuè quae alias depredantur, & prae omnibus odit hominem, sed sua parcat generi”.

4.3 Thomas de Cantimpré (1201-1272), em seu *Liber de Natura Rerum* (Cantimpré, 1973: 142) também tratou do *lanzani*:

“LVIII. De **lanzani**. Lanzani est animal, ut Solinus [sic] et Iacobus [Jacques de Vitry] dicunt, sevisimum, a cuius crudelitate nulla bestia potest esse tuta. Nam, ut dicunt, ipsum leonem deterret, qui tamen omnibus formidabilis perhibetur. Grassatur in bestias non sui generis: suo autem generi parcat. Illa animalia insectatur

¹¹⁹ Alberto Magno (cf. 9.2) citou Solinus ao tratar do *lanzani*; o mesmo fez Thomas de Cantimpré (cf. 9.3). Não há nenhuma passagem na obra de Solinus que endosse essa afirmação. O meticoloso Gesner [cf. 9.7] já percebera esse fato, declarando “qui etiam Solinum citat, apud quem *ego nihil tale reperio*”.

implacabili odio, que reliquas bestias depredantur. Et cum hoc scelus in aliis persequatur propria tamen iniquitatis non meminit. Hominem miro modo persequitur, et hoc forte divino uidicio, ut qui deberat esse omnium animalium placidissimum in natura, omnium est seivissimus vitiose iniquitatis malitia”.

4.4 Petrus Candidus Decembrio (Pier Candido Decembrio) (1399-1477) foi humanista, literato, poeta, diplomata, biógrafo, político, secretário dos papas Nicolau V e Pio II e historiador italiano. Uma doença pôs fim à sua vida em 12 de novembro de 1477, sendo sepultado na Basílica de Santo Ambrósio, em Milão [Figura 4.1].

Temos dele um manuscrito datado de 1460, pertencente à Biblioteca Apostólica Vaticana (Codex Vaticanus Urb. Lat. 276), no qual, após o descobrimento da América¹²⁰, um excelente artista, que também possuía alguns conhecimentos de história natural, adicionou ao pé das páginas figuras verdadeiramente esplêndidas.



Figura 4.1 Detalhe da tumba de Pier Candido Decembrio na Basílica de Santo Ambrósio em Milão. Pier Candido é apresentado à Virgem Maria por Santo Ambrósio.

No fólio 35v Decembrio citou o *lazani*:

“**Lazani** animal modicu, est: ut scribit solin’ [Solinus] sed crudelissimum: á quo nulla bestia, tuta est nam et leonem deterret: crassatur in bestias non suis gñis. suis parcit. hominem pré cetis appetit: forma eius est lupi uerum altioribus tibys corpore minore”.

O artista desconhecido representou erroneamente o *lazani* nessa página como um canídeo¹²¹, ao lado de um lince e de um *lycaon* [Figura 4.2]:

¹²⁰ Pois há figuras de um tatu e de um peru!

¹²¹ Killermann-Regensburg (1914: 135), em seu trabalho sobre o bestiário de Petrus Candidus também considerou o *lazani* como um cão selvagem.

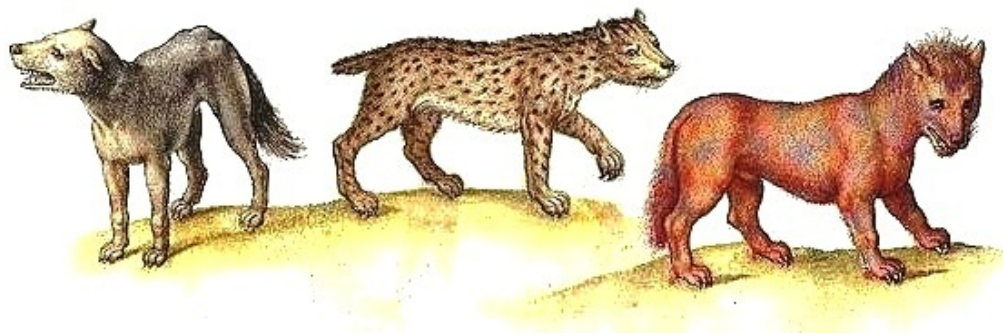


Figura 4.2 Animais (*lazani*, *lynx* e *lycaon*) incluídos por artista anônimo no final do século XV ao pé do fólio 35v do manuscrito de Pier Candido Decembrio, de 1460.

4.5 Johannes de Cuba (Johann von Wonecke Caub) no *Hortus Sanitatis* (Cuba, 1536: 24v, Livro Primeiro, Cap. 79) baseou-se em Thomas de Cantimpré e grafou *lauzanum*:

“Ex lib. de nat. re. **Lauzanum** est animal cuius crudelitate nulla besyia esse tuta potest. Nam & ipsa leonem, omnibus formidabilem, deterret, suo tamen genere parcit: in cetera grassatur, reliquas q’ bestias depređatur. Et cum hoc scelus in alijs persequatur, propriae tamen iniquitatis nos meminit”.

4.6 Giovanni Battista Bernardi (1507-1580), nobre e senador veneziano, em seu *Seminarij totius Philosophiae* (Bernardi, 1582: 6), listou o animal como *lauzani*:

“**Lauzani** est animal saeuissimum ita vt etiam ipsos deterret Leones: omnes bestias persequitur, sed prae omnibus odit hominem. Alber. magn. De anim. lib. 22, trac. 2. cap. I. c. 181. col. 2”.

4.7 Conrad Gesner falou sobre o *lauzanum* em duas de suas obras:

Em Gesner (1551: 937) lê-se:

“Est & LAVZANUM apud recentiores animal, uicini saltem nominis occasione hñc memorandum. Hoc crudelissimum esse scribunt, nullam ab eo tuta esse bestiam, leones quocq’ terrere suo tantum generi parcere, in caetera grassari, illa praecipuè quae fortiora sunt & uim alijs inferunt, hominẽ imprimis odisse, Liber de nat. rerum [de Thomas de Cantimpré; *vide supra*], * Albertus [Alberto Magno, *vide supra*], qui etiam Solinum citat, apud quem ego nihil tale reperio”.

Em Gesner (1560: 70) temos:

“Alphed (*meliùs Alphed, quod nomen Andreas Bellunensis [Alpago, 1544] simpliciter Leopardum interpretatur (...)*) animal est perquàm ferox & noxium: multi in Italia, Gallia & Germanis **Leunzam** (malim **Vnciam**) uocant, Albertus. **Vncia** (inquit Isidorus, neq’ apud antiquiorem Isidoro ullum hoc nomen legi puto) est animal saeuissimum, non altius cane, sed longius corpore, canibus ualde infensum, praedam non edit nisi in sublimi. & saepe cum ad arborem uenit, à summo ramo suspensam, &c. Aliqui corruptus **Lauzanum** pro **Vncia** scripsisse euidetur”.

4.8 Gerardus Johannes Vossius (Gerrit Janszoon Vos) (1577-1649) [Figura 4.3] registrou em sua obra *Theologia Gentili, et Physiologia Christiana* (Vossius, 1668: 555):



Figura 4.3 Gerardus Johannes Vossius (Gerrit Janszoon Vos).

“Imprimis verò quadrupedibus *άνθρωποφάγισ* gaudent Asia, & Africa. De Leone abunde vel ex solis constat Scripturae exemplis. Est & Orientis fera *Lanzani* nuncupata, terribilis adeò, ut ab ejus crudelitate ne tutae quidem sint ferae maximè efferae ac validae: ac ipse etiam Leo eam extimescat: quemadmodum jam annos ante quadringentos in Historia sua Orientali prodidit Iacobus Vitriacensis [Jacques de Vitry] cap. LXXXIX”.

4.9 Edward Topsel (Topsel, 1658: 440) simplesmente fez uma paráfrase dos trechos de Gesner. Quanto à origem da palavra *ounce* disse:

“There is in *Italy* a Beast called *Alphes*, which many in *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany*, call *Leunza*, and some *Uncia*, from whence *Albertus*, and *Isidorus* make the *Latine* word *Uncia*, and I take it to be same Beast which is called *Lozanum*”.

5. ALGUNS DOCUMENTOS DA ANTIGUIDADE CLÁSSICA, MEDIEVAIS, RENASCENTISTAS E DO SÉCULO XVIII SOBE O LINCE OU LOBO CERVAL

São citados na sequência apenas alguns autores que escreveram sobre o “lince”, alguns dos quais, entretanto, falavam do guepardo.

5.1 Aristóteles (384 – 322 aC), em seu livro *Partes dos Animais* (IV.x, 31-36):

τὰ

μὲν οὖν θήλεα τῶν τετραπόδων πάντ' ἐστὶν ὀπισθοουρητικά διὰ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ὀχείαν οὕτως εἶναι αὐτοῖς χρησίμην τὴν θέσει, τῶν δ' ἀρρένων ὀλίγα ἐστὶν ὀπισθοουρητικά, οἷον λύγξ, λέων, κάμηλος, δασύπους· μώνυχον δ' οὐδέν ἐστιν ὀπισθοουρητικόν.

“All female quadrupeds discharge the urine backwards, as this arrangement is useful to them for copulation. A few males do this (among them are the **lynx**, the lion, the camel, and the hare), but no solid-hoofed animal does so” (Peck, 1961: 384, 385).

5.2 Virgílio (70 – 19 aC), na *Eneida* (Anôn., 1829: 26-27):

“Ac prior, inquit : Heus! juvenes, monstrate si forte vidistis quam mearum sororum errantem hie, succinctam pharetra et tegmine maculosa **lynxis**, aut prementem clamore cursum spumantis apri”.

[And first, she says: Ho! youths, show me if by chance ye have seen any one of my sisters wandering here, girt with a quiver and the-hide of a spotted lynx, or pressing with clamour the course of the foaming boar].

5.3 Ovídio (43 aC – 17/18 dC), nas *Metamorphoses*:

- Livro III:

“ipse ramiferis frontem circumdatus uvis pampineis agitat velatam frondibus hastam; quem circa tigres simulacraque insania **lynxum** pictumque iacent fera corpora pantherarum”.

[The god himself, with his brow garlanded with clustering berries, waves a wand wreathed with ivy-leaves. Around him lie tigers, the forms (though empty all) of **lynxes** and of fierce spotted panthers”. (Miller (F. J.), 1951: 170, 171).

- Livro IV:

“Pentheas tu, venerande, bipenniferunque Lycurgum sacrilegos mactas, Tyrrhenaque mittis in aequor corpora, tu biiugum pictis insignia frenis colla premis **lynxum**. bacchae satyrique sequuntur, quique senex ferula titubantis ebrius artus sustinet et pando non fortiter haeret asello”.

[Pentheus thou didst destroy, thou awful god, and Lycurgus, armed with the two-edged battle-axe (impious were they both) and didst hurl the Tuscan sailors into the sea. **Lynxes**, with bright reins harnessed, draw thy car; bacchant women and satyrs follow thee, and that old man who, drunk with wine, supports his staggering limbs on his staff, and clings weakly to his misshapen ass”. (Miller (F. J.), 1951: 180,181).

- Livro V (A metamorfose do rei da Cítia Lynceus num lince):

“geminos dea fertilis angues curribus admovit frenisque coercuit ora et medium caeli terraeque per aera vecta est atque levem currum Tritonida misit in urbem Triptolemo partimque rudi datasemna iussit spargere humo, partim post tempora longa recultae. iam super Europen sublimis et Asida terram vectus erat iuvenis: Scythicas advertitur oras. rex ibi Lynceus erat; Regis subit ille penates. qua veniat, causamque viae nomenque rogatus et patriam, ‘patriae est clarae mihi’ dixit ‘Athenae; Triptolemus nomen; veni Nec puppe per undas, nec pede per terras: patuit mihi pervius aether. dona fero Cereris, latos quae sparsa per agros frugiferas messes alimentaue mitia reddant’. Barbarus invidit tantique ut muneris auctor ipse sit, hospitio recipit somnoque gravatum adgreditur ferro: conantem figere pectus **lynca**, Ceres fecit rursusque per aera iussit Mopsopium iuvenem sacros agitare iugales”.

[Then the goddess of fertility yoked her two dragons to her car, curbing their mouths with the bit, and rode away through the air midway between heaven and earth, until she came at last to Pallas city. Here she gave her fleet car to Triptolemus [Figuras 5.1 a 5.6], and bade him scatter the seeds of grain she gave, part in the untilled land and part in fields that had long lain fallow. And now high over Europe and the land of Asia the youth held his course and came to Scythia, where Lynceus ruled as king. He entered the royal palace. The king asked him how he came and why, what was his name and country: he said: ‘My country is far-famed Athens. Triptolemus, my name. I came neither by ship over the sea, nor on foot by land; the air opened a path for me. I bring the gifts of Ceres, which, if you sprinkle them over your wide fields, will give a fruitful harvest and food not wild’. The barbaric king heard with envy. And, that he himself might be the giver of so great a boon, he received his guest with hospitality, and when he was heavy with sleep, he attacked him with the sword. Him, in the very act of piercing the stranger’s breast, Ceres transformed into a **lynx**; and back through the air she bade the Athenian drive her sacred team”.

(Miller (F. J.), 1951: 282, 284 e 283, 285).



Figura 5.1 Ceres transforma Lynceus em linco (Salomon, 1557: pl. 65).

Lyncus Scythiæ Rex in Lyncem feram. IX.

*Triptolemus vehitur Cereis per inania curru,
Semina docturus credere iacta solo.*

*Hofpes at hunc Lyncus capientem nocte quietem
Dum iugulare parat, Lynx citò factus abit.*



*Triptolemus in Lüften fehrt/
Die Menschen die Frucht sehen lehrt/*

*Lyncus in nachts wolt bringen omb/
Ward in ein Luz vertehrt darumb.*

1 2

Figura 5.2 Triptolaemus no carro de Ceres espalhando as sementes e Lyncus tentando assassinar Triptolemus (Germersheim, 1563: 67).

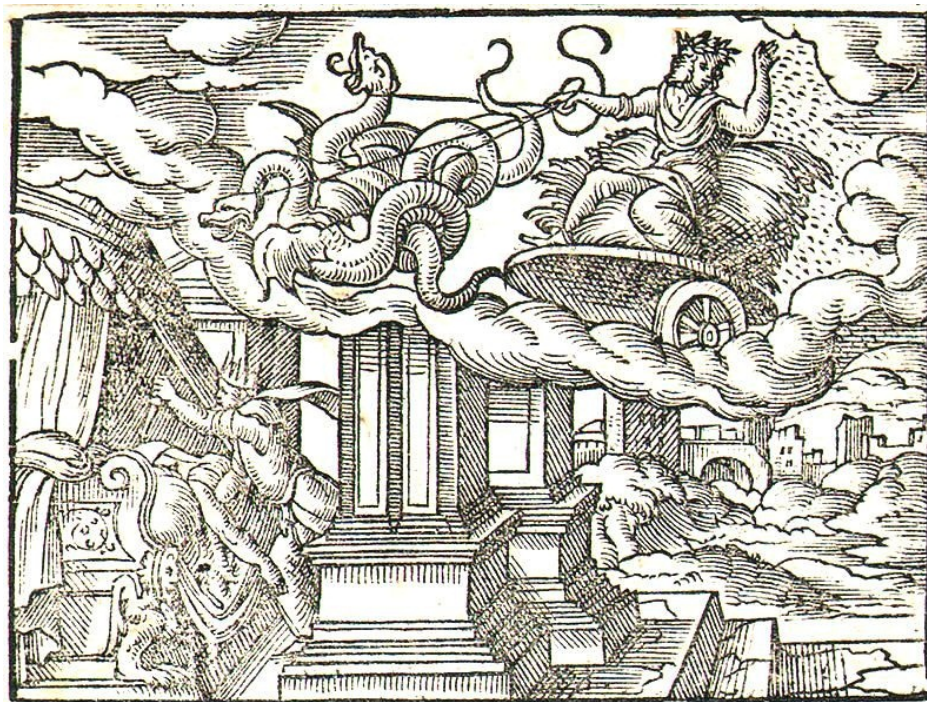


Figura 5.3 Reprodução da prancha de Germersheim feita por Solis (1609: 181).



Figura 5.4 Ceres e Triptolemus (Tempesta, 1606: pl. 52).

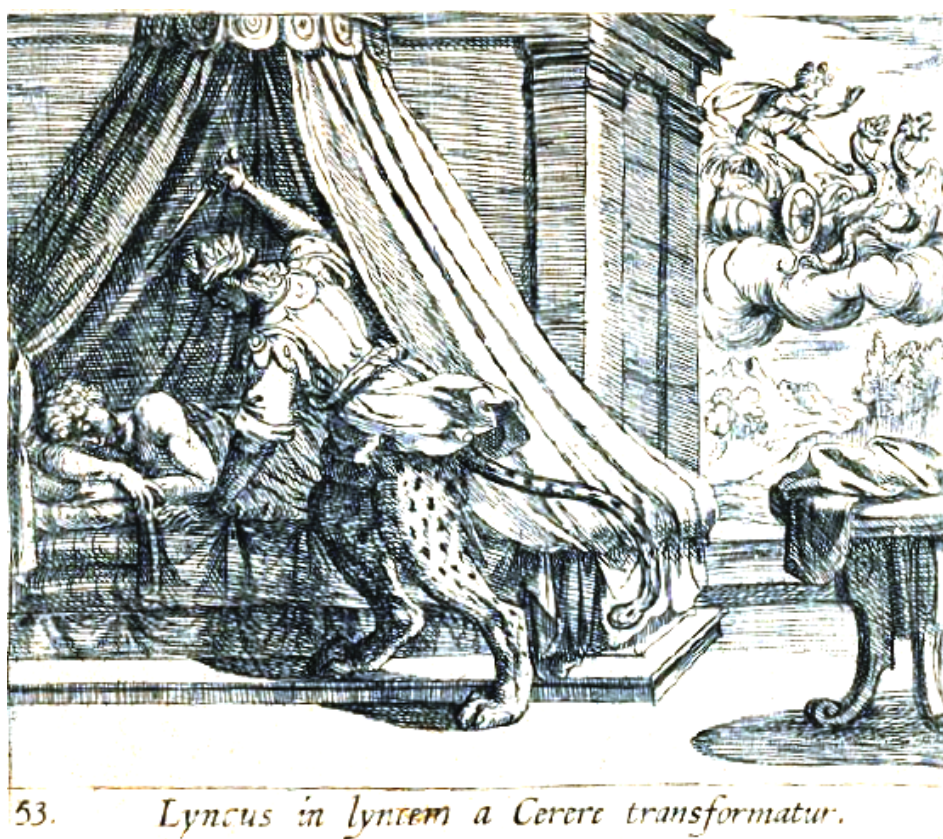


Figura 5.5 Lyncus sendo transformado em lince por Ceres (Tempesta, 1606: pl. 53).



Figura 5.6 Lynceus transformado em lince por Ceres (Krauss, 1690: figura 75).

Livro XV:

“victa racemifero **lynceas** dedit India Baccho: e quibus, ut memorant, quicquid vesica remisit, vertitur in lapides et congelat aere tacto”.

[Conquered India gave to cluster-crowned Bacchus some lynxes as a present, whose watery secretions, as they say, change into stones and harden in contact with the air]. (Miller (F. J.), 1958: 394, 305);

5.4 Plínio (23 – 79), na *Historia naturalis*:

VIII.xxviii. “Pompei Magni primum ludi ostenderunt chama, quem Galli rufium vocabant, effigie lupi, pardorum maculis, iidem ex Aetiochia quas vocant cephos, quarum pedes posteriores pedibus humanis et cruribus, priores manibus fuere símiles. hoc animal postea Roma non vidit”.

[The games* (*55 B. C.) of Pompey the Great first displayed the *chama*, which the Gauls used to call the lynx, with the shape of a wolf and leopard’s spots; the same show exhibited what they call *cephi** (*possibly baboons) from Ethiopia, which have hind feet resembling the feet of a man and legs and fore feet resembling the feet of a man and legs and fore feet like hands. Rome has not seen this animal subsequently”. (Rackham, 1967: 52, 53).

VIII.xxxiv. “sunt in eo genere qui **ceruarii** vocantur, qualem e Gallia in Pompei Magni harena spectatum diximus”.

[Some members of the genus are called stag-wolves* (*the lynx); a specimen from Gaul was seen im the arena of Pompey the Great, as we have stated”]. (Rackham, 1967: 60, 61).

VIII.lvii. “**Lyncum** umor ita redditus ubi gignuntur glciatur arescitve in gemmas carbunculis similes et igneo colore fulgentes, **lyncurium** vocatas [Figura 5.7] atque ob id sucino a plerisque ita generari prodito. novere hoc sciuntque **lynces**, et invidentes urinam terra operiunt eoque celeres solidatur illa”.

[The water of **lynxes**, voided in this way when they are born, solidifies or dries up into drops like carbuncles and of a brilliant flame-colour, called lynx-water – which is the origin of the common story that this is the way in which amber is formed. The **lynxes** have learnt this and know it, and they jealously cover up their urine with earth, thereby causing it to solidify more quickly”]. (Rackham, 1967: 96, 98 e 97, 99).



Figura 5.7 A urina do lince transformando-se na pedra *lyncurium* (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 6838B, fólio 4r).

X.lxxxiii. “Coitus aversis elephantis, camelis, tigribus, **lyncibus**, rhinoceroti, leoni, dasypodi, cuniculis, quibus aversa genitalia”.

[Species with the genital organ behind them, elephants, camels, tigers, **lynxes**, the rhinoceros, the lion, the hairy-footed and the common rabbit couple back to back”]. (Rackham, 1967: 402,403);

XI.lxxix. “insatiabilia animalium quibus a ventre protinus recto intestino transeunt cibi, ut **lupis cervariis**, et inter aves mergis”.

[The most ravenous animals are those in whom the food passes directly from the abdomen right down the gut; this is the case with **lynxes**, and among birds cormorants”], (Rackham, 1967: 558, 560 e 559, 561).

XI.cvi. “**lynx** tantum digitos habentium simile quiddam talo habet, Leo etiamum tortuosus”;

[Of the animals with toes only the **lynx** has something resembling a pastern-bone, and the lion a still more twisted one]. (Rackham, 1967: 592, 593).

5.5 Oppianus (século II), na *Cynegetica*, descreveu o lince e o caracal:

Cynegetica III, 84-112) (Mair, 1928: 118, 120, 122 e 119, 121, 123):

Ναὶ μὴν ἄλλο θεὸν διφύες γένος ὠπήσαιο,

λύγγας ἀριζήλους· αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἕασιν ιδέσθαι
 τυτθαί, βαιοτέροισί τ' ἐφωπλίσσαντο λαγωῖς·
 ταὶ δ' ἄρα μείζονές εἰσιν, ἐπιθρώσκουσι δὲ ρεία
 εὐκεράοις ἐλάφοισι καὶ ὄξυτέροις¹ ὀρύγεσσι.
 μορφὴν δ' ἀμφίδυμοι πανομοίῳ ἀμφιέσαντο·
 ἴσαι μὲν βλεφάροισιν ὑπ'² ὀφθαλμῶν ἀμαρυγαὶ
 ἱμερόεν στράπτουσι· προσώπατα δ' ἀμφοτέρησι
 φαιδρὰ πέλει βαιόν τε κάρη καὶ καμπύλον οὐδας·
 μούνη δ' εἰσιδέειν ἀνομοίῳς ἔπλετο χροίη·
 μείοσι μὲν λυγγῶν ἐπιδέδρομε ῥινὸς ἐρευθής,
 μείζοσι δὲ κροκόεν τε θεείω τ' εἴκελον ἄνθος.
 ἔξοχα δ' αὖ τάδε φύλα φίλην ἀγάσαντο γενέθλην
 εὐγληνοὶ λύγγες τε πυρίγληνοί³ τε λέοντες
 πορδάλιές τ' ὄλοαὶ καὶ τίγριες ἠνεμόεσσαι.
 τῶν δ' ὅποτε σκύμνους νεοθηλέας ἐν ξυλόχοισι
 λάθρη συλήσωσι ἀταρβέες ἀγρευτῆρες,
 αἱ δ' ἄρ' ἔπειτ' ὀπίσω πάλι νεύμεναι ἀθρήσωσι
 ἐξαπίνης κενεοῦς τε δόμους καὶ ἔρημα μέλαθρα,
 μύρονται λιγέως ἀδινὸν γόον, ἐκ δ' ἄρα τηλοῦ
 κωκυτὸν προΐασι πολύστονον, οἷά τε πάτρης
 περθομένης ὑπὸ δουρὶ καὶ αἰθομένης πυρὶ λάβρω
 πεπτάμεναι περὶ τέκνα μέγα κλαίουσι γυναικες.
 ἧ ῥα τόσον τεκέων τε καὶ ἀρτιγόνοιο γενέθλης
 φίλτρον ἐνὶ κραδίῃ στάξεν θεός· οὐδ' ἄρα μούνοισι
 ἀνθρώποις, οἱ πάντα νοήμασι μητίσαντο,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐρπηστῆρσι⁴ καὶ ἰχθύσιν ἠδὲ καὶ αὐτοῖς
 θήρεσιν ὠμηστῆσι καὶ ὑψιπόλοις ἀγέλαισιν
 οἰωνῶν· τόσον ῥα φύσις κρατερώτατον ἄλλων.

[Another swift race, moreover, of twofold nature thou mayst see, the notable **Lynxes**, Of these the one sort are small to look on and attack the little Hares; the other sort are larger and easily leap upon the Stags of goodly horns and the swift Oryx. Both are clothed in altogether similar form. Alike are the delightful flashes that lighten from their eyes beneath their brows; both have bright face, small head, and curving ear; only their colour is dissimilar to look on. The smaller **Lynxes** are covered with a ruddy hide, while the colour of the larger is saffron and like sulphur. Beyond others these tribes love their dear offspring, the keen-eyed **Lynxes** and the fiery-eyed Lions and the deadly **Leopards** and the windswift Tigers. When in the thickets fearless hunters secretly steal away their suckling cubs, and they returning afterward behold their empty house and home made desolate, they shrilly wail their loud lament and far they send abroad their doleful dirge; even as, when their fatherland is sacked with the spear and burnt with raging fire, women fall upon their children's necks and loudly weep. Such constraining love of child and new-born babe had God instilled into the heart: not alone in men who devise all things by their wits but even in creeping things and fish and the ravenous wild beasts themselves and the high-ranging flocks of birds: so much is nature mightier than all beside".

Cynegetica III, 151-153 (Mair, 1928: 124, 125):

οὐ γὰρ τοι θήρεσσι νόμος, γαστήρ ὄτε πλήθει,
 ἐς λέχος ἐρχομένοις τελείειν φιλοτήσιον ἔργον,
 νόσφι μόνων λυγγῶν ὀλιγοδρανέων τε λαγωῶν.

[For it is not the custom for wild beasts when they are with young to mate and fulfil the work of desire, apart only from the **Lynxes** and the weakling Hares".

5.6 Cláudio Galeno, ou Élio Galeno, em latim Claudius Galenus, em grego Κλαύδιος Γαληνός (ca. 129 – ca. 217) [Figura 5.8] citou, em seu *De anatomicis administrationibus* (Galeno, 1531) um “lynx”, que na realidade era um macaco desconhecido¹²²:



Figura 5.8 Galeno

Prada (2014: 111) reproduziu um fragmento dessa passagem no original grego:

... τῶν ὁμοιοτάτων ἀνθρώπῳ πιθήκων ...
κἂν τῶν ἀνομοίων ... κυνοκέφαλον ἢ σάτυρον ἢ λύνκα ...
Galen, *De anatomicis administrationibus*, VI 1

Nas edições inglesas, encontra-se:

“In these animals the lower jaw is also longer than in the ape. Of all animals man has the shortest jaw in proportion to his whole body. After man, the ape, then the **lynx**, then the tailed ape, and then the dog-faced baboon” (Singer, 1956: 97).

“Though it is best practice to dissect the limbs of apes most like man, yet it is better to use one of those unlike than none; better, that is, to take a dog/faced baboon or tailed ape or **lynx**. In a word, any distinctly pentadactyl animal may be used, for these creatures have a collar-bone and a sternum of some breadth, wherefore they can walk on two legs, like a man, though imperfectly” (Singer, 1956: 248).

“At present, however, what we say concerns, first of all, those animals which resemble Mankind most [closely], among them the Ape, and the animal called the **Lynx**. My intention is to describe how the form of the hyoid bone appears in these animals nearest in resemblance to Man” (Duckworth, Lyons & Towers, 1962: 72).

¹²² Prada (2014), num belo artigo, elucidou essa questão.

5.7 Artemidoro (Artemidorus Daldianus - Ἀρτεμίδωρος ὁ Δαλδιανός, ou Artemidoro de Éfeso) (segunda metade do século II), em seu *Oneirocritica* (interpretação de sonhos) confirmou que o *lince* de Galeno era um macaco (Artemidorus, 185: 158-160):

Πίθηκος δὲ ἄνδρα πανοῦργον καὶ γόητα
σημαίνει.
Καὶ ὁ κυνοκέφαλος τὰ αὐτὰ τῶ πιθήκῳ ση-
μαίνει, προστίθησι δὲ τῶ ἀποτελέσματι καὶ νό-
σον, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τὴν ἰεράν καλουμένην .
Ἀνάκειται γὰρ τῇ Σελήνῃ. Φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν νό-
σον ταύτην οἱ παλαιοὶ ἀνακείσθαι τῇ Σελήνῃ.
Σφίγγας δὲ καὶ λύγγας καὶ κερκοπιθή-
κους τοὺς τὰς οὐράς ἔχοντας, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο
ζῶον τοιοῦτον εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν τούτοις ἀνακτέον
μοῖραν.

Na edição latina (Artemidorus, 1544: 192):

“Cynocephalus eadem quae fimia significat, apponit autem euentui etiam morbū, ut plurimum illum qui facit appellatur. Est enim Lunae dicatus. Produunt autem ueteres etiam morbū hunc lunae sacrum esse. Sphingas & lynces & cercopichecos, hoc est fimias quae caudas habent, & fi quod aliud est huiuscemodi animal, ad eandem cum praedictis rationem referre oportet”.

Hunain ibn Ishaq tampouco deixou-se enganar, como comentado por Prada (2014: 113):

There exists also a medieval Arabic version of Galen’s *De anatomicis administrationibus*, and it is interesting to notice how the Arabic translator clearly recognized that the lynx mentioned in this passage was a monkey and not a wilcat: for he did not render λύγξ with the standard classical Arabic word for ‘lynx’ as the wildcat, **وشق** (transliterated and vocalized *wašaq*), but by means of an otherwise unattested Greek loanword in the Arabic vocabulary, **لنخس** (transliterated *lnhs*, certainly vocalized *lunhs*), which he probably created specifically for this purpose”.

Apenas como curiosidade, num mosaico no assoalho de uma gruta-santuário do primeiro século, em Palestrina, a leste de Roma. Esse “Mosaico do Nilo”, com 5,85 m de largura e uma altura de 4,32m, mostra a fascinação de Roma com o Egito, mostra o Nilo em sua passagem da Etiópia para o Mediterrâneo [Fiura 5.9]. Muitos animais estão representados, entre eles um enigmático “ΛΥΝΞ”¹²³ [Figura 5.10], que tem causado muita discussão entre os autores – se se trata efetivamente de um linco, ou de um macaco!

Mas, chega de digressões.

¹²³ Note-se que está escrito “ΛΥΝΞ” e não “ΛΥΓΞ”.



Figura 5.9 O Mosaico do Nilo de Palestrina.



Figura 5.10 Dtalhe do Mosaico do Nilo, mostrando o “AYNE”.

5.8 Aelianus (175 – 235), em sua obra sobre as características dos animais:

- I.V.17:

Ἐν τῶν βασκάνων ζώων μέντοι καὶ ἐχίνος ὁ χερσαῖος εἶναι πεπίστευται. ὅταν γοῦν ἀλίσκεται, παραχρήμα ἐνεούρησε τῷ δέρματι, καὶ ἀχρεῖον ἀπέφηεν αὐτό· δοκεῖ δὲ ἐς πολλὰ ἐπιτήδειον. καὶ ἡ λύγξ δὲ ἀποκρύπτει τὸ οὖρον· ὅταν γὰρ παγῇ, λίθος γίνεται, καὶ γλυφαῖς ἐπιτήδειός ἐστι, καὶ τοῖς γυναικείοις κόσμοις συμμαχῆται, φασίν.

[The Hedgehog too is believed to be one of the animals that show spite. Thus, when it is caught it immediately makes water on its skin, so rendering it unfit for use, through it is thought to serve many purposes. The **Lynx** too hides its urine, for when it hardens turns to stone and is suitable for engraving, and is one of the aids to female adornment, so they say". (Scholfield, 1959a: 230, 231).

- XIV.6:

Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐλέφας διπλὴν ἔχει καρδίαν καὶ διπλᾶ νοεῖν, καὶ τῇ μὲν θυμοῦσθαι, πραῖνεσθαι γέ μὴν τῇ ἑτέρα· Μαυρουσίοις δὲ ἄρα ἔπομαι λόγοις λέγων ταῦτα. ἐπεὶ τοὶ καὶ ἐκεῖνα οἱ αὐτοὶ ὕμνοισι, λύγκας εἶναι. φασὶ δὲ αὐτὰς παρδάλεως μὲν ἔτι καὶ πλέον σιμάς, ἄκρα <γε> μὴν τὰ ὦτα λασίους. θηρίον <δὲ> τοῦτο ἀλτικὸν δεινῶς, καὶ κατασχεῖν βιαιότατά τε καὶ ἐγκρατέστατα καρτερόν. ἔοικε δὲ ἄρα τῷ θηρίῳ τούτῳ μαρτυρεῖν καὶ Εὐριπίδης τὸ ἀπρόσωπον, ὅταν πού λέγῃ

ἦκει δ' ἐπ' ὤμοις ἢ σὺς φέρων βάρος
ἢ τὴν ἄμορφον λύγκα,⁴ δύστοκον δάκος.

ὑπὲρ ὅτου δὲ λέγει δύστοκον τοὺς κριτικούς ἐρέσθαι λῶον.

[The Elephant is even said to possess two hearts and to think double: one heart is the source of anger, the other of gentleness. In saying this I am following accounts given by the Moors. Moreover the same people constantly affirm the following, namely that there are **lynxes**, and that they are even more snub-nosed than the **leopard**, and that the tips of their ears are hairy. The **Lynx** has a wonderful spring and can maintain the most vigorous and overpowering grip on its catch. So it seems that Euripides bears witness to the unloveliness of this beast when he says somewhere [*fr.* 863 N].

‘And he comes bearing upon his shoulders either the burden of a boar, or the mis-shapen **lynx**, a ravening brute ill-conceived’. But why he says ‘ill-conceived’ is rather a question for the grammarians”.

(Scholfield, 1959c: 140, 142 e 141, 143).

5.9 Athenaeus de Naucrátis (Ἀθήναιος Ναυκρατίτης ou Ναυκράτιος), que viveu entre o fim do século II e o início de século III, nos *Deipnosophistae* (Gulick, 1928: 410, 411):

Εἰπὼν δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πλεῖστα καὶ καταλέξας ζῴων ἀγέλας ἐπιφέρει· “ πρόβατα Αἰθιοπικὰ ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα, Ἀράβια τριακόσια, Εὐβοϊκὰ εἴκοσι, καὶ ὀλόλευκοι βόες Ἰνδικοὶ εἴκοσι ἕξ, Αἰθιοπικοὶ ὄκτώ, ἄρκτος λευκὴ μεγάλη μία, παρδάλεις ἰδ', πάνθηροι ἰς', λυγκία δ', ἄρκηλοι γ', καμηλοπάρδαλις μία, ῥινόκερωσ Αἰθιοπικὸς α'.

After he has spoken of very many other things, and enumerated many droves of animals he adds: “ One hundred and thirty Aethiopian sheep, three hundred Arabian, twenty Euboean; also twenty-six Indian oxen entirely white, eight Aethiopian, one large white she-bear, fourteen leopards, sixteen panthers, four lynxes, three panther-cubs, one giraffe, one Aethiopian rhinoceros.

5.10 Solinus (século III):

“Italia lupos habet, et quod cum ceteris simile non sit, homo, quem prius viderint, conticescit, et anticipatus obtusu nocentis aspectus, licet clamandi voluntatem habeat, non habet vocis ministerium. Sciens de lupis multa praetereo. Spectatissimum illus est: caidae animalis hujus villus amarorius inest perexiguus, quem spontivo damno amittit, quum capi metuit: nec habet potentiam, nisi viventi detrahatur. Coeunt lupi toto anno non amplius dies duodecim. Vescuntur in fame terram. At hi, quos **cervari**us dicimus, quamvis post longa jejunia repertas aegre carnes mandere coeperint, ubi quid casu respiciunt, obliviscuntur, et immemores praesentis copiae eunt quaesitum quam reliquerant satietatem. In hoc animalium genere nominantur et **lynxes**, quarum urinas coire in duritiem pretiosi calculi fatentur, qui naturas lapidum exquisitius sunt persequuti. Istud etiam ipsae **lynxes** persentiscere hoc documento probatur, quod egestum liquorem illico arenarum tumulis, quantum valent, contegunt, invidiae scilicet ne talis egeries transeat in nostrum usum, ut Theophrastus perhibet. Lapidum isti ad succinum color est, pariter spiritu attrahit propinquantia, Dolores renum placat, medetur regi morbo; Graece lyngurium dicitur”. (Agnant, 1847: 80; Mommsen, 1895: 40-41).¹²⁴

“Aversi coeunt; nec hi tantum, sed et **lynxes**, et cameli, et elephant, et rhinocerotes, et tigres” (Agnant, 1847: 212; Mommsen, 1895: 119).¹²⁵

¹²⁴ “Il y a des loups en Italie, et ce qui les distingue des autres animaux de cette espèce, c’est que l’homme, s’ils l’ont vu les premiers, perd la voix, et que, prévenu par leur regard funeste, il ne peut, quoiqu’il en ait le désir, pousser un cri. C’est à dessein que j’ometts bien des choses sur les loups; mais, ce qui est fort remarquable, c’est que cet animal porte à la queue un très-petit poil qui a la vertu d’inspirer de l’amour, poil qu’il perd volontairement quand il craint d’être pris, et qui d’ailleurs n’a de vertu qu’autant qu’on l’arrache à l’animal vivant. L’accouplement des loups ne dure pas plus de douze jours dans toute l’année. Pressés par la faim, ils se nourrissent de terre. Pour ceux que l’on nomme cerviers, quand, après avoir jeûné longtemps, ils viennent à manger des viandes qu’ils se sent difficilement procurées, ils les oublient, si par hasard ils tournent la tête; et, sans se soucier de la nourriture présente, ils vont chercher ailleurs de quoi satisfaire leur appétit. A cette espèce d’animal appartiennent les **lynx**, dont l’urine se durcit en pierre précieuse, au dire de ceux qui ont le mieux étudié les pierres. Ce qui prouve que les **lynx** connaissent cette propriété de leur urine, c’est qu’ils la recouvrent aussitôt de terre, autant qu’ils le peuvent, dans l’intention, sans doute, dit Théophraste, de nous empêcher d’en faire usage. Cette pierre a la couleur du succin. Comme lui elle attire les objets placés à une petite distance, elle calme les douleurs des reins, guérit la jaunisse; les Grecs l’appellent lyngurium” (Agnant, 1847: 80-81).

¹²⁵ “Ils s’accouplent par derrière, comme le font d’ailleurs les **lynx**, les chameaux, les elephants, les rhinoceros, les tigres” (Agnant, 1847: 213).

5.11 No manuscrito *De monstris et belluis*, do século X, há os seguintes trechos (Berger du Xivrey, 1836: 232, 233):

“LYNCES.

Lynxes bestiae maculosis corporibus sunt, quae nimiam ferocitatem habent, et **pantheris** variis sunt colore consimiles. Quae in Syria et in Indiis et caeteris quibusque regionibus nascuntur”.

“PARDI

Pardus est fera rapax et toto corpore discolor, qui Alexandro et Macedonibus cum caeteris nocuerunt bestiis, Paulo postquam *Aornon* petram expugnavit in India, a quo prius Hercules terrae motu fugatus recessit. Et Indorum rex, quodam tempore, quia ibi máxime nascuntur, ad regem Romae *Anastasium* duos **pardulos** misit in camelo et elephante quem poeta *lucambovem* nominavit”.¹²⁶

5.12 No *Physiologus* rumeno (Gaster, 1888: 289, 303) há uma breve citação do lince:

“Cap. XXVII. Lăvan, ăaste o fieare de să chăimă așa, și foarte ăaste ascuțită la vedere cât vede și pren zid”.

“Cap. XXVII. *Della Lince*. É un animale il quale ha la vista tanto acuta, da vedere attraverso le pareti”.

5.13 Hugues de Saint Victor (1096 – 1141), em seu *De bestiis et allis rebus*, mencionou o lince (Migne, 1854b: coluna 84):

“[Liber Tertius] Cap. III. *De lynce*.

Lynx dicitur, quia in luporum genere numeratur, bestia maculis tergo distincta ut pardus, sed similis lupo. Hujus urinam converti in duritiam pretiosi lapidis dicunt, qui lygurius seu lycurius ut a Plinio et Solino appellatur; quod et ipsas lynces hoc modo probatus sentire, nam egestum liquorem arenis quantum possunt contegunt, invidia quadam naturae, ne talis egestio transeat in usum humanum. Lynces dicit Plinius extra fetum unum non admittere secundum”.

5.14 No *Bestiaire* de Philippe de Thaon (composto entre 1121 e 1135) (cf. Walberg, 1900: 44) *lucerviere* aparece erroneamente como sinônimo de hiena:

“HYENA est griuns nuns
Que nus beste apeluns,
Ço est **lucerviere**,
Oler fait e mult est fiere”.

¹²⁶ Segundo Camus (1909: 21-22): “Mais chez les Byzantine ce félin [guépard] semble avoir toujours porté le nom de *παρδάλις* ou *πάρδαλος*. Ainsi dans un petit traité populaire, intitulé ‘*De monstris et belluis*’, qui est la traduction d’un opuscule grec (aujourd’hui perdu) composé vers le milieu du sixième siècle (ap. J. C.), on lit au chap. VI: ‘*Indorum rex, quodam tempore, quia ibi maxime nascuntur, ad regem Romae, Anastasium, duos pardulos misit in camelo et elephante*’. Le diminutif *pardulos*, employé ici par le traducteur résulte évidemment d’une fausse interprétation de *πάρδαλος*, qui devait se trouver dans le texte original. Quant aux animaux ainsi nommés, il n’est point douteux que c’étaient des guépards, car l’usage de mener ces félins à la chasse, sur des éléphants ou sur des chameaux, s’est conservé chez certains peuples de l’Asie, jusque dans les temps modernes. Selon Berger de Xivrey, l’empereur de Constantinople (*νέα Ρώμη*), ici mentionné, serait Anastase le Silencieux, qui mourut en 518”.

Camus (1909: 8) comentou:

“La ‘*lu cervere*’ qui ‘*oler fait*’ ne eut être que la panthère, car c’est à cet animal Seul, que l’on attribuait jadis la propriété d’exhaler une bonne odeur pour attirer les autres bêtes...”;

5.15 Santa Hildegard von Bingen (1098 – 1179) mencionou o lince duas vezes:

“DE LIGURIO.

“Ligurius calidus est. De quadam urina et non de omni urina **lincis** nascitur. Nam **linx** est lascivum nec libidinosum, nec immundum animal, sed uno modo temperatur. Et virtus ejus tam fortis est, quod etiam lapides penetrat, unde etiam acutum visum habet, nec facile in oculis caligat. Et de urina ejus lapis iste non semper nascitur, sed tunc cum sol valde ardet et cum aura levis est et blanda et bene temperata. Nam animal hoc tunc aliquando propterea calorem et puritatem solis et propter suavitatem puchrae aerae laetatur, et tunc cum urinam emittere vult, pede in terram fodit, et in fossam illam urinam emittit, et sic de ardore solis ligurius coagulatur et crescit. De puritate enim solis et blanda aura quae animal istud tangendo perfulsit et de laeritia animi ejus, et de magna vi quam habet urina de eo calet, et cum ita emittitur, in lapidem istum coagulatur, ita quod coagulatio ista pulchri lapidis in terra fit qui est teneRor lapidibus aliis. Et homo qui in stomacho valde dolet, ligurium aut in vinum, aut in cervus eam, aut in aquam per brevem horam ponat et tunc auferat, et liquor ille viribus lapidis hujus perfunditur, ita quod inde vires accipit; et sic per quindecim dies faciat, et da illi modice ad bibendum parum pranso, et non jejuno, et nulla febris nec pestis tam fortis in stomacho illius est absque morte, quin stomachus ejus purgetur et purificatur et salvetur praeter instantem mortem. Nullus autem alius homo pro ulla causa istud condimentum bibat, nisi contra dolorem stomachi: vivere non posset, quia fortitudo ejus tanta est quod cor illius *virseriget* et quod caput ejus scindendo divideret. Sed quem difficultas urinae constringit, ita quod urinam facere non oitest, licurium in lac vaccarum aut ovium, non autem in lac caprarum, per diem unum ponat, et secunda die auferat, et lac illud calefaciat, id est *welle*, et ita sorbeat, et sic per quinque dies faciat, et urinam in eo solvit” (in Migne, 1855a: columnas 1202-1203)¹²⁷.

“DE LUCHS.

Luchs calidus est, et voluntatem suam sequitur, hoc faciens quod vult, et pulchra et splendida aura et de sole in aestate laetatur, et etiam de pulchra aura et de nive in hyeme laetatur; sed fere nullam stabilitatem habet, nisi quod secundum temperiem aerae facit. Et quoniam voluntatem suam sequitur et ideo oculi ejus lucent velut stella in nocte. Et si *schelmo* equos aut asinus, boves et porcus devastat et occidit, de sanguine **lincis** aquae commisce, et per tres dies semel in die eis bibendum dabis si eos informari videris, et statim convalescent. Si autem praefata animalia non infirmantur, eis sanguis iste, ut praefatum est, temperatus ad potandum non dabitur, ne inde laedantur, cum pestis ibi non invenit in quibus virtutem suam ostendat. Sed ovibus et capris ad potandum non dabis, etiamsi infirmantur, quia nimis fortis esset illis propter debilitatem eorum, quia debilia pecora sunt. Caetera quae in eo sunt, excepto ligurio, ad medicinam non multum valent” (in Migne, 1855: columna 1530):

5.16 Alexander Neckam (1157 – 1217) (Wright (T.), 1863: 219):

¹²⁷ Halna-Klein (1995: 121) traduziu apenas uma parte desse trecho: “Le ligure est chaud. Il naît d’une urine de lynx et non de toute l’urine. Car le lynx n’est pas un animal lascif, ni libidineux, ni malpropre, mais il est, d’une certaine manière, tempéré. Et sa vigueur est si forte qu’il pénètre même les pierres, et aussi qu’il a une vue aiguë et que ses yeux ne s’obscurcissent pas facilement. Et cette Pierre ne naît pas toujours de son urine, mais seulement quand le soleil chauffe puissamment et que l’air est léger et doux et bien tempéré. Car alors cet animal se réhduit, à cause de la chaleur et de la pureté du soleil et à cause de la suavité du bel air, et alors, lorsqu’il veut émettre son urine, il creuse la terre avec ses pieds et il émet cette urine dans ce trou, et ainsi, par l’ardeur du soleil, le ligure est coagulé et croît. Car de la pureté du soleil et de la douceur de l’air qui traverse cet animal en le touchant, et de la joie de son âme et de la grande force qu’il a, son urine se réchauffe et ainsi quand il l’émet elle est coagulée en cette pierre, de telle sorte que cette coagulation fasse une belle pierre dans la terre, qui est plus tendre que les autres pierres”.

CAP. CXXXVIII.

De lynce.

Lynx acuminis visus perspicui novem fertur parietes penetrare, adeo ut si quis novem interpositis parietibus carnem crudam deferat incedens juxta parietem, lynx incedentem sequatur incedens, stet et ipsa stante illo qui carnem deferat. Nonnulli tamen, in rerum naturis instructi, virtuti olfactus hoc ascribunt, potius quam potentie visus. Per lynceem subtilis ingenii acumen *Adaptata*, intelligitur, quod rerum naturas abditas consequitur fugere volentes. Competenter etiam per ipsam designari potest potentas ambitionis, semper prædæ, semper questui inhians.

Urinam lynceis converti dicunt in duritiam pretiosi lapidis qui ligurius appellatur. Lynceus egestum liquorem ilico arenarum tumulis quantum valent contegunt, invidia scilicet, ne talis egeries transat in nostrum usum. Dolores renum placent, medetur regio morbo. Lyngurium¹ Græce dicitur.

5.17 Benôit de Saint-Maure, trovador anglo-normando da segunda metade do século XII, em sua *Chronique des ducs de Normandie*, escreveu (Michel, 1838: 414):

Borgeis e la gent des vilages
E femmes fieres e sauvages,
Eschevelées, od tineus,
Od coignées e od granz peus,
Hardie plus chascone e fierre
Que urse ne loup cerviere”.

5.18 Vincent de Beauvais (ca. 1190 - ?1264) (1591: 242v-243r):

De Lynce. Cap. LXXIX.

Isidorus lib. 12. Lynx dicitur est, quia in luporum genere numeratur bestia maculis in tergo distincta, ut pardus, sed similis lupo, unde & ille licos, iste linc. linceus autem secundum Plinium extra sortum unum non admittit. Algazel super de sensu & sensato. Maxime vero linc animal movetur secundum sensum visus. Nam viso suo res solidas penetrat, & si advenit ei res transparentis, cito excæcatur ab ea. Ex libro de natura rerum. Lynx adeo perspicaces oculos habet, ut subtilitate visus etiam solida corpora penetret. Constat enim quod oculus in humido situs est iuxta philosophum. Tria vero sunt in aqua, scilicet aqua humiditas, diaphaneitas, & lucis perspicuitas, de hanc ultimam cõicat cum natura celesti. Et hæc ultima depuratio a materia est in natura lucis. Quia ergo lux est ultima perspicacitas in corpore terminato si ponitur aquæ substantia in ultima sui depuratione, quantum ad perspicuitatem in oculo lincis poterit penetrare corpus solidum & obscurum. Lynx habet linguam serpentina similem, sed maiorem, quã in longitudine magnã porrigit, & collũ circumagit. Ungues hæc gran des, unicum sctũ facit, & vrina eius in gemmã durebit. Alexander. Lynx acuminis visus perspicui novem fertur parietes penetrare, adeo ut si quis

quis novem interpositis parietibus carnē crudā deferat, incedēs iuxta parietē. Lincx sequitur incedētē. Scarq; illa, illo stante qui carnem defert. Nonnulli tñ in rerū naturis instructi potius hoc ascribūt olfactus, q̄ visus virtuti. Plin. li. 28. Peregrinę sunt lincę, q̄ clarissimē oīum aīaliū cernūt, vngues lincum oēs cū co-rio tradūt in carpato efficacissimē exuri, eoq; cinere pote p̄cipua virorum, eiusdem aspersu fēminarum libidines inhiberi.

De Prima lincis.

Cap. LXXX.

I Sidor. Lincis vrinam p̄ciosi lapidis in duriciā conuerti dicūt, qui ligurius appellatur. Quod & lincę ipas sentire hoc argumento comprobatur. Nam egestū liquorem arenis contegunt, invidia quadam naturę, ne talis egestio transeat in vsum humanum. Plinius lib. 8. Lincum humor redditus vbi giguuntur glaciatur, arefcit ve in gemmas carbunculis similes, igne-que colore fulgentes ligurium vocat, atq; ob id succino etiā a plurimisq; ita generari prodito, nouere hoc faciuntq; lincę & annidētes, vrinam terra operiant, eoq; celerius solidat. Idem in lib. 28. Pruritus corporum vrinę lincis stillicidio traditur inhiberi. Eademq; prodesse monstratur & vngularum dolori. So-
linus. Vrinam lincis in duriciam p̄ciosi calculi coire fatentur qui liguriam dī. Huius lapidi ad succinum color est pari spiritu attrahens appropinquantiā. Dolores renum placat, regio medetur morbo. Iorath. Lincx habet formam, vt lupus. Lapisq; ligur-ius ab eius vrina distillata septē dierum spacio generatur. Dia-
scorid. Locum lincis quem ligurium vocant, mox vbi min xeric lapis fit, dolores stomachi tollit, & vētris abstinēt reumatismū.
Achor. De hoc lapide videlicet ligurio qui ex lincis vrina con-
gelata creatur, & eius virtute, vel efficacia, dictum est plenius supra in tractatu de lapidibus p̄ciosis.

5.19 De um autor anônimo, a obra *Li Fet des Romains*, composta por volta de 1213 e 1214, em francês antigo, na Île-de-France ou por um nativo dessa região, traz um interessante trecho sobre o *love cerviere* (Flutre & Snyders de Vogel, 1977: 500-501):

“Lors vint Ericto, si lava les plaies que li cors avoit ou piz et aillors dou viez sanc et dou venim, puis prist aconite, - c’est uns venins qui chiet de la lune, - et de toz les feons qui nissent contre nature, si come de bouc et de berbiz, et de mouton eyt de chievre; et prist escume de chien enragiè, boiaus de **love cerviere**, le neu de l’eschine a une beste qui a non hyene...”.

5.20 No “*Liber de naturis rerum*” do Pseudo-John Folsham (século XIII) há o seguinte trecho (Abramov, 2003: 379):

“De lince

Lincx acumine uisus perspicui nouem fertur parietes penetrare adeo, ut si quis nouem interpositis parietibus carnem crudam deferat incedens iuxta parietem, lincx incedentem sequitur, stat et ipsa illo stante, qui carnem defert. Nonnulli tamen in rerum naturis instructi potius uirtuti olfactus ascribunt quam uisus. Per lineam subtilis ingenii acumen intelligitur.

Potest etiam per lincem intelligi potestas ambitiosa semper prede, semper questui inhians.

Vrinam lincis conuerti dicunt in duritiam pretiosi lapidis, qui ligurius appellatur. Lincę liquorem egestum illico arenarum tumulis, quem ad modum contegunt in India scilicet, ut dicitur, ne talis eg-
eris transeat in usus hominum. Lapis hic dolores renum placat, medetur regio morbo”.

5.21 Étienne Boileau (1200/1210 – 1270), em seu *Le Livre des Métiers*¹²⁸, terminado em 1268 (Lespinasse & Bonnardot, 1879: 282):

¹²⁸ “Les peaux de *luberne* figurent assez souvent dans les texts français du moyen âge. Le glossaire du *Livre des Mestiers* traduit *luberne* par ‘léopard femelle’ et Godefroy a fait sienne cette traduction en y ajoutant ‘panthère’. Raynouard a relecté *loberna* dans le cartulaire de Montpellier et a traduit par ‘peau de loup’. Il s’afit effectivement de peaux de loup, mais d’un loup d’une espèce particulière, le loup-cervier. Brunetto Latini le diten propres termes, et je ne sais pourquoi on ne l’a pas cru: ‘Une autre maniere de lousps sont, que on apele cerviers ou *lubernes*’.

“XI. Piaus de saine, piaus de chat sauvage, piaus de **lubernes**, piaus de martrine, piaus de genetes: les vi piaus doivent ii den. de tonlieu, et de mains de vi piaus ne doivent il riens; les xi piaus ne doivent que ii den. de tonleu; les xii piaus doivent iiiii den. de tonlieu; et ainsine du plus plus, du mains mains, en la menniere devant devisée”.

5.22 Bartholomaeus Anglicus (antes de 1203-1272), em seu *De proprietatibus rebus* (Bartholomaeus Anglicus, 1483):

Ca. lxxii. de lince

In lincis est dictus q̄a
in luporum genere et nu/
mero numeratur. Est autem be/
stia similis lupo: dorsum habens
maculis distinctum sicut pardus
Urina eius conuertitur in gem/
mam preciosam que ligurius ap/
pellatur et hoc presentit linc̄ sue
lincis et hoc inuidens ac dolens
q̄ transire debeat in humanum
vsum vrinam egestam abscondit
sub humo sed ibi citius in lapi/
dem solidatur vt dicit plinius li.
viij. ca. xxxix. et Jsid̄. xij.

5.23 D. Afonso III (1210-1279) [Figura 5.11], Rei de Portugal, em foral de 26 de dezembro de 1253, estabeleceu as taxas sobre peles¹²⁹, incluindo a do *luberno* (Herculano, 1856: 192-193):

Aujourd’hui encore, le loup-cervier s’appelle *loberno* em gallicien. Le mot *luberne* doit nous être venu d’Espagne, par le commerce des fourrures. D’après Savary des Bruslons, les peaux de loups-cerviers manufactures en France venaient du Levant (par Marseille), de Moscovie et d’Espagne.

lOberno, loberna nous offer um exemple intéressant de l’emploi du suffixe latin **ernus**, car il suppose un type étymologique ***lupernus, *luperna**” (Thomas (A.), 1902: 102).

¹²⁹ Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcellos (1901: 169, nota 4), traduziu essa passagem para o alemão; confessando não conhecer a identidade do *luberno*, tratou-o tentativamente como ‘pequeno lobo’:



Figura 5.11 D. Afonso III, Rei de Portugal.

Et pellis melior de aenio ualeat duos solidos. Et melior pellis de gamito ualeat unum solidum. Et melior pellis de cordario ualeat decem et octo denarios. Et tenrom ualeat unum solidum. Et melior pellis de cabito ualeat sex denarios. Et melior pellis de gato de casa ualeat unum solidum. Et melior pellis de gato montes aut de gulpina ualeat tres solidos. Et melior pellis de fuina ualeat tres solidos. Et melior pellis de luntria ualeat tres libras. Et melior pellis de marterenia ualeat quinque solidos. Et melior pellis de tourum ualeat unum solidum. Et alqueire de azeite de peixotis uel de quelbis ualeat septem solidos et dimidium. Et melior pellis de luberno uel de geneta ualeat septem solidos et dimidium.

5.24 Daniele Deloc da Cremona e o *Livre de Moamin*. Em 1250, a pedido de Frederico II de Hohenstaufen, rei da Suábia, Teodoro de Antióquia, que na corte desse monarca havia substituído o defunto astrólogo Michael Scotus, traduziu do árabe para o latim, com o título de

⁴ *Leges* 192—196 erfahren wir von der Haut des Hirschkalbes (*aenio*, neuportug. *enho*, vom lat. *hinneus*), des Damhirsches (*gamito*), Lammes (*cordario*), Kalbes (*tenrom*), Zickleins (*cabrito*), die wir nicht als Pelzwerk zu betrachten gewohnt sind; dann von Katze (*gato de casa*), Wildkatze (*gato montes*), Fuchs (*gulpina*), Frettchen (*fuina* und *tourão*), Otter (*luntria*), Marder (*marterenia*), Gineta (*geneta*) und einem mir unbekanntem *luberno*, in dem ich *lubesno*, einen jungen Wolf, vermute; ferner von *vestidos de coelho*. Alle diese als *pellis*. — Die zarten flaumartigen *pennas* stammen von Hermelin (*arminium*), Otter (*luntria*), Haselmaus (*de lirionibus*) und Hase. — Außerdem wird ein Unterschied gemacht zwischen *penna blanca*, *purada*, *larga*, *miscrada* (dies letzte Wort kommt CV 1154 vor).

Scientia venandi per aves, um tratado de cinegética e falcoaria. Essa obra, que passou a ser designada como *Moamin Latino*¹³⁰, é dividida em cinco livros, três tratando da caça com falcões e dois com a caça com cães. O *Moamin Latino* teria influenciado o *De arte venandi cum avibus* de Frederico II da Germânia (cf. 3.2.48 acima).

Moamin, considerado o autor do tratado, é simplesmente designado como *falconarius*.

Muitas hipóteses foram feitas sobre quem seria esse personagem. Segundo Viret (1967), por exemplo, *Moanym* seria a forma corrompida, na Idade Média, de *Hunayn*, nome do escritor árabe Hunayn ibn Ishaq (Em siríaco ܡܫܝܡ ܒܢ ܝܫܗܩ, em árabe أبو زيد حنين بن إسحاق العبادي, 'Abū Zayd Ḥunayn ibn Iṣḥāq al-ʿIbādī), o *Iohannitius* dos latinos (809 – 873), médico particular do califa al-Mutawakkil (847 – 861) e esse tratado seria baseado no *Kitab al-Mutawakkil* desse autor.

Entretanto, hoje sabe-se que a obra é devida ao astrônomo e falcoeiro árabe Mohammad ibn ʿAbd Allah ibn ʿUmar al-Bayzar, que viveu em Bagdá no século IX, e autor do *Kitab al-yawarih* (Livro dos animais que caçam). Em meados do século XIII o original árabe foi traduzido, em 1252, em Madri, para o espanhol, como *Libro de los animales que cazan*. O manuscrito original pode ser consultado no site “Reservado 270, Biblioteca Nacional Hispánica). A obra foi publicada por Fradejas Rueda (1987) e há uma versão eletrônica (www.uva.es/clasicos/moamin-intro.html). No capítulo IV (1) lê-se:

“EL .i[º]. capítulo del quarto tractado es de saber quáles son las animalias que caçan por sos dientes e quáles son las que usan dellas que tienen pro, e las propiedades que an los canes e non [fol. 192v] las an las otras animalias. E dezimos assí: que los sabios de las yentes antiguas no nombraron en sos libros de todas las aves que nós contamos sino los açores solos, e de las otras non fablaron sino poca cosa. E otrosí de las bestias que caçan por dientes no nombraron sino los canes solos porque se aprovechan más dellos que de las otras bestias que caçan e porque son más complidas de maneras, ca pueden caçar con aves lo [no] que pueden fazer las otras bestias, e otrosí caçan en so cabo sin aves assí como las otras bestias. Mas pero porque las otras bestias an otras maneras que no an los canes, assí como son los leopardos e los **lobos cervales** e las onças e los adibes e otras bestias que les dizen anac, e son menores que leopardos, todas éstas aturan más e / son más corajosas pora caçar grandes aves, lo que non pueden fazer los canes e otrosí los furones. E por esto quisimos nos nombrar las otras bestias que caçan con los canes por tal que sea el libro más complido. Pero dezimos así: que las onças no apruevan tan bien como los leopardos, e [porque los canes son de mayor pro] pora caçar en so cabo corços e ciervos assí como fazen los leones pardos e las otras bestias, e caçan otro que sí con los açores e con los sagres liebres e aves, toviemos por bien de hablar luego dellos, après de las aves que caçan. E començamos luego a dezir unas sumas de las escogencias de las bestias que caçan por dientes, antes que fablemos de las naturas de los canes, por tal que non fallezca ninguna cosa que de pro sea que non sea nombrada en este nuestro [fol. 193r] libro. E dezimos assí: que de los leones pardos e de las onças toman los cadiellos e los grandes, mas de los [leo]pardos valen más los grandes que los cadiellos, e de las otras bestias valen más los cadiellos que los grandes porque son mejores de domar e de mostrar porque las grandes son muy bravas e muy fuertes. Mas los canes conviene que escojan dellos los que son de buena generación e de buena faición segund diremos adelante. E porque los leopardos son más usados en caça que todas las otras bestias de los canes afuera, e son las sus enfermedades, de los leopardos, e los sos melezinamientos e las enfermedades de las otras bestias que caçan por dientes de la manera de las enfermedades de los perros / e de sos melezinamientos, e por aquesto non quisimos dezir las enfermedades de las otras bestias que caçan sino muy pocas de las enfermedades de los leopardos, las que son más propias dellos, ca por las enfermedades de los canes e por sos melezinamientos que diremos, pueden escusar lo de las otras, ca por esto pueden tomar tiento cómo fagan a las otras si mester fuere. E aquí se acaba el .i[º]. capítulo”.

Por outro lado, o rei Enzo da Suábia, ou Enzo da Sardenha ou Enzo Hohenstaufen (1220 – 1272), possuidor de uma cópia do *Moamin Latino*, fez com que Daniel Deloc de Cremona o traduzisse para o francês (francês antigo). Essa obra está disponível no site do “Repertorio Informatizzato Antica Letteratura Franco Italiana”.

¹³⁰ Para a lista dos vários manuscritos dessa obra e detalhes sobre Teodoro de Antióquia, ver Werth (1888: 171-178).

Intitulado *Le Livre de Moamin. Livres des oissex et des bestes de rapine* (1249 (*terminus a quo*) – 1272 (*terminus ante quem*)), o manuscrito tem o seguinte *incipit*:

“*Livres de Moamyn fauconier, translatiez g’ebreu [sic] en latin par mestre Theodre, phylosophe au Magne emperreor Freiri, par le commendement l’empereor meemes, son segnor, et puis coreit par l’empereor meemes après la cite de Faence, et après translatiez de latin en français par Daniel de Cremona, servenz et hom lige au noble roi Henri de Sardaigne, et coreit par le roi meeme en la cite de Bologne*”.

E nele constam estes dois trechos:

- IV, 1

“*Capitres premiers dou nombre des bestes qi vivent de rapine et premieremant et especiaumant des propriétés des chiens.*”

Lo compileor de ceste oeuvre, selonc ce qe dist mestres T[heodres], ne traitient pas soufiseant des bestes de rapine fors seulemant des chiens, et por ce traitierent des chiens soufiseant q’il sunt plus noble, en ceste oeuvre, et plus convenable de totes autres bestes de rapine, qar il sunt parchonier quelqemant as oissex de rapine. Mes bien est voir qe quelqemant i sunt parchonier autresi li zabadec et le mustele et li lou et li dalac. Encore sunt autre beste qi i sunt parchonier autresi, ensi come sunt li leopart et le gienete, qe l’en appelle entre lombartz lou **cervier**, mes ne porqant le gienete ne sunt pas dou veziemant des leopart. Et bien furent aucun qi distrent q’il a en Inde une beste qi n’est geres moinz veziee dou leopart, qar ele a une propriété o les leopart la quele l’en ne trove pas es chiens ce est q’ele est veziee et engeniuse mout et pleine d’engan et des voutes, si q’ele prent les grantz oissex, mes ceste beste ne trove l’en pas entre nos. Le chien ont compaignie et affinitié et participemant as bestes de rapine et as oissex autresi, et por ce me semble qe mestres T[heodres] vousist porsegre a deviser et a traitier d’eaux plenemant et de lor disposicions sor totes autres bestes de rapine, et por ce autresi q’il sunt plus privé et plus legier a estruire. Celui chien devez eslire de cui vos conosiez le lignaje certainemant, et celui autresi li qex a proporcineaumant bone disposition des membres, ensi come je vos deviserai ça avant apertemant en sue[n] propre leu. Et saichiez qe le mecinemant des totes bestes de rapine est autretaus droitemant come celui des chiens est”.

- IV, 6

“*Des ensignes vrais por conoistre quele lisse sunt meillor por concevoir.*”

La lisse qe vos veirés qi avra li chief leugier et li leu dou cerebre lé et haut et les oreilles laxes et pendanz et soutil et longes et avra larc espace entre l’une et l’autre et semblera avoir le col noé, et avra les voines dou front grosses et molles et polies et l’os dou front avironant les euz defors et soutil et lonc et polli, et le veoir agu et les euz noirs luissant, lés et parfont, ensi par semblance com est la parfonditez dou veoir dou lion ou dou **cervier**, et le chief de levres de sa bouce de la partie dousoure doit avoir agu et large l’os et la face clere et pleine la fin de suen col et lonc col et humres lés et plein de char, et doit estre lee entre les piz el ventre et doit avoir el dos mont de char”.

5.25 Brunetto Latini (1230? – 1294) [Figura 5.12], no *Tesoro* (Giamboni, 1839: 261):

Un' altra maniera di lupi sono che si chiamano cervieri, che sono taccati di nero come leonza, ed in altre cose sono simiglianti al lupo, e hanno sì chiara veduta che li loro occhi passano li monti, e li muri, e non portano se non un figliuolo, ed è più dimentica cosa del mondo, che quando egli mangia il suo pasto, ed egli vegga un' altra cosa, incontanente dimentica ciò che mangia e non vi sa ritornare, e così il perde. E dicono quelli che li hanno veduti che del suo piscio nasce una pietra preziosa che si chiama ligures. E questo cognosce bene la bestia medesima, secondo che gli uomini l' hanno veduto coprire col sabbione, per una invidia di natura che cotal pietra non vegna a mano d' uomo.

repo della luffuria lozo viene: molti lupi vāno dopo la lupa. Alla fine la lupa s'ida al piu laido che v'isa. E nō si cogitūgono seno. xii. vi del āno. E nō igienerano: se nō del mese di maggio. Et p' ghuarda re lozo figliuoli: nō pende p'eda i q'elle parti vici ne al suo nido. E sappiate. che quando elli vede luomo p'ima che luomo veggia lui: luomo nō a podere vi gridare. E se luomo vede p'ima lui: elli perde tutta sua fiereza, e nō puo cozzere. E nella sua coda ae vna lana vamoze. che la si lieua codenti suoi: q'adelli cognosce chelli sia p'eso. E q'ādo elli v'ella: elli si mette li suoi piedi v'āzi la bocca. p' mostrare che sieno molti lupi. Dnaltra maniera di lupi sono chessi chiamano ceruiri. che sono taccati di nero come leonza. et altre cose sono simiglianti all'upo. et āno si chiara veduta: chelli lozo occhi passano li monti. e li muri. e nō portano se non vn figliulo. et e piu dimentica cosa del mōdo. che quando elli māgia el suo pasto: et egli vegha vnaltra cosa: incontanente dimentica ciò che māgia e nō vi sa ritornare. e così el pde. E dicono q'elli chelli āno veduti: che del suo piscio: nasce vna pietra preziosa: chessi chiama ligures. E questo cognosce bene la bestia medesima. secondo che gli uomini lāno veduto coprire col sabbione. per vna invidia di natura: che cotal pietra nō vegnia a mano d'uomo. **Del loccotus. caplo. lviii.**

Loccotus e vna bestia: la quale v'mora nelle parti v'india. che v'isnelleza passa tuti g'ialtri animali. formata come asina et a grop'pa di ceruio. e g'hambe di leone. e testa di cavallo. e pie di bue. et a la bocca grande: infino agli orecchi. e suoi denti sono tunosso.

Del menticoze. caplo. lviiii.

Menticoze e vna bestia i quello paese medesimo. cō faccia d'uomo. e colozze di san g'buē. e occhi gialli. e cozpo di leone. e coda di s'charpione. E cozzere si forte: che nessuna

Figura 5.12 Trecho do *Tesoro* de Brunetto Latini (*editio princeps*, 1474, fólío 55v, coluna esquerda), em que cita os *lupi ceruiri*.¹³¹

Na edição francesa (Chabaille, 1863: 248) (Cf. tb. Battelli, 1917: 180):

CXCIII. — Du Loup Cervier .

Une autre maniere de loups sont, que on apele cerviers ou lubernes , qui sont pomelé de noires taches, autressi comme l'once, mais des autres choses est il semblables au loup; et est de si clere veue que si oil percent les murs et les mons , et ne porte que .i. fil, et est la plus obliouse chose dou monde; car là où il manjue son past et il regarde par aventure une autre chose, il oblie maintenant ce que il manjoit, si que il n'i set revenir, ainz le pert dou tout.

Et si dient cil qui le sevent que de son piz naist une pierre precieuse qui est apelée ligures; ice cognoist bien la beste meismes, selonc ce que li home dient qui li ont veu covrir s'orine de sablon, par une envie de nature , que tel pierre ne parvieigne as homes .

5.26 Balbi (? – 1298), em seu *Catholicon seu universal vocabularium* (1506):

**Lynx rex scythiæ qui triptolemium a cerere miffi
vt frumenti vsum hoibus demonstraret occidere tã
tauit: vt inuenti frumenti in se gloriam transferret.
Sed a cerere mutat⁹ fuit in bestiã varii coloris.**

5.27 Lincy (1838: 114, nota (b)) citou os seguintes versos encontrados num manuscrito do século XIII, na Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, em Paris, *Le Roman de Cristal et de Clarie*, de autor anônimo, que menciona os presentes dados pelo Rei Artur a seus convidados:

“Li rois ses bacelers fieva,
Honors et terre lor dona;
Lor cervices à ceux rendi
Qui por terres l'orient servi.
Molt dona li rois rices dons,
As chevalers et as barons.
Congiés ont pris et s'en vont,
Fors Cristal qui amors confont”.

5.27.bis Ciampolo di Meo degli Ugurgieri (1290/1295 - ?), um dos primeiros tradutores da *Eneida* de Virgílio (em prosa) (Gotti, 1858: 14):

“E Venus parlò prima: O giovani, insegnatemi, se voi forse vedeste alcuna delle mie sorelle andare quinci cacciando, cinta el troncasco, e con veste di **lupo cerviere** macchiata, overo che seguisse com grida il corso dello schiumoso porco selvaggio”.

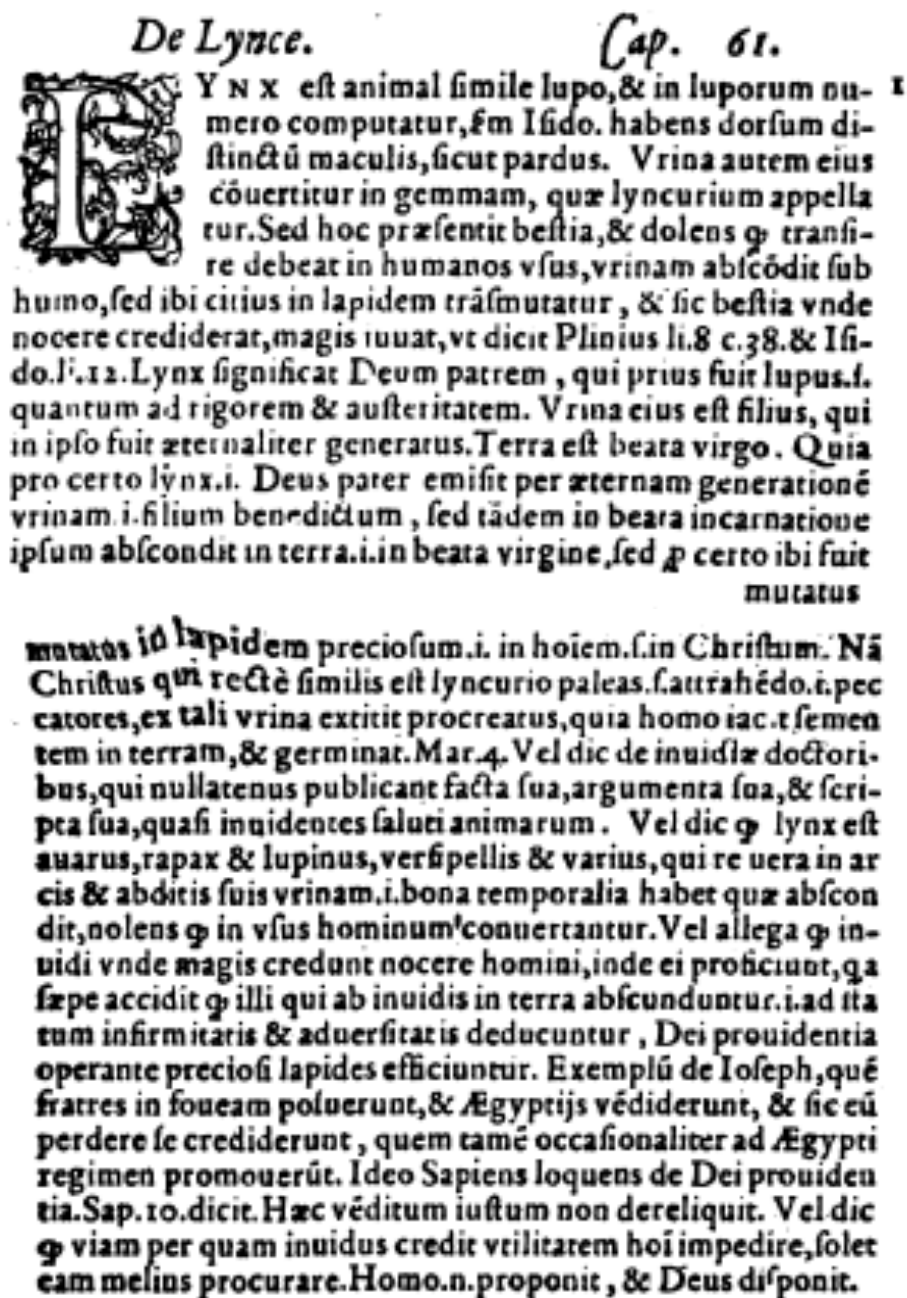


Figura 5.14 Texto de Bersuire (1575: 408-409) sobre o linco.

5.29 MS. Plut. XLII 22 (primeiro quartel do século XIV) da Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana de Florença:

“Delo Lupo cerviere et di sua veduta et di sua dimenticança;

Sono un'altra maniera di lupi li quali lupi i chiamano **lupi cervieri**, et altra gente sono che li chiamano luberne¹³² che sono pomellati di nero, taccati como **lonça**; ma d'ogni altra cosa sono semeglante a' lupi. Et questo lupo si ène di si chiar veduta che elli traspassa li monti et li poggi per sua veduta. Et ène di si dimentica memoria

¹³² Do francês antigo *luberne* (“loup/lion ambré/brun”); outro nome aplicado ao linco eurasiático.

che là dove elli mangia suo pasto et guarda per aventura in alcuna altra parte, incontanente dimenticasi quello che àne inançi per mangiare, che in veruno modo non vi sae rivenire, ançi del tutto perde quello che àne inançi per mangiare. Et dicono coloro che li àno veduti che nelo suo petto nasce una pietra picciolina la quale pitra si chiama liguire, la quale pietra si ène di frande virtude; et ciò conosce bene la bestia medesima che l'à nelo suo petto. Et secundo che dicono li omini ello cuopre l'orme di suo andare per una invidia di natura acciò che tale pietra non venga a mano de veruno omo". (Squillacioti, 2007: 344, *sub* "Delo Lupo cerviere et di sua veduta et di sua dimenticança").

"Lo secondo animale si ène lo **Lupo cerviere**; lo quale lupe àne si sottile lo vedere che passa per sua veduta lo più grosso monte che sia". (Squillacioti, 2007: 69, *sub* "De l'avoltoio et di suo conoscimento d'odore et di sua proprietadi").

5.30 Do artista italiano Antonio Pisanello (1395 – 1455) existe uma coleção de desenhos, o *Codex Vallardi*, adquirido pelo Museu do Louvre em março de 1856, do antiquário milanês Giuseppe Vallardi. Um dos esboços [Figura 5.15] mostra na parte superior esquerda um lince e um detalhe da cabeça de um lince; no canto inferior direito, um lince atacando uma ave.



Figura 5.15 Desenhos de lince por Pisanello (*Codex Vallardi*).

Pisanello também gravou uma medalha [Figura 5.16], representando um lince vendado segundo Foville (1909: 32); “un lynx aux yeux bandés accroupi sur un coussin, et ce lynx doit être l’emblème de la clairvoyance et de la dissimulation politiques”.



Figura 5.16 Medalha gravada por Pisanello, com um lince vendado (Pollard, 1978, prancha sem numeração).

5.31 Erasmo de Roterdã (1466 – 1536), em seu *De parabolis sive similibus ex selectis auctoribus collectis liber* (Erasmo de Roterdã, 1703: coluna 611):

**Lupis quos cervarios vocant, etiam in fame surrepit obli-
vio cibi, si modo respexerint, ac protinus alium quærunt :
Ita nonnullis mox excidit, quod modo instituerant narrare ,
si interjectis verbis aliquot animum illorum alio devocarís,**

5.32 Piero Valeriano Bolzani, em latim Ioannes Pierius Valerianus Bellunensis (1477-1558), em sua obra *Hieroglyphica* (Bolzani, 1556: 86-86) [Figura 5.17]:

DE LYNCE.

Lyncem in luporum genere pleriq; recensuerunt, eiq; Ceruario cognomen tū indidere. Sunt qui Lynces esse quas Graeci λέωνες uocant, arbitrentur. Sedenim λέωνες ex hyæna & lupo mixto genere nascuntur. Vt cūq; uerò autores uariant, Lynceum Plinius animal esse peregrinum & in Æthiopia frequens ait: Ceruarios autem lupos septentrionalibus regionibus frequentissimos esse constat. Sed parū me mouerit eandem speciem pluribus orbis locis inueniri: nam quæ uidemus in Ceruario lupo, ea in Lynce identidem reperiuntur, acutissimus quippe obrutus, macularum in pelle uarietas: unde apud Maronem, Maculosa tegmine Lynceis: & quod omnium manifestissimum est signum, Lynceus lapis ex concreta eius animalis urina.

ACUTISSIMVS OBTUTVS.

Nonnulli igitur eū lynceum omnium quadrupedum clarissimè cernere considerassent, hominem qui uisu maximè polleret significaturi, animal id hieroglyphicum posuere. Sanè multas affirmant conuexa etiam montium uisu penetrare, neq; defuere philosophi, qui fieri posse hoc cōmentati sunt ex imagine quæ certo ab terra spatio summo in aëre pendeat, quam Lynx, utpote que sit oculo admodum defecato, intueatur. Cuius rei exemplum experimur defecato in cauū aliquod uas nummo, quem, tametsi longè recesserimus, simulac uas aqua expletū fuerit, intuemur, fundo etiā ipsius uasis in aquæ superficie se ostentante: quippe rerum earum radijs in aquæ summum se se exporrigentibus ea ibi species recidit, quæ aqua inde subducta, uasculi curuitate intercipitur, ac ne uideri possit praepeditur. Ab hac Lynce, Lynceos oculos appellatos, quibus cernendi uis acutissima sit, pleriq; putant. Vnde magnæ uir cruditionis Fran. Petrarcha, petos illos oculos quos lyricis totiens laudibus extollit, ceruarios appellauit, ad id scilicet alludens, quod lynceum ætas nostra lupum ceruarium arbitrat. Alij oculos lynceos à Lynceo Idæ fratre Argonauta dictos autumat, qui ea quoq; quæ sub terra condita essent spectare ferebatur. Poëta sanè pleriq; penetrabilem huius aciem celebrarūt, maximè uerò Pindarus, qui Castora in queru abditū, penetrante per lignum acie ab eo inspectum, atq; ita coniecto in arborem pilo cōfossium interfectūq; scribit. Fuit & alter Lynceus, qui Carthaginensium classē à Lilybō Siciliæ promontorio portu Carthaginis exeuntē prospicere, & numerum cum fide recensere solitus, scriptorum testimonio fertur. De quo Horatius: Non possis oculo quantum contendere Lynceus.

Figura 5.17 Trecho sobre o lince (Bolzani, 1556: 85-86)¹³³.

¹³³ Na tradução de Chappuys (1576: 213-214):

“DV LYNX ET DES SIGNIFICATIONS HIEROGLYPHIQUES D’ICELUY.

Plusieurs mectent le Lynx au nombre des Loups, & a esté surnommé Ceruier: aucuns pēsent que ce soit cete maniere d’animaux que les Grecs appellant *θυας*: mais ces animaux ainsi appelez par les Grecs viennent de l’Hyene & du Loup. Quoy qu’il en soit, Pline escrit que le Lynx est vne beste sauuaage & estrange demeurant volontiers en AÆthiopia: & que les Loups Ceruiers se trouuēt aux regions Septentrionales: mais qu’une mesme espece se trouue en diuers lieux, ie ne m’en soucie pas: car nous remarquons au Lynx ce que nous voyons au Loup Ceruier, sçauoir est la veuē tres ague, & la diuersité de taches & couleurs: c’est pourquoy nous trouuons en Virgile:

De la peau du Lynx tacheté:

Et ce qui en est sur tout vn signe très manifeste, la Pierre appelee d’iceluy *Lynceurienne*, veint de l’vrine d’iceluy quand elle s’est amasee & espaisie.

5.33 O poeta português Francisco de Sá de Miranda (1481 – 1558) [Figura 5.18], introdutor do soneto e do *dolce stil nuovo* em Portugal, em seu poema “A El-Rei D. João III”, mencionou o “lobo cervical” (Alvarez, 1614: 105v; Anôn., 1784: 211; Midosi, 1864: 34):



Figura 5.18 Francisco de Sá de Miranda.

LA VEVE AIGUE ET EXCELLENTE NOTAMMENT SIGNIFIE.

Avcuns ont signifié l’homme ayant bonne veuë par le moyen de cete beste, considerans qu’elle voit mieux qu’aucun des autres animaux, tant que quelques vns assurent qu’elle penetre mesmes des yeux les montagnes: mesmes se sont trouués quelques philosophes, disans se pouuoir faire que le Lynx voye vne image qui seroi pendue au plus haut de la certaine distance de la terre: dequoy nous experimentons l’exemple en iectant vne piece d’argent au fond d’un vaisseau, laquelle bien que nous soyons reclez loin, nous ne laissons de voir quand le vaisseau est plein d’eau, à la fleur de laquelle eau, s’aparoit mesme le fond du vaisseau: ce qui se fait par les rayons des choses posees au fond, lesques s’esleuent au dessus par le moyen de l’eau: desquelles choses la vauë est ostee, par la cõcuité du vaisseau, quãd l’eau en est dehors. Plusieurs estiment que du Lynx, l’on dit oridinairement, *les yeux de Lynx*, de ceux qui voyent bien: & pourtant ce sãuant Petrarque appelle les yeux (que tant volontiers il a recommãdez en ses vers Lyriques) Ceruiers: regardant à ce que de nostre temps le Lynx est dit Loup Ceruier. Les autres pensent que les yeux de Lynceus Argonaute frere d’Ida que l’on dit auoir peu voir ce que mesmes estoit caché au ventre de la terre: les Poëtes ont grandement exalté la veuë de ce personnage, & sur tous Pindare escriuant qu’il a veu, par le trauers du bois, Castor caché dedans vn Chesne, & qu’il l’a tué par le moyen d’un dard lequel l’outre perça avec l’arbre. On fait mention d’un autre Lynceus, que l’ont dit auoir veu de Lilybee (lieu eminent dedans la mer) l’armee nauale sortant du haure de Carthage, comptant sans faillir le nombre qu’il auoit de vaisseaux, duquel Horace a dit,

Que tu ne puisses voir aussi loin que Lyncee”.

“Que eu vejo nos povoados
 Muitos dos salteadores,
 Com nome e rastro de honrados,
 Andar quentes e forrados
 Das pelles dos lavradores.

E senhor não me creiais
 Se as não acham mais finas,
 Que as de lobos cervais,
 Que arminhos, que zebelinas,
 Custam menos, cobrem mais”.

5.34 Giulio Cesare Scaligero ou della Scala (1484 – 1558) [Figura 5.19], em suas *Exotericarvm Exercitationvm* (Scaliger, 1582: 671-672):



Figura 5.19 Giulio Cesare Scaligero.

EXERCITATIO CCX.

*Animalia nobilia ob pelles. Lynces. Thoes.
 Lupi (Cervarij).*

SVNT & animalia, inquis, ob pelles nobiliora: vt Lyn- »
 ſcei, & Muſtelarū genere plurimæ, Martori, Varij, Lar- »
 dironi, Viueræ, Ginetæ. Has Hispania mittit, forma & »
 moribus domeſticis Muſtelis, quos nos Foinos vocamus, »
 fimiles. Si omnia animaduertantur: mirabimur, quare Lyn- »
 cei, nõ Lynces à te dicantur. Subtilius declaraffes, quæ, quot *Caſtig.*
 earum genera, quas Varias, veteres appellarunt. An ea,

quæ Luberna dicitur, fœmina fit: Lynx mas, Lupus ceruus. Huic enim breues, orbiculares, distinctæ maculæ: illi productæ, & admodum cõtinuæ pleræque. Præterea quare Lupi dicantur: cùm Lupinæ formæ nihil habeant. Quare Ceruarij cognominentur. Lupi, ab auiditate. Vicina enim omnia populantur. Quocirca in Scandania, vbi Lynxum frequentia, aliarum ferarum insignis raritas. Ad victum maxima ex parte agrestium Felium prædam faciunt. Ceruorum esse hostes acerrimos ex Oppiano discis: qui luculentissimis versibus eiusmodi pingit venationem: qualem pugnam Delphinis, & Hamiarum: ac Thoas vocat.

5.35 Na tradução francesa do livro de Johann Boehme (Boemus, Bohm, Bohemus) (ca. 1485 – 1535), no capítulo sobre a Hungria, encontra-se a seguinte passagem (Boehme, 1540: 158v):

cest vne miserable region a cause q̄l
le est soubz vng tresfroid clymat, & paye
tribut au duc de Moscovie non dargēt ou
dor, par ce quilz nen ont aucun, mais de pe
peaux subelines lubernes & autres riches
peaulx,

Mas, no original em latim (Boehme, 1536: 187), o que se lê é o seguinte:

miseram adhuc regionem, utpotè sub frigidissimo cœlo iacens, duci Moscoviæ tributaria. Nō tñ aurū argentumq̄, q̄bus omnino carēt, sed preciosas animalū pelles Sabellorū scismorumq̄ pendunt homines.

A intrigante passagem “sabellorum scismorumque” foi simplesmente ignorada na edição italiana (Boehme, 1566), porque o tradutor ignorava de quais animais Boehme falara.

“*Sabellorum*” (*subelines* em francês) é claramente uma referência às *zibelinas* (*Martes zibellina* (Linnaeus, 1758), carnívoro da família Mustelidae).

O *scismus* (nome de origem obscura) é um outro mustelídeo, a *marta* (*Martes martes* (Linnaeus, 1758))¹³⁴, como já identificado por Jonstonus (1650: 155, capítulo XI. *De Marta & Mustela Zibellina*, pl. LXIV [Figura 5.20]), que escreveu:

“Martes à ferocia nomen accepit. Est enim Martia. Alii Martam & Marterum vocant. Nonnulli Foinam, Gainium & *Scismum*”.

¹³⁴ Cf. tb. Lemery (1727: 340, 1759: 549).



Figura 5.20 Prancha XLIV de Jonstonus (1650).

Portanto, o *scismus* não é o *luberne* ou lobo-cerval.

5.36 Cornelius Agrippa (1486 – 1535):

“Inter animalia uero solaria sunt magnanima, animosa, studiosa uictoriae & gloriae: ut leo ferar’ rex, crocodilus, **lynx**, aries, caper, taurus armentorū rex...” (Agrippa, 1533: xxxi).

5.37 Clément Marot (1496 – 1544), em seu *Éloge au Roy, sous les noms de Pan et Robin*:

“Je ne quiers pas (ô bonté souveraine),
 Deux mille arpents de pastis en Touraine,
 Ne mille boeufs errants par les herbis
 Des monts d’Auvergne, ou autant de brebis.
 Il me suffit que mon troupeau preserves
 Des loups, des ours, des lyons, des **loucerves**,
 Et moy du froid, car l’yver qui s’apreste
 A commencé à neiger sur ma teste”
 (Marot, 1731a: 183; Wright (C. H. C.), 1916: 8).

5.38 Olaus Magnus (Olof Månsson) (1490 – 1557), A *Carta marina* do geógrafo e historiador sueco Olaus Magnus, uma das primeiras representações cartográficas precisas da península escandinava, levou doze anos para ser concluída. Foi impressa em Veneza 1539. Inicialmente prevista para a sua *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*, o mapa foi publicado por volta de 15 anos antes do aparecimento desta magnífica obra. Nessa carta aparece a figura de um lince perseguindo um gato selvagem [Figura 5.21].

Na *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (Olaus Magnus, 1555: 610) [Figura 5.22] Olaus Magnus tratou do lince:



Figura 5.21 Detalhe da *Carta Marina* de Olaus Magnus (1539) mostrando um lince perseguindo um gato selvagem.



De Lyncibus, & pellibus eorundem.

CAP. XII.

Lynces aquilonares.

Lyncutium.

Opinio succini generati refellitur.

Natura lyncis.

Pelles lyncinz.

Pelles i frigore meliores.



LYNCES in Septentrionalibus syluis non adeo frequentes generantur, vt lupi, licet impares haud fiat in auditate praedarum. Quod autem Plinius lib. VIII. cap. XXXVIII. asserit, eorum vrina gemmam lyncurium vocatam, instarq carbunculi rutilantem, humi defossam generari, atque in succinum conuerti, verisimile non videtur, vt cum haec bestia aliis inuidens, vrinam suam arena, vel terra opertam, profundius claudat: quo nunquam perueniunt muscae, ranæ, araneæ, vermes, bruchi, culicæ, neque formicæ: quæ passim in succino omnium colore variato, inclusa videntur, prout superius lib. XII. cap. VIII. IX. ac XX. diffusius est ostensum. Nec lyncis transitus est prope riuos, vel aquas, sed campos, & syluas: vnde lyncurium, sicut succinum inde generatum ad mare, & deinde vt tempestatum in tot millibus librarum, in littora Prutenica detrudi, & colligi posse, credibile non sit. Natura igitur lyncis est, vt non respiciat retrò, sed continuo progressu, & saltu præcipitet cursum. Cibis illi syluestrium cattorum frequentior, aut suauior est: quia sicut illis libentius vescitur, ita & eorum latibulis, vt rapiat, insidiatur. Pelles eius mollioribus plumis, & pulchrioribus maculis præditæ, satis carè venduntur, præsertim in asperissima hyeme prædatæ: tunc enim in virtute, & colore sunt aptiores, vt æstate viliores, immò deteriores. Qualiter autem & hæc, & aliz pelles falsificentur, videat qui velit, supradictò VI. lib. cap. vltimo.



Figura 5.22 Página 610 da *Historia de gentibus septentrionalis* de Olaus Magnus (1555).

5.39 Marguerite de Navarre (1492 – 1549), nas *Nouvelles* (na XLIII. NOUVELLE. Hypocrisie d’une dame de cour découverte par le dénouement de ses amours qu’elle croyoit cacher) (Anôn., 1698: 86-87, 1781: 274-275, 1792: 275):

“Après l’avoir regardé jusques à ce que l’obscurité le dérobat à as vue, elle appella un petit Page qu’elle avoit, & lui montrant le gentilhomme: voyez vous bien, lui dit-elle, ce gentilhomme pourpont de satin cramoisi, & qui a une robe fourrée de **loup-cervier**?”.

5.40 “Charles-Quint ayant fait demander à François I^{er} le passage libre par la France afin d’aller châtier les Gantois revoltés, le Roi y consentit avec empressement, et prit, pour l’entrée de son rival à Paris, toutes les mesures que pouvaient lui inspirer son esprit de courtoisie et ses instincts de magnificence. Les Registres de la Vile contiennent de nombreux détails sur cette réception” (Tisserand, 1874: 261). Esses registros detalham as vestimentas de cada um dos personagens que desfilaram perante os reis nessa ocasião (1^o. de janeiro de 1540). No caso dos peleteiros:

“Après, les quatre esleuz de la Pelletery, vestuz de robes de velours Violet fourrées de **lubernes**”.

5.41 Hieronymus Cardanus (1501- 1576) [Figura 5.23], em *De Subtilitate* tratou brevemente do *lyncurium* e do lince (Cardano, 1551: 324, 390):



Figura 5.23 Girolamo Cardano.

Encrinos è pluribus conltat Pentacrinis, ruber lapis, nigro adnascens. Sic Belenites forma est sagittæri-
mam habens intus secundum longitudinem, alium cõ-
tinet lapidem, qui aurea ei iungitur armatura. Cũ-
que ex his quidam paleas trahant, frustra creditum est
Lyncurios esse, cũm his nascantur locis quibus procul
sunt Lynces.

Sunt etiam animalia pellibus nobiliora, vt lincei, &
è mustellarum genere plurimæ, Martori, Varij, Lar-
dironi, Viuerræ, Ginettæ,

5.42 Gesner (1516 – 1565), em seus *Icones animalium quadrupedum* (1560: 73-75) [Figura 5.24]:

LATINE Lynx uel Lupus ceruarius, uel Chaus, uel Raphius, & Thos secundum aliquos. Chaus animal (inquit Plinius) quod Galli Raphium uocant Lupi effigie, Pardorum maculis. ¶ Vnciae nomen quanquam recentiores Leopardo seu Pantherae minori tribuunt, à Lynce tamen corruptū uidetur, est autem & ingenio & corporis effigie simile animal, cauda breuior Lynxi, illi longior, &c.

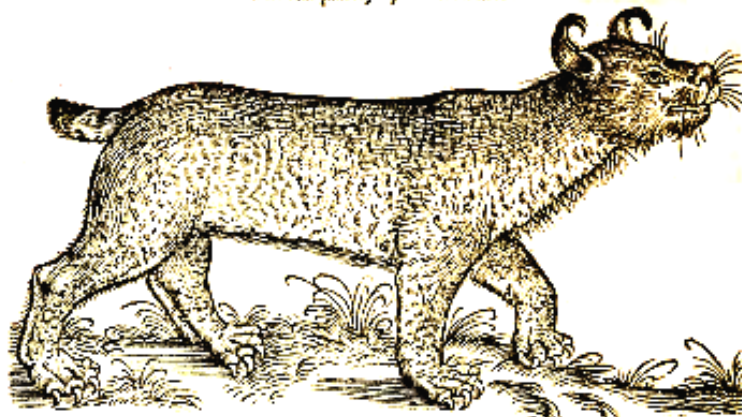
ITAL. Lupo ceruero.

GALLICE Loup ceruier,

GERM. Luchs oder Lur.

ANGLICE Luzarne.

Icon haec probè est, excepta facie, qua Felis referre debebat, meliorem quarec sub finem huius libri.



Est in arce Londinensi (inquit Io. Caius) animal carniuorum, agni bimestris magnitudine, corpore toto, capite, ore, pede & ungue felis. Sed sua barba atq; cauda, illa, utrinq; dependente, ex dimidio anteriori nigra, posteriori alba: hac, breui atq; crassa, ex dimidio superiori ruffa, inferiori nigra. Oculo flauescente, cilio obscure albicante, Aure, ut cati, erecta, pilo intus albo & tenui repleta, foris albo & nigro uestita, sed ita ut summa pars nigro, media, triangulari serè modo, candido, & ima nigro uestiatur. Nec est ea contenta suo orbe finiri, nisi etiam & anterior eius pars seu extrema margo & posterior etiam, eo modo recuruetur in auersum, quo modo margines galeni sacerdotis Graecæ apud Venetos ecclesiae ad superiora replicantur. Summis auribus insident pili aliquot nigri, ueluti cristæ. Color animali est in extrema parte, ruffus, in intima albus, sed resperisus hic fuscis & serè per quincuncem dispositis, illi sui coloris obscurioribus maculis, singulari pilo candido & item frequenti per uniuersum corpus præter cætera conspicuus, ut est in quibusdam coniculorum nigris pelilibus. Ex utraq; nasi parte, maculae quatuor sunt, ordine recto positæ. In utroq; labro, ut nunc dicemus. In superiori labro, quinque sunt macularum ordines æquidistantes. In primo ordine & summo, quatuor: in secundo, quinque: in tertio, octo: in quarto, quinque: in quinto, quatuor sunt, & hæc etiam in suo quæq; ordine æquidistantes. In imo labro, septem sunt tantum insigniores, duobus ordinibus collocatæ. In primo, quatuor, ad ipsam labri oram: in secundo post eas, tres aliæ: post has, aliæ minores, sed non ita certa lege dispositæ ut superiores. In superiori labro, utrinque extant pili quidam rigidiores atq; albi, ut in cati & leonibus. Nasus illi ruffescit pallidè, distinctus à cætera facie unde quæq; linea nigra. Extremum nasum per longitudinem alia linea (ut in Vncia) diuidit, sed per summa tantum leuiter ducta, non per ima altius impressa. Pes illi callosus est, & unguis, ut Feli & Vnciæ, in pede abditus, nec nisi appetendo prætendit, ut illæ. Scandit mirum in modum, ita, ut, ea in re quid possit, ipsa natura uel in cauca docet. Mobile animal est, & loco stare nescit, adeo ut nisi forte fortuna Pici martii uox ex corbe cuiusdam rustici, (qui tum Leones uidendi causa uenerat) quietum reddidisset & attentum, nulla fuisset spes expositoris delineamenti. Eo præsentè, quietissimum erat: illo discedente, nusquam consistebat. Quamobrem coactus eram nullo post rusticum famulo, uocalem illum emere, quo præsentè, miras huiusmodi tantisper consistit, dum confecto negotio atq; absoluto opere discedendum fuit. Luzarne nostri uocant, Leuciãmne an Lyncem ex uocum symphonia dicturi, ambiguum est. Pellis in usu est magnatum, & præcipis uenditur amplioribus. Nō ex

candescit nisi in inuorios. Vocem reddit qualem felis, cum succenfer socio cibum præcepturo, Custodi blandum est & mite, nec in quenquã sæuam. Hactenus Caius, ¶ Inuitatæ formæ animal anno Domini M. D. XLVIIII, menſe Maio è ſylua Aureliana in agrum Bituricenſium impetum fecit, tanta feritate, ut nemo agricolarum aut uiatorum tutus ullis armis eſſet. Mediæ inter Lupum & Ceruũ naturæ fuit, (dicere forſan uoluit Lupum ceruariũ fuiſſe,) antea illis in locis ignotum. Hæc ex Chronicis cuiuſdam, qui addidit Paralipomena hiftoriæ Carionis. Ego, ſi bene memini, non in Gallia natum animal ita graſſatum eſſe accepi, ſed Leopardum, qui ex aula Regis, ubi alebatur, euaserat, & hoc alicubi in Hiftoria quadrupedum à meliteris mandati puto, locus iam non occurrit, id cū legiſſet lo. Caius, ſic ad me ſcripſit: Quod ſcribis de Leopardo regis Galliar, poteſt etiã ſcribi de quodam quem habuit Angliæ rex Henricus octauus, uti mihi retulit nobilis quidam ſeptuagenarius eius olim familiar, Sicille: & certè uerifimilius eſt, Pantheræ quàm Lynceis tantum robur & tantam ſauitiam fuiſſe. ¶ Cæſar Scaliger libri de ſubtilitate ad Cardanum, Exercitationis 210. prima parte, ſentire uidetur feram quæ Luberna uulgò dicitur, ſceminam eſſe; Lynx em uerò marem, Lupũ ceruariũ ſcilicet. Huic, n. (inquit) breues, orbiculares, diſtinctæ maculæ: illi productæ, & admodum continuæ pleræq;. Lupi autem dici uidentur ab auuiditate, uicina enim omnia populantur. quocirca in Scandinauia ubi Lynxum frequentia, aliarum ferarũ inſignis raritas, ad uictum maxima ex parte agreſtiũ felium prædam faciunt. Ceruorum eſſe hoſtes acerrimos (unde ceruarij nimirum cognominantur) ex Oppiano diſces: qui luculentiffimis uerſibus eiſmodi pingit uenationem, qualem pugnam Delphinis & Amiarũ: ac Thoas uocat, Sicille. Sed cum Lynces etiã alibi ab Oppiano nominentur, quorum genera duo facit, Thoas ne an Lynx ſit Luchſa noſtra, conſiderandum eſt.

Figura 5.24 Texto de Gesner (1560: 73-75) sobre o lince.

5.43 Ulisse Aldrovandi (1527 – 1605), como sempre, escreveu um verdadeiro tratado sobre o lince (Aldrovandi, 1637: 90-101), ilustrando o animal e seu crânio (Figura 5.25):

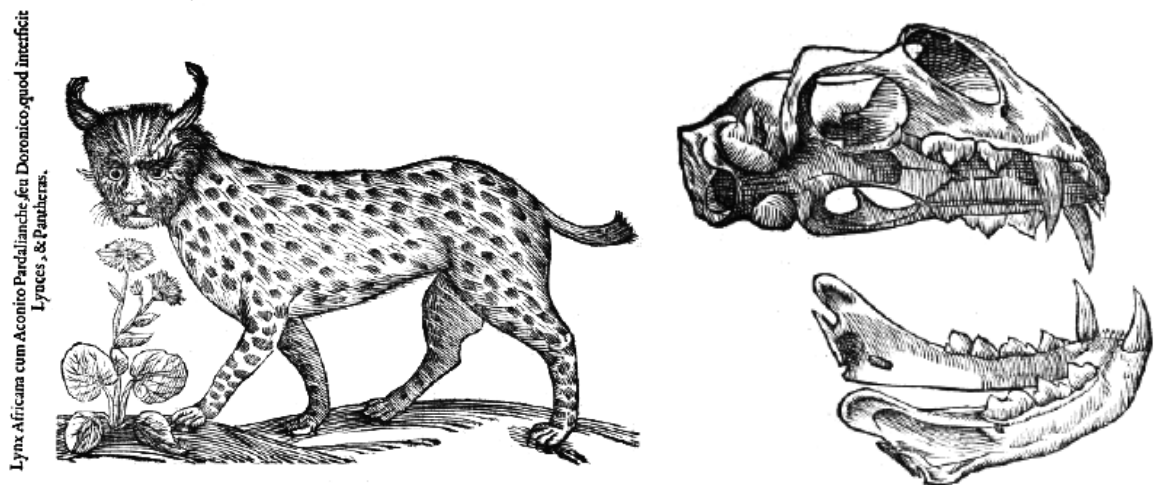


Figura 5.25 Lince e seu crânio segundo Androvandi (1637).

5.44 John Kay (1510 – 1573) (Caius, 1570: 30-31), em seu *De rariorum animalium et stirpium liber unus*:

“*De Lynce seu Leuncia*”

Est in arce Londinensi animal carnivorum, agni bimestris magnitudine, corpore toto, capite, ore, pede, & ungue felis; sed sua barba atque cauda; illa utrinque dependente, ex dimidio anteriori nigra, posteriori alba; hac, breui atque crassa, ex dimidio superiori ruffa, inferiori nigra. Oculo flavescente, cilio obscure albicante. Aure, ut cati, erecta, pilo intus albo & tenui repleta, foris albo & nigro vestita, sed ita ut summa pars nigro, media, triangulari

fere modo, candido, & ima nigro vestiatur. Nee est ea contenta suo orbe finiri, nisi etiam & anterior ejus pars seu extrema margo & posterior etiam eo modo recurvetur in aversum, quo modo margines galeri sacerdotis Graecae apud Venetos ecclesiae utrinque ad superiora replicantur. Summis auribus insident pili aliquot nigri, veluti cristae. Color animali est in extima parte ruffus, in intima albus, sed respersus hic fuscis & fere per quincuncem dispositis, illic sui coloris obscurioribus maculis, singulari pilo candido & item frequenti per universum corpus praeter caetera conspicuus, ut est in quibusdam cuniculorum nigris pellibus. Ex utraque nasi parte maculae quatuor sunt, ordine recto positae, in utroque labro, ut nunc dicemus. In superiori labro, quinque sunt macularum ordines aequidistantes. In primo ordine & summo, quatuor ; in secundo, quinque ; in tertio, octo ; in quarto, quinque ; in quinto, quatuor sunt, & hae etiam in suo quaeque ordine aequidistantes. In imo labro, septem sunt tantum insigniores, duobus ordinibus collocatae. In primo, quatuor, ad ipsam labri oram ; in secundo post eas, tres aliae ; post has, aliae minores, sed non ita certa lege dispositae ut superiores. In superiori labro, utrinque extant pili quidam rigidiores atque albi, ut in catis & leonibus. Nasus illi ruffescit pallide, distinctus a caetera facie undequaque linea nigra. Extremum nasum per longitudinem alia linea (ut in Uncia) dividit, sed per summa tantum leviter ducta, non per ima altius impressa. Pes illi callosus est, & unguis, ut Feli & Unciae, in pede abditus, nee nisi appetendo praetendit ut illae. Scandit mirum in modum, ita ut ea in re quid possit, ipsa natura vel in cavea docet. Mobile animal est, & loco stare nescit, adeo ut nisi forte fortuna Pici martii vox ex corbe cujusdam rustici (qui turn leones videndi causa venerat) quietum reddidisset & attentum, nulla fuisset spes exquisitoris delineamenti. Eo praesente, quietissimum erat ; illo discedente, nusquam consistebat. Quamobrem coactus eram, misso post rusticum famulo, vocalem illum emere, quo praesente, mirabundum tantisper constitit, dum confecto negotio atque absoluto opere discedendum fuit. **Luzarne** nostri vocant, Leunciam ne an Lyncem ex vocum symphonia dicturi, ambiguum est. Pellis in usu est magnatum, & pretiis venditur amplioribus. Non excandescit nisi in injuriosos. Vocem reddit qualem felis, cum succenset socio cibum praerepturo. Custodi blandum est & mite, nee in quenquam saevum.

5.45 Jean Nicot (1530 – 1600) :

“**Loup ceruier**. Ceruarius lúpus. C’est vn chat sauuage grand comme leopard, dont la peau est de grãd pris & requeste enuers les grãds seigneurs” (Nicot, 1606: 381).

5.46. Philippe Le Picart ou Philippe d’Alcripe, “Sieur de Neri en Verbos” (1531 – 1581), monge cisterciense da Abadia de Mortemer, na França, em seu livro *La nouvelle fabrique des excellens traits de verité*, no capítulo “Acte vertueux d’un jeune homme serviteur d’un marchand de bois”, relatou a seguinte estória (Philippe d’Alcripe, 1853: 59-60):

“Um marchand de bois de nostre forest faisoit, ces jours passez, par un sien serviteur, flotter plusieurs quarterons de buches dedans la riviere du Lieurre, qui va à Lyons, par Rosay et Charleval, tomber dans Andelle. Et ainsi que ce jeune homme alloit costeyant ladite riviere, portant en sa main un long croc à buche pour deffermer les bois, quand il estoit arresté, veit arriver devant luy un grand **loup cervin**, que durant les guerres avoit devoré les corps de plusieurs occis, entre Jouinet et Moncontour, lequel estoit venu en cette forest de Lyons, où avoit fait de grands carnages, au moyen de quoi chacun le doutoit. Quand ledit serviteur le vid devant soy en son horrible stature, et qu’il venoit la gueule-bée pour le devorer, ne fut aucunement effrayé, mais comme bien assure, s’avança à aller vers lui, et lui mettant hardiment son croc à buche par la gueule à travers le corps, le fit sortir par le cul environ d’une paulme. Et tout soudain, usant de la vive force que Dieu lui avoit donné, et qui lui est provenuë de ses ancestres, retira son croc si vigouusement, que ledit loup fut renversé le poil dedans, ainsi que la peau d’une anguille qu’on escorche...”.

Neste caso trata-se do lobo propriamente dito, do qual o “serviteur” fez “fourrer um cazaquin d’hyver”.

5.47 Louis d’Orléans (1542 – 1629), em seu *Banqviet et apresdinee dv Cnte d’Arete* (Dorleans, 1594: 65):

“Donc le premier indice de ceste dissimulation, ie le prens de la nature & condition des Roys, qui sont tous grans & insignes dissimulateurs. Car il n’est point plus naturel aux oyseaux d’estre bigarrez de plumage, ny aux

Lubernes d'auoir la peau variée, ny aux Cameleons de changer de couleur, ny a nos Poliquiques d'estre perfides, qu'il est propre aux princês de dissimuler, & tenir leur pensees & cogitations secrettes”.

5.48 Topsell (1572 – 1625) escreveu longamente sobre o lince (Topsel, 1658: 380-385), incluindo figuras [Figura 5.26]:

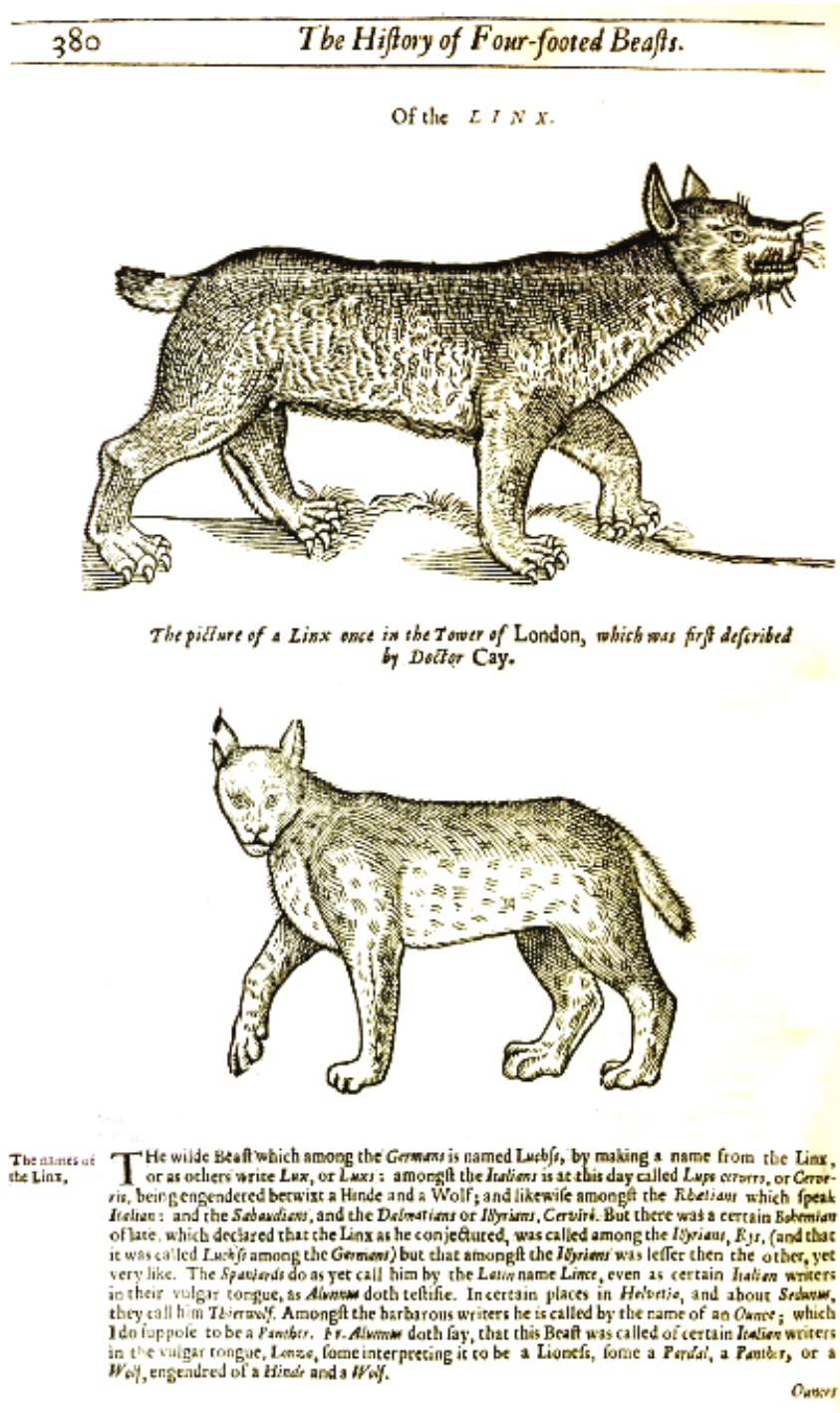


Figura 5.26 Ilustrações do lince por Topsell (1658).

5.49 Melchior Weinrich (fl. 1615) escreveu, em seu *Aerarium Poeticum* (Weinrich, 1664: 462-462):

“Lynx, *Luchs*.”


Lynx maculosa, effrena, timida, imbellis, figax, aurata, versicolor. Scythica Baccho sacra, Maculis obducta. Maculoso tergo. Maculâ qui terga repexus. Qui captâ conjuge solus agit.

Lynces bijugî. Suecia dicitur habere multos lynces, qui seritate non sunt lupis dissimilis. Illorum cutis multis est punctis interlita: Arma gerunt & robur in magnis unguibus. Collum flexile celery circumagunt vertigine habent linguam dente minacis serpentis. In ocellis tant est virtus videndi, ut etiam res densas queat penetrare. Oculis penetrans terrae viscera”.

5.50 Heinrich Oelschlegel (falecido em 1636), em sua obra *Ekatontas seu Centuria Imaginum Hieroglyphicarum* (Oelschlegel, 1623 [não paginado]):

LX. Lynx. *λύξ, λέξ*

Quæ acutissimè
videt, & est ma-
ximè perspicax.
Cic. l. 9. Fam.
ep. 8.



IN Lynce com-
mendant Scri-
ptores visum acer-
rimum, qui dein-
de transfertur ad
aciem mentis sin-
gularem, ingeni-
que acumen, &
perspicacitatem, quam Græci nuncupant *αὐξίνοια*.

B. S. S.

*Mente sagax, prudens, rerum indagator acutus,
Callidus, ingenio nec sapiente minor.
Purus ab insidiis, astute fraudis & expertus,
Indole de Lyncis diceris esse catus.*

Der Luchs.

*Du bist geschwind vnd scharffsinnig/
Bedaehelich/flug vnd nachdencklich/
Dartzu Sinreich/doch keins betrugs:
Dis grosse Lob gibt dir der Luchs.*

• Xenophon lib. 1. *αὐξίνοια*. tribuit hanc laudem Cy-
ro, quòd ad aliorum quæsitâ, propter ingenii celeritatem, &
perspicaciam promptè responderit.
Plinius lib. 7. cap. 25. C. Julium Casarem scribere, &
legere simul, dictare & audire solitum accepimus: episto-
las verò tantarum rerum quaternas pariter librariis dictare,
aut, si nihil ageret, septenas.

LXI, Me

5.51 Alexander Ross (ca. 1590 – 1654), no *Mystagogus*¹³⁵ poeticus (Ross, 1648: 246-248) listou muitos autores da antiguidade clássica que discorreram sobre as fábulas relativas ao lince:

(246)

*Fovis &
vov &
comiux.
An. I.
Odisf. l. II.*

was not onely guiltie of innumerable fornications, but also of adulterie with *Alcmena*, *Antiopa*, *Leda*, of incest with his own sister *Iuno*, of Sodomie with *Ganimed*. 17. *Iupiter* became a Satyr, that he might enjoy *Antiopa*, and shee glorieth in *Homer*, that shee slept in *Iupiters* armes, ἰσὶ δὲ Διὸς βραχίονα; thus Princes are many times not ashamed to become beasts to satisfie their lusts; and truly such Princes are Satyrs rather then men, and such women are very foolish, who think it an honour, to lose that by which onely they are honourable, though a Prince should rob them of it.

LYNCUS.



*Serv. m. I.
Aenead.
Hygin. l. I.
Palaeph. l. I.*

Lyncus, Lynx, or Lynceus, was the cruell king of Scythia, who having received *Triptolemus* into his house, whom *Ceres* sent thither to shew him the use of corne, and instruments of Husbandrie; bee out of ambition desirous to be thought the author of such an excellent invention, intended to murder *Triptolemus* in the night, whilst he was asleep, but *Ceres* being angry at his treacherie, turned him into the beast Lynx.

The INTERPRETER.

1. **W**E may see here, how ambitious spirits, to obtaine a vain and fading glorie, stick not to violate all the lawes of God and men, yea to run the hazard of their owne destruction, that they may leave a name behind them, 'as *Empedocles* who flung himselfe into burning *Aetna*, that hee might be thought a god; *Dens immortalis haberi dum cupit Empedocles, ardentem protinus Aetnam insiliit*; Thus *Lyncus* violates the rules of hospitalitie, and procureth his owne destruction, that he might out of his ambitious humour delude the world; *ambitio multos mortales falsos fieri subegit*. 2. There were two others of this name, one who with his brother *Idas* fought against *Castor* and *Pollux* for ravishing their wives; *Lyncus* killed *Castor*, and was killed by him; *Idas* was killed by *Jupiters* thunder, for daring to encounter with his other son *Pollux*; the other *Lyncus* called also *Linus*, was the onely brother of *So*, whom *Hypermetra* preserved alive; hee having killed *Danans* obtained the kingdome of *Argi*. 3. *Lynx* is sayd to be of a most piercing sight, ἰσχυρὸς πᾶσι

¹³⁵ “Μυσταγωγός: pessoa iniciada nos mistérios, ou pessoa que inicia outras em crenças místicas. Outra palavra é hierofante.

οὐρανὸν ἀεικέλιον, the quickest sighted of all men ; so that hee *Τρετρετ.*
 could see *Castor* and *Pollux* through a tree, and could see also *Plutarch.*
 through the thickest bodies of trees, and ships that were in *Homat.*
 remote harbours, so hee could see through the body of the *Plinie.*
 Moon, yea, through the body of the earth ; and standing in *Celius.*
Sicilie could perceive the ships that were in the harbours of *Valerius.*
Africa ; hee could as *Flaccus* describes him, *sumpere terras, & Pausanias.*
Styga transmissa tacitam deprehendere visu, &c. but all these are *L. 1. Argon.*
 fictions, for open and solid bodies are not fit to receive or
 transmit the visive species, nor can the eye apprehend its
 object, but at a proportionable distance ; this then was ei-
 ther the illusion of Satan, or else it is written to shew us,
 that Princes see farther then other men, as having more
 eyes then their own, or else because this *Lyncus* was the first
 that found our gold, silver, and brassè Mines in the earth,
 therefore they sayd that hee could see through the earth ;
 and whereas they write that he could see *ὅτι καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐρυδῶν, Pausan.*
 through the bodies of oaks, by this they might signifie that *Pindarus.*
 he had an exact knowledge of the nature of trees ; and be- *Men. od. 2.*
 cause he knew the exact time of the changes of the Moone, *ὅτι καὶ τῶν*
 hee was said to see through the body of the Moone ; *καὶ τῶν γῆ-*
 and because of the knowledge hee had of the windes and *νῶν ἔξομα-*
 tides, hee was sayd to see the ships that set saile out of re- *τις.*
 mote harbours ; hence it came to be a Proverb ; *Lynceo per-*
spiciatior, more quick-sighted then *Lynx* ; so *Lucian* ; so *Ari-*
stophanes in *Pluto* ; *ὁ δὲ τῶν ἐρυδῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ λυγρίῳ ;* see *Luc.*
Erasmus. 4. Here wee see in *Lyncus* an example of ingra- *in Hermo-*
 titude, who so ill requited the courtesie of *Triptolemus*, who *time.*
 undertook so great a journey from *Sicilie* to *Scythia*, to *Aristoph.*
 teach him the use of husbandrie ; but perhaps hee was the *Erasm.*
 lesse welcome, because that barren country is not fit for til- *adag.*
 lage, but if he was so ill rewarded that brought in a new in-
 vention though profitable, what reward deserve they who
 broach new, unprofitable, and dangerous opinions in divi-
 nitie, by which the Church of God is troubled and distra-
 cted ? 5. When king *Lyncus* began to commit such a bar-
 barous murther upon *Triptolemus*, hee was turned into the sa-
 vage beast *Lynx*, to shew us, that when kings become Ty-
 rants, they cease to bee men, and degenerate into wilde
 beasts, for which the beast *Lynx* was dedicate to *Bacchus*, and

R 4 his

- Metam.* 4. his chariot was wont to be drawn by *Lynces*, as *Quid* sheweth,
Tu bisjugum picta insignia franis colla premis Lynceum; to
 shew that drunkards degenerate into beasts, and are no lesse
 brutish or savage then wild beasts. 6. That there is such a
 beast as the *Lynx*, wee need not doubt, but that it is so quick-
 sighted, as to see through a solid wall, is a fable; as also that
 the urine thereof becomes hard, and turnes into amber, cal-
 led therefor *Lyncurium*, is fabulous too, as *Scaliger* sheweth;
 so is that which *Plinie* writes, that the *Lynx* out of envie,
 knowing his urine to turn into amber, and therefore to bee
 in esteem among men, covers it with earth, by which it is
 the more quickly made solid; but those fables are fitter for
Quid, then an historian;
- Meta.* 15. *Vista vacemifero Lynceus dedit India Baccho*
E quibus ut memorant, quicquid vesica remisit
Vertitur in lapides, & congelat aere tacto.
- Plinie.* 7. The female *Lynx* having lost her mate, never couples her
 selfe againe to any other male; if this be true, it is a nota-
 ble example of conjugall chastitie; I condemne not second
 marriages, for it is better to marry again then to burn a-
 gain; yet I find them but little approved either by the an-
 cient Fathers, or the modern Easterne Churches. 8. In that
 the Poets write that *Lynceus* was turned into the best *Lynx*,
 whose skin is full of spots and party-coloured, *Maculose*
tegmina Lynxis, by this perhaps they meant, that hee was a
 various, unconstant, and fickle-minded king; nothing be-
 comes a Prince more then constancie and resolution. *Salust*
 makes unconstancie, and variousnesse, a character of *Catalins*,
 and *Seneca* makes it the marke of a wicked man; *maximum*
male mentis indicium fluctuatio.

5.52 Jan Jonston, ou Johannes Jonstonus [Figura 5.27] (1603 – 1675), em seu *De Quadrupetibus* (Jonstonus, 1650: 121-122) [Figura 5.28)].



Figura 5.27 Jan Joston.

DE QUADRUPED.

121

circa ventrem cãdido, reliquum corpus cinereo, nigris ubiq; confertum maculis, rostro ac caudã brevib, asperrã lingua, ululatu exili, & incredibili pernicitate. Vivit Tetrococamis mõtib. venatur cervos, & alia ejusdẽ molis animalia, interdum etiã homines. Lingua ejus tanta inest vis veneni, ut si præde oculos vel allambuerit vel atigerit, eam confestim excæcet, imo interimat. Occisorum cadavera herbis, feno, cespitib. tegit; deinde confedens propinquas arbores, ululat. Tunc ferẽ circumjacentes arcano naturæ documento cõficiã invitationis, ade pulum ocyus ad volant, prædã ex signo invetã satiantur: postremus ipse ocotochelus descẽdit, ut innocuẽ paciscantur convivã: nam si ille prior vesceretur, corruptis veneno suo reliquis, ceterã perirent ferã, quotquot deinde gustarent. Tanã urbanitate charitati favit, tam comi providentia salutis alienã. Scilicet nemo est qui pdesse nequeat, si velit. Non ita viribus & opibus beneficentia quã voluntate & studio constat. Plurimi opulenti inutiles sunt, utinam non etiam noxii; at nemo benevolus nõ beneficus.

CAPUT III.

De Lynce.

Feram, quã Græcis λέωνες dicitur, Latini nõ Lynceum ut Cardanus voluit, à Scaligero idẽ reprehensus, sed Lynceum *Soni tũe Lynceus*, à luce, quod omnium animantiũ acutissimẽ videat, vocãt. Appellatur & *Lupus cervarius*, nõ quod lupõ sit similis, sed quod pari cũ eodem aviditate feratur, & in cervos hostiliter eat. Thoẽn nõ esse in sequẽtib. videbimus. Chaos an sit quẽ Galli Raphium dicunt, Põpei M. ludi ostẽdere, quẽq; facie lupi & maculis pardorum Plinius facit, in medio relinquere, nisi alibi quoq; in lupõrũ genere cervarium reponeret, qualem ex Gallia in arena Pompeii M. spectatum diximus. *Capite* est parvo, *oculis*, fulgẽtib. facie lacti, *Mãmas* habet in pectore. *Macula* magis mari distinet & orbicularẽ. *Pellẽ* ita descripsit Gesnerus. *Pellẽ* extẽsa lyncei à summo naso ad caudam usque, est longitudinis

trium pedum, & unciar. quatuor, caudã longitudinem unciar. septem non excedit, laticudo circa collum (non ambitus dicimus, sed dorũ rãtum) est dimidiati pedis, & in imo dorso unciar. quindecim, crura anteriora longitudinem unciar. quatuordecim, & posteriora duodecim æquã. *Pilus* undique mollissimus, & densã lanugine confertus, extremã pilorũ dorũ partes albicãt, & venter medius est cãdudus, in quo puncta quãdam passim nigricant, crebra verõ sunt juxta imum ventrem ad latera, *auriculæ* parvæ sunt, quasi triangulum referentes, ambitu nigro, & supra eas villus niger, cũ paucis pilis albis eminet; *barba* ad instar felũ ex setis albis cõstat. *Pedes* admodum villoti sunt, & anteriores quinque digitis, posteriores verõ quatuor tantum integrantur, & tantum cauda in extremitate nigricãt per totũ æqualis crassitudinis conspicitur. Musculorũ tempora habet debilia. *Cranium* tribus futuris insignitur. Sed & viginti *dentib.* armatur, quorum incisores sunt duodecim (verba sunt Ambrosii) sed primus & sextus tam inferioris quã superioris mandibulæ, quatuor mediis paulõ minores sunt, quales in mustellis observãtur. Canini quatuor ceteris longiores sequuntur. Molares sunt decem, quatuor superiorem maxillã utrinque muniunt, primi propẽ caninos trigonã sunt figurã duplici quadã appendice insigniti, ultimus in utraq; superiori parte bisidũ est utrisq;, & altero valdẽ latior. Inferior maxilla sex molariibus decoratur, primus propẽ caninos, trigonã refert figuram, secundus floris lilii rudimentũ refertentat, tertius utroq; latior & major est, fissus in medio, summitatib. acutis. Maxilla inferior illi est parva quod pronã cibum nõ sumat. Pes acutissimis, crystallinis, tunica atq; membrana inclusis armatur unguiculis, qui signã unguisum aequilæ & vulcuris æmulãtur, pars inferior callosa est. Lyncei in Orientali plaga vagari Vitruvius scribit, inde in Europã delatos Ovidius, repetiti & in Americã montibus Thevetus author est. Elegantiorib. nigri per dorsũ maculis insigniti in Lithuania, Polonia, Mosco-

Figura 5.28 Trecho sobre o lince, de Jonstonus (1650).

5.53 Charles Perrault (1613 – 1688) [Figura 5.29] publicou uma descrição anatômica do *loup cervier* (1671) [Figura 5.30].



Figura 5.29. Claude Perrault.

Na introdução desse trabalho, Perrault (1671, p. 59), declarou:

QUELQUES-VNS ont estimé que cét animal estoit appellé Loup-Cervier, à cause de sa figure & de sa couleur, supposant qu'il a la forme d'un Loup, de même qu'il ressemble en quelque façon au Cerf par la couleur de son poil. Cette même raison a fait croire à d'autres qu'il est le Thos des Anciens, parce qu'Oppian dit que le Thos a la forme de son pere qui est le Loup, & la couleur de sa mere qui est la Leopard. Mais la verité est que le Loup-Cervier n'a rien qui ressemble au Loup; & que le peu qu'il tient du Leopard ou du Cerf est si commun à quantité d'autres animaux, qu'il y a plus d'apparence, ainsi que plusieurs croient, qu'on lui a donné le nom de Loup-Cervier, parce qu'il chasse les Cerfs de même que le Loup devore les Moutons.

E à página 58 do mesmo artigo, ilustrou o lince [Figura 5.30]:



Figura 5.30 Ilustração do lince (Perrault, 1761: 58).

5.54 Paul Boyer (du Petit-Puy) (1615? – 16..), em sua *Bibliothèque Universelle* (Boyer, 1649: 449):

Aconite, ou Aconit, est vne herbe si venimeuse, qu'elle fait mourir la personne à l'heure mesme s'il en prend quelque peu, ceux d'Hercule en font mourir les Lubernes, & les Pantheres, en frottant certains morceaux de chair qu'ils sement par les montagnes: Les Poëtes seignent que cette herbe fut engendrée de l'esume que le chien Cerbere jetta, lors qu'Hercule le tira d'Enfer par force, qui fait qu'on en trouue tant près de Ponte où est la cauerne par où Hercule y descendit. *Matthiol sur Discor l.4 ch 72.*

LYNCURIUM. f. m. Espece d'ambre qui par une propriété particuliere attire les plumes , comme l'ambre jaune attire la paille. Matthiolo fait voir qu'il y a grande difference entre le *Lyncurium* qui a la vertu de briser la pierre , & ce que les Lapidaires appellent *Pierre de Lynx* ou d'*Once*, qui n'a aucune propriété pour faire uriner & rompre ou diminuer la pierre des reins & de la vessie , & que quelques-uns prétendent faire passer pour le vrai *Lyncurium* , disant que c'est une pierre en laquelle se congele l'urine de l'*Once* après avoir uriné. Il refuse Encelius , qui a dit que le *Lyncurium* jaune se faisoit de l'urine de l'*Once* mâle , & le *Lyncurium* blanc de celle de l'*Once* femelle. Dioscoride dit que le *Lyncurium* , sorte d'ambre qui attire les plumes , & que pour cela les Grecs appellent *λίγυρον*

φάρμακον , étant bû avec de l'eau , est bon aux fluxions du ventre & de l'estomac.

LYNX. f. m. Animal , qui , selon les Anciens , a la vûe tellement subtile , qu'il voit à travers les murailles. Elian lui donne une houpe sur le bout des oreilles , pareille à celle qu'a le loup cervier , que Scaliger dit être le *Lynx* mâle. Appian parle de deux *Lynx* , l'un grand qui chasse aux cerfs , & l'autre petit qui chasse aux lievres. La plupart des Modernes estiment que cet animal est fabuleux. Cependant Jonston ne laisse pas d'en faire la description , & dit que le *Lynx* est une bête sauvage qui a la tête petite , les yeux fort étincelans , la vue admirable , l'air guai , les oreilles courtes , la barbe comme celle d'un chat , les piés fort velus , le fond du ventre blanc avec quelques taches noires , & les extrêmités du poil de dessus le dos tirant sur le blanc , avec des mouchetures sur tout le corps. Il ne vit que de chair de bêtes & de chats sauvages , se cachant quelquefois sur des arbres , d'où il se jette sur des cerfs & autres gros animaux à quatre piés , dont il mange la cervelle & suce le sang. On tient que si-tôt qu'il a pissé , son urine se congele , & qu'il s'en forme une maniere de pierre luisante que l'on a appelée *Pierre de Lynx*. Les Grecs lui ont donné le même nom de *λίγυξ*.

5.56 Alexander Russell (ca. 1715 – 1678), em sua história natural de Aleppo (Russell, 1794: 188-189):

From Mount Taurus, but particularly from about Marash, the Lynx⁸³ or Ounce, is sometimes brought alive to town for a show, and, in like manner as the Hyæna, has for the most part it's lips cruelly sowed toge her, by way of security. The animal must either be rare in the southern parts of Taurus, or the people are not induftrious, for the fur is of high value at Aleppo, and is chiefly brought from more northern countries. It is only part of the skin on the breast and belly, where the hair is very long and finely spotted, that is employed for trimmings, so that each animal affords but a small quantity of this superior kind of fur. Judging from the skins brought to Aleppo from Russia and other northern countries, the animal would appear to be larger than those of the hither parts of Taurus, but in respect to the length and softness of the hair, and beauty of the spots, the Lynxes I have seen alive from Marash, seem not inferior. M. Buffon, seems to think that the skin of the

⁸³ The fable of the Hyæna changing it's sex in alternate years, is adopted by some of the Arab writers, as it had been before by many of the Greeks, though expressly contradicted by Aristotle. (Hist. Animal. lib. vi.—32. p. 778. Scaliger. Tolof. 1619.) Note XLII.

⁸⁴ Wushak وشاقب Felis Lynx. Linn. Syst. Nat. p. 62. Buffon (H. N. ix.—231.) Pennant (Synop. p. 18.)

Levant

Levant Lynx is not spotted. “ Les Lynx du Levant, ^{C H A P.}
“ de la Barbarie, de l'Arabie & des autres pays chauds, ^{I.}
“ font comme nous l'avons dit ci-dessus, d'une couleur
“ uniforme & sans taches.” What the animal may be,
more to the southward, I cannot say; but such as I have
seen brought from Mount Taurus within three days jour-
ney of Aleppo, were beautifully spotted.

5.57 Frei Martin Sarmiento (1732 – 1770), em seu *Catalogo de voces y frases de la lengua castellana* (Penteado, 1973):

“Lobo rabáz – (Es *lúpus rapax*). Em Berducido corresponde alç *loberno* o *lubicán*”.

E em seu *Epistolario* (Filgueira Valverde & Fortes Alén, 1995):

“No hago más que cagar papeles. Todos los quieren y ninguno los quiere copiar. Así se me quita la gana de tomar la pluma. Sobre la fiera de la raya de Portugal tengo escritos seis pliegos, dando individual noticia de outra semejante eu un pastor mató junto a San-Pedro-de-Montes y cuya uña me remitieron. Es el que algunos llaman tontamente em Galicia *tigre*. Sus 4 nombres gallegos son *lobo cerval*, *lobo rabaz*, *lubián* y *lobezno*” (Carta 104, de 13 de agosto de 1760).

“No es animal muy frecuente, ni tampoco muy raro en Galicia y allí tiene cinco nombres vulgares, v. g. *lobo cerval*, *lobezno*, *lubicán*, *lobo rabaz* y *tigre*. Este último es falso, pues no hay tigres en Europa, pero se llama *tigre* porque tiene la piel manchada y muy hermosa y apreciable. Los 4 nombres primeros, aunque comienzan con *lobo*, sólo aluden a su voracidad, no a que sea animal del género lobo, pues sólo es del género gato. Es como gata, pero tan grande como un perro perdiguero. Combinando todo es el verdadero animal lince y, por consiguiente, la *onza* verdadera. No pude contener la risa cuando el año pasado supe que en Madrid se enseñaba por cuatro cuartos, como *onza*, un animalejo africano como una ardilla. Este es el que usted tuvo vivo en una jaula y cuyo nombre es jerbo y ha sido cosa vergonzosa que en pueblo tan numeroso como Madrid pasase la magnitud de un ratón por la de un perdiguero. Oh!, y cuan doctos serían el la Historia Natural los tasadores. Al fin aún para tan monstruosas necesidades sólo Madrid es Corte” (Carta 159, 6 de junho de 1760).

5.58 John Barrow (fl. 1735 – 1774), no *Dictionarium Medicum Universale* (Barrow, 1749 [não paginado]), mencionou o uso da gordura e das garras do lince na medicina:

LYNCOURION (from *λύγξ*, a lynx, and *ἔρον*, urine, because fabuled to be produced by the contreted urine of that creature) a species of amber, according to *Dioscorides*. Others say that it is the same as the **LYNCIS lapis**.

LYNX, offic. The ounce. The parts in use are the fat, and the claws; the fat is proper for resolutions, strains, and luxations of the joints; the claw is set in gold and silver, and worn as an amulet against the epilepsy and convulsions. Dale from *Schroder*.

5.59 Camus (1740 – 1804), em sua obra *Sur l’Histoire des Animaux d’Aristote* (Camus (A. F.), 1783 493-494):

L Y N X (1).

On verra à l'article de la Panthere qu'il y en a une espece qu'on appelle *Ounce*. On assure que ce nom est dérivé de celui de Lynx (2). Indépendamment de cette étymologie, il est mention dans Gesner, d'un Lynx de l'Inde ou de l'Afrique, que M. de Buffon convient pouvoir n'être qu'une sorte de Panthere (3).

Cependant la plupart des Naturalistes veulent que le Lynx soit le loup cervier (4), & ils se fondent en grande partie sur ce caractère du loup cervier, qu'Élien remarque dans le Lynx (5), d'avoir une houpe de poils à l'extrémité des oreilles (6).

Mais indépendamment du loup cervier, M. de Buffon décrit (7) un autre animal qui porte de pareilles houpes de poil à l'extrémité des oreilles. Il le nomme le caracal. Cet animal habite les mêmes climats que le lion, & il a pu être connu d'Aristote plus aisément que le loup cervier qui habite communément les pays septentrionaux (8).

Enfin le Lynx est un des Animaux représentés avec le nom au bas de la figure, dans la mosaïque de Palestre, & M. l'Abbé Barthélemi, qui a donné l'explication de cette mosaïque, observe que l'animal représenté ressemble fort à un cheval (9).

Ces contradictions, & l'aveu de Gesner que les Auteurs anciens comprennent différens genres d'Animaux sous ce nom de Lynx (10), m'ont déterminé à conserver la dénomination Grecque.

Aristote dit du Lynx, qu'il a un demi-offelet (11). *Hist. Liv. II. ch. 1.*

- (1) λύγξ, ἄ.
 (2) Pour sentir la possibilité de cette étymologie, il ne faut pas prononcer *Lynx*, comme nous le faisons dans notre langue, mais *Lunx*, comme le prononçoient les Grecs.
 (3) *Hist. nat. Tom. VIII. pag. 312.* Bouchart veut que le Lynx soit l'once. Hieroz. *Lib. III. chap. 7.*
 (4) *Lupus cervarius*, non quòd lupò sit similis; sed quòd pari cum eo aviditate feratur, & in cervos hostiliter eat. Ray, *Synopf. quadr. pag. 166.*
 (5) De nat. animal. *Lib. XIV. cap. 6.*
 (6) M. de Buffon, *Hist. nat. Tom. VIII. pag. 307.* Gesner, in *feris lupò congener.* Joulton, de quadr. *Lib. III. tit. 1. cap. 3.*
 Klein, ordo quadr. *pag. 76.* Ray, *Synopf. quadrup. pag. 166.* Mémoires pour l'*Hist. nat. des Anim. Part. I. p. 127.* De Funer, *Liv. II. ch. 8.* Il lui conserve cependant la dénomination *el Lynce.*
 (7) *Hist. nat. Tom. VIII. p. 320.* Charleton a donné la description & la figure du même animal: *De differ. anim. exercit. pag. 21 & seqq.*
 (8) M. de Buffon, *Tom. VIII. p. 307.*
 (9) *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions. Tom. XXX. pag. 533, in-4°.*
 (10) Apud veteres duo aut plura genera hoc nomine (Lyncis) comprehensa sunt. Gesner, in *feris lupò congener.*
 (11) Voyez au mot *Oz*, ce que j'appelle l'offelet.

pag. 63; que le mâle jette son urine en arriere comme la femelle; *Ibid. pag. 65*, & des *Parties des Animaux, Liv. IV. ch. 10*, où il observe que c'est une particularité que peu d'Animaux ont, & qu'aucun solipede n'a. Son accouplement se fait à reculons & en arriere, comme dans les autres especes où le mâle urine en arriere.

Ces caractères feront vraisemblablement reconnoître à quelque Naturaliste, le Lynx d'Aristote. MM. de l'Académie des Sciences n'ayant disséqué que la femelle d'un loup cervier n'ont pas pu s'assurer de la disposition de la verge du mâle, mais ils auroient pu vérifier ce qu'Aristote dit du demi-offelet de son Lynx.

5.60 No Diccionario Castellano de Terreros y Pando (1787):

Pp. 458-459. "LINCE, animal que los mas de los modernos tienen por fabuloso, y de quien los antiguos decían que tenía una vista muy perspicaz, por lo que dan este nombre al que se le semeja. Jonston dice que es el *lobo cerval*. Fr. y Lat. *Lynx*. It. *Lince*. V. *Lubi-can*. Del Lince finjeron los Poetas, que tenía cien ojos, fundados en otra fábula de un Argonauta llamado *Lincéo*¹³⁶, de quien decían, que veía hasta los *Infiernos*".

¹³⁶ Referência à *Argonautica* de Apollonius Rhodius, onde se lê (cf. Seaton, 1967: 12, 13):

Οἱ τ' Ἀφαρητιάδαι Λυγκεὺς καὶ ὑπέρβιος Ἴδας
 Ἀρήνηθεν ἔβαν, μεγάλη περιθαρσέες ἀλκῇ
 ἀμφοτέρου· Λυγκεὺς δὲ καὶ ὄξυτάτοις ἐκέκαστο
 ὄμμασιν, εἰ ἐτεόν γε πέλει κλέος, ἀνέρα κείνον
 ῥηιδίως καὶ νέρθε κατὰ χθονὸς ἀυγάζεσθαι.

P. 477. “**LUBI-CAN**, animal feroz, de cosa de cinco cuartos de largo, barbas de gato, las orejas se terminan en una puntica como de flueco, en cada una de las manos tiene cinco uñas mui sólidas corvas, y agudas, y en cada pie cuatro, la piel es blanca con pintas negras, fina, y hermosa, la cola de solo medio pie de larga, en Frances se llaman *Loup-cervier*. En lat. *Linx, cis*. It. *L'once*. Este es propiamente el Lince, tanto por las pintas de la piel, que semejan un animal lleno de ojos, como por la agudeza de su vista, con que anda de noche, y se maneja como de dia. Lebrija le llama **Gato-cerval**. Los Gallegos **Loberno**, y **Lobo rabaz**; y en Cast. y Gallego **Lobo-cerval**, porque se arroja sobre los ciervos [sic]. Em Andalucía le llaman **Gato clavo**. Plio le llamó *Chaus* [sic]. Los Celtas antiguos *Rafio*, ó *Raphio*. Los Alemanes le llaman *Luchs*. Los Suecos *Vargulo*: algunos le llaman en Cast. **Lupi-can**: pero él ni es lobo, ni perro, ni aun parecido á alguno de estos animales, y este nombre se tomo de *Lupus-canarius*. El año de 1760 dijeron que había aparecido uno mui feroz en los confines de Galicia, y Portugal, y que había hecho muchos destrozos en personas, y ganados, y acaso era la misma especie de animal aquel con que el año de 1765 metieron em Francia tanto ruido las gacetas, y Mercurios”.

[The sons of Aphareus, Lynceus and proud Idas, came from Arene, both exulting in their great strength; and Lynceus too excelled in keenest sight, if the report is true that that hero could easily direct his sight even beneath the earth].

6. GAPARDUS, GAPAR/DJ, GUÉPARD – NOMES APLICADOS AO ACINONYX JUBATUS AFRICANO

6.1 Jean Baptiste Gramaye (1579 – 1635), nascido em Antuérpia, formou-se em Direito, foi professor na Universidade de Louvain e historiador da corte de Alberto VII, Arquiduque da Áustria. Viajou pelo norte da África (1619) e Ásia. Sobre suas viagens africanas deixou o livro *Africae illustratae libri decem* (Gramaye, 1622) [Figura 6.1], onde registrou pela primeira vez o nome *gapardus*, que ouviu na Argélia. Descrevendo a fauna local registrou:

I. B. GRAMAYE
AFRICAЕ ILLVSTRATAE
LIBRI DECEM,
IN QVIBVS BARBARIA,
GENTESQVE EIVS VT OLIM,
ET NVNC DESCRIBVNTVR.

*HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA, GOTHICA, VANDALICA,
Turcica, Maurica, Numidica, Carthaginensis & Insularum, ab ultima
Antiquitate ad nostra usque tempora deducitur Et denique Regna Argelae,
Tunets, Tripolis, Marocci, Fesse atiaque graphice depinguntur, cum adiecto speculo
miseriarum Barbararum, & medijs reducendis illuc Religionem & debellandi
Pyrratae & Africae cyncendi, Ab auctore ann. 1619. sibi versato concinnata
collataque ad aliorum testium oculatorum fidem.*



TORNACI NERVIORVM,
Ex Officinâ ADRIANI QVINQVE' Typographi Iurati.
Anno M. DC. XXII.

Figura 6.1 Frontispício do livro de Gramaye (1622).

“In desertis autē reperiuntur Leones, Struthij, Porci spinosi, Apri (errant qui eis Africam carne scripserunt) Echinei, Leopardi, Cameleontes, Simiae, Boues, Asini, Feles, Vulpes, Canes alterius formę quam apud nos, & ex mixtione horum varia animalium monstra: aquilae, Turduli, aspides etiam & venenata. Et quia olaeraque horum dono Barbarorum habui, rariora quaedam de singulis exempla adscribam.

Leones cicurari à Barbaris ordinarium est, mirumque *Ara Cadi* ante annos 22. Iudicem Argelae habuisse diuersi sexus Leones tres, & Leopardum ita mansuetos, vt in auditorio semper & cubili accubarent, venienti assurgerent, increpanter metuerent, cum eo & canibus ad venationes abirent nemine laeso. Amicus noster F. Hieronymus. Hiurada leonem & Aprum simul educauit, ita cum adoleuissent, sibi inuicem familiares, vt perpetuo lusitarent simul semelque ederent, cubarent, ambularent. Quia destituitur odoratu Leo, insistere solet vestigijs *Chari*, quod animal picturatum est feli simile, & predam explorat, semperque portionem ei leo seruat, alioquin vt carniuorum, faetidum est, & raro mansuescens. In genere Leopardorum, Pantherarum, Tygridum varię sunt species. nos *Gapardum* habuimus capite felino, mansuetissimum, maiorem fele, cauda lõga, maculosum, instar pantherae, pedibus posterioribus altioribus, venationi aptissimum, eo quod celeritate nulli sit secundum, ad visum leporem certo gradu aduolans, sed quia cursum non ita continuat, moris equo imponi tantisper” (Gramaye, 1622 [Tomi primi pars altera]: 37-38).

6.2 Pierre d'Avity (1573 – 1635) [Figura 6.2], militar, escritor, historiador e geógrafo francês, em sua *Description generale de l'Afrique*, parafraseou o trecho de Gramaye, com algumas adições (d'Avity, 1632: 173):



Figura 6.2. Pierre d'Avity.

“Les Deserts nourrissent des Lyons, des Autruches, des Porcs Espics, des Sangliers, dont quelques vns les ont priuez mal à propos, des Cerfs qu'Aristote, & Pline leur ostent, au lieu que Virgile leur en donne avec verité, des herissons, Cameleons, singes, boeufs, asnes, chats, renars, chiens d'autre sorte que les nostres, & diuers monstres, qui naissent de la meslange de ces animaux; des Aigles, & plusieurs autres sortes d'oyseaux, des aspics, & beaucoup d'autres bestes venimeuses.

Quant aux Lyons c'est chose ordinaire à ces Barbares de les appriuoiser, voire tellement que le Iuge d'Argel Ara Cadi auoit trois Lyons de deux sexes, & vn Leopard, si priuez, qu'ils estoient ordinairement couchez dans sa chambre, & dans la sale, où il donnoit audience, se leuoient ainsi qu'il venoit de quelque lieu, craignoient ses menaces, & s'en aloient avec luy, sans offencer les chiens, ou les hommes qu'il menoit. Or pource que le Lyon manque d'odorat, il suit bien souuent le Char, qui est vn animal bigarré, fort semblable au chat, auquel le Lyon fait tousiours part de sa proye: mais c'est vne beste carnaciere, puante, & qui s'adomestique rarement. Il y a plusieurs especes de Leopars, Tigres, & Pantheres, entre lesquelles on peut mettre le **Gapard**, qui se rend priué tout ce qui se peut, ainsi que Gramaye, qui a nourry quelquefois vne de ces bestes l'asseur. Il a la teste comme vn chat, mais il est plus grand; à la queuë longue, est moucheté comme la Panthere, a les iambes des plus vistes: mais pource qu'il ne peut continuer longuement sa course, on le porte volontiers à cheual, pour quelque peu de temps”.

6.3 O Pe. Pierre Dan (158? – 1649), superior do convento da Sainte-Trinité, em Fontainebleau, de 1636 até sua morte, participou de outra missão para resgatar cativos franceses na “Berbéria”¹³⁷, de 1633 a 1635, que assim foi resumida por Caignet (1666: 281-283):

¹³⁷ Termo que os europeus utilizaram desde o século XVI até o século XIX para se referirem às regiões costeiras de Marrocos, Argélia, Tunísia e Líbia, ou seja, o atual Magrebe, à exceção do Egito.

“Redemption de quarante-deux Captifs en mil six-cents trente-cinq.

Le commence par la Redemption de quarante-deux Captifs François, faite em 1635. Le R. P. Pierre Dan, lors Ministre de Chelles, & le R. P. Jean Escofié, partirent de Paris l'onzième Mars 1633. pour Marseille, où arrivant ils trouverent le R. P. Charles d'Arras, Ministre de Gisors, député par les Religieux Reformez, pour l'effet de la Redemption, avec la somme de neuf-mil livres ou environ; leur dessein estoit de passer en la Ville d'Alger, où il y a plus de Captifs, & où ils sont plus mal-traictez qu'en aucun lieu de Barbare, mais ils aprirent à Marseille que les Turcs ne vouloient permettre aux François, ny Redemption ny sortie de leurs Terres, qu'on ne leur eût rendu certains Corsaires detenus sur les Galeres de France: toutefois ils reprirent esperance, voyant le Sieur Samson le Page, s'embarquer le 12. Iulliet 1634. avec ordre du Roy, pour traiter avec ces Barbares, & le P. Pierre Dan se mit à sa compagnie pour faire la Redemption; mais ny le respect deu à sa Majesté, ny l'adresse du Sieur le Page, ny les soins du P. Dan, pendant trois mois n'eurent pas le pouvoir de mettre ces Barbares à raison.

Il fallut se resoudre à traiter d'une Redemption ailleurs qu'en Alger; en effet ledit Pere Dan, & le P. Charles d'Arras Ministre de Gisors, y travaillerent si bien qu'avec la grace de Dieu. Ils racheptèrent & retirerent de la ville de Tunis quarante deux esclaves François, qui aborderent à Marseille le 5. Avril 1635. Ils y firent la procession, comme aussi à Aix, Arles, Tarascon, Lambese, & Avignon, où il y a des Convens de la Sainte Trinité; en suite pregnant le grande chemin de Lyon, ils arriverent à Paris de 20. May 1635. ils furent conduits en Procession depuis la porte Saint Antoine jusques au Convent des Religieux de la Sainte Trinité, dont l'Eglise est dediée à Saint Mathurin, sujet pouquoy on l'appelle vulgairement, Le Convent des Mathurins.

Le R. P. Louÿs Petit, General de l'Ordre de la Sainte Trinité, embrassa les Redempteurs & les Captifs, la Predication faite, & le *Te Deum* chanté en presence de Monseig. Seguier, lors Garde des Seaux, & depuis Chancelier de France, le lendemain ils firent à Nostre Dame, & puis à Saint Nicolas des Champs, où ils furent confessez & communiez, & trois jours apres vingt de ces Racheptez furent conduits en quelques autres lieux, où il y a des Convens Reformez de la Sainte Trinité, sçavoir, Montmorency, Pontoise, Cailloüet, & Gisors, là ayant rendu graces à Dieu, & à la Sainte Vierge, qui est honorée particulièrement en l'Eglise de ce Convent, & reclamée par les peuples circonvoisins, sous le titre de Nostre Dame de Liesse, ils furent congediez”.

O Pe. Dan publicou em 1637 o relato de sua viagem, a *Histoire de Barbarie et de ses corsaires* [Figura 6.3]. No capítulo IX dessa obra tratou das “Diverses sortes de svpplices, dont les Turcs & ceux de Barbarie font mourir crullement les esclaves Chrestiens” (Dan, 1637: 409-412), descrevendo-os com certa minúcia (e esquecendo que os europeus e a Santa Inquisição tampouco foram anjos...) e ilustrando-os em duas pranchas [Figuras 6.4 e 6.5]; aqui transcrevemos essas passagens, como curiosidade:

I. Ils ont de grands crocs de fer à langue de serpēt, qu'ils appellent de GANCHES en langage franc, qui sont attachez dans les murailles, & aus portes des Villes, où ils accrochent ceux qu'ils y veulent faire mourir, les éleuans tous nuds, les mains liées derriere le dos, & les faisant tomber dessus, où ils s'enferment, tantost par le ventre, tantost par l'espaule, ou par vne autre partie du corps, & les laissent ainsi mourir en languueur (...).

II. Ils attachent vn Esclaue par les pieds & par les bras à quatre nauires, prenant leur route en quatre different endroits: & ainsi ils escartellent & mettent en pieces les pauures Chrestiens captifs.

III. Quelquefois aussi les ayant attachez aux Antennes du Nauire, ils les percent & les tuent à coups de fleches.

IV. Enfermant ceux qu'ils ont destinez à la mort dans de grands sacs bien cousus, ils les font jetter dans la mer, où ils voguent quelquefois au gré des ondes, & en fin se noyent.

V. Ils vsent du supplice du feu, bruslant tout vif le patient, qu'ils attachent nud à vn pôteau, avec vne chaine de fer: & ce feu qui n'est de petit & menu bois de deux pieds de hauteur, rangé en rond, peut auoir vingt-cinq, ou trente pieds de diametre. Or ce qu'ils mettent le patient au milieu, est afin de le faire languir dauantage (...).



Figura 6.3 Ilustração no início do livro do Pe. Dan (1637).

VI. Ils se seruent du supplice de la Croix en deux façons, l'une mettant le patient sur vne Eschelle, où ils le cloüent pieds & mains sur les deux branches de l'Echelle, & le laissent ainsi languir. Il s'en est veu qui ont vescu en cet estat trois ou quatre jours, sãs qu'il fût permis à aucun de les assister. L'autre maniere est, qu'ils font coucher le patient sur vne Croix en forme de celle de S. André; puis l'exposent ainsi à l'entrée des portes de la ville, afin qu'il soit en veuë, & en spectacle à tout le monde (...).

VII. Ils pratiquent vne autre sorte de supplice, qui est qu'ils ouurent avec vn rasoir les espaules du pstient, droit à la jointure, puis y mettent des gros flambeaux de cire tous ardents, qu'ils laissent là brusler & consommer, apres auoir bien lié le patient, qui meurt miserablement, & de douleur, & de faim.

VIII. Ils l'enferment entre quatre petites murailles, jusques aux espaules, ou dans vne fosse, qu'ils remplissent de terre, & le laissent ainsi languir plusieurs jours, jusques à ce que tous ses membres se pourissent.

IX. Quelquefois ils vsent d'un grand tonneau plein de cloux, & mettant dedans ceux qu'ils y ont destineez, ils prennent plaisir à les faire rouler, iusques à ce que les douleurs & la faim les facent mourir.

X. L'Empallement est le genre de supplice qui leur est le plus ordinaire, faisant asseoir le patient sur vn pieu pointu, qui entre par le fondement, & qu'ils font sortir de force, tantost par le gosier, & tantost par les espaules.

XI. Leur cruauté va jusqu'à ce point que d'en faire escorcher plusieurs tpus vifs (...).

XII. Leur inhumanité leur fait pratiquer encore vn autre tourment, qui est d'attacher le patient à la queue d'un cheval, la face tournée vers la terre, qu'ils touchent alors à coups de fouët, le traissant en cet estat par toute la ville, & par les lieux les plus raboteux, iusques à ce qu'il en meure, tout rompu & brisé.



Figura 6.4 Prancha entre as páginas 412 e 413 do livro do Pe. Dan (1737).



Figura 6.5 Prancha entre as páginas 412 e 413 do livro do Pe. Dan (1737).

XIII. Ils ordonnent quelquefois vne punition de cinq ou six coups de baston, & souuent aussi ne specifient point le nōbre, continuant ce tourmēt jusques à ce que la mort s'en ensuiue, iusqu'à y employer les bras de plusieurs valets du Mesūar. Oū il faut remarquer que ce supplice des bastōnades n'est point infame parmy les Turcs, & notamment en Alger, où assez souuent le Diuan ordonne qu'un des Officiers de ce Conseil d'Estat aura tant de coups de baston, pour quelque faute commise, sans que toutesfois celuy qui aura receu ceste liberalité de coups, laisse de demeurer pour cela dans les mesmes grades & honneurs qu'il auoit auparauant cette disgrace, l'ay conneu en Alger vn **BOVLOVCBACHI**, Officier de ce Diuan, qui auoit ainsi este traité.

XIV. L'vsage d'estrangler est pareillement en pratique parmy eux, mais ce n'est qu'enuers les Turcs seulement, qui menēt pour cet effect le criminel en quelque **BAGNE**¹³⁸. & là sans autre ceremonie luy mettant la corde au col, ils le font estrangler par vn esclau, auec vn baston qu'il tourne, ayant vne corde attachée au col du patient.

XV. Ils en condamnent quelques-vns à estre rompus tous vifs: Ce qu'ils pratiquent ainsi. Le Mesūar, ou le Bourreau, les ayant couchez par terre, leur rôpt les bras & les jâbes, auec vne masse de fer, ou vn leuier, & les laisse mourir en ce piteux estat.

XVI. Le menu peuple irrité, a souuent recours aux pierres & aux caillous, dont il se sert pour descharger sa rage sur les pauues esclaves.

XVII. Il s'en voit encore quelques-vns parmy ces Barbares, qui transposez de fureur, pendent leurs esclaves par les pieds, auec des cordes attachées au plancher, puis leur arrachent les ongles, & leur vertent de la cire toute ardente sur la plante des pieds (...).

XVIII. Ce leur est vne chose assez commune quand ils sont yures, & en mauuaise humeur, de discharger leur colere sur leurs esclaves, & de les frapper à coups de cousteaux.

XIX. Il y en a d'autres qu'ils font mourir sur vn canon chargé, auquel ils mettent le feu; ou bien ils les exposent à la bouche du canon mesme.

XX. Pour rendre mescognoissables ceux qui releuent de leur Barbarie, ils se portent assez souuent aux extrêmitéz de leur couper cruellement le nez & les oreilles (...).

XXI. L'inimitié qu'ils ont naturellement contre les pauues Captifs, les rend si fort insensibles à la pitié, qu'ils les laissent languir quelquefois, & mourir de faim.

XXII. En fin pour ne mettre en ligne de compte vne infinité d'autres Barbaries, ie cōcluray par celle-cy, qui est d'obliger tous les autres Captifs à dōner chacū vn coup de hache sur le corps d'un de leurs compagnons, & de le faire mourir ainsi; comme il arriua il y a quelque temps en Alger, en la personne d'un esclau Espagnol, accusé faussement d'auoir escrit en Espagne plusieurs aduis touchant l'Estat des affaires de la mesme Ville" (Dan, 1637:

Mas voltando ao assunto principal: Dan foi o terceiro a mencionar o nome dado no Magrebe ao *Acinonyx*: **gapar**:

"Or bien qu'il y ait en Barbarie beaucoup d'endroits sablonneux & pleins de montagnes, il ne laisse pas toutefois d'y auoir en diuers lieux quantité de bois de toutes les sortes. Là se voyēt pesle-mesle plusieurs bestes fauues & noires, comme cerfs, chevreuls, tygres, lyons, porcs-espics, herissōs, leopards, autruches, gazelles, & chevres sauvages. Parmy tous ces animaux est remarquable celuy qu'ils appellent vn **Gapar**, qui est comme vn grand chien, ayant vne teste de loup, des oreilles de renard, & des pieds de chat" (Dan, 1637: 89).

Ora, o Pe. Dan teve contato, em sua estada na Argélia, com a *lingua franca mediterrânea*¹³⁹, depois chamada *sabir*, assim como deve ter tido Gramaye. Dan citou claramente em seu texto, como sendo da *langage franque*, o nome "ARMADOVR" (p. 257) e

¹³⁸ *Bagnio* (do italiano *bagno*) – termo usado na época para designar a prisão de reféns em Constantinopla, que ficava perto das casas de banho; passou posteriormente a designar as prisões de escravos no Império Otomano e na Berbéria, onde os cativos feitos pelos piratas passavam as noites, de dia servindo como trabalhadores braçais, escravos nas galés ou serviçais domésticos. Cervantes, que ficou como prisioneiro em Argel de 1575 a 1580, sendo libertado pelo padres trinitários, referiu-se às prisões e aos prisioneiros na Argélia em quatro comédias – *Los tratos de Argel* (1580), *Los baños de Argel* (1615), *El gallardo español* (1615) e *La gran sultana* (1615), além dos capítulos 39 a 41 da primeira parte do *Dom Quixote (historia del cautivo)*.

¹³⁹ Sobre a língua franca mediterrânea, seu histórico, variedades e glossário ver o excelente trabalho editado por Corré (2005).

a expressão “*tener fantasia tu (...) cane, traditor* (p. 389), assim como as palavras “GANCHE” que mencionou na descrição da tortura I, e “BAGNE”, na descrição da tortura XIV.

Portanto, *gapar[d]* deve provir do italiano *gattopardo*¹⁴⁰ através da língua franca mediterrânea.

6.4 Antoine Auguste Bruzen de La Martiniere (1683 – 1746), historiador e compilador francês, em seu *Grand Dictionnaire Géographique et Critique* (Bruzen La Martiniere, 1726: 230) também mencionou Gramaye e o *gapard*:

“Les Deserts sont abondants en lions, en leopards, en tigres, en sangliers, en herissons. En boeufs qui ont les cornes droites d’une demie toise de long, em toute sorte de volaille, sur tout en perdrix. Il y a une bête sauvage appellée **Gapard**, qui se laisse apprivoiser. Gramaye rapport qu’il en a lui-même apprivoisé quelques-uns. Sa legereté est cause que l’on s’en sert à la chasse; mais comme elle se morfond facilement, il la faut porter à cheval de temps à autre. Sa tête ressemble à celle d’un chat, & elle a la queuë mouchetée come une panthere, & les pieds de derriere sont plus hauts que ceuz de devant, semblable en partie à un renard, & en partie à un chien. On dit que quand on est le matin à jeun, son haleine guerit l’engourdissement des membres”.

6.5 Savary de Bruslons & Savary (1742: colunas 148-153) publicaram um documento intitulado “*Etat des Marchandises du Commerce du Levant, Païs & Terres de la Domination du Grand-Seigneur, du Roi de Perse, et de Barbarie, pour lesquelles le Droit de 20 pour cent sera dû à Marseille & au Pons de Beauvoisin, lorsqu’elles y arriveront après avoir été entreposées dans les Païs étrangers; arrêté au Conseil du Roi le 16 Janvier 1706, avec l’estimation des mêmes marchandises, sur le pié de laquelle le Droit de 20 pour cent sera payé*”. Esse documento, “Fait & arrêté au Conseil d’Etat du Roi, tenu à Versailles le 16 Janvier 1706. *Signé*, PHELYPEAU”, que enumera uma grande quantidade de produtos importados de “Alexandrie, Smyrne, Seyde, Alep, Chypre, Barbarie, Egypte”. Entre aqueles vindos de Chipre estão as peles (colunas 150-151), entre as quais surge pela quinta vez a palavra *gapard*:

Peaux de chevreau & chat sauvage, la pièce	5 sols.
Peau de loup cervier , le cent	50 liv.
Peaux de gapard , pièce	1 liv. 10 s.
Peaux de mouton, pièce	8 sols.
Peaux de lontre, pièce	1 livr.
Peaux de genette, pièce	10 sols.
Peaux de tigre, pièce	25 liv.
Peaux de lion, pièce	4 liv.

6.6 Outra vez aparece o nome *gapard* num interessante documento publicado por Fournel (1887: 430), Anôn. (1873: 102) (a transcrição adotada aqui) e Loisel (1912b: 282-283):

“UNE MÉNAGERIE DU BOULEVARD EN 1713.

On nous adresse ce curieux programme d’une representation extraordinaire, donnée, le 8 octobre 1713, par une de ces troupes de saltimbanques, dont les tréteaux égayaient alors les vieux remparts de la capitale, depuis la porte Saint-Martin jusqu’aux fossés de la Bastille. Ces sortes de prospectus étaient distributes gratuitement dans les rues et à la porte du spectacle le jour de la représentation.

¹⁴⁰ No *Dictionnaire de la langue franque ou petit mauresque* (Anôn., 1830) há vários exemplos de nomes de animais muito provavelmente provindos do italiano; alguns exemplos: *animal: bestia* (p. 13); *bête: bestia* (p. 17); *boeuf: bové* (p. 18); *chameau: camello* (p. 21); *chat: gato* (p. 21). *cheval: cavalo* (p. 22); *chien: cane* (p. 22); *cochon: porco* (p. 22); *coq: gallo* (p. 24); *poule: galina* (p. 61); *poulet: polastro* (p. 61); *veau: vitello* (p. 89).

COMBAT A MORT

DANS LA MÉNAGERIE SUR LE COURS DE LA PORTE SAINT-MARTIN.

Par permission du Roy
et de Monsieur le Lieutenant Général de Police.

Vous estes avertis que l'on prepare pour dimanche, 8 octobre 1713, un combat jusqu'à mort d'un taureau qui est d'une grosseur et beauté à faire plaisir, comme aussi tout ce qui suit qui sera fait et bien exécuté. *Premièrement*: Plusieurs braves dogues promettent de tenir pied ferme à plusieurs nations toutes différentes, et livrer bataille à tout ce qui se présentera. Le *premier choc* se donnera d'abord à quatre heures précises contre la nation mâtime; le *deuxième*, contre celle des ours; le *troisième*, contre celle des loups; le *quatrième*, contre celle des taureaux, le *cinquième*, entre celle des tessons; le *sixième*, contre celle des **gapards**; le *septième* sera le combat général ou le gros chef perdra la vie. La fin sera un dogue qui se battra en l'air au milieu d'un grand feu d'artifice, où il y aura de l'extraordinaire.

On prendra au parterre: dix sols; galerie: vingt-cinq sols; grand balcon: cinquante sols, et petit balcon: trois livres".

6.7 Buffon e a palavra **guépard**. No 13º volume de sua *Histoire Naturelle* (Buffon, 1765: 249-250), ao terminar suas considerações sobre o *margay* (*Leopardus tigrinus* (Schreber, 1775) (o *maracajá*), nome estropiado pelo naturalista francês, como todos os outros nomes que usou das línguas indígenas latino-americanas), comentou:

“Si nous faisons la révision de ces animaux cruels, dont la robe est si belle & la nature si perfide, nous trouverons dans l'ancien continent le tigre, la panthère, le léopard, l'once, le serval; & dans le nouveau le jaguar, l'ocelot & le margay, qui tous trois ne paroissent être que des diminutifs des premiers, & qui n'en ayant ni la taille ni la force, sont aussi timides, aussi lâches que les autres sont intrépides & fiers¹⁴¹.”

Il y a encore un animal de ce genre qui semble différer de tous ceux que nous venons de nommer, **les Fourreurs l'appellent Guépard** [nosso negrito]; nous en avons vu plusieurs peaux¹⁴², elles ressemblent à celles du lynx, par la longueur du poil. Mais les oreilles n'étant pas terminées par un pinceau, le guépard n'est point un lynx, il n'est aussi ni panthère ni léopard, il n'a pas le poil court comme ces animaux, & il diffère de tous par une espèce de crinière ou de poil sur le col & entre les épaules; il a aussi le poil du ventre long de trois à quatre pouces, & la queue à proportion plus courte que la panthère, le léopard ou l'once; il est à peu près de la taille de ce dernier animal, n'ayant qu'environ trois pieds & demi de longueur de corps: au reste sa robe, qui est d'un fauve très-pâle, est parsemée comme celle du léopard, de taches noires, mais plus voisines les unes des autres & plus petites, n'ayant que trois ou quatre lignes de diamètre”.

À p. 251, Buffon arriscou uma hipótese sobre a origem do nome:

“Au reste, il paroît que le mot **guépard** est derivé de *léopard*; c'est ainsi que les Allemands & les Hollandois appellent le léopard: nous avons aussi reconnu qu'il y a des variétés dans cette espèce pour le fond du poil & pour la couleur des taches, mais tous les **guépards** ont le caractère commun des longs poils sous le ventre, & de la crinière sur le cou”.

Finalmente, à p. 254, apresentou a:

“DESCRIPTION DU GUÉPARD.

¹⁴¹ Para Buffon todos os mamíferos americanos seriam espécies oriundas do Velho Mundo, que “degeneraram” no Novo, tornando-se menores e mais fracas.

¹⁴² Como vimos acima na seção 5.3, peles do **gapard** eram aparentemente importadas com certa regularidade do Oriente Próximo.

“Je n’ai vu de cet animal que deux peaux¹⁴³, dont l’une avoit trois pieds & demi de longueur depuis le bout du museau jusqu’à l’origine de la queue, qui étoit longue d’un pied huit pouces; le poil étoit doux, long d’un pouce sur la plus grande partie du corps, long de trois pouces & demi sous le ventre, & de quatre pouces & demi sur le dessus du cou, & entre les épaules en forme de petite crinière, qui n’est pas aux tigres, aux panthères, aux léopards, &c. le poil de la peau du **guépard** étoit de couleur blanche-sale, avec une légère teinte de fauve, principalement sur la tête & sur les quatre jambes; toute cette peau étoit parsemée de petites taches noires presque rondes, placées fort près les unes des autres, principalement le long du dos & de la queue; celles du ventre étoient les plus éloignées, & celles des cuisses étoient les plus grandes; cependant elles n’avoient guère qu’un demi-pouce de diamètre; la crinière étoit mêlée de brun-noirâtre & de fauve-terne & pâle, ses poils étoient dur; il y avoit une raie qui s’étendoit depuis le coin de la bouche jusqu’à l’angle antérieur de l’oeil; les oreilles n’avoient que deux pouces de longueur, le bas de leur face externe étoit noir, le dessous de la mâchoire inférieure avoit une couleur blanche; le bout de la queue étoit noir.

L’autre peau de guépard n’avoit que trois pieds de long, & la queue un pied deux pouces; elle paroissoit venir d’un animal plus jeune, elle ne différoit de la première, qu’en ce que le poil étoit plus claire; au reste les couleurs étoient parfaitement les mêmes sur ces deux peaux”.

Seja que a palavra *gapard* tivesse passado a ser pronunciada *guépard* pelos peleteiros, seja que tivesse sido estropiada por Buffon, essa grafia passou a ser usada na língua francesa e entrou como *guepardo* no português e no espanhol.

¹⁴³ Antes ele havia declarado: “nous en avons vu *plusieurs* peaux”...

7. HIPÓTESES ETIMOLÓGICAS SOBRE OS NOMES *LEOPARDO*, *PANTERA*, *ONÇA*, *CHITA* E *GUEPARDO*

7.1 Pardo e leopardo

7.1.1 Do hebraico *pardes* (פרדס) = paraíso (no sentido de jardim, horto)

Gesner (1551: 946) aventou uma hipótese bastante fantasiosa:

“Mihi aliquando in mentem uenit, fieri posse ut **pardalis** uox origine sit Hebraica, à *pardes*, id est, horto: quòd macularum oculis tanquam floribus pellis eius pulcherrime ornetur”.

7.1.2 Do hebraico *bārōḏ* (בָּרוֹד) = manchado

Guichard (1626: 137-140) criticou a hipótese de Gesner e propôs uma nova, baseada no hebraico *bārōḏ* (בָּרוֹד). Na figura 7.1 consta o que ele escreveu.

ברד *barad*, signifie premierement, *grando*. Duquel mot Latin dit Ifidore: *Grando appellata quòd forma eius granorum similitudinem habeat*.

Secondement. ברוד *barud* est exposé, *maculis albis infus grandinis respersus, maculosus, variegatus*. De sorte que selon ceste signification ie forme de ברד *barad*, broder en François, *variegare, facere aliquid opere phrygionico, & polymito*. Et de mesmes faut il deriuier de ברד *barad*, *barde* en François, les bardes d'un cheual, appellees en Grec φαίησα, φάλδρα, *phaleræ* en La-

138

L' H A R M O N I E

tin, *ornamenta equorum, seu equitum & nobilium. equus phaleratus*, vn cheual bardé, couuert d'ouurage de broderie. Ici encor on pourroit ioindre à ברד *barad*, *fard* en François, *fucus, color mixtus, pigmentum faciei*, attendant si nous trouuerons quelque meilleure origine de ce nom, comme *farb* en Alleman, *color*. Comme il est certain que ce mot ברוד *barud*, a signifié les choses qui sont de couleur mesce comme seroit du noir tacheté de blanc, ou du blanc tacheté de noir, selon que les cheuaux sont dit ברודי *berudim*, *maculosi, maculis albis distincti: mouchetés* disons nous en François. Ainsi en Gen. 31. ce mot est dit des boucs, qui estoient tachetés de diuerses couleurs. Dont ie conclu que ce verbe s'est peu dire d'autres animaux qui auroient ainsi diuerses taches & couleurs: Et de là ie forme de ברוד *barud*, *πίρδος, pardus; πάρδαλις, párdalis; dont Leopardus est le composé*. Et que ce nom *πίρδος, pardus* ait esté donné à cest animal à cause de sa peau mouchetée & comme peinte de blanc & de noir, toute son histoire nous en fait foy. Car pour cela ceste beste a esté aussi appelée *παίησα, panthera* à mon aduis, quasi *πῶ ήήσαι, totum maculosum, seu varium*; par ce que les autres le deriuient de *πῶ ήή* *tota fera, quòd sit animal ferocissimum*. Les Latins ont tresbien exprimé la signification de ce mot ברוד *barud*, en *pardus*, l'appellant *varia*, comme si mesmes de ברוד *barud*, *varius* se pouoit deriuier, pour dire *maculosus, variegatus*. Gesner parlant de cest animal. *Panthera etiam varia nominatur Latine, nimirum propter pellem maculosam. Nunc varias & pardos, qui mares sunt, appellant in eo omni genere creberrimo in Africa Syriæque. Quidam ab iis Pantheras solo candore discernunt, nec adhuc aliam differentiam inueni,*

ETYMOLOGIQUE. 139

Plin. lib. 8. 17. *Panthera* quæ & *varia* seu *Africana* dicuntur Suetonio in Gordianis. Egnatius. *Varias* quidem à macularum varietate dici manifestum est. Plinius. Primus autem Scaurus *varias* C. L. uniuersas misit. Les Epithetes aussi attribués à ceste beste, ont exprimé la signification de son nom. Car elle est dite en Latin, *picta*, *multicolor panthera*; par les Grecs, *πάρδαλις αἰολόωπις*, *dorso vario*, seu *maculoso*. Martial.

Picto quod iuga delicata collo pardus sustinet.

Le docte Gesner a voulu trouuer vne etymologie de ce mot *pardalis*, mais il l'a recherché de trop loin, quand il dit. *Mibi aliquando in mentem venit fieri posse ut pardalis vox origine sit Hebraica, à pardes, id est hortorum macularum oculis, tanquam floribus pellis eius pulcherrimè ornatur*; Comme il dit de *cepus*; duquel toutefois ailleurs il a donné l'etymologie de l'Hebreu. Je croi, si cest homme se fust souenu de ce mot Hebreu qui signifie *maculosus*, qu'il eust creu facilement que de *בָּרַד* *barud*, *πάρδος*, *pardus*, *pardalis* auoit pris son appellation. De mesmes aussi n'eust il pas dit en la Table de son liure. que *φοεξίδι* estoit deriué de *פָּרָד* *pered*, *mulus*, sur ce qu'il auoit allegué; à *Judais* *φοεξίδι* vocatur animal quod *tigris* à *Græcis*. *Hesychius* & *Varinus*. les reprenant d'auoir attribué ce nom au tigre. Or si les Iuifs entendent par ce mot *φοεξίδι*, *tigris*, comme disent ces auteurs, c'est le deriuier litteralement de *פָּרָד* *pered*, *mulus*, mais nullement selon le sens, sinon à toute rigueur par vne cõfusion entiere des significations. Mais il me semble que pour restreindre à la propre significatiõ ce mot Grec, il faut deriuier de *פָּרָד* *farad*, *φοεξίδι* *tigris*, ב, ou v changé en φ. Et le tout pour les mesmes causes que de *בָּרַד* *barud*, *pardus* a esté formé. Car les tigres sont aussi

140 L' H A R M O N I E

appellés comme les Pantheres, *αἰολόωπις*, *vario dorso*, par les Grecs, & par les Latins, *varia*. Seneque en la Tragedie d'Hippolyte. *Tibi dant varia pectora tigres*. Et Ouide l'appelle *maculosa tigris*, en l'onzième liure de sa *Metamorphose*.

Figura 7.1 Hipótese de Guichard (1626: 137-140) sobre a etimologia de *leopardo*;

Keller (O.) (1909: 62) também aceitou essa hipótese:

“Der Panther, πάνθηρ, panthera, πάρδος, pardalis gennant, was semitischen Ursprungs sein dürfte – den hebräischen **barod** heisst ‘gefleckt’”.

Muss-Arnolt (1892: 98) criticou essa hipótese:

“I cannot endorse Keller’s [*Thiere des classischen Alterthums*, 387, 54. Long ago Fürst proposed the same derivation in his Hebrew Lexicon] derivation of *πάρδος*, *pardus*. ‘pard, leopard’, from the Sem. *בָּרַד* (*bārōd*), ‘sprinkled, grisdled’ (Gen. xxxi. 10; Zech. vi. 3. 6) of which ‘*varia*’ (Pliny, 8. 17) [But this does not prove anything; *varia* (*sc. Avis*) being used by the same writer (10, 29) to denote a species of mag-pie] is said to be the Latin translation. From this *πάρδος* Keller derives *πάρδαλις* (*πάρδαλις*), and by a popular etymology also *πάνθηρ*, whence the Latin ‘*panthera*’. The commonly accepted etymology from the Sanskrit was rejected by Keller; he overlooked, however, the great difficulty that there is no Semitic language in which this animal is called *bārōd*”.

7.1.3 Do grego λέων (leão) e πάρδος (pantera); (latim: *leo* e *pardus*).

Hipótese fantasiosa, baseada num pretense híbrido desses dois felinos.

7.1.4 Do Sânscrito *pr̥dākuh* (पृदाकु) (cf., p. ex., Partridge (1983) e Monier-Williams (2005)).

Segundo Witzel (2003: 35):

“***pard/pandh* ‘spotted animal, panther’: Ved[ic] *pr̥dāku* ‘snake’ RV [Ṛveda Saṃhitā], *pr̥dakū* AV [Atharvaveda Saṃhitā] ‘panther snake’ AV [Atharvaveda Saṃhitā], *pr̥dākhu* BŚS [Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra], W.Panj. [W. Panjabi] *parrā*, O.Iran. [Old Iranian] **pard-*, cf. Khovar¹⁴⁴ *purdūm* < **pr̥dhūma?*, Bur.[Burushaski] (Yasin) *phūrdum* ‘adder, snake’, see *EWA* II 163 [Mayrhofer, M., *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindiarischen*. Heidelberg 1986-96], *KEWA* II 335 [Mayrhofer, M. *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*. Heidelberg 1956-1976], *CDIAL* 8362 [Turner, R. L. *A comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*. London 1966], Lubotsky 2001: 305 n. 3 [Lubotsky, A. Indo-Iranian Substratum. In: C. Carpelan et al. 2001, 301-317; C. Carpelan et al., *Early contacts between Uralic and Indo-European*, Helsinki, 2001 [Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne 242].

The overlap between ‘panther’ and ‘(spotted) snake’ is due to the fact that snakes are frequently named after a number of characteristics of other animals and plants, in case, the spots of the panther (differently *EWA* II 163 [Mayrhofer, M., *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindiarischen*. Heidelberg 1986-96]). Lubotsky (2nd Intl. Vedic Workshop, Kyoto 1999) has pointed out that the AV [Atharvaveda Saṃhitā] snake *pr̥dāku* is called after the leopard.

The Iranian forms differ considerably: N.P. [New Persian] *palang* ‘leopard, *felis pardus*’ < O.Iran. [Old Iranian] **pard-*, Kurd. *pilink*, Pashto *prang*, Parachi *parō:n*, cf. further Lahnda *parrā*, Gr. *párdalis*, *párdos*, *léopardos* ‘leopard’, all < **pard* ‘spotted, wild animal?’ (see *EWA* II 133 [Mayrhofer, M., *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindiarischen*. Heidelberg 1986-96]), or following Henning [Henning, W. The first Indo-Europeans in history. In: Ulmen, G.L. (ed.) *Society and History. Essays in Honour of Karl August Wittvogel*. The Hague-Paris-New York: Mouton 1978: 215-230], from an older **parθ*. However, the alternate Greek word, *pánthēr*, must be taken into consideration as well. The original C. Asia word seems to have had the dialect variants ***pard/pand*”.

7.2 Pantera

7.2.1 Do grego

Vincent de Beauvais (1591: 244v) foi, aparentemente, o primeiro a sugerir essa hipótese, baseada no mito de o “suave odor” da pantera atrair “todos os animais (“*pan* + *thera*”)].

7.2.2 Do sânscrito *puṇḍarīka* (पुण्डरीक) = tigre.

Segundo Muss-Arnolt (1890: 52-53):

“The users of our ‘etymological’ dictionary must think that Lat. panther, panther is ‘die letzte Quelle’ for the word panther (...). Panther is from the Skt. **puṇḍarīka**; this would be in Greek soil *πυνδῆρῖκα*. The panther being a wild animal (*θήρ*), the *-θηρ-* was changed into *-θηρ-* and the termination *-ικα-*, so rare in early Greek, dropped; to give *πύνθηρ*; *πυν-*, however, gave no sense, while *παν-* was a well-known form; thus *πύνθηρ* was changed into *πάνθηρ* which, also gave rise to the M. H. G. pan-tier, a secondary popular etymology”.

¹⁴⁴ Khovar (کهووار), também conhecida como Chitrali (چترالی) e Arniya, é uma língua indo-ariana do ramo Dárdico.

No ano seguinte Keller (O.) (1891: 205-206) escreveu:

“*Πάνθηρ*, sicher ein ursprünglich ungriechisches, aber volksetymologisch behandeltes Wort, können wir mit den sanskritischen *punḍarīka* vergleichen, das gleichfalls den Panther bezeichnet. Da es aber der einzige Fall ist, wo griechisches *θ* einen altindischen *ḍ* entspricht, und da der Panther keinesweg auf Indien beschränkt, sondern fast über ganz Westasien bis zum agäischen Meere hin verbreitet war, so ist ohne Zweifel nicht das entsprechende sanskritische Wort, das uns zufällig erhalten geblieben ist, sondern ein gleichbedeutendes westasiatisches Wort die Grundlage des hellenischen *πάνθηρ* gewesen. Das griechische Volk dachte an *πᾶν* und *θήρ* und erfand sich die Fabel, dass das Pantherweibchen mit allen möglichen männlichen Tieren Buhlerei treibe”

Segundo o *Wiktionary*, पुण्डरीक (*punḍarīka*) pode ter os seguintes significados, entre outros:

1. lotus-flower (especially a white lotus)¹⁴⁵
2. a kind of sacrifice
3. a species of rice
4. a kind of fragrant mango
5. *Artemisia indica*; *Artemisia princeps*
6. a variety of the sugar-cane
7. tiger
8. a kind of bird¹⁴⁶
9. a kind of serpent¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ Por exemplo, o título do clássico *Saddharma-Pundarīka* (*The lotus of the true law*) (cf. Kern, 1884).

¹⁴⁶ Segundo Dave (2005: 11): “The Nutcrackers are smaller than the House-Crow being about 15 inches in length. They have a chocolate-brown plumage with head and neck streaked white, and back and breast with oval white drops. The Larger-spotted Nutcracker is the darker bird, more profusely marked with white than the Himalayan Nutcracker. The former occurs from Kashmir to Sikkim and the latter from Nepal eastwards. As the name indicates, they subsist largely on the seeds of the pine, cedar, fir, spruce, etc., also fruits and insects.

Names like कलप्रिय-, सारङ्ग-, and द्वीप्य-(काक) are given merely as synonyms for a Crow in some of the lexicons but they clearly belong to these fruit-eating and spotted members of the Crow family. सारङ्ग (मृग) is the spotted deer and द्वीपिन्, the (spotted) leopard, and these help to fix the identity of the birds as above. Mr. Williams does not mention all the birds that go under the name of सारङ्ग but the Hindi Śabda-sāgara gives it for a Crow as well. The महाव्युत्पात्तकाश para. 213, gives द्वीपि towards the end of its bird-list where bats and some insects are named and it is therefore doubtful how far the name द्वीपि corresponds to द्वीप्य of M. Williams.

It is however quite probable that the name द्वीपि is shared by animal, bird and insect having spotted bodies or wings [nosso itálico].

¹⁴⁷ Lê-se no *Sushruta Samhita* (Bhishagratna, 1911: 707): “Names of the different Species of **Darvi-kara** snakes: - Snakes known as Krishna-haka, Mahá-krishna, Krishnodara, Śsankha-pála, Lohitáksha, Gavedhuka, Parisarpa, Khanda-phana, Kakuda, Padma, Mahá-Pama, DArbha-pushpa, Dadhi-mukha, **Pundarika**, Bhrukuti-mukha, Vishkira, Pushpábhikira, Giri-sarpa, Riju-sarpa. Śvetodara, Mahá-síras, Alagarda and Áśivisha belong to the family of **Darvi kára** snakes”.

10. a kind of leprosy¹⁴⁸
11. fever in an elephant
12. white (the colour)
13. name of a नाग (*nāga*)
14. name of the elephant of the south-east quarter
15. name of an ancient king
16. name of a son of नभ (*nabha*) or नभस् (*nabhas*)
17. name of a Brahman renowned for filial piety , and afterwards worshipped as the god विठोबा (*viṭhobā*)
18. (with जैन (*jaina*)s) name of a गणधर (*gaṇa-dhara*)
19. name of a hermit (son of श्वेतकेतु (*śvetaketu*) and लक्ष्मी (*lakṣmī*))
20. name of a poet
21. name of a mountain
22. name of a daughter of वसिष्ठ (*vasiṣṭha*)
23. name of a river in क्रौञ्चद्वीप (*krauñca-dvīpa*)”.

7.3 Onça

7.3.1 Originado de *lynx*, *lynx*

Conrad Gesner (1560: 68) já havia aventado uma hipótese sobre a origem da palavra “onça”, que ele citou sob as designações de *Lonza* (“ITALICE”), *Vnza*, *Vncia* (“GALLICE”) e *Onz* (“GERMAN.”):

“PANthera Pardalisue minor uidetus, quae à recentioribus **Vncis** uocatur: quanuis improprie, ut concipio. uidetur enim **Vnciae** à Lynce corruptū”.

O autor acrescenta ainda (Gesner, 1560: 70):

“Alphed (*meliùs Alphed*, quod nomen Andreas Bellunensis simpliciter *Leopardum* interpretatur (...)) animal est perquàm ferox & noxium: multi in Italia, Gallia & Germanis **Leunzam** (malim **Vnciam**) uocant, Albertus. **Vncia** (inquit Isidorus, neq’ apud antiquiorem Isidoro ullum hoc nomen legi puto) est animal saeuissimum, non altius cane, sed longius corpore, canibus ualde infensum, praedam non edit nisi in sublimi. & saepe cum ad arborem uenit, à summo ramo suspensam, &c. Aliqui corruptus **Lauzanum** pro **Vncia** scripsisse euidetur”.

Para Ray (1693: 166):

“**LYNX**, Latinis *Lupus cervarius*, ut multis probat Joan. Faber in notis saeoiùsa laudatis, Anglicè *the Ounce*, quod nomen Gallis & Hispanis etiam commune est, & à **Lynx corruptum videtur**”.

¹⁴⁸ No *Sushruta Samhita* (Bhishagratna, 1911: 37) consta: “**PUNDARIKA**: - The patches resemble the petals of a (full blown) lotus glower in colour, and **Dadru** (Ringwom) assumes the colour (faint blue) of an Atasi flower, or of copper. They are spreading in their nature and are found to be overspread with pustules. Both the Dadru and Pundarika types are raised, circular, and characterized by itching and take a considerable time to be fully patent. These are the general characteristics of Dadru and Pundarika”.

Diez (1853: 208) fez as seguintes considerações:

“**Lonza** *it.*, mit weggeworfenen onlaut *sp. pg.* onza, *fr.* Once (*altfr. Ren. II. P. 112*) ein hier als dem katzengeschlecht: leggero più che **lonza** o liopardo *Poet. d. pr. sec. II.186*. Die übliche herleitung dieses durch Dante berühmten wortes aus lynx oder auch dem *adj.* lyncea hat grammatisch nichts gegen sich: neben *it.* lince, *sp.* lince, *fr.* lynx (*m.*) kann eine volksüblichere form mit o aus dem griech. υ in λύνξ bestanden haben, *vergl.* borsa, tomba, torso aus βύρση, τύμβος, θύρσος. Die deutung mit leonitia löwinn hat weder den begriff noch den buchstand für sich”.

E Chevallet (1857: 157):

“Dans quelques autres substantifs qui commençaient par un *l* suivi d’une voyalle, le *l* a été pris pour l’article dont l’*a* ou l’*e* aurait été élidé. C’est ainsi que le peuple dit (...) l’eau d’anon pour LAUDANUM: une goutte d’eau d’anon; il dit encore habituellement *iard* por LIARD; *il n’a pas pas deux iards dans sa poche*. Du persan LAZURD, nous avons fait de même l’*azur*, sans article *azur*, nom d’une pierre appelée par les naturalists *lapis lazuli* ou *lazulite*, en basse latinité *lazur*, *lazurius*, *lazulum*. LYNX, LYNCEM a donné à l’italien **lonza** et au français **once**, animal; LABURNUM nous a fourni *aubour* ou *aubier*, arbrisseau”.

Por sua vez, disse Littré (1869: 823) sobre a etimologia de *once*:

“... selon Chevallet, du latin *lynxem*, par aphérèse de l’*l*, conservée dans l’italien **lonza**. Mais l’*l* s’est bien plutôt agglutinée par l’article dans l’italien, qu’elle ne s’est perdue dans l’espagnol et le français”.

E ainda em Meyer-Lübke (1890: 15):

“Griechisch *v* wird theils durch *o*, theils durch *e* oder *i* wiedergegeben, je nachdem die betreffenden Wörter früher oder spatter in die Volkssprache gedrungen sind. Der reguläre Reflex der ältesten Schicht ist *o*: *borsa*, **lonza**, *torso*, *tomba*, *serpollo*, *stollo*, *tonno*”.

O mesmo encontramos em d’Ovidio & Meyer-Lübke (1906: 84):

“L’*ύ* delle numerose parole greche è reso ora con *o* (nelle parti componenti più antiche), ora con *e*, *i* (nelle più recenti e nelle forme dotte). Forse v’influi anche la varia pronunzia dei dialetti greci, da cui quelle parole passarono nel letino.

Hanno *o*: *borsa* βύρσα, **lonza** *LUNCEA λύνξ, *torso* θύρσος, *tomba* TUMBA τύμβος, *serpollo* SERPULLUM ἔρπυλλον, *tonno* δύννος”.

Cipolla (1895) defendeu essa etimologia.

7.3.2 Originado do farsi *yūz*

Quatremère (1836: 162), fantasiosamente, fez provir *onça* do “persa” *al-yūz* (پلنگی یوز) *yuz* (*palang*)).

Watt (1893: 40 e 51) referiu-se ao guepardo (*Acinonyx jubatus* (Schreber, 1775)) como *yuz* ou *yuz-palang* [Figura] e ao leopardo ou pantera (*Panthera pardus* (Linnaeus, 1758)) apenas como *palang* [Figura ; ver também Figuras]

I.—FAMILY FELIDÆ.

I. *Cynælurus jubatus*, Blyth; *Blanford, Mam. Ind.*, 91.

THE HUNTING LEOPARD, OR CHEETAH of Anglo-Indian writers.

Vern.—*Chita, laggar*, HIND.; *Chitra*, GOND.; *Chita puli*, TEL.; *Chircha, sivungi*, KAN.; *Yus, yus-palang*, PERS.

Habitat.—Found throughout Africa and South-Western Asia, extending from Persia to the countries east of the Caspian and into India. In this country it occurs throughout the greater portion of the Peninsula, from the Panjáb, through Rájputána and Central India, to the confines of Bengal and the Deccan.

SPECIES.
The Cheetah.
424

Página 49 do livro de Watt (1893).

II. *F. pardus*, Linn.; *Blanford, Mam. Ind.*, 67.

THE LEOPARD OF PANTHER.

Vern.—*Tendwa, chita, sona-chita, chita-bágh, adnára*, HIND.; *Teon-kula*, KOL.; *Yerkos*, PAHARIA OF RAJMEHAL; *Burkál, gordág*, GOND.; *Sonora*, KURKU; *Syik, syiak, sejjak*, LEPCHA; *Misti-patrai, kam-kei*, KUKI; *Hurrea kon, morrh, rusa, tekhu khuia, kekhi*, NAGA; *Kajengla*, MANIPURI; *Tidua, srighas*, BUNDELKHAND; *Bai-hira, takir-hé, goral-hé, ghor-hé, lakhar-bagha* (the latter name used elsewhere for the hyæna), HILL-TRIBES NEAR SIMLA; *Sik*, TIBET; *Sáh*, KASHMIR; *Diho*, BALUCH.; *Gorbacha, borbacha*, DECCAN; *Karda, asnea, singhal, bibia-bágh*, MAR.; *Tenduwá, bibla* BAURIS OF DECCAN; *Honiga, kerkal*, KAN.; *Chiru-thai*, TAM.; *Chinna, puli*, TEL.; *Puli*, MALAYL.; *Kutiya*, SINGAL.; *Kya-lak, kya-thit*, BURM.; *Klapreung*, TALAIN; *Kiché-phong*, KAREN; *Riman-bintang*, MALAY.; *Palang*, PERS.

Habitat.—Found throughout Asia generally, with the exception of Siberia and the high Tibetan plateau, also throughout Africa. In India, Burma, and Ceylon it is generally distributed, except in parts of Sind and the Panjáb. Many Indian writers have separated the leopard, the panther, and the pard as distinct species, but Jerdon, Blyth, etc., agree in considering all to be merely varieties of one species.

Leopard
or
Panther.
434

Página 51 do livro de Watt (1893).

122

VOCAB

Length درازی *darāzee*; طول *tool*.
Lenient, ملايم *molāyem*.
Lenity, ملايمت *molāyemat*.
Lent (Christian), پرهيز *parheez*; (Mohammedan), رمضان *ramazān*.
Lentil (vegetable), عدس *'adass*.
Leo (zodiac), عسد *'asad*.
Leopard, پلنگ *palang*.
Leper, مبروس *mabrooss*.
Leprosy, برص *buruss*.
Less, کمتر *kamtar*; (more or less), کم يا بيش *kam ya beesh*.
Lessee, اجاره دار *ijāreh dar*; مستاجر *mosta'jar*.

Nome persa (farsi) do leopardo ou pantera (Finn, 1884: 122, coluna esquerda).

LEOPARD, پلنگ *palang*, کاپلان *kap-lán*.—(hunting leopard) یوز *yúz*.

Wollaston (1882, p. 180).

Leopard, *palang*; *yūz* (cheetah or hunting leopard); *yūz bā yūz dar qafas juft namī-shavad tā chi rasad bi-shīr*¹ (the cheeta will not pair in confinement how much less the lion).

Phillott (1914, p. 180).

Consta em Divyabhanusinh (1987: 270):

“The Emperor [Jahangir] wrote his memoirs [*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*] in Persian and the words for the white cheetah in the text are *yuz-i safed*. The Persians like the Arabs used the cheetah (*Acinonyx jubatus*) for hunting and distinguished it from the panther by giving it a distinguished name. In Persian the word is *yuz* while in Arabic it is *fahd*. On the other hand, the much confused panther or leopard (*Panthera pardus*), was identified by the Persian word *palang* and by the Arabic word *namir* respectively. Jahangir was a keen hunter, who often hunted with cheetahs in the tradition of his father. (...). *Safed*, of course, means white”.

Camus (1909: 12-21), até com certa irritação que se sente nas entrelinhas, criticou essa hipótese:

“Parmi les différentes hypothèses émises sur l’origine de *lonza*, nous écarterons tout d’abord celle qui fait venir du persan *al-youz* (le guépard), car elle est insoutenable tant au point de vue de la linguistique qu’à celui de l’histoire. Elle procède de l’étymologie de Quatremère, qui avait écrit à propos de *youz*: ‘C’est de là que les Portugais ont formé le mot *onça*, que nous avons adopté en le francisant’. Mais cette assertion est tout à fait gratuite, vu qu’il n’a été relevé jusqu’ici, autant que je sache, aucun exemple de *onça* dans les écrits portugais du moyen âge. D’autre part on ne voit pas comment, à cette époque, les Portugais auraient été en relations avec les Persans”.

7.3.3 Derivado do grego corrompido λυγξ, pronunciado *lūnx* (ũ = *ou* francês)

Esta hipótese foi proposta por Camus (1909: 12-18), após fazer meticolosas considerações, aqui transcritas:

“Les clerks des colonies franques rendaient *once* par *uncia* dans leur latin, et l’usage de ce nouveau genre d’animal se propagea sur le littoral méditerranéen. Un mandement de l’empereur Frédéric II, en date du 21 février 1240 [cf. 3.2.43], ordonnant de payer les gages dus aux gardiens de l’once et de hyènes, qui étaient à Melfi, porte ‘*custodibus unche* (l. *unciae*) et *tabaccorum*’. Plus tard, en 1269, *luncia* et les *tabacci* réapparaissent en compagnie des *leopardi* dans un mandement de Charles I^{er} d’Anjou [cf. 3.2.63], relatif à la nourriture des animaux de sa ménagerie. Au mois de janvier de l’an 1300, le notaire génois Lamberto de Sambuceto [cf. 3.2.77] dressant l’inventaire des biens laissés par Salveto Pessagno, mort à Famagouste, spécifiait une fourrure d’once par ‘*penna de uncia*’. Dans la première moitié du XIII^e siècle, J. de Vitry [cf. 3.2.41], mentionnant les animaux de la Terre promise et des autres parties de l’Orient (*animalia quae in aliis mundi partibus non habentur*), écrivait, probablement d’après les données de quelque chasseur syrien: ‘*Sunt et unciae saevissima animalia, non sunt canibus altiora, longiora tamen corpora habentia, canibus valde inimica. Praedam non comedunt nisi in altum eam portant, quum inveniunt arborem ad supremum ramum defferunt et pendendo eam comedunt. Ex nigris et albis maculis respersum corpus habent*’. Le sens de ‘panthère’ pour ‘*uncia*’ est clairement défini par cette description si caractéristique, car nous savons, d’après les récits des explorateurs et des chasseurs, que ces félins se tiennent souvent sur les branches des arbres pour y dévorer leur proie. Il ne peut être question ici des guépards, vu que ces fauves se trouvent dans l’impossibilité de grimper, leurs griffes, à peine rétractiles, étant émoussées par la marche, comme celles des chiens. D’ailleurs notre détermination est confirmée par un autre fait très important. J. de Vitry a ajouté à sa description des ‘*unciae*’ la légende suivante: ‘*Quando (unciae) sunt in calore coitus et aliquem vulneraverint, mures ad ipsum conveniunt et mingunt super eum si possunt et statim moritur*’. Or cette fable absurde

a été reproduite dans ‘La grande histoire des animaux’ du poète arabe El Demiri¹⁴⁹ (XIV^e siècle), et le fauve correspondant à l’*uncia*, y est appelé *nimr*, nom de la panthère dans tous les textes arabes, où il est parlé de ce félin.

C’est sans doute à l’influence du bas-latin *uncial*, que sont dues les désinences des forms italiennes *loncia*, *lonzia* etc., employées au XIV^e et au XV^e siècles, en même temps que *lonza*. Pour ce qui est des autres variantes de ce nom, voici comment jê m’explique leur origine. A partir de la seconde moitié du XIII^e siècle, la rapide expansion que prit le commerce des Vénitiens, des Génois et des Pisans, en Asie Mineure et sur les côtes de l’Afrique, eut, entre autres conséquences, celle d’une plus fréquente importation d’animaux orientaux em Italie. L’occasion de voir les panthères, exhibées sous le nom de *lonze*, se présenta souvent et le peuple observant qu’elles avaient un air de famille avec les lions, les lionnes et les léopards, fut amené à les appeler *leonze*, *leonzie*, *lionze*, etc. Mais ces altératins sont extrêmement rares dans les écrits antérieurs au XIV^e siècle. Jusqu’ici on n’a relevé que celle de *leonza* dans un vers de Rustico di Filippo [cf. 3.2.61], et celle de *leuncia* dans un texte latin de la fin du XIII^e siècle [cf. 3.2.67].

Cette sorte de classification des grands félins, basée sur le ‘type lion’ s’étendit au tigre dans les narrations des premiers voyageurs, qui ont décrit cet animal *de visu*. Ainsi pour Marco Polo c’est ‘un Lyon grandisme, tout vergé par long, noir et vermoil et blanche’; pour Josaphat Barbaro [cf. 3.2.95] ‘*una leonza simile ad una leonessa, ma ha il peto vermiglio, verghato tutto di verghe nere per traverso, ha la facia rossa con tacche bianche*’. Pendant tout le moyen âge, ce grand fauve est resté inconnu en Occident, et les letters d’alors se sont toujours figure que c’était un animal au pelage moucheté comme celui de la panthère. Aussi y a-t-il lieu de s’étonner qu’aucun des anciens commentateurs de la ‘Divine Comédie’ n’ait eu l’idée d’interpréter par ‘tigre’ la *lonza che di pel maculato era coperta*, puisque le maître de Dante avait écrit dans le ‘Trésor’ ‘Tigres... est une bestew que est menuement tachiee de noires taches’.

Mais revenons à nos étymologies.

Bien avant Chevallet, cite par Littré, divers érudits avaient reconnu que le mot français *once* était une corruption de *lonce*, et ils faisaient venir, qui du latin, qui du grec. Ainsi sans parler de Rabelais [cf. 3.2.117], qui a employé *oince* au sens de lynx (loup cervier), je note cette observation faite, em 1560, par le naturaliste suisse Conrad Gesner [cf. 3.2.118]: ‘*Panthera pardalisve minor videtur, quae a recentioribus uncia vocatur; quamvis improprio, ut conjicio. Videtur enim unciae nomen a lynce corruptum*’. Cent ans après, Samuel Bochart [cf. 3.2.148] écrivait d’une manière plus explicite dans son *Hierozoicon*: ‘Lynx galice *once* dicitur, L excise ex nomine λύνκος ac si sit L articolato, ut in *azur* pro lapide cyaneo ex Persico *lazurd*’.

Quant à l’origine de *lonza*, c’eat seulement vers le milieu du siècle dernier, que les philologues ont commencé à s’em occuer. Jusque là on s’était borne à rechercher le sens allégoriques de ce mot dans le poème de Dante. Les premier romanistes comprirent tous, que les vocables *lonza*, *once*, *uncia* etc., provenaient d’une seule et même source, mais aucun d’eux n’est arrivé à la déterminer. Fr. Dietz (*Etym. Woerth.*) retenait comme plausibles quatre étymologies différentes, basées sur *lynx*, *lyncea*, *λύνξ* et *λεόντιος*. Littré (*Dict. once*) préférait la derivation du persan *youz* à celle de *lynx*, alléguant que dans l’italien *lonza*, l’l s’est plutôt agglutinée par l’article, qu’elle ne s’est perdue dans le français *once* et dans l’espagnol *onza*. Le savant lexicographe n’avait pensé ni à *azur* (b. lat. *azurius*), ni à *aubour* (*laburnum*), ni à *anspessade* (ital. *lanciaspezzata*), ni à *angouste* (pour *langouste* au XVII^e siècle) etc. De nos jours l’opinion la plus accréditée est qu’il a dû exister, à côté du clasique *lynx*, une forme populaire *lyncea*, qui se serait prononcée de bonne heure *lũncia*, d’où l’italien *lonza*, le français *once* etc.

Ces dernières hypothèses sont fort séduisantes, mais elles pêchent par la base. En les émettant, on n’a pas pris garde que dans la latrinité, *lynx* est un mot purement littéraire, employé seulement par les imitateurs et les traducteurs des auteurs grecs; un mot qui n’a jamais dû entrer dans le latin parlé. D’ailleurs qu’auraient bien pu signifier *lynx* et ses derives supposés *lyncea*, *lũncia* pour le vulgaire? Personne, je crois, ne se l’est demandé. La question valait cependant la peine d’être posée. Pour qu’un nom populaire persiste dans une langue pendant des siècles, il faut qu’il s’aplique à un être, que l’on voit souvent, don’t on ait communement l’occasion de parler. Or il n’en fut certes pas ainsi des diverses espèces de félins, que nous pouvons reconnaître sous le nom de *lynx* chez es classiques latins. Le petit lymx caracal n’était pas assez intéressant pour être importe d’Asie ou d’Afrique et offert à la curiosité publique. Les lynx vulgaires étaient à peu près inconnus em Italie, puisque, selon Pline [cf. 2.5.15], Pompée em fit venir de la Gaule pour les montrer au peuple romain, dans le cirque. Pourtant il y en avait dans les Alpes, et c’est là, apparemment, qu’on leur avait donné le nom de *lupi cervarii* rapporté par Pline. Nous retrouvons cette appellation chez Solin [cf. 5.5], puis, em Gaule, au V^e siècle, dans le ‘*Laterculus*’ de Polemius Silvius¹⁵⁰, auteur, qui paraît avoir vécu aux environs du Léman et qui connaissait bien le lynx vulgaire, car il en

¹⁴⁹ Referência a Kamal ad-Din Muhammad ibn Musa ad-Damiri (كمال الدين محمد بن موسى الدميري), célèbre autor do *Hayat el-Hayawan* (الحيوان بحياة المسمى الكتاب هذا) (Livro dos Animais, ca. 1371).

¹⁵⁰ Mas na edição do *Laterculus* de Momsen (1857: 267) o nome *lupus cervarius* está separado do nome *lus* pelos nomes *theus*, *igneumon*, *aris* e *canis*, numa lista de quadrúpedes.

donne, outre le nom latin, aussi le nom germanique *lus* (a. all. *Luhs*; all. m. *luchs*). Enfin cette dénomination *lupus cervarius* a passé avec quelques altérations phoniques, dans presque toutes les langues néo-latines (it. *lupo cerviere*; esp. *lobo cervical*; a. fr. *leu cervere*, etc.). Il est donc tout à fait invraisemblable que l'animal ainsi appelé en latin durant plus de dix siècles, ait porté en même temps un autre nom populaire *luncia*, dont on ne trouve pas la moindre trace. Quant aux panthères et aux guépards, le peuple les vit fréquemment, il est vrai, dans les cirques, depuis les derniers temps de la République jusqu'à la chute de l'Empire, mais ils y apparaissaient toujours sous le nom de *pardī* ou de *pantherae*; les poètes étaient seuls à les appeler *lynxes*. Pendant la longue période de barbarie, qui suivit, ces fauves ne furent importés que bien rarement en Occident, et par conséquent leur nom hypothétique *luncia* serait tombé en désuétude bientôt après les premières invasions des Germains. Si jamais ce nom avait été en usage dans les colonies romaines d'Asie et d'Afrique, il s'y serait maintenu un peu plus longtemps, mais il aurait disparu au VII^e siècle, lorsque les conquêtes des Arabes étouffèrent les parlers latins d'Orient, avant qu'ils eussent pu se développer en langues romanes.

Pour moi, j'ai la conviction que le mot *lonza* ne vient pas du latin, mais qu'il a été formé, au temps des premières croisades, directement sur *λύγξ*, prononcé *lūnx* (*ū* = *ou* franç.) dans le grec corrompu, qui se parlait alors en Orient [minha ênfase].

Cette hypothèse nécessite toutefois quelques éclaircissements touchant la prononciation de l'upsilon et les variations de sens du mot *λύγξ* à travers les âges. À l'origine de la langue grecque, l'upsilon avait, croit-on, le son de *u*, qui se retrouve dans un certain nombre de mots latins apparentés à des vocables grecs par leurs racines, comme *lupus*, *λύκος*; *buxus*, *πύξος*; *cutis*, *κῦτος*; *murta*, *μύρτος*; *cupressus*, *κυπάρισσος* etc. Puis ce son aurait été modifié peu à peu jusqu'à devenir une voyelle oscillant de *ū* à *i*, que les écrivains latins de l'époque classique notaient d'ordinaire par la lettre *Y* dans leurs nombreux emprunts au vocabulaire grec (*lyra*, *λύρα*; *pyxis*, *πύξις*; *cyclus*, *κύκλος* etc.). C'était, chez les anciens Hellènes, la prononciation des orateurs, des poètes et en général des gens instruits. Mais le son primitif de *u* de l'upsilon n'avait pas entièrement disparu: il était conservé en maint endroit dans le langage vulgaire, et il persista dans le bas-grec du moyen âge. Nous avons la preuve de ces faits, d'abord par la graphie exceptionnelle de quelques mots latins calqués sur des termes grecs, qu'employaient les herboristes, les pêcheurs, les artisans etc., tels que *cuminum*, *κῦμινον*; *ruta*, *ρύτη*; *fucus*, *φύκος*; *thunnum*, *θύννον*; *muraena*, *μύραινα*; *cubus*, *κύβος*; *tumba*, *τύμβος* etc.; ensuite par certains mots des langues romanes venus du grec, soit directement, soit en passant par le latin populaire. P. ex., l'espagnol *tufō*, *τύφος*; le roumain *trufle*, *τρυφή*; l'italien *borsa*, *βύρσα*; *mostaccio*, *μύσταξ*; *angora* (chèvre, chat) de Ἄγκυρα, Ancyre, nom de la capitale de l'Anatolie, prêté même de nos jours *ancora* par les Levantins. Il est donc naturel de penser, d'après ces derniers exemples surtout, que l'italien *lonza*, le fr. *lonce* et l'all *lunze* sont simplement des altérations de *λύγξ*, prononcé *lūnx* par les marchands de l'Asie Mineure, qui faisaient le commerce de fourrures et de fauves vivants.

La question des divers sens de *λύγξ* n'est pas moins complexe. De même que *λύκος* (loup) et les noms du lynx dans les langues germaniques (anglo-saxon *lox*; all. *luchs*; suédois *lo* etc.), le terme *λύγξ* dérive apparemment d'une racine indo-européenne *luk-*, exprimant, non l'idée de vision, mais de fureur, de cruauté. Les anciens Grecs s'en sont servis d'abord pour désigner le lynx d'Europe, qui existe encore dans le nord de la Grèce. C'est peut-être au regard fixe, étincelant, de cet animal qu'est due la légende du lynx 'qui voit à travers les murailles'; toutefois il est à remarquer que chez quelques auteurs, cette propriété fabuleuse est attribuée, non aux lynx, mais aux panthers. L'identification du lynx d'Europe est plus sûre dans la légende du *λυγκύριον*, c'est-à-dire de l'ambre jaune, regardé jadis comme une pierre précieuse résultant de la congélation de l'urine des lynx. En effet, vu que cette substance se recueillait, autrefois, exclusivement sur les rives de la mer Baltique, soit à fleur de terre, soit enfouie dans le sable, il me paraît évident que la dite légende a été créée par les premiers chercheurs d'ambre méridionaux, qui se sont aventurés dans cette lointaine région, infestée par les grands lynx du Nord et désolée par des froids extrêmement rigoureux [cf. 5.19 e figuras 5.10 e 5.11].



Figura 7.1 ao alto: Leão e caracal (λυνξ) (com o tufo de pelos das orelhas muito exagerado) no friso dos animais na Tumba I da necrópole de Maresha, Israel (Peters (J. P.), Thiersch & Cook, 1905: pl. XV). Abaixo, detalhe do caracal.

Plus tard on s’imagine que le λυνκῆριον était produit par les lynx d’Orient, mais l’idée que l’ambre se format par congélation, persista, comme on le voit par ces vers d’Ovide (*Met.* XV, 453-15) [cf. 5.2]:

Victa ramifero lynces dedit India Baccho,
E quibus, ut memorant, quicquid vesca remisit
Vertitur in lapides et congelat aëre tacto.

Dans leurs colonies d’Asie, les Grecs appelaient également λυνξ le caracal. On vient de découvrir à Marissa¹⁵¹, en Palestine, de très curieuses peintures sépulchrales du II^e siècle (av. J. C.) [Figura 7.1] qui le prouvent

¹⁵¹ Maresha, em Israel (em hebraico תל מראשה, na forma arabizada ماريسا).

d'une manière incontestable. Em effet, l'une d'elles représente um lion [na realidade a mítica mantocora] et, derrière lui. Avec l'inscription λυνξ, un petit quadrupède, dont les oreilles sont terminés par de longs poils [Figura 7.1]. C'est une illustration de la légende, encore vivante em Orient, du caracal qui suit le lion pour se rapaître de ses restes. De plus, c'est un document important pour l'histoire de la zoologie, car il n'est parvenu jusqu'à nous aucun texte grec, antérieur à l'ère chrétienne, où cette espèce soit nettement caractérisée. Il faut arriver au II^e siècle (AP. J. C.) pour reconnaître le caracal dans le poème sur la 'Chasse' d'Oppian (III, 84) [cf. 5.6], là où il est question d'un petit lynx au pelage rougeâtre (ρίνος ἐρευθής), qui poursuit les lièvres.

Aux premiers temps du culte de Dionysios, en Asie Mineure, on faisait sans doute figurer des panthères et des guépards apprivoisés dans les fêtes en l'honneur de ce dieu, qui, dit-on, aimait à s'entourer de fauves, comme Siva l'Indien; et ce doit être alors que les colons grecs appliquèrent le nom de λύγκες à ces grands felins, dont le pelage tacheté leur rappelait celui du lynx d'Europe. Cette vieille dénomination se conserva longtemps dans la poésie et dans le grec populaire d'Orient, tandis que dans la prose, on lui substituait les termes πάρδος, πάρδαλις, πάρδαλος, etc., qui semblent provenir d'un radical *bars* ou *pars*, étranger à la langue grecque. Le synonyme πάνθηρ, apparemment d'origine indienne, se rencontre déjà, il est vrai, chez Arisote, mais il ne commence à être d'un usage courant que vers le premier siècle de l'ère chrétienne. Ces différents noms, ainsi que leurs correspondants en latin, ayant été employés pour designer tantôt la panthère, tantôt le guépard, la détermination de l'une et de l'autre espèce est très difficile à faire d'après les anciens textes classiques, d'autant plus que certains auteurs distinguaient deux variétés de panthères, probablement d'après leur taille ou leur sexe. Pour Aristote, la panthère, qui exhalait une bonne odeur était la πάρδαλις, et celle qui suivait Bacchus, le πάρδος; mais il appelait πάνθηρ un fauve à crinière, qui est certainement le guépard d'Asie (*Cynailurus jubatus* W.). En effet ce guépard se distingue de ses congénères d'Afrique par un rudiment de crinière [Figura 7.2], qui le fit regarder jadis comme une sorte de lion, né du croisement de la panthère mâle avec la lionne, et qui lui valut le nom de leopardus chez les Latins.

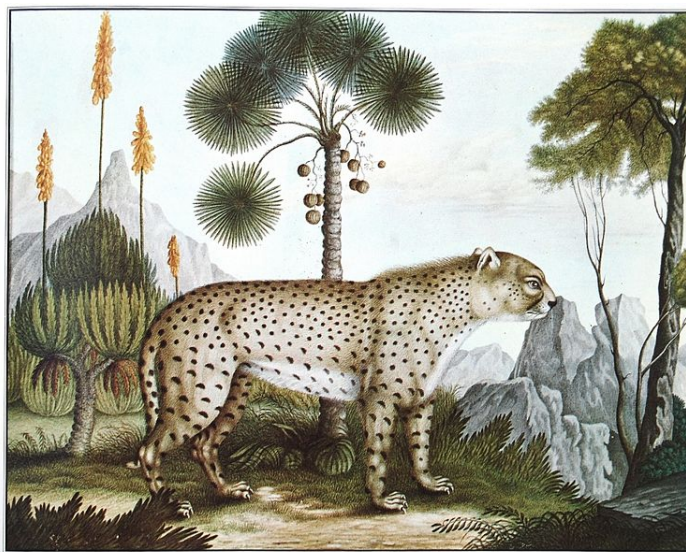


Figura 7.2 A chita. Aquarela de Aloys Zötl, 1886.

7.3.4 Críticas a esta hipótese

Os autores gregos e romanos consideraram o lince um animal diferente do leopardo (= pantera):

Aristóteles (5.1) tratou o lince como diferente do *párdalis* (2.5.6).

Ovídio diferenciou o lince, do qual escreveu o mito de sua origem (5.3), da *pantera* (2.5.14).

Plínio distinguiu o lince, relatando quiçá por primeira vez o mito da transformação da sua urina na pedra *lyncurium* (5.4), do pardo e da pantera (2.5.16). Introduziu, também provavelmente pela primeira vez, o nome latino do lince – *lupus cervarius*. Este nome,

erradamente interpretado posteriormente como “caçador de cervos”, na realidade significa ‘da cor do cervo’.

Oppianus caracterizou separadamente o lince e o caracal (5.5) da pantera e do *párdalis*.

Aelianus separou o lince ou *cervarius* (5.8) do *párdalis* (2.5.27).

Athenaeus de Náucratis (5.9) diferenciou o lince do leopardo e da pantera.

Autores medievais e renacentistas continuaram a diferenciar o lince de outros felinos.

Assim temos:

- No livro das *Siete Partidas* (3.2.51): *lobo cerval* ≠ *onça* e ≠ *pardo*.
- Em Marco Polo (3.2.72): *leus cerver* ≠ *leopars* e *lupi cervieri* ≠ *leonpardi*.
- No Ms Plut. XLII 22 (3.2.78): *lupi cervieri* ≠ *lonça*.
- Em Benvenuti Rambaldi da Imola (3.2.93): *lynx*, *lynceus*, *lupus cerverius* ≠ *pardus* e *panthera*.
- Em James I (3.2.108): *lynx* ≠ *pantere*.
- Em Jean Bodin (3.2.160): *linx* ≠ *panthera*.
- Em François l’Hermitte (3.2.171): *cervier* ≠ *once*.
- No MS *De monstris et belluis* (5.11): *lynces* ≠ *pantheris*.
- Em Hughes de Saint Victor (5.13): *lynx* ≠ *pardus*.
- Em Bersuire (5.28): *lynx* ≠ *pardo*.
- Em Brunetto Latini (5.25): *lupi cervieri* ≠ *leonzia*.
- Em Gesner (5.42): *lynx*, *lupus cervarius*, *lupo cervero*, *loup cervier*, *luzarne* ≠ *leopardo* e *panthera*. Nesta obra Gesner propôs uma etimologia para “Uncia”: “Vnciae nomen quanquam recentiores Leopardo seu Pantherae minori tribuunt à Lynce tamen corruptū videtur”.
- Em Aldrovandi (5.43): *lynx* ≠ *panthera*.
- Em John Kay (5.44): *lynce seu leuncia* ≠ *uncia*.
- No documento *Etat des marchandises* (6.5), as peles do *cervier* são listadas separadamente das peles do *gapard* (guepardo).

Poucos autores consideraram o lince sinônimo da *onça*:

Guillaume le Clerc, em 1210 (3.2.54): “**La beste qui a nom pantiere/ En dreit romanz love cerviere**”.

Belon, em 1554 (3.2.140): “Il y auoit des Loups enchesnez, des Asnes sauuages, des Herissons, des Porcsepics, Ours, **Loups Ceruiers, & Onces, qu’on nomme autrement Linces**”.

Rabelais, em 1552 (3.2.142): “Pour laquelle trahison feut par Ceres transformé en **Oince, ou Loup ceruier**”.

Nos países de língua latina os linceos (eurasiático e ibérico) foram também designados pelos seguintes nomes, como mostrado por Sainéan (1907: 61):

lynx (il pousse, comme le loup, une sorte de hurlement pendant la nuit): anc. fr. *loup cervin* (f. *lovecerviere*, anc. pr. *lobacerviera*) et *cerlovin*, mod. *loup cervier*, it. *lupo cerviere*, esp.-port. *lobo cerval* („parce que sa peau est varíee de taches à peu près comme celle des jeunes cerfs“, Buffon), à cte de l’esp. *lubican* (Nemnich), ou loup-chien, Galice *lobicon*, anc. pr. *loberna* (et sa peau), anc. fr. *luberne*,¹ it. *luberna* („lupo di bosco“, Fanfani), anc. port. *luberno*, Galice *loberno*, esp. *lobezno* (louvar), et *lobo rabas* (loup rapace), Piém. *luv ravass*, id.; cf. *lupus cervarius* (Pline) et allem. *Wolfluchs*.

7.3.5 A hipótese mais provável – originado de *leontia*

Plínio¹⁵² (cf. 2.5.16), Marcus Valerius Martialis (cf. 2.5.17) e Avianus (2.5.32) empregaram a forma *pardus*. Essa forma aparece também na *Vulgata*, composta por São Jerônimo no fim do século IV e início do século V [cf. 2.4].

S. Isidoro de Sevilha [cf. 3.2.13], entre outras suas trapalhadas, achou que o *pardus* era um animal diferente do *leopardus* e tratou este último como um híbrido resultante do cruzamento de uma leoa (*leaena*) com o *pardus*, ou de um leão (*leo*) com uma *parda*! Isto vai ser repetido, por exemplo, por Hrabanus Maurus (cf. 3.2.15), Hughes de Saint Victor (cf. 3.2.30), Pierre de Blois (cf. 3.2.32), Frei Benincasa de’ Benincasi (cf. 3.2.42), no manuscrito intitulado *Experimentator* (cf. 3.2.65), Giovanni Balbi (cf. 3.2.80), Cecco d’Ascoli (cf. 3.2.83) e por Athanasius Kircher (cf. 3.2.184).

Ficou-se assim com três animais considerados distintos: a pantera, o leopardo e o pardo.

Como se não bastasse, surgiu no século XII uma nova palavra, *lonza*, denotando, em muitos casos, um animal distinto dos três constantes no parágrafo acima.

A palavra “lonza” e suas variantes vão ser citadas pelos seguintes autores:

LONZA – A mais antiga referência encontrada foi a de Frei Benincasa de’ Benincasi (séc. XII, 3.2.42), que, erroneamente, atribuiu esse nome à hiena! No século XIII encontramos essa forma em Maître Thetmar (3.2.55); Pallamidesse de Bellindote del Perfetto (3.2.66 (iv)); Chiaro Davanzati (3.2.66 (v)); Rustico di Filippo (3.2.67); Marco Polo (3.2.81); Dante Alighieri (3.2.82) e Folgore da San Gemignano (3.2.84). No século XIV em Benvenuto Rambaldi da

¹⁵² Plínio, no Livro XXXVII, cap. 73, de sua *História Natural* (Plínio, 1830: 140) ao falar de duas pedras preciosas, distinguiu o leão da pantera: “Sunt et a leonis pelle et pantherae nominatae, **leontios**, **pardalios**”. No *De Gemmis* de Epiphanius de Salamis (Ou Constantia) (ca. 310–320 – 403), sob “ágata” (*De lapide achate*) lê-se (Epiphanius, 1862: 191-192): “Est autem in lapidibus istis achates colore **leonino**, qui cum aqua tritus et illitus super loca, quae morsu contracta sunt, viperae vel scorpii, caeterorumque serpentium venena depellit. Dico autem achatem, qui **leonis** speciem praefert” [ou na tradução live de King (1865: 17): “And among these, there is an Agate having the colour of a lion’s skin; this powdered and mixed with water, smeared upon the bite of any reptile, counteracts the poison of the scorpion, the viper, and such like things”]. Para Agricola (1558: 298), essas duas pedras foram também consideradas variedades de ágata: “atq; id genus achatas maxime fert India, color autem achatae est aut niger, aut fuscus, aut cinereus, aut similis corallio, limitum floribus, pelli hyenae, pelli leonis, pelli pantherae, illam **leontion** & leontodoram: hanc **pardalion** uocant Graeci, per eos uero colores...”. O que é confirmado por Kostov (2008: 113): “Agate (...). The agate is a concentric-zonal (geode) or parallel-layered mineral aggregate composed mainly by chalcedony with quartzine, quartz and opal. The magical powers of the agate (see also Pliny the Elder, HN, XXXVII, 54; ...) are cited in a lot of Medieval lapidary treatises, probably copied from the Orphic poem (...). The leontoceras (...) is a spotty agate, probably the so called “eye” agate, represented by concentric layers of chalcedony with different colour. In the work of Pliny the Elder one can find a stone with similar name – **leontios**, also in close similarity with the patterns on the lion’s skin (Pliny the Elder, HN, XXXVII, 73)”.

Imola (3.2.93), num MS (3.2.94) e Boccaccio (3.2.95). No século XV em Luigi Pulci (1478, 3.2.117). No século XVI em Andrea Corsali da Monteboro (3.2.128); Conrad Gesner (1560, 3.2.143) e Filippo Sassetti (1584, 3.2.152).

LANZANI – Jacques de Vitry (séc. XII, 4.1), Alberto Magno (séc. XIII, 4.2), Thomas de Cantinpré (séc. XIII, 4.3) e Vossius (séc. XVII, 4.8).

LEONZA¹⁵³ – Aparece, provavelmente por primeira vez, em Rustico di Filippo (séc. XIII, 3.2.67). Ainda no século XIII encontramos-la em Carlos I de Anjou (3.2.69) e Brunetto Latini (5.25). No século XIV em Boccaccio (séc. XIV, 3.2.95) e na *Ordine della Leonza* (1389, 3.2.101). No século XV em Andrea di Jacopo (3.2.102), Giosaphat Barbaro (3.2.113, mas como nome do tigre) e Santes Ardoini (3.2.120). E no século XVI em Alessandro Velutello (3.2.119).

LEONCIA – Marco Polo (séc. XIII, 3.2.81).

LONCE – Marco Polo (séc. XIII, 3.2.81).

LOZANUM – Topsel (séc. XVII, 4.9).

LUNZA – Alberto Magno (séc. XIII, 3.2.61).

LUNZE – Konrad von Würzburg (séc. XIII, 3.2.72).

LAUZAM¹⁵⁴ – Pseudo-John Folsham (séc. XIII, 3.2.74; agora como animal diferente do leopardo, da pantera e do pardo!).

LONÇA – Anôn (*Il detto de gatto lupesco*, séc. XIII, 3.2.70; considerada distinta do leopardo e da pantera); MS Plut. XLII 22 (primeiro quartel do séc. XIV, 3.2.87 e 5.20) e MS do séc. XIV (3.2.94).

LEUNCIA – Nas *Consulte dela Repubblica Fiorentina* (3.2.73); John Kay (1570, 5.44, mas aplicado ao linco).

LONCIA – Benvenuto Rambaldi da Imola (séc. XIV, 3.2.93) e MS do séc. XIV (3.2.94).

LONTIA – Benvenuto Rambaldi da Imola (séc. XIV, 3.2.93).

LEONTIA – Na *Ordine della Leonza* (1389, 3.2.101).

LIONZA (ou LIÕZA) – Andrea di Jacopo (séc. XV, 3.2.102) e Alvise Cadamosto (séc. XV, 3.2.115).

LAZANI – Decembrio (séc. XV, 4.4).

LAUZANUM – Johannes de Cuba (séc. XVI, 4.5) e Gesner (séc. XVI, 4.7).

LAUZANI – Bernardi (séc. XVI, 4.6).

Outros autores publicaram variantes do nome sem o “l” inicial:

ONÇA – Anôn. (fim do séc. XII e início do XIII, 3.2.51); na obra *Siete Partidas* (séc. XIII, 3.2.57); Ramón Llull (séc. XIII, 3.2.63); João de Barros (séc. XVI, 3.2.139, aqui claramente dado ao guepardo); Damião de Góis (1566, 3.2.149) e Juan de Pineda (1589, 3.2.153).

ONCE – Gui de Cambrai (1220-1225, 3.2.60); Rutebeuf (séc. XIII, 3.2.71); Roman de Renart (séc. XIII, 3.2.110); Pierre Belon (1553, 1554, 1555; 3.2.140) e Remy Belleau (1576, 3.2.151); François l’Hermitte (1641, 3.2.177).

UNCIA – ?Jacques de Vitry (primeiro quartel do séc. XIII, 3.2.45); Frederico II da Germânia (1240, 3.2.48); Lamberto d Sambuceto (1300, 3.2.86); Conrad Gesner (1560, 3.2.143); John Kay (1570, 3.2.150).

¹⁵³ Na obra *Le antiche chiose anonime all’ Inferno di Dante*, baseada num manuscrito de autor anônimo, escrito em 1377-1378, consta apenas *leonça* (cf. A Valle, 1900: 2).

¹⁵⁴ Ver Capítulo 4 abaixo.

UNCHE – Frederico II da Germânia (1240, 3.2.48) [vide nota 67].

ONSO – Martim I de Aragão (séc. XIV, 3.2.98; como *onsos tabach*, mas nome dado às hienas).

OINCE – François Rabelais (1555, 3.2.142).

UNZA – Conrad Gesner (1560, 3.2.143).

OMÇA – Garcia d’Orta (1563, 3.2.147, aplicado ao guepardo ou chita).

ONSE – Nicolas Barnaud (1581, 3.2.159).

OURSE [ferro por OINSE] – Margherite de Navarre (séc. XVI, 3.2.136).

UNCTIA – Topsel (1658, 4.9).

ONZA – Agustín de la Madre de Dios (séc. XVII, 3.2.152; aplicado à *Panthera onca* do México).

Para Benvenuto da Imola (?1320 – 1388) (cf. Vernon & Lacaita, 1887: 33-37) (cf. 3.2.93):

“Istud vocabulum florentinum *lonza* videtur magis importare pardum, quam aliam feram”¹⁵⁵

Esse mesmo autor citou Boccaccio, de quem ouvira dizer que havia um leopardo em Florença e que as crianças corriam para vê-lo, gritando “vedi la lonza” (Tassoni, 1698: 103):

“E Benvenuto da Imola incerto se lonza sia lupo cerviere, pardo, ò pantera, dice finalmente di credere, che Dante l’abbia detta per pardo, e che’l Boccaccio gli disse, che essendo portato una volta un pardo per Firenze, i fanciulli correndo a vederlo gridavano, vedi la **lonza**”.

No *Bestiario Toscano*, do século XIV (cf. Garver & McKenzie, 1912: 85-86; 3.2.94), consta a origem da *lonza* por hibridação:

“**Loncia** [*CH lonza*] è animale crudele e fiera, e nasce de coniungimento carnale de leone con **lonça** o vero de **leopardo** con leonissa, e cussi nasce lo leopardo”¹⁵⁶

Há a mesma origem em Andrea di Jacopo da Barberino (ca. 1370 – ca. 1452) (Andrea da Barberino, 1477: LXXXVv-LXXXVIr, 1562 114r-114v, 1841: 193-194, 1850: 213-214) [cf.3.2.10]:

“...erão paesi prei di lioi dragoi **liō pardi liōze** e altri diuersi aimali. Lui domâdo che cosa erano **liōze**. Li disseno como erano generate de uno **liō pardo** e de una liona. domâdo che cosa era **liōpardo**. li risposeno che era generato de uno liõe e una **liōparda**. e che questi doi aimali zoe **lionza** maschio e feia nõ genera ma fano como tra nui li muli. cusi fano liondri. & poca differëtia da luno alaltro: saluo la lioncissa e piu fiera che none la liondra ma comunamente e chiamate **leonne**: per la poca differentia che ze”.

Para Tamburini (1855: 36-37):

A Dante che ascendeva si fecero incontro tre fiere, la lonza, il leone, e la lupa. Ma che fiera è la **lonza**? Tre sono gli animali che hanno la pelle screziata, la linca, o linco, che volgarmente appellasi lupo cerviero, il pardo, e la pantera. Per **lonza** Dante può intendere la linca, ossia la lussuria. Virgilio descrivendo l’abito di Venere dice — succinta faretra coperta di macchiata pelle di linca — e così fa intendere che la lussuria consiste principalmente

¹⁵⁵ Na tradução de Singleton (1989: 11): “This Florentine word *onza* seems to signify the leopardess, rather than any other wild beast”.

¹⁵⁶ Na tradução de Singleton (1989: 11): “The *loncia* or *lonza* is a vicious, ferocious animal, born of the carnal union of a lion with a leopardess or of a leopard with a lioness”.

nella pelle, ed apparenza esteriore. Boezio nel 3° parlando dell'esterna bellezza — Se gli uomini si guardassero cogli occhi di lince, il bellissimo corpo di Alcibiade sembrerebbe turpissimo — Alcibiade ateniese fu inclito capitano, gran filosofo, di corpo bellissimo, secondo Valerio, Giustino, s. Girolamo, ed altri molti, sebbene alcuni ignoranti vogliano, che fosse una celebre meretrice. Per **lonza** può intendersi il pardo naturalmente lussurioso, ed ha pelle variamente macchiata come la lince. Omero descrivendo Paride vestito di pelle di pardo insegna, che Paride era lussurioso. Aristotile nel 2° dell'etica dice che Elena moveva a concupiscenza tutti che la guardavano, e perciò anche i vecchi trojani fuggivano dal di lei cospetto. Dessa, viste le rughe del proprio viso, rideva poi di coloro, che l'avevano amata, come scrive Ovidio — de arte amandi, — ed insegna che nella pelle primamente consiste la causa di lussuria. Il pardo, se ghermisce altra fiera ne sugge il sangue del pari che la donna libidinosa: sfugge il pardo ogni vista quando si pasce, e del pari la donna si nasconde di qualunque pasto tu parli. — I custodi del pardo gli porgono quindi il cibo voltata in dietro la faccia—. In ultimo il pardo sembra famigliarizzarsi, ed addomesticarsi, ma spesso torna alla prima fiera, tradisce, e vince l'uomo nella frode. Si può per **lonza** intendere anche la pantera la quale ha un alito così odoroso, che attrae gli altri animali, quando per cibarsi intenda sbrantarli. **La mia opinione per altro è, che Dante in questo luogo abbia inteso piuttosto del pardo** [meu negrito], che di altro animale, giacché le proprietà del pardo sembrano più convenire a lussuria, ed anche perchè tale vocabolo — fiorentino — sembra più presto significare pardo, che altra fiera: mentre un giorno si faceva vedere un pardo per la città di Firenze, correndo i ragazzi gridavano — vedi la lonza — vedi la lonza—come mi raccontava il soavissimo Boccaccio da Certaldo”.

E, para Buti (1858: 33):

“Poi che lo nostro autore a dimostrato sotto la poetica azione com'era uscito della vita mondana e volea montare all'altezza delle virtù significata per lo monte, dimostra che, come cominciò a salire, fu impedito dal vizio della lussuria significato per la **lonza, che è la femina di quello animale che si chiama pardo...**”.

Em Holbrook (1902: 89-90, nota 2), lê-se:

² Apparently no translator except Butler has rendered *lonza* by 'ounce.' Boyd, Wright, Cary, Hindley, Drayman, O'Donnell, Brookshenk, Thomas, W. M. Rossetti, Parsons, Longfellow, Ford, Tomlinson, Pike, Minchin, and Plumtre (revised edition) have 'panther.' J. Carlyle, Plumtre (first edition), Bannerman, Pollock, Peabody, Wilkie, Sibbold, D. Johnston, Sullivan, Musgrave, and Lee-Hamilton have 'leopard.' Ramsay has 'pard.' C. Potter, 'some forest beast,' 'a spotted pard.' C. E. Norton, 'she-leopard' (cf. Landino). Cayley renders 'lynx.' Perhaps all the French translators except E. Littré have 'panthère.' Most of the Germans render 'panther-thier'; a few by 'pardel,' or 'pardel-thier'; three by 'panther.' Greek translation reads *πάρδαλις*. The oldest French translation (thought by Renier and perhaps by Stengel to date early in the

sixteenth or late in the fifteenth century), reads, in MS. of Turin, 'une leonce'; MS. of Vienna, 'un once.' The Catalan fragment (Febrer's translation, 1428 A.D.) renders:—

'E vets vos quasi al començar de l'erta
Una lonca parda presta e lleugera
Qui d'un gay pel virat era cuberta.'

E. Littré translates, 'Es vous une once legere et moult aperte.'

Segundo Chistoni (1903: 818; transcrito em Proto, 1907: 3):

« Parrebbe che la parola *lonza*, derivata dalla forma piú ampia *leonza*, abbreviatura della primitiva *leonzia*, come da noi si pronunziò e si trascrisse il vocabolo latino *leontia*, fosse etimologicamente un ibrido femminile dal neutro *λεόντιον*, diminutivo di *λέων*. E però *lonza* varrebbe quanto *piccolo leone*, *leoncino*. Senonché nei lessici troviamo registrato, come formazione immediata dal tema *λεοντ*, l'aggettivo *λεοντεια*, femminile di *λεόντειος*, trascritto in latino *leonteus*. Ma ricorre anche *λεόντιος*, reso in latino con *leontios*; donde non fu difficile trarre *leontia*. Così ogni concetto di diminutivo è fuor di luogo, tanto che, a meno di considerare il qualificativo *λεόντια* (*leontia*) come sostantivato e sinonimo di *λέαινα* (*leaena*), le forme *leonza* e *lonza*, e le primitive da cui originarono, significheranno semplicemente *bestia leonina*, affine, cioè, al *leone* ». E in nota

Casini (1895), Chistoni (1903), Lajolo (1906) e Proto (1907) discorrerem abundantemente sobre o assunto, citando vários autores antigos, e concordando tratar-se a *lonza* de Dante de um leopardo.

7.4 Chita

A prioridade de Garcia d'Orta foi devidamente reconhecida por Yule & Burnell (2013: 140). A palavra *chita*, em inglês *cheetah*, provém do Hindi चीता (*cītā*, “leopardo”, “pantera”), ultimamente do Sânscrito *chitraka*, *chitrakāya*, de चित्र (*citra*, “multicolorido”, “manchado”) [cf. Antigo Alto Alemão *haitar* (“brilhante”) > Alemão *heiter*; Antigo Norueguês *heiðr*] + काय (*kāya*, “corpo”) – “o que tem o corpo manchado”.

7.5 Guepardo

Cf. Capítulo 6.

AGRADECIMENTOS

Ao Prof. Dr. Jorge Llorente-Bousquets, da Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, México, D. F., por enviar-nos os trechos do livro de Frei Agustín de la Madre de Dios.

À Profa. Dra. Érica Santos Soares de Freitas, por sua minuciosa revisão e formatação do manuscrito.

REFERÊNCIAS

- AHU: Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisboa; ACL: Administração Central de Lisboa; CU: Conselho Ultramarino; 013: Pará; 015: ;Cx.: Caixa; D: Documento.
- ‘Abd-ur-Rahím, M., 1877. *The Akbarnámah by Abu-Fazl i Mubárak i ‘Allámí. Vol. I.* Printed at the Urdoó Guide or Muzhurool Ujayeb Press, Calcutta.
- ‘Abd-ur-Rahím, M., 1879. *The Akbarnámah by Abu-Fazl i Mubárak i ‘Allámí. Vol. II.* Printed by G. H. Rouse, Baptist Mission Press, and Pulished by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.
- Abramov, D., 2003. *‘Liber de naturis rerum’ von Pseudo-John Folsham – eine moralisierende lateinische Enzyklopädie aus dem 13. Jahrhundert.* Dissertation zur Erlangung der Würde des Doktors der Philosophie des Fachbereichs Philosophie und Geschichtswissenschaft der Universität Hamburg, Hamburg.
- Adroer i Tasis, A., 1989. Animals exotics als palaus reials de Barcelona. *Medievalia*, Albany 8: 9-22.
- d’Aggen, L., E. Taillefert & J. Chenu, trads., 1844-1847. *Écrivains de l’Histoire Auguste. Aelius Lampridius – Vie de Commode, de Diadumène, d’Héliogabale, d’Alexandre Sévère; traduction nouvelle par M. Laass d’Aguen, Membre de la Société asiatique de Paris. Flavius Vopiscus – Vie d’Aurélien, de Tacite, de Florian, de Probus, de Firmus, de Saturnin, de Proculus, de Bonose, de Carus, de Numérien, de Carin; traduction nouvelle par MM. E. Taillefert, censeur des études au collège Royal de Mâcon et Jules Chenu. Tome deuxième, C. L. F. Panckoucke, Éditeur, Paris [Seconde série de la Bibliothèque Latine-Française depuis Adrien jusqu’à Grégoire de Tours, publiée par C. L. F. Panckoucke].*
- Agnant, A., 1847. *Seconde série de la Bibliothèque Latine-Française. Traductions nouvelles des auteurs latins avec le texte en regard depuis Adrien jusqu’à Grégoire deTours, publiée par C. L. F. Pancoucke. C. Julius Solin Polyhistor, traduit pour la première fois en français.* C. L. F. Pancoucke, Éditeur, Paris.
- Agricola, G., 1558. *Georgii Agricolae De ortu & causis subterraneorum Lib. v; De natura eorum quae effluunt ex terra Lib. iii; De natura fossilium Lib. x; De ueteribus & nouis metallis Lib. ii; Bermanus, siue de De re Metallica Dialogus Lib. i. Omnia ab ipso authore, cum haud poenitenda accessione, recens recognita.* Frobenius, Basileae.
- Agrippa, H. C., 1533. *Henrici Cornelii Agrippa ab Nettesheym à consiliis & archiuis inditiarii sacrae caesareae maiestatis: De Occvltia Philosophia litri tres.* [n. d.], (Colomarotniae).
- Agustín de la Madre de Dios, Fray, 1986. *Tesoro escondido en el Monte Carmelo mexicano: Mina rica de exemplos y virtudes en la historia de los carmelitas descalzos de la Provincia de la Nueva España: Descubierta cuando escrita por Fray Agustín de la*

Madre de Dios, religioso de la misma orden. Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, México, D. F.

Alberto Magno, 1651. *Alberti Magni, Ratisbonensis Episcopi, Ordinis Praedicatorum, De Animalibus Liv. XXVI. Recogniti per R. A. P. F. Petrum Iammy, sacrae Theologiae Doctorem, Conuentui Gratianopolitani, eiusdem Ordinis, nunc primum in lucem prodeunt. Operum tomus sextus.* Sumptibus Clavdii Prost, Petri & Clavdi Rigavd, Frat., Hieronymi Delargae, Ioan. Ant. Hvgveta, Lvgdvni.

Albohacen Haly [‘Ali ibn al-‘Abbas al-Majusi], 1492. *Regalis dispositio, sive liber medicinae (latine) a Stephano Antiochenus traductus.* Bernardinus Ricius de Novaria, impensis Johannis de Nigro, Venetiis.

Aldrovandi, U., 1637. *Ulyssis Aldrovandi patricii bononiensis De Quadrupedibus Digitatis Viviparis Libri Tres, et De Quadrupedibus Digitatis Oviparis Libri Dvo. Bartholomaeus Ambrosinus in patro Bonon. Gymnasium simplicium medicamentorum professor, Horti publici praefectus, et Musei Ill.^{mi} Senatus, ad illustriss. et reverendiss. D. Franciscum Perettum abbatem, Venafri principem, Nomenti Marchionem et Celani comitem. Cum indice memorabilium et variae linguae copiosissimo.* Sumptibus M. Antonij Berniae, Bononia.

Alemaný Bolufer, J., 1915. *La Antigua version castellana del Calila y Dimna cotejada con el original árabe de la misma.* Librería de los Suc. de Hernando, Impresores y Libreros de la Real Academia Española, Madrid.

Alighieri, D., 1958. *La Divina Commedia. Testo critico della Società Dantesca Italiana riveduto, col commento scartazziniano rifatto da Giuseppe Vandelli. Aggiuntovi il rimario perfezionato di L. Polacco e l'indice de' nomi proprii e di cose notabili. Diciassettesima edizione (completa).* Ulrico Hoepli, Editore-Libraio, Milano.

Allatius, L., 1629. *S. P. N. Eustathii archiepiscopi antiocheni, et martyris, In Hexahemeron Commentarius: Ac De Engastrimytho dissertatio adversus Origenem. Item Origenis de eadem Engastrimytho. An, videlicet, anima ipsa Samvelis fuerit verè euocata incantationibus Pythonissa, de qua I. Reg. cap. 18. Leo Allatius primum in lucem protulit, latinè vertit: Notas in Hexahemeron adiecit: Dissertationem de Engastrimytho syntagmata illustravit.* Sumptibus Lavrentii Dvrand, Lvgdvni.

Alpago, A. [Andraea Alpago Bellunensis], 1544. *Avicennae Liber Canonis, de Medicinis Cordialibus, et Cantica. Cum castigationibus Andreae Alpago Bellunensis philosophi ac medici clarissimi, una cum eiusdem nominem arabicorum interpretatione. Quibus recens quae plurimae accesserunt ab eodem ex multis arabum codicibus asterico *.* Apud Ivntas, Venetiis.

Alpini, P., 1735. *Prospero Alpini, marosticensis, philosophi, medici, in celeberrimo Lyceo Patavino pharmaciae professoris ordinarii Hortique medici praefecti, Historiae Aegypti Naturalis pars prima. Qua continentur rerum aegyptiarum libri quatuor. Opus postumum nunc primum ex auctoris autographo, diligentissime recognito, editum; atque ex eodem*

tabellis aeneis XXV. illustratum & uberrime indice auctum. Apud Gerardum Potvliet, Lugduni Batavorum.

Alvarez, V., 1614. *As obras do doctor Francisco de Saa de Miranda. Agora de nouo impressas com a relação de suas calidades, & vida. Por Vicente Alvarez.* Domingos Fernandez liureiro, Lisboa.

Andrea da Barberino, 1477. *Gverrino ditto Meschino. In questo libro setrata una hystoria breue del Rè Karlo Imperatore. Poi del nascimento di quello famosissimo caualliero nominato Guerino, & renominato Meschino; Et delle gran battaglie che lui fece con Turchi e Saraceni, & con molte atre generazioni di gente. E della diuersità de animali che lui trouò andando assi arbori del sole & de l'habitazione de la Sibilla, e soi ingáni. Ancora narra de le pene del Purgatorio di santo Patrizio. Per lo quale si può intendere la diuisione delle provincie e Città de la diuersità delli homini e li loro costumi. Con la tauola per ordine di capituli, per la quale facilmente si potrà uedere quello che quì si conuiene.* Gerardus de Flandria, Venexia.

Andrea da Barberino, 1562. *Gverrino detto il Meschino. Con accvratissima diligenza nuouamente corretto, di maniera che in ogni sua parte è fatto chiaro, & illustre. Il contenyto nell'opera leggesi nella faccia seguente.* Alessando di Vian, Vinegia.

Andrea da Barberino, 1841. *Guerino detto il Meschino. Storia in cui si tratta delle grandi imprese e vittorie da lui riportate contro i turchi. Riveduto ed illustrato con note da Giuseppe Berti.* A Spese degli Editori, Milano.

Andrea da Barberino, 1850. *Guerino detto il Meschino. Storia in cui si tratta delle grandi imprese e vittorie da lui riportate contro i turchi. Nuovamente ristampata. Correttamente ridotta alla sua vera lezione, e di figure adornata.* Dalla Tipografia di Paci, Napoli.

Anôn., 1596. *Reliqua librorum Friderici II. Imperatoris, De arte venandi cum auibus, cum Manfredi Regis additionibus. Ex membranis vetustis nunc primum edita. Albertvs Magnvs De Falconibus, Asturibus, & Accipitribus.* Apud Ioannem Praetorius, Avgvstae Vindelicorum.

Anôn., 1614. *Sancti Ambrosii mediolanensis episcopi opera, ex editione romana. Sacrae Scripturae contextum ad faciliorem lectorum intelligentiam, ex ipsa sancti doctoris lectione, & ex LXX. Interpretum, quos potissimum sequitur. Translatione erutum, complectente. In qua, quae vitio vel incuria erant adiecta, sunt reiecta: quae sublata, restituta: quae transposita, reposita: quae deprauata, emendata: omnia ad veterum manuscriptorum & emendatorum codicum excursorum fidem summa cura examinata, & aliorum patrum lectione, pristina integrati ad puritati reddita. Librorum, & enarrationes catalogum, item eorum quae editionae romanae adiecta sunt, indicabit pagina 93.* [Apud Societatem Bibliopolarum, sub nauis insígnia], Lvtetia Parisiis.

Anôn., 1698. *Contes et nouvelles de Marguerite de Valois, Reine de Navarre. Mis en beau langage accomodé ao goût de ce temps, & enrichi de figures en taille-douce. Tome second.* Chez George Gallet, Amsterdam.

- Anôn., 1764. *Phaedri Augusti liberti, et Fl. Aviani Fabulae cum adnotationibus ad utrumque. Accedunt fabulae graecae latinis respondentes, et Homeri Batrachomyomachia. In usum scholarum Seminarii Patavini.* [n. d.], Patavii.
- Anôn., 1775. *Phaedri Augusti liberti, et Fl. Aviani Fabulae cum adnotationibus ad utrumque. Accedunt fabulae graecae latinis respondentes, et Homeri Batrachomyomachia. In usum scholarum Seminarii Patavini.* Bassani, sed prostant Venetiis Remondini.
- Anôn., 1781. *Les Nouvelles de Marguerite, Reine de Navarre. Tome second.* Chez la Nouvelle Société Typographique, Berne.
- Anôn., 1782. *Les nouvelles de Marguerite, Reine de navarre. Tome II.* Chez la Nouvelle Société Typographique, Berne.
- Anôn., 1784. *Obras do doctor Francisco de Sá de Miranda. Nova edição correcta, emendada, e augmentada com as duas comedias. Tomo I.* Na Tipografia Rollandiana, Lisboa.
- Anôn., 1785. *Phaedri et Aviani Fabulae. Accedunt M. Aur. Olymp. Nemesiani Cynegeticon et Bucolicon. Itemque Gratii Falisci Cynegeticon et Halieutica. Cum appositis italico carmimae interpretationibus, ac notis.* Typis Imper. Monast. S. Ambrosii Majoris, Mediolani.
- Anôn., 1823. *Phaedri, Aviani, aliorumque Fabulae; P. Syri Sententiae; Catonis Disticha Moralia, et Symposii Aenigmata.* Sumtibus Rodwell et Martin; J. Booker; Baldwin, Cradock, et Joy; G. et W. B. Whitaker; Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, et Brown; T. Cadell; E. Edwards; et Simpkin et Marshall. Excudit T. Davison, Londini.
- Anôn., 1829. *The first book of Virgil's Aeneid with a literal interlinear translation, on the plan recommended by Mr. Locke. Third edition.* John Taylor, London.
- Anôn., 1830. *Dictionnaire de la Langue Franque ou Petit Mauresque, suivi de quelques dialogues familiers et d'un vocabulaire de mots arabes les plus usuels; a l'usage des français en Afrique.* Typographie de Feissat Ainé et Demonchy, Imprimeur, Marseille.
- Anôn., 1873. *Une ménagerie du Boulevard en 1713. La Mosaique. Revue Pittoresque Illustré de tous les Temps et de tous les Pays,* Paris, Première Année: 102.
- Anthon, C., 1848. *The first six books of Homer's Iliad with English notes, critical and explanatory, a metrical index, and Homeric glossary.* Harper & Brothers, Publishers, New York.
- Anthon, C., 1854. *The first three books of Homer's Iliad. According to the ordinary text and also with the restoration of the digamma; to which are appended English notes, critical and explanatory, a metrical index, and Homeric glossary. A new edition by Benjamin Davies.* William Tegg and Co., London.
- Armistead, M. A., 2001. *The Middle English Physiologus: A critical translation and commentary.* Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and University in partial fulfillment for the degree of Master of Arts in English Literature, Blacksburg, Virginia.

- Artemidorus, 1544. *Artemidori daldiani philosophi excelentissimi, De Somniorum Interpretatione, libri quinque*, à Iano Cornario medico physico francofordensi, latina lingua conscripsit. Hieronymū Frobenius & Nicolaum Episcopium, Basileae.
- Asher, A., 1840. *The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela. Translated and edited by A. Asher. Vol. I. Text, bibliography, and translation.* A. Asher & Co., London and Berlin.
- Athenaeus, 1868. *ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΥ ΔΕΙΠΝΟΣΟΦΙΣΤΑΙ. Athenaei Deipnosophistae libri XX. Cum rerum et scriptorum indicibus. Ad optimorum librorum accurate editi. Editio steteoype C. Tauchnitiana. Nova impressio. Tomus I.* Sumptibus Ottonis Holtzi, Lipsiae.
- Audubon, J. J. & J. Bachman, 1851. *The quadrupeds of North America, Vol. III.* V. G. Audubon, New York.
- Avalle, G., 1900. *Le Antiche Chiose Anonime all'Inferno di Dante secondo il testo marciano (Ital. CL. IX, Cod. 179).* S. Lapi Tipografo-Editore, Città di Castello [Collezione di opuscoli danteschi inediti o rari, Volumi LXI-LXII].
- Avicena, 1572. *Liber Abvali Abincine de anima in arte alchimiae*, pp. 1-471, in Anôn., 1772, q. v.
- d'Avity, P., 1637. *Description generale de l'Afrique seconde partie du monde. Avec tous ses empires, royaumes, estats, et repvliques. Où sont deuduicts & traictés par ordre leurs noms, assiette, confins, moeurs, richesses, forces, gouvernement, & religion: Ensemble la genealogie des empereurs, roys, & princes souuerains lesquels y ont dominé iusques à nostre temps* Chez Clavde Sonnivs, Paris.
- d'Ayala, M., 1847. *Napoli militare.* Stamperie dell'Iride, Napoli.
- Balbi, G., 1506. *Catholicon seu vniuersale vocabulariū ac summa grammatices f. Johannis Genuesi, sanctissimum predicatorium ordinis professoris celeberrimi: et cum humanarium, tum diuinarium litterarū studiosissimum: nuper a magistro Petro Egidio ex parte actum et recognitū: ac nunc demum ab Jodoco Badio Ascensio accurata totius lucidarij ac mille vocabulorum accessione auctum: Et a mendis supra bis mille tersum, nullo tamen delecto vocabulo. Orthographie adhoc veritate. Et diphthongorum ratione exatissime obseruata. Qumadeo regulis orthographiam accōdatissimis operi premissis sub characterum perspicuo discrimine: vt que Genueñ. et que accessoria sint facile diagnoscat lector.* In edibus Ascentianis & in edibus Johānis parui, Parrhisii.
- Baldo, C., 1621. *In Pysiognomica Aristotelis Commentarii a Camillo Baldo ordinariam philosophiam in Patrio Bononiensi Archigymnasio profitente lucubrate. Opus multiplici doctrina refertum. Physiologicis, medicis virisq' politicis aequè vtile, ac iucundum. Hieronymi Tamburini diligentia, & sumptibus primum in lucem editum. Ad serenissimvm principem Ferdinandvm Gonzaga, Mantuae & Montisferrati Ducem.* Apud Sebastianum Bononium, Bononiae.
- Barbi, G. et al., 1903. *Miscellanea di studi critici edita di onore di Arturo Graf.* Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafici, Bergamo.

- Barnaud, N [sob o pseudônimo de Froumenteau], 1581. *Le secret des finances de France, descouuert, & reparti en trois liures par N. Froumenteau, & maintenant publié, pour ouuir les moyens legitimes & nécessaires de payer les dettes du Roy, descharger ses suiets des subsides imposez depuis trente un ans, & recouurer tous des deniers prins à sa Maiesté. Premier liure. Contenant tous les deniers que leurs Maiestez ont leué & despendu, depuis trente vn ans, finis le dernier iour de Decembre 1580. avec le Bon d'estat que le Roy a ou doit auoir en ses coffres.* S. n., s. l. [?Paris].
- Barre, A., 2007. Le renard de Rutebeuf. *Cahiers de Recherches Médiévales et Humanistes*, Paris 14: 253-266.
- Barros, J. de, 1553. *Segunda decada da Asia de Joã de Barros dos feitos que os Portugueses fizeram no descobrimẽto & cõquista dos mares & terras do Oriente.* Germão Galharde, Lixboa.
- Barros, J. de, 1628. *Decada segvnda da Asia de Ioão de Barros: Dos feitos qve os portvgueses fezerão no descobrimento & conquista dos mares & terras do Oriente, Dirigida ao Senado da Camara desta cidade de Lisboa.* Jorge Rodriguez, Lisboa.
- Barrow, J., 1749. *Dictionarium medicum universal: Or, A new medicinal dictionary. Containing an explanation of all the terms used in physic, chymistry, anayomy, pharmacy, surgery, botany, &c. Including those found both in ancient and modern writers. In which the etymology of the words, and their various senses are properly ascertained; the various parts of the human body accurately described; the principal virtues of the officinal simples particularly specified; and full directions given the spurious. The whole collected from the original authors.* Printed for T. Longman ad C. Hitch & A. Millar, London.
- Bartholomaeus Anglicus, 1483. *De proprietatibus rebus.* Johannẽ Koelhoff de Lubeck, Colonia.
- Bartolozzi, F., 1789. *Ricerche istorico-critiche circa alle scoperte d'Amerigo Vespucci con l'aggiunta di una relazione del medesimo fin ora inedita compilate da Francesco Bartolozzi.* Per Gaetano Cambiagi, Stamp. Granducale, Firenze.
- Barton, L., 1856. *Natural history of the Holy Land, and other places mentioned in the Bible. With poetical illustrations, original and selected by Bernard Barton.* Thomas Alman & Son, London.
- Bartsch, K., 1855. *Provenzalisches Lesebuch. Mit literarischen Einleitung und einem Wörterbuche.* Verlag von R. L. Friderichs, Elberfeld.
- Bartsch, K., 1866. *Altfranzösische Chrestomathie (VIII – XV. Jahrhundert). Chrestomatie. Grammatik. Glossar/ Chrestomatie de l'Ancien Français (VIII^e – XV^e siècles). Accompagnée d'une grammaire et d'un glossaire .* F. C. W. Vogel, Leipzig.
- Bartsch, K., 1868. *Chrestomatie provençale. Accompagnée d'une grammaire et d'un glossaire.* R. L. Fridrichs, Éditeur, Elbersfeld.
- Battelli, G., 1917. *Brunetto Latini. I libri naturali del 'Tesoro' emendati colla scorta de' codici, commentati e illustrati da Guido Battelli, con due appendici e 18 incisioni.* Successori Le Monnier, Firenze.

- Beaugendre, A., 1708. *Venerabilis Hildeberti primo cenomanensis episcopi, deinde tironensis archiepiscopi Opera, tam edita quam inedita. Accesserunt Marbodi rednensis episcopi ipsius Hildeberti supparis opuscula. Quae hactenus edita, haec autem auctiora & plura nondum edita prodeunt, omniaque ad manuscriptos codices recensia, notis passim illustrantur.* Apud Lauretium Le Conte, Parisiis.
- Bekker, I., 1836. *Michaelis Glycae Annales. [Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae].* Impensis Ed. Weberi, Bonnae.
- Bekker, I., 1837. *Aristotelis Historia Animalium.* E Typographeo Academico, Oxonii [Aristotelis Opera ex recensione Immanuelis Bekkeri. Accedunt índices sylburgiano. Tomus IV].
- Bekker, I., 1853. *Diodori Siculi Bibliotheca Historica. Tom. I.* Sumptibus et Typis B. G. Teubneri, Lipsiae.
- Bellaguet, L., 1841. *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI, de 1380 à 1422, publiée en latin pour la première fois et traduite par M. L. Bellaguet, précédée d'une introduction par M. de Barante. Tome troisième.* [Collection de Documents inédits sur l'Histoire de France, publiés par ordre du Roi et par les soins du Ministre de l'Instruction Publique, Première Série. Histoire Politique]. Imprimerie de Crapelet, Paris.
- Belon, P., 1553a. *Les observations de plvsievrz singlaritez et choses memorables, trouuées en Grece, Asie, Iudée, Egypte, Arabie, & autres pays estranges, redigées en trois liures par Pierre Belon du Mans.* Guillaume Cauellat, Paris.
- Belon, P., 1553b. *Les observations de plvsievrz singlaritez et choses memorables, trouuées en Grece, Asie, Iudée, Egypte, Arabie, & autres pays estranges, redigées en trois liures par Pierre Belon du Mans.* Gilles Corrozet, Paris.
- Belon, P., 1554a. *Les observations de plvsievrz singlaritez & choses memorables, trouuées en Grece, Asie, Iudée, Egypte, Arabie, & autres pays estranges, redigées en trois liures, par Pierre Belon du Mans. Reueuz de nouueau & augmentez de figures.* Guillaume Cauellat, Paris.
- Belon, P., 1554b. *Les observations de plvsievrz singlaritez & choses memorables, trouuées en Grece, Asie, Iudée, Egypte, Arabie, & autres pays estranges, redigées en trois liures, par Pierre Belon du Mans. Reueuz de nouueau & augmentez de figures.* Gilles Corrozet, Paris.
- Belon, P., 1555a. *Les observations de plvsievrz singlaritez et choses memorables, trouuees en Grece, Asie, Iudée, Egypte, Arabie, & autres pays estranges, redigées en trois liures, par Pierre Belon du Mans. Reueuz de nouueau & augmentez de Figures.* Guillaume Cauellat, Paris.
- Belon, P., 1555b. *Les observations de plvsievrz singlaritez et choses memorables, trouuees en Grece, Asie, Iudée, Egypte, Arabie, & autres pays estranges, redigées en trois liures, Par*

Pierre Belon du Mans. Reueuz de nouueau & augmentez de Figures. Gilles Corrozet, Paris.

Belon, P., 1555c. *Les observations de plvsievrz singlaritez & choses memorables, trouuées en Grece, Asie, Iudée, Egypte, Arabie, & autres pays estranges, Redigées en trois Liures, Par Pierre Belon du Mans. Reueuz de rechef, & augmentez de figures, avec vne nouvelle Table de toutes les matieres traictées en iceux.* Christofle Plantin, Anvers.

Beltrutti, G., 1966. *Le Chevalier Errant. Poema del Trecento, inedito, di Tommaso III, marchese di Saluzzo (1396-1415).* Cuneo Provincia Granda 15 (2): 21-28.

Benjamin ben Jonah de Tudela, 1556. *מסעות של רבי בנימן* [Massa'ot shel Rabbi Binyamin]. Abraham ibn Usque, Ferrara.

Berchorius, P., 1575. *Redvctorii Moralis Petri Berchorii pictaviensis Ordinis Divi Benedicti, libri quatuordecim: Perfectam officiorvm atque morum rationem, ac pene totam natura complectentes historiam: Hoc opus quod iam vetustate consenuerat noua hoc editione nostra in communem Sacrae Theologiae studiosorum gratiam restituimus, & ab erroribus quibus scatebat, expurgamus. Adiectvs est index capitvm locvpletissimvs.* Apvd Haeredem Hieronymi Scoti, Venetiis.

Berger de Xivrey, J., 1836. *Traditions tératologiques ou récits de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Âge en occident sur quelques points de la fable du merveilleux et de l'histoire naturelle publiés d'après plusieurs manuscrits inédits grecs, latins, et en vieux français.* Imprimerie Royale, Paris.

Bergler, S., 1760. *Aristophanis Comoediae undecim, graece et latine, ad fidem optimorum codicum MSS. emendatae cum nova octo comoediarum interpretatione latina, & notis ad singulas ineditis Stephani Bergleri nec non Caroli Andreae Dukeri ad quatuor priores. Accedunt deperditarum comoediarum fragmenta, a Theod. Cantero et Gul. Coddæo collecta, earumque indices a Joh. Meursio & Joh. Alb. Fabricio digesti. Curante Burmanno Secundo, qui praefationem praefixit. Tom. II.* Apud Samuelem et Joannem Luchtmans, Academiae Typographos, Lugduni Batavorum.

Bernardi, G. B., 1582. *Ion. Baptistae Bernardi patritii veneti Seminarij totius Philosophiae. Tomus secundus.* Apud Damianum Zenarium, Venetiis.

Bever, A. van, 1909. *Tristan l'Hermitte. Les Amours. – La Lyre. – Les Vers Heroïques. – Les Heures de la Vierge. – La Mariane. – Le Parasite. – Lettres Amoureuses. – Le Page Disgracé. – Ouvrages attribuées à Tristan. – Appendice: Biographie. – Anecdotes. – Jugements litteraires. – Bibliographie. Trois gravures. Portrait d'après Daret. Notice de Ad. Van Bever.* Mercure de France, Paris.

Bhishagratna, K. K. L., 1911. *An English translation of the Sushruta Samhita with a full and comprehensive introduction, additional texts, different readings, notes, comparative views, index, glossary, and plates, In three volumes. Vol. II. Nidána-shtána, S'ákira-shtána, Chikitsita-shtána and Kalapa-shtána.* Published by the author, Calcutta.

Bizaro, P., 1601. *Rervm persicarvm historia, initia gentis, mores, instituta, resque gestas ad hac vsque tempora complectens: Auctore Petro Bizaro sentinate. Cui accessis Breuis ac*

vera Henrici Porsii de bello inter Myrathem III. Turcarum, & Mehemetem Hodabende, Persarum Regem gesto, narratio: ac Philippi Callimachi Experientis de bello Turcis inferendo, oratio; eiusdemque de his quae à Venetis tentata sunt, Persis ac Tartaris contra Turcos mouendis, historia. Et appendix, quam ex italico latinam fecit Iacobus Gevdervs ab Heroltzberga. Inea Iosephi Barbari et Ambrosii Contareni legatorum Reipubl. Venetae Itineraria Persica: Iohannis Thomae Minadoi belli Turco-Persici historia: et Anonymi cuiusdam, balli ejusdem descriptio. Cum indice locupletissimo. Typis Wechelianis apud Claudium Marnium, & heredes Ioannis Aubrii, Francofvrti.

Blochmann, H., 1873. *The Ain I Akbari by Abul Fazl 'Allami, translated from the original Persian. Vol. I.* Printed by G. H. Rouse, at the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta.

Bodin, J., 1597; *Vniversae Natvrae Theatrvm. In quo rerum omnivum effectrices causa, & fines contemplantur, & continuae series quinque libris discuntuntur, Avtore Ioan. Bodino.* Apud heredes Andreae Wecheli, Claudium Marium, & Ioan. Aubt., Francofvrti.

Boehme, J., 1536. *Omnivm gentivm, mores, leges & ritus, ex multis clarissimis rerum scriptoribus, à Ioanne Boëmus aubano teotonico nuper collecti, & nouissime recognita. Tribus libris absolutum opus, Aphricam Asiam & Europam describentibus. Non sine índice locupletissimo.* Excudebat Ioannes Faber Emmevs Ivliacensis, Fribvrgum Brisgoiae.

Boehme, J., 1540. *Recueil de diuerses histoires touchant les situations de toutes regiõs & pays contenuz es trois parties du monde, avec les particulieres moeurs, loix, & ceremonies de toutes nations & peuples y habitans. Nouellemēt traduit de Latin en Francoys.* Anuers.

Boehme, J., 1566. *I costvmi, le leggi, et l'vsanze di tutte le genti; divisi in ter libri. Raccolte, qui insieme da molti illustri scrittori, per Giouanni Boemo aubano alemano; et tradotti per Lucio Fauno in questa nostra lingua volgare. Aggiuntoui di nouo il Quarto Libro, nel qua si narra i costumi, & l'vsanze dell'Indie Occidentali, ouero Mondo Nouo; da M. Pre. Gieronimo Giglio Labi. Dominico & Aluise Giglio fra., Venetia.*

Bolzani, G. P., 1556. *Hieroglyphica sive de sacris aegyptiorum literis commentarii, Ioannis Pierii Valeriani Bolzani bellvnensis, Lectori. Habes in hisce cõmentarijs non solùm variarum historiarũ, numisnatũ, veterumq' inscriptionum explicationem, verumetiam preter aegyptiaca & alia pleraq' mystica, tum locorum cõmunium ingentem magna cum oblectatione syluam, tum sacrarum litterarum, in quibus haud raro & Christum ipsum, & apostlos prophetasq' huiusmodi locutionibus vsos fuisse videmus, exquisitam interpretationem: vt sanè non temerè Pythagoram, Platonem, aliosq' summos viros ad aegyptios doctrinae gratia profectos intelligas: quippe cùm hieroglyphicè loqui nihil aliud sit, quàm diuinarum humanarumq' rerum natural aperire, Uale, & hoc perincundo iam per Pierium oblato beneficio feliciter fuere. [n. d.], Basileae.*

Bongars, J., 1611. *Gesta Dei per Francos, siue Orientalivm Expeditionvm. Et Regni Francorum Hierosolimitana Historia a variis, sed illius aui scriptoribus, litteris commendata: Nunc primùm aut editis, aut as libros veteres emendata. Auctores praefatio ad lectorem exhibet.*

Orientalis Historia Tomus Primus. Typis Wecheliani, apud heredes Ioan. Aubrii, Hanoviae.

- Boni, G. B. B., 1827a. *Il Milione di Marco Polo; Tomo primo. Testo di lingua del secolo decimoterzo ora per la prima volta pubblicato ed illustrato.* Da' Torchi di Giuseppe Pagani, Firenze.
- Boni, G. B. B., 1827b. *Il Milione di Marco Polo viniziano. Tomo secondo Secondo la lezione ramusiana. Illustrato e comentato.* Da' Torchi di Giuseppe Pagani, Firenze.
- Bonner, A., 1993. *Doctor illuminatus: a Ramon Llull reader. Including the Book of the Love and the Beloved.* Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- Booth, G., 1814. *The Historical Library of Diodorus the Sicilian, in fifteen books. To which are added the fragments of Diodorus, and those published by H. Valerius, I. Rhodomanus, and F. Ursinus. In two volumes, Vol. I.* Printed by W. McDowall for J. Davis, London.
- Bostock, J. & H. T. Riley, 1857. *The Natural History of Pliny. Translated, with copious notes and illustrations by the late John Bostock and H. T. Riley. Vol. VI. With general index.* Henty G. Bohn, London.
- Boulenger, J. C., 1598. *Ivl. Caesaris Bvlengeri De Circo Romano, Lvdisque Circensibvs; ac Circi & Amphithetri Venatione, liber. Cui accessit D. Ioan. Chrysostomi constantinopolitani archiepiscopi Oratio de Circo, ex vet. Graeco manusc. Excerpta, nusquam hactenus edita; cum eiudem Bvlengeri interpretaione. Editio prima.* Apud Robertvm Nivelli, Lvtetiae Parisiorvm.
- Boulenger, J. C., 1699. *Jvlivs Caesari Bvlengervs jvlivodvnensis, doctor theologus, De Circo Romano, Lvdisque Circensibvs; De Venatione Circi, et Ampritheatri, ac de Theatro, iii + columnas 585-820, in Graeff, org., 1699, q. v.*
- Boyer [du Petit-Puy], P., 1649. *La Bibliotheqve Vniverselle, ov Recveil de tovtes les belles matieres de la Theologie, de l'Histoire, du Droict, de la Poësie, de la Cosmographie; de la Chronologie, de la Fable, de la Medecine, & de la Pharmacie, ensemble des Vies plus remarquables des Saints, de Patriarches, des Docteurs de l'Eglise, tant Iudaïque que Chrestienne, des Papes, des Empereurs, des Rois, des Hommes & Femmes illustres; avec vne fidele & succinte Description des Estats, des Royaumes, des Empires, & des Principautez; des Isles, des Montagnes, des Fleuves, des Mers, des Lacs & des Fontaines: des animaux terrestres & aquatiques, des Plantes & des Mineraux, & de tous les termes usitez aux Parties de l'Astronomie ou Science Celeste. En suite vne espece de renuoy à la fin de chaque Sommaire, seruant d'authorité aux Matieres, de concordance aux sçauans, & d'indice aux curieux. Plus vne declinaison des noms, & vne parfaite coniugaison des Verbes, le tout reduit en forme de lieux communs rimez, selon l'ordre Alphabetique; avec vne exacte obseruation des penultièmes, & breues & longues: commenté de tous les termes affectez aux Arts particuliers, aux Histories generales, & aux Sciences saintes, curieuses & prophanes; enrichy de quantité d'exemples & de plusieurs annotations tres nécessaires à ceux qui veulent exceller en l'une & l'autre façon d'écrire, soit en vers, soit en prose. Ouurage tres vtile non seulement aux Poëtes pour l'ellection des Rimes, aux Orateurs pour les curieuses richesses, aux Estrangeres pour l'excellence de la Langue & de l'orthographe: mais encore à tous ceux qui pretendent à la generale intelligence de tout*

l'estre créé, soit ou celeste ou terrestre, pour en escrire quelque chose en particulier, ou pour en discourir dans les grandes assemblées. Chez Antoine de Sommaville, Paris.

- Brisson, A. D., 1756. *Regnum animale in classes IX distributum. Sive synopsis methodica sistens generalem animalium distributiones in classes IX, & duarum primarum classium, Quadrupedum scilicet & Cetaceorum, particularem divisionem in ordines, sectiones, genera & species. Cum brevi cujusque speciei descriptione, citationibus auctorum de iis tractantium, nominibus eis ab ipsis & nationibus impositis, nominibusque vulgaribus. Cum figuris aeneis. Classis I. Quadrupeda/ Le regne animal divisé en IX classes, ou méthode contenant la division generale des Animaux en IX classes, & la division particuliere des deux premieres classes, sçavoir de celle des Quadrupedes & celle des Cetacées, en ordre, sections, genres & espèces. Aux quelles on a joint une courte description de chaque espèce, avec les citations des auteurs qui en ont traité, les noms qu'ils leurs ont donnés, ceux que leurs ont donnés les différentes nations, & les noms vulgaires. Avec figures en taille douce. Classe I. Les quadrupedes.* Cl. Jean-Baptiste Bauche, Paris.
- Brown, W. N., 1922. A comparative translation of the Arabic Kalila Wa-Dimna, Chapter VI. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 42: 215-250.
- Bruzen La Martiniere, [A. A.], 1726. *Le Grand Dictionnaire Géographique et Critique. Tome premier.* A. Chez P. Gosse, R. C. Alberts, P. de Hondt, La Haye; Chez Herm. Uytwerf & Franç. Changuion, Amsterdam & Chez Jean Daniel Beman, Rotterdam.
- Buccaferreus, L., 1570. *Lvdovici Buccaferrei bononiensis, eoque philosophiam olim publice profitentis: Lectiones in Aristotelis stagiritae libros, quos vocant Parva Natvralia. Nunc primum in lucem editae. Syperadditis dvobvs indicibvs tum rerum tum quaestiones copiosissimis.* Apud Hieronymum Scotum, Venetiis.
- Buchon, J. A. C., 1836. *Oeuvres complètes de Thucydide et de Xénophon avec notices biographiques.* A. Desrez, Libraire-Éditeur, Paris.
- Budge, E. A. W., 1913. *The Papyrus of Ani. A reproduction in facsimile edited, with hieroglyphic transcript, translation and introduction, by Sir E. E. Wallis Budge M. A., Litt. D., keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities in the British Museum. Published by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum in two volumes. Volume I. The Medici Society, Ltd., London & G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.*
- Buffon [G. L. L., Comte de], 1765. *Histoire naturelle générale et particulière, avec la description du Cabinet du Roi. Tome treizième.* De l'Imprimerie Royale, Paris.
- Buffon [G. L. L., Comte de], 1885. *Galería de historia natural sacada de las obras completas de Buffon, y arreglada al castellano por García Ramón.* Garnier Hermanos, Paris.
- Buquet, T., 2011. Le guépard medieval, ou comment reconnaître un animal sans nom. *Reinardus* [Yearbook of the International Reynard Society/ Annuaire de la Société Internationale Reinardienne], Louvain 23: 12-47.
- Bussemaker, U. C. & C. Daremberg, 1854. *Oeuvres d'Oribase, texte grec, en grande partie inédit, collationné sur les manuscrits, traduit pour la première fois en français: Avec une*

introduction, des notes, des tables et des planches. Tome deuxième. A l'Imprimerie Impériale, Paris.

Buti, F., 1858. *Commento di Francesco da Buti sopra la Divina Comedia di Dante Alighieri pubblicato per cura di Crescentino Giannini. Tomo primo.* Pei Fratelli Nistri, Pisa.

Buys, J., 1600. *Opera Petri Blesensis, bathonensis quondam in Anglia archidiaconi, et apud cantuariensem arciepiscopum cancellarii. Opere et studio Ioannis Bvsaei noviomagi, Societatis Iesu theologi, ex per vetustis bibliothecis nunc primum in lucem producta, ac innumeris mendis collatione aliquot codicum MSS. emaculata, variisque lectionibus, notis, praefationibus & indicibus illustrata. Quorum omnium, elencum pagina proxima repraesentabit.* Ex Officina Typographica Ioannis Albini, Moguntiae.

Cahier, C., 1847-1849. Bestiaire. Textes. – Prose française (Picarde), pp. 106-232, in seu *Mélanges d'Archéologie, d'Histoire et de Littérature. Collection de mémoires sur l'orfèvrerie et les émaux des trésors d'Aix-la-Chapelle, de Cologne, etc.; sur les miniatures et les anciens ivoires sculptés de Bamberg, Ratisbonne, Munich, Paris, Londres, etc.; sur des étoffes byzantines, siciliennes, etc.; sur des peintures et bas-reliefs mystérieux de l'époque carolingienne, romaine, etc. Premier volume.* Chez M^{me} V^e Poussielgue-Rusand, Éditeur, Paris.

Cahier, C. 1874. Du Bestiaire et de plusieurs questions qui s'y rattachent, pp. 106-174, in seu *Nouveaux mélanges d'Archéologie, d'Histoire et de Littérature sur le Moyen Age. Curiosités mystérieuses.* Librairie de Firmin Didot Frères, Fils et C^{ie}, Paris.

Caignet, L., 1666. *La Confrairie de la tres-sainte Trinité & Redemption des Captifs, où il est traité de l'origine, indulgences, prerogatives, devoirs [sic], & emplois de ladite Confrairie: Comme aussi de la maniere que les chrestiens captifs sont pris, vendus, maltraités par les barbares, & rachetés par les religieux de l'Ordre de la tres-sainte Trinité & Redemption des Captifs.* Chez Antoine Valançon, Lyon.

Caius, I., 1570. *Ioannis Caii britanni De Canibus Britannicis, liber vnus. De Rariorum Animalium et Stirpium Historia, liber vnus. De Libris Propriis, liber vnus.* Gulielmum Seresium typographum, Londini. [Reproduzido facsimilarmnte em Venn, 1912, q. v.].

Calmet, A., 1830. *Calmet's Dictionary of the Holy Bible, with the biblical fragments, by the late Charles Taylor. Illustrated with numerous maps and other engravings. In five volumes. Vol. I.* Holdsworth and Ball, London.

Camus, (A. G.), 1783. *Notes sur l'Histoire des Animaux d'Aristote.* Chez la Veuve Desaint, Libraire, Paris.

Camus, J., 1888 [1^{er} Août]. Les guépards chasseurs em France au XV^e et au XVI^e siècle. *Feuille des Jeunes Naturalistes*, Mulhouse [Dix-huitième Année] 214: 129-131.

Camus, J., 1909. La “lonza” de Dante et les “léopards” de Pétrarque, de l'Arioste, etc. *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, Torino 53: 1-40.

- Canovai, S., 1817. *Viaggi d'Amerigo Vespucci con la vita, l'elogio e la dissertazione giustificativa di questo celebre navigatore del Padre Stanislao Canovai delle scuole pie pubblico professore di matematica opera postuma*. Presso Giovacchino Pagani, Firenze.
- Cantimpré, T. of, 1973. *Liber de Natura Rerum. Editio princeps secundum codices manuscriptos. Teil I: Text*. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin.
- Caracciolo, C. d'E., 1623. *Napoli sacra di D. Cesare d'Engenio Caracciolo, napolitano. Oue oltre le vere origini, e fundationi di tutte le chiesi e monaterij, ospedali, & altre luoghi sacri della città di Napoli, e suoi borghi, si tratta di tutti li corpi, e reliquie di santi, e beati vi si ritrouano, con vn breue compendio di lor vite, e dell'opere pie vi si fanno, si descriuono gl'epitafi, & inscritioni fin hora sono, & erano per l'adietro in detti luoghi. Si fa anco mentione di moltr'altri huomini illustri, sì per santità di vita, e dignità, come per lettere, & armi, pittura, escoltura, hauendosi contezza di molte recondite historie cosi sacre, come profane. Con dui tratatti breui. Vno de cemeterij, e l'altro dell'ordini di caualieri. Opera vn pezzo fa desiderata, ma hora la prima volta vede la luce delle atampe*. Per Ottauio Beltrano, Napoli.
- Cardano, G., 1551. *Hieronymi Cardani medici mediolanensis, De Subttilitate libri XXI*. Apud Gulielmum Rouillium, Lvgdvni.
- Cardoso, G., 1666. *Agiologio lvsitano dos sanctos e varoens illvstres em virtvde do Reino de Portugal, e svas conqvistas. Consagrado aos gloriosos S. Vicente e S. Antonio insignes patronos desta inclyta Cidade Lisboa, e a sev illvstre Cabido Sede Vacante. Composto pelo licenciado George Cardoso, natvral da mesma cidade. Tomo III. Que comprehende os dous meses de Maio, & Junho, com seus commentarios*. Na Officna de Antonio Crasbeeck de Mello, Impressor de Sva Alteza, Lisboa.
- Carducci, G., 1896. *Cacce in rima dei secoli XIV e XV*. Ditta Nicola Zanichelli, Bologna.
- Careri, G. F. G., 1700. *Giro del mondo. Parte terza contenente de cose più ragguardevoli vedute nell'Indostan*. Nella Stamperia di Giuseppe Roselli, Napoli.
- Careri, G. F. G., 1704. *A Voyage round the world. In six parts, viz. I. Of Turkey. II. Of Persia. III. Of India. IV. Of China. V. Of the Philippine-Islands. VI. Of New-Spain. Written originally in Italian, translated into English, in [A. Churchill & J. Churchill] A collection of voyages and travels, some now first printed from original manuscripts. Others translated out of foreign languages, and now first publish'd in English. To which are added some few that have formerly appear'd in English, but do now for their excellency and scarceness deserve to be reprinted. In four volumes. With a general preface, giving an account of the progress of navigation, from its first beginning to the perfection it is now in, &c. The whole illustrated with a great number of useful maps and cuts, all engraven on copper. The authors contain'd in this volume, see over leaf. Vol. IV. Printed by H, C. for Awnschan and John Churchill, London.*

- Careri, G. F. G., 1727. *Voyage du tour du monde. Traduit de l'italien de Gemelli Careri par M. L. N. Nouvelle edition augmentée sur la dernière de l'italien, & enrichie de nouvelles figures. Tome troisième. De l'Indostan.* Chez Estienne Ganeau, Libraire, Paris.
- Carpenter, W. M., 1833. *Scripture Natural History; containing a descriptive account of the quadrupeds, birds, fishes, insects, reptiles, serpents, plants, trees, minerals, gems, and precious stones, mentioned in the Bible. First American, from the latest London edition, with improvement, by Rev. Gorham D. Abbott. Illustrated by numerous engravings. To which are added sketches of Palestine, or the Holy Land.* Lincoln, Edmonds & Co., Boston.
- Carpenter, W. [M.], 1868. *An introduction to the reading and study of the English Bible, Vol. II.* S. W. Partridge & Co., London.
- Carrer, L., 1841a. Il libro di Marco Polo intitolato Il Milione, pp. 1-231, in seu *Relazioni di viaggiatori. Volume I* [Biblioteca Classica Italiana di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti disposta e illustrata da Luigi Carrer. Classe XI, - Vol. I]. Co' Tipi del Gondoliere, Venezia.
- Carrer, L., 1841b. Lettere due di Andrea Corsali fiorentino, pp. 53-125, in seu *Relazioni di viaggiatori. Volume II* [Biblioteca Classica Italiana di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti disposta e illustrata da Luigi Carrer. Classe XI, - Vol. II]. Co' Tipi del Gondoliere, Venezia.
- Carrer, L., 1841c. Lettere di Filippo Sasseti, pp. 127-275, in seu *Relazioni di viaggiatori. Volume II* [Biblioteca Classica Italiana di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti disposta e illustrata da Luigi Carrer. Classe XI, - Vol. II]. Co' Tipi del Gondoliere, Venezia.
- Cary, E., 1955. *Dio's Roman History. With an English translation, On the basis of the version of Herbert Baldwin Foster, Ph. D. In nine volumes. IX.* William Heinemann Ltd., London & Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Casini, T., 1882. Rime inedite dei secoli XIII e XIV. *Il Propugnatore. Periodico Bimestrale di Filologia, di Storia e di Bibliografia*, Bologna 15 (Parte II): 332-349.
- Casini, T., 1895a. [Comentários a] Francesco Cipolla, La lonza di Dante. Nella Rassegna bibliografica della letteratura italiana, a. III, n. 4 (aprile 1895). *Bulletino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, Firenze (n.s.) 2 (8): 116-120. [Republicado em Casini, 1895b].
- Casini, T., 1895b. La lonza di Dante, pp. 51-59, in seu *Aneddoti e studi danteschi. Serie I.* [In Passerini, G. L., org., 1895. *Collezione di opuscoli danteschi inediti o rari. Volume XXIV*]. S. Lapi Tipografo-Editore, Città di Castello.
- Cecco d'Ascoli, 1916. *L'Acerba. Con prefazione, note e bibliografia di Pasquale Rosario e, in appendice, i sonetti attribuiti allo Stabili.* R. Carabba, Editore, Lanciano.
- Cecilius Fabrianensis, 1508. *Auicē perhypatetici philosophi: ac medicorum facile primi opera in lucē redacta: ac nuper quantum ars nū potuit per canonicos emendate. Logyca.*

Sufficiencia. De cello & mundi. De anima. De animalibus. De intelligentijs. Alpharabius de intelligentijs. Philosophia prima. [Bonetum Locatellum, Venetiis].

Certain, E. de, 1855. Raoul Tortaire. *Bibliothèque de l'École de Chartres. Revue d'Érudition consacrée spécialement à l'étude du Moyen Âge*, Paris (6^e année) 1 (Quatrième série): 491-521.

Ceva-Grimaldi, F., 1857. *Della città di Napoli dal tempo della sua fondazione sino al presente. Dei suoi edifici pubblici, e privati secondo le diverse epoche: sue diverse ampliazioni e murazioni dall'epoca d'Augusto sin'al presente – Delle sue fortificazioni, e castelli – Dei suoi stabilimenti sotto tutti i rapporti, specialmente di quelli di benefizenza: Diaconie antiche – Dei suoi sistemi governativi – Della sua chiesa: dei suoi santi patroni e protettori: dei napolitani preclari per santità, e dignità ecclesiastiche, ed anche di quelli eletti pontefici: del suo clero: serie de vescovi ed arcivescovi: del capitolo e delle sue dignità: dei canonici e diaconi Cardinali, loro titoli sulle antiche chiese di Napoli, loro distinte prerogative – Ordini monastici, loro origine, loro riforme, loro santi fondatori e d'altri santi – Delle congregazioni dei chierici regolari, di S. Gaetano, ed altri santi fondatori di queste – Avvenimenti memorabili e cose svariate- Ricordi d'uomini illustri per rara beneficenza, per valor militare, ed altro – Sepolcri e monumenti di sovrani, e di particolari distinti – Della feudalità in generale, e sua origine – Della nobilitá suoi titoli e prerogative: ordini cavallereschi napolitani antichi e moderni – Serie cronologica degli antichi duchi di Napoli – Dei sovrani di tutte le dinastie, loro vice re, e luogotenenti – Del re di Gerusalemme, e serie di questi. Memorie storiche. Stamperia e Calcografia, Napoli.*

Chabaille, P., 1863. *Li Livres dou Tresor par Brunetto Latini. Publié pour la première fois d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Imperiale, de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal et plusieurs manuscrits des départements et de l'étranger*. Imprimerie Impériale, Paris.

Chabaille, P., 1877. *Il Tesoro di Brunetto Latini volgarizzato da Bobo Giamboni raffrontato col testo autentico francese. Edito da P. Chabaille. Emendato con MSS. ed illustrato da Luigi Gaiter. Vol. II*. Presso Gaetano Romagboli, Bologna.

Chappuy, G., trad., 1576. *Commentaires hieroglyphiques ov images des choses de Ian Pierivs Valerian, lesquels comme en vn vif tableav est ingenuieusement depeinct & representé l'estat de plusieurs choses antiques: comme de monnoyes, metals, armes, inscriptions & devises, obeliques, pyramides, & autres monuments: outre vne infinité de diuerses & profitables histoires, proverbes & lieux communs: avec la parfaicte interpretation des mysteres d'Aegypte, & de plusieurs passages de l'écriture sainte conformes à iceux, plvs devx livres de Coelivs Curio, tovchant ce qui est signifié par les diuerses images & pourtaits des dieux & des homes*. Par Barthelemy Honorat, Lyon.

Chevallet, A. de, 1857. *Origine et formation de la langue française. Seconde partie. Modifications subies par les éléments primitifs dont s'est formée la langue française*. Imprimerie Impériale, Paris.

Cherrier, C. de, 1844. *Histoire de la lutte des papes et des empereurs de la Maison de Souabe, de ses causes e de ses effets; ou tableau de la domination des princes de Hohenstaufen*

dans le royaume de Deux-Siciles, jusqu'à la mort de Conradini. Tome deuxième. A. Courcier, Libraire-Éditeur, Paris.

- Chistoni, P., 1903. La lonza dantesca, pp. 817-848, in Barbi *et al.*, q. v.
- Cipolla, F., 1895. Comunicazioni. La lonza di Dante. (Lettera al prof. comm. Michele Lessona). [d'Ancona, A. & F. Flamini] *Rassegna bibliografica della letteratura italiana*, Pisa 3: 103-114.
- Cittadella, L. N., 1864. *Notizie relative a Ferrara per la maggior parte inedite, ricavate da documenti ed illustrate da Luigi Napoleone Cittadella*. Tipi di Domenico Taddei, Ferrara.
- Collenuccio, P., 1541. *Compendio delle Historie del regno di Napoli composto da messer Pandolfo Collenuccio iurisconsulto in Pesaro*. Michele Tramezino, Venetia.
- Coneybeare, F. C., 1912. *Philostratus. The life of Apollonius of Tyana. The Epistles of Apollonius and the Treatise of Eusebius. With an English translation. In two volumes. I.* William Heinemann, London & The MacMillan Co., New York.
- Contini, G., 1960. Detto del gatto lopesco, pp. 285-294, in *seu Poeti del Duecento. Volume 2*. Ricciardi, Milano & Napoli.
- Cook, A. S., 1821. *The Old English Physiologus. Text and translation by Albert Stanburrough Cook. Verse translation by James Hall Pitman*. Yale University Press, New Haven.
- Cook, A. S., 1919. *The Old English Elene, Phoenix, and Physiologus*. Yale University Press, New Haven.
- Corneille, T., 1732. *Le Dictionnaire Universel des Arts et des Sciences. De M.D.C. de l'Académie Française. Nouvelle édition revûë, corrigée & augmentée par M.***. Tome premier. A = L*. Chez P. G. Le Mercier Fils, Imprimeur-Libraire, Paris.
- Cornelius a Lapide, 1848. *R. P. C. Cornelii a Lapide e Societate Jesu S. Scripturae olim Lovanii, postea Romae professoris, Commentarii in Sacram Scripturam. Editio recens antuerpiensi, omnium castigatissima, collata. Tomus VI. Pars II. Complectens Commentaria in Quatuor Prophetas Majoris*. Typis Societatis Bibliographicae, Melitae.
- Corré, A. D., ed., 2005. *A glossary of Lingua Franca. Fifth edition*. uwm.edu/~corre/franca/go.html.
- Coster, I., 1555. *Omnia quotquot extant D. Ambrosii episcopi mediolanensis opera, primum per Des. Erasmus roterodamum, mox per Sig. Gelenium, deinde per alios eruditos uiros diligenter castigata; nunc uerò postremum per Ioannem Costarium edita. Index geminis sub finem operis adiectus est foecundissimus. Quartvs tomvs sivi Ambrosii mediolanensis episcopi opervm, continens explanationes, hoc est, ea quae faciunt ad interpretationem scripturarum Veteris Testamenti, cum alijsq' quibusdam, quae uersa facie licet uidere. Hieronymis Frobenis & Nikolaus Episcopus, Basileae*.
- Covarrubias Orozco, S. de, 1611. *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española. Compuesto por el licenciado Don Sebastian de Cobarruias Orozco, capellan de su Magestad*,

maestrescula y canonigo de la santa yglesia de Cuenca, y consultor del Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion. Dirigido a la Magestad Catolica del Rey Don Felipe III. nuestro señor. Luis Sanchez, impresor del Rey N. S., Madrid.

Crapelet, G. A., 1832. *Poésies morales et historiques d'Eustache Deschamps, écuyer, huissier d'armes des rois Charles V et Charles VI, chatelain de Fismes et bailli de Senlis; publiées pour la première fois, d'après le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque du Roi, avec un précis historique et littéraire sur l'auteur.* Imprimerie de Crapelet, Paris.

Crépet, E., 1861. *Les poètes français. Recueil des chefs-d'oeuvre de la poésie française depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours. Avec une notice littéraire sur chaque poète par MM. Charles Asselineau – Hippolyte Babou – Charles Baudelaire – Théodore de Banville – Philoxène Boyer – Charles d'Héricault – Édouard Fournier – Théophile Gautier – Jules Janin – Louis Moland – A. de Montaiglos – Léon de Wailly, ec. Précédé d'une introduction par M. Sainte-Beuve, de l'Académie Française. Tome deuxième. Deuxième période: de Ronsard à Boileau, Gide, Libraire, Paris.*

Cresswell, R., 1862. *Aristotle's History of Animals. In ten books.* Henry G. Bohn, London.

Cuba, J. de (Johann von Wonecke Caub), 1536. *Hortvs Sanitatis, quatuor libris haec quae subsequuntur complectes, De Animalibus & Reptilibus. De Auibus & Volatilibus. De Piscibus et Natatilibus. De Gemmis & in uenis terrae nascentibus. Singula autem capita suis pulchê depicta sunt schematibus siue figuris. Omnia castigatius, quàm hactenus uidere licuit, id quod equus lector ex collatione facile peruidere poterit. Appositus est index, retum quae ad medicinam spectant, quàm copiosissimus.* Mathiam Apiarium, Argentorati.

Cureton, W., 1849. *Corpus Ignatianum: A complete collection of Ignatian epistles, genuine, interpolated, and spurious; together with numerous extracts from them, as quoted by ecclesiastical writers down to the tenth century; in Syriac, Greek, and Latin: An English translation of the Syriac text, copious notes, and introduction.* Asher and C^o., Berlin.

Dacier, A., 1699. *Sex. Pompei Festi et Mar. Verrii Flacci De Verborum Significatione libri XX. Notis et emendationibus illustravit Andreas Dacierius, in usum serenissimi delphini. Accedunt in hac nova editione notae integrae Josephi Scaligeri, Fulvii Ursini, & Antonii Augustini, cum fragmentis & schedis, atque indice novo.* Sumtibus Huguetanorum, Amstelodami.

Dan, P., 1637. *Histoire de Barbarie et de ses corsaires, divisée en six livres. Où il est traité de leur gouvernement, de leurs moeurs, de leurs cruautez, de leurs brigandages, de leurs sortileges, & de plusieurs autres particularitez remarquables.* Chez Pierre Rocolet, Imp. & Libr. ordin. du Roy, Paris.

Dansey, W., 1831. *Arrian on Coursing. The Cynegeticus or the Younger Xenophon, translated from the Greek, with classical and practical annotations, and a brief sketch of the life and writings of the author. To which is added an appendix, containing some account of the canes venatii of classical antiquity.* J. Bohn, London.

Dapper, O., 1668. *Naukerige beschrijvinge der afrikaenshe gewesten van Egypten, Barbaryen, Libyen, Biledulgerid, Negroslant, Guinea, Ethiopien, Abyssinie: Vertoont in benamingen,*

grenspalen, steden revieren, gewassen, dieren, zeeden, drachten, talen, rijkdommen, godsdiensten en heerschappyen. Met lantkaerten en afbeeldingen van steden, drachten, &c. na't leven getekent, en in kooper gesneden. Getrokken uit verscheide bedendaegse lantbeschrijvers en geschriften van bereisde ondersoekers dier landen. By Jacob van Meurs, t' Amsterdam.

Dapper, O., 1686. *Description de l'Afrique, contenant les noms, la situation & les confns de toutes ses parties, leurs rivieres, leurs villes & leurs habitations, leurs plantes & leurs animaux; les moeurs, les coûtumes, la langue, les richesses, la religion & le gouvernement de ses peuples. Avec carte des etats, des provinces & des villes, & des figures en taille-douce, qui representent les habits & les principales ceremonies des habitans, les plantes & les animaux les moins connus. Traduite du flamand.* Chez Wolfgang, Waesberge, Boom & van Someren, Amsterdam.

Dave, K. N., 2005. *Birds in Sanskrit literature.* Jainendra Prakash Jain at Shri Jainendra Press, New Delhi.

De Angelis, F., 1840. *Cenno geneologico delle famigle Ceva-Grimaldi, e Mirella del Cavaliere Francesco De Angelis. Coll'origine de' sedili di Napoli e de' cognomi e soprannomi delle famiglie.* Dalla Tipografia Miranda, Napoli.

De Blois, F., 1990. *Burzōy's voyage to India and the origin of the book of Kalilah wa Dimah.* Royal Asiatic Society, London.

Del Furia, F., 1809. *ΑΙΣΩΠΙΟΥ ΜΥΘΟΙ. Fabulae aesopicae quales ante Planvdem ferebantur. Ex vetusto cod. Abbatiae Florentinae nunc primvm ervtae latina versione notisque exornatae. Pars I.* Typis Carlianis, Florentiae.

De la Chambre, 1667. *Discovrs de l'amitié et de la haine qvi se trovvent entre les animaux.* Chez Clavde Barbin, Paris.

De Putte, E., 1617. *Eryci Pvteani Pietatis Thavmata in Bernardi Bavhysi è Societate Iesv Protevm Parthenivm, vnus libri versvm, vnus versus librum, stellarum numero, siue formis M.XXII. variatum.* Ex Officina Plantiniana, apud Balthasarem & Ioannem Moretos, Antverpiae.

Derenbourg, J., 1881. *Deux versions hébraïques du livre de Kalilâh et Dimnâh. La première accompagnée d'une traduction française. Publiées d'après les manuscrits de Paris et d'Oxford.* F. Vieweg, Libraire-Éditeur, Paris.

Derenbourg, J., 1889. *Johannis de Capua Directorium Vitae Humanae alias parabola antiquorum sapientium. Version latine du livre de Kalilah et Dimnah publiée et annotée par Joseph Derenbourg.* Émile Bouillon, Libraire-Éditeur, Paris.

Desimoni, C., 1884. Actes passés à Famagouste de 1299 a 1300 par devant du notaire génois Lamberto di Sambuceto. *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, Paris 2 (Documents): 3-120.

Deus, J., 1998. *Der "Experimentator" – eine anonyme lateinische Naturencyklopädie des frühen 13. Jahrhunderts.* Dissertation zur Erlangung der Würde des Doktors der

Philosophie des Fachgebietes Geschichtswissenschaft der Universität Hamburg, Hamburg.

- Diez, F., 1853. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der romanischen Sprachen*. Adolph Marcus, Bonn.
- Dindorf, G., 1862. *Epiphanii episcopi constantiae Opera. Vol. IV. Paris I. De mensuris et ponderibus. De gemmis*. T. G. Weigel, Lipsiae.
- Dindorf, L., 1866. *Xenophontis Opuscula Politica, Equestria et Venatica. Cum Arriano Libello de Venatione*, E Typographeo Clarendoniano, Oxonii.
- Divyabhanusinh, 1987. Record of two unique observations of the Indian cheetah in *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*. *Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society* 84 (2): 268-274.
- Doré, G., 1868. *Fables de La Fontaine avec les dessins de Gustave Doré*. Libraire de L. Hachette et C^{IE}, Paris.
- Dorleans, (-), 1594. *Le banquet et apresdinee dv Conte d'Arete, où il se traicte de la dissimulation du Roy de Nauarre, & des moeurs de ses partisans. Par M. Dorleans aduocat du Roy au Parlemēt de Paris*. Chez Guillaume Pichon, Paris.
- Du Bellay, J., 1597. *Les oeuvres francoises de Ioachim dv Bellay, gentil homme angeuin, & poëte excellent de ce temps. Reueuës, & de nouueau augmentees de plusieurs poësies non encores au parauant imprimees. Au Roy Threschrestien Henry III*. Chez la vefue Thomas Mallard, Rouen.
- Duckworth, W. L. D., C. C. Lyons & B. Towesrs, 1962. *Galen on Anatomical Procedures. The later books. A translation by the late W. L. H. Duckworth. Edited by M. C. Lyons and B. Towers*. University Press, Cambridge.
- Egidi, F. & S. Satta, G. B. Festa & G. Ciccone, 1908. *Il Libro de Varie Romanze Volgare. Cod. Vat., 23793*. Presso La Societā, Roma.
- l'Empereur, C., 1633. **בניסין מסעות של רבי** *Itinerarium D. Beniaminis, cum versione & notis Constantini l'Emperevr ab Oppyck, S. T. D. & S. L. P. in Acad. Lugd. Batav. Ex Officinā Elzevirianam, Lvgd. Batavorvm*.
- Epiphanius, 1852. Περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν λίθων τῶν ὄντων ἐν τοῖς στολισμοῖς τοῦ Ἀαρῶν. Sancti Epiphanii episcopi De XII gemmis rationalis summi sacerdotis hebraeorum liber, pp, 169-224, in Dindorf (G.), *q. v.*
- Erasmus de Roterdā, 1703. *Desiderii Erasmi roterodami Opera Omnia emendatiora et avctiora, ad optimas editiones precipve quas ipse Erasmus postremo curavit summa fide exacta, doctorvmqve virorum notis illustrata. Tomvs primvs, qvi continet quae ad institutionem literarvm spectant, vt versa pagina docerit*. Curā & impensis Petro Vander AA, Lvgdvni Batavorum.
- d'Escouchy, M., 1661. Histoire d'une partie du regne de Charles VII. Depuis l'an 1444. iusques à 1461. Mise en escrit par Mathieu d'Escouchy, ou Mathieu de Coucy, residant en la ville

de Peronne, en Vermandois, dont il estoit originaire, & natif du Quesnoy-le-Compte, au Comté de Hainaut, pp. 531-738, in Godefroy, q. v.

Fairbanks, A., 1931. *Philostratus. Imagines. Callistratus. Descriptions. With an English translation.* William Heinemann Ltd., London & G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

Fauriel, C., 1837. *Histoire de la Croisade contre les Hérétiques Albigeois. Écrite en vers provençaux par un poete contemporain.* Imprimerie Royale, Paris.

Fazio degli Uberti, 1952. *Il Dittamondo e le rime, a cura di Giuseppe Corsi. Vol. I. Il Dittamondo.* Laterza, Bari. [“Scrittori d’Italia”].

Ficalho, Conde de, 1891. *Coloquios dos simples e drogas da India por Garcia da Orta. Edição publicada por deliberação da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa.* Imprensa Nacional, Lisboa.

Filguera Valverde, X. & M. X. Fortes Alén, 1995. *Epistolario do P. Sarmiento.* Consello da Cultura Galega, Santiago.

Filippo da Novara, 1994. *Guerra di Federico II in Oriente (1223-1242). Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e note a cura di Silvio Melani.* Liguori, Napoli (“Biblioteca Nuovo Medioevo”, 46).

Finn, A., 1884. *Persian for travelers. Part I. Rudiments of grammar. English-Persian vocabulary.* Trübner & Co., London.

Firenzuola, A., 1822. *La prima veste de’ discorsi degli animali.* Presso il LibraioGio. Torri, Pavia.

Fischer, J. B., 1829. *Synopsis mammalium.* J. G. Cotta, Stuttgartiae.

Fisher, M. H., 2007. *Visions of Mughal India. An anthology of European travel writing.* I. B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., London.

Flutre, L. F. & R. Snyders de Vogel, 1977. *Li Fet des Romains, compilé ensemble de Saluste et de Suetone et de Lucan. Texte critique. Introduction – Commentaires – Index des noms propres – Glossaire.* Slatkine Reprints, Genève.

Forester, T., 1854. *The Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy by Ordericus Vitalis. Translated, with notes, and the introduction of Guizot, by Thomas Forester, M. A.* Henry G. Bohn, London.

Fournel, V., 1887. *Le vieux Paris. Fêtes, jeux et spectacles.* Alfred Mame et Fils, Éditeurs, Tours.

Foville, J. de, 1909. *Les grands artistes. Leur vie – Leur oeuvre. Pisanello et les médailleurs italiens. Étude critique illustrée de vingt-quatre reproductions hors texte.* Librairie Renouard, Henri Laurens, Éditeur, Paris.

- Fradejas Rueda, J. M., 1987. *Libro de los animales que cazan (Kitab al-yawarih)*. Casariego, Madrid [Biblioteca Cinegética Española, 20].
- Franz, W., 1613. *Historia Animalium Sacra in qua plerorumque animalium praecipuae proprietates in gratiam studiosorum theologiae & ministrorum verbi ad usum εικονολογικὸν breviter accomodantur. In Academia VVittebergensi ante annos aliquot dictata à Wolfgango Francio SS. Theol. Doct. Sumtibus Zachariae Schureri & Johannis Gormanni, VVittbergae.*
- Franz, W., 1653. *Historia Animalium Sacra, in qua plerorumq' animalium praecipuae proprietates in gratiam studiosorum theologiae & ministrorum verbi ad usum εικονολογικὸν breviter accomodantur. In Academia VVittebergensi ante annos aliquot dictata à Wolfgango Francio SS. Theol. Doct. Jam denuò emendatius & correctius edita; triplici indice, scilicet capitum, rerum, & locorum è Scripturâ, nec non adagiorum aucta. Editio quinta.* Apud Joannem Janssonium, Amstelodami.
- Freinsheim, J., 1761. *Titus Livius's Roman History from the Building of the City. Translated into English, and illustrated with notes historical and geographical. In eight volumes. Volume VIII.* Printed by A. Donaldson and J. Reid, for Alexander Donaldson, Edinburgh.
- Gaffarel, P., 1878. Protestation de Bertrad d'Ornessan Baron de Saint-Blancard contre la capture de La Pélérine. MDCXXXVIII [sic], pp. 366-372, in sua *Histoire du Brésil français au seizième siècle*. Maisonneuve et C^{ie}, Libraires-Éditeurs, Paris.
- Galeno, C., 1531. *Clavdii Galeni pergameni De anatomicis administrationibus libri nouem, De constitutione artis medicae liber, De Theriaca, ad Pisonem commentariolus, De pulsibus, ad medicinae candidatos liber. Per Ioan. Gvinterivm Andernacvm latinitate iam recens donati.* Apud And. Cratrandum, Basileae.
- Galeno, C., 1533. *Clavdii Galeni pergameni, secvndvm Hippocratem medicorum facile principis, De Usu Partium Corporis Humani libri XVII, magna cura ad exemplaris graeci ueritatem castigati, uniuerso hominum generi apprime necessarij. Nicolao Regio Calabro interprete. Eivsdem De diebus decretorijs libri iii. De morborum temporibus lib. unus. De generalibus morborum temporibus lib. unus. Incerto interprete. De purgantium medicaminum facultate. De his quos purgare oporteat. Quibusq' medicamentis, & quo tempore. De Ptisana. Interprete Ioanne Polito. De renum affectus dignotione & medicatione. Christophoro Heyl Vuissbadensi interprete.* Andr. Cratrandvm et Ioan. Bebelivm, Basileae.
- Gamba, R., 1829. *I viaggi in Asia, in Africa, nel mare dell'Indie descritte nel secolo XIII di Marco Polo veneziano. Testo di lingua detto Il Milione illustrato con annotazioni. Parte I.* Dalla Tipografia di Alvisopoli, Venezia.
- Garver, M. S. & K. McKenzie, 1912. Il Bestiario Toscano secondo la lezione dei codici di Parigi e di Roma, pp. 1-100, in Monaci, E., *Studj romanzi*. Presso la Società, Roma.
- Gaster, M., 1888. Il Physiologus rumeno, edito e illustrato da M. Gaster. *Archivio Glottologico Italiano*, Roma/Torino/Firenze 10: 273-304.

- Gay, V., 1928. *Glossaire archéologique du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance. Tome second. H – Z. Texte revu et complété par Henri Stein. Illustration dirigée par Marcel Aubert.* Éditions Auguste Picard, Paris.
- Gayangos, P. de, 1860. El Libro de los Enzemplos, pp. 443-542, in seu *Biblioteca de autores españoles, desde la formacion del lenguaje hasta nuestros dias. Escritores en prosa anteriores ao siglo XV.* M. Rivadanera – Impresor – Editor, Madrid.
- George, A., 1999. *The Epic of Gilgamesh. The Babylonian epic poem and other texts in Akkadian and Sumerian.* Penguin Books, London.
- Germersheim, I. P., 1563. *Iohan. Posthii Germershemii Tetrasticha in Ovidii Metam, Lib. XV. Qvibus accesserunt Vergilij Solis figurae elegantiss. & iam primùm in lucem editae. Schöne Figuren, ass dem fürtrefflichen Poeten Ovidio, allen Malern, Goldtschmidern, vnd Bildthauwwern, zu nuss vnnd gutem mit fleiss gerissen durch Vergilium Solis, vnnd mit Teutschen Reimen kürztlich erkläret, dergleichen vormals im Truck nie aussgangen, durch Johan. Posthium von Germerssheim.* Apud Georgium Coruinum, Sigismundum Feyrabent, & haeredes VVigandi Galli, Francofurti.
- Gesner, C., 1551. *Conradi Gesner tigurini Historiae Animalim Lib. I. de Quadupedibus uiuiparis. Opvs philosophis, medicis, grammaticis, philologis, poëtis, & omnibus rerum linguarumq' uariarum studiosis, utilissimum simul iucindissimumq' futurum.* Apvd Christ. Froshovervm, Tiguri.
- Gesner, C., 1560. *Icones Animalivm Qvadrpedum Viviparorvm et Oviparorvm, qvae in Historiae Animalivm Conradi Gesneri Libro I. et II. describvntur, cvm nomenclatvris singvlorvm latinis, graecis, italicis, gallicis et germanicis plervnqve, et aliarvm qvoqve lingvarvm, certis ordinibvs digestae. Editio secunda, novis Eiconibus non paucis, & passim nomenclaturis ac descriptionibus auctior. Le figure de gl'animali quadrupedi d'ogni sorte. Les figures & pourtraictz des bestes a quatre piedz de tote sorte. Die Figuren vn Contrafacturen von allerley vierfüssigen Thieren, Accedund et indices secundum diversas linguas in fine libri.* C. Froshovervs, Tigvri.
- Ghinassi, G., 1861. Viaggio a Gerusalemme di Nicolò de Este descritto da Luchino dal Campo ed ora per la prima volta messo in luce, pp. 99-160, in *Reale Commissione pe' Testi di Lingua nelle Provincie dell'Emilia*, orgs., *Collezione di opere inedite o rare dei primi tre secoli della lingua. Volume primo.* Dall'Unione Tipografico-Editrice, Torino.
- Giamboni. B., 1839. *Il Tesoro di Brunetto Latini volgarizzato da Bono Giamboni. Volume I.* Tipi del Gondoliere, Venezia.
- Giannone, P., 1865. *Istoria civile del regno di Napoli. Volume IV.* Mariano Lombardi Editore, Napoli.
- Giles, J. A., 1847. *William of Malmesbury Chronicle of the Kings of England. From the earliest period to the reign of King Stephen. With notes and illustrations.* Hentu G. Bohm. London.
- Gioacchino da Fiore, 1527. *Expositio magni prophete Abbatis Joachim in Apocalipsim.* In *Calcographia Francisci Bindoni & Maphei Pasyni, Venetiis.*

- Giustinian, B., 1692. *Historie cronologiche dell'origine degl'ordini militari e di tutte le religioni cavalleresche infino d hora istituite nel mondo, insegne, croci, stendardi, habiti capitolari, ò di cerimonia, statuti, e costituzioni di adun'ordine. Guerre campali, e nauali, azioni, fatti celebri, & imprese de caualieri; confederazioni, trattati, paci, & auenimenti per difesa del nome Christiano, e propagazione della fede cattolica. Serie di tutti i prencipi gran maestri, ordini di dami, & degl'infideli &c. Con le loro diuise. Opera dell'abbate Bernardo Givstinian caualiere gran croce nell'ordine imperiale di. S. Giorgio, &c. Parte seconda* Presso Combi, & LàNoù, Venezia.
- Godefroy, D., 1661. *Histoire de Charles VII. Roy de France, par Ian Chartier, sous-chantre de S. Denys, Iacques le Bovvier, dit Berry, Roy d'armes, Mathiev de Covcy, et avtres avthevrs dy temps. Qui contient les choses les plus memorables, aduenuës depuis l'an 1422. iusques en 1461. Mise en lumiere, & enrichie de plusieurs titres, memoires, traitez, & autres pieces historiques, par Denys Godefroy Conseiller & Historiographe du Roy.* Imprimerie Royale, Paris.
- Godefroy, J., 1713. *Lettres du Roy Louis XII, avec plusieurs autres lettres, memoires & instructions écrites depuis 1504. jusques & compris 1514. Divisées en IV. tomes & enrichies de portraits en taille douce. Tome second.* François Foppens, Brusselle.
- Godley, A. D., 1928. *Herodotus. With an English translation. In four volumes. II. Books III and IV.* William Heinemann, London & G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.
- Goes, D. de, 1566. *Chronica do felicissimo Rey Dom Emanvuel, composta por Damiam de Goes, dividida em qvatro partes, das quaes esta he ha primeira.* Em casa de Françisco Correa, impressor do serenissimo Cardeal Infante, Lisboa.
- Goetz, G., 1878. *T. Marci Plavti Epidicvs. Comoediarum Plavtinarvm tomi I fascicvlvs II.* In Aedibvs B. G. Tevbneri, Lipsiae.
- Gombert, A., 1828. *The French Drama. Esther, tragédie, tirée de l'Ecriture Sainte par J. Racine. Being the seventh of a selection of the most approved plays. Illustrated by arguments in English, at the head of each scene. With notes, critical and explanatory. For the use of schools and private students.* Printed for John Souter, at the School Library, London.
- Gorrée, J., 1557. *NIKANΔPOY AΛEXIΦAPMAKA. Nicandri Alexipharmaca. Io. Gorreo parisiensi medico interprete. Eivsdem interpretis in Alexipharmaca praefatio, omnem de venenis disputationem summatim complectens, & annotationes.* Apud Guil, Morelium, in Graecis typographicum regium, Parisiis.
- Gottheil, R., 1889. The Greek Physiologus and its Oriental translations. *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 15 (2): 120-124. [Resenha do livro de Peters, 1898].
- Gotti, A., org., 1858. *L'Eneide di Virgilio vulgarizzata nel buon secolo della lingua da Ciampolo di Meo degli Ugurgeri.* Felice Le Monnier, Firenze.

- Graeff, J. G., org., 1699. *Thesavrvs antiqvitatvm romanarvm congestus a Joanne Georgio Graevio. Accesserunt variae & accuratae tabulae aeneae. Tomvs nonvs. Petrvm vander AA, Lugd. Batavor. & Franciscvm Halmam, Traject. ad Rhen.*
- Gramaye, J. B., 1622. *I. B. Gramaye Africae illvstratae libri decem, in qvibvs Barbaria gentesqve eivs vt olim, et nvnc describvntvr. Historia ecclesiastica, gothica, vandastica, turcica, mauryca, numidica, carthaginensis & insularum, ab vltima antiquitate ad nostra vsque tempora deducitur. Et denique regna Argela, Tuneis, Tipolis, Marocci, Fessa aliaque graphice depinguntur, cum adictio speculo miseriarum barbaricarum, & medijs reducendi illuc religionem & debellandi pyratas & Africa ejiciendis, ab auctore ann. 1619. ist hic versato concinnata collataque ad aliorum testum ocularorum fidem. Ex Officini Adriani Qvinqvé Typographi Iurati, Tornaci Nerviorum.*
- Grandville, (J. J.) [Jean Ignace Isisore Gérard], 1870. *Fables de La Fontaine. Illustrations de Grandville reportées sur bois par A. Desperet, gravées par Brendamour, Recteur de l'Intitut Xylographique de Dusseldorf. 240 sujets (un pour chaque fable) et un frontispice. Alfred Mame et Fils, Éditeurs, Tours.*
- Gray, J. C., 1868. *Topics for teachers: A manual for ministers, bible-class leaders, and Sunday-school teachers. Vol. I. – Nature – Man. Elliot Stock, London.*
- Gray, J. E., 1857. Notice on a new species of jaguar from Mazatlan living in the gardens of the Zoological Society. *Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London* 25: 278, Pl. LVIII.
- Griffith, E., C. H. Smith & E. Pidgeon, 1827. *The Class Mammalia arranged by the Baron Cuvier, with specific descriptrions. Printed for Geo. B. Whittaker, London.*
- Grossinger, J. B., 1793. Barbara, & exotica nomina animalium, eorumque brevis expositivo, pp. 524-591, in seu *Universa historia physica Regni Hungariae secundum tria regna naturae digesta. Tomus I. Regni animalis. Pars I. Zoologia sive historia quadrupedum. Sumptibus & Typis Simonis Petri Weber, Posonii & Comaromii [= Bratislava & Komárom].*
- Gryson, R., ed., 1994. *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem adiuvantibus B. Fischer, I. Gribomont, H. F. D. Sparks, W. Thiele. Recensuit et brevi apparatu critico instruxit Robertus Weber. Editionem quartam emendavit cum sociis B. Fischer, H. I. Frede, H. F. D. Sparks, W. Thiele praeparavit Roger Gryson. Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, Stuttgart.*
- Guerreiro, F., S. J., 1609. *Relaçam annal das covsas qve fezeram os Padres da Companhia de Iesvs nas partes da India Oriental, & em algũas outras da conquista deste reyno no anno de 606. & 607. & do processo da conuersaõ, & Christandade daquellas partes. Tirada das cartas dos mesmos padres que de là vierão: Pelo padre Fernão Guerreiro da Companhia de Iesv natural de Almodouar de Portugal. Vai dividida em quatro liuros: O primeiro da Prouincia de Iapão, & China. O segundo da Prouincia do Sul. O terceiro da Prouincia do Norte. O quarto de Guiné, & Brasil. Pedro Crasbeeck, Lisboa.*
- Guichard, E., 1626. *La concordance des langves, en laqvelle l'affinité qu'elles ont les vnes avec les autres est declarée, & comment par le changement de quelques lettres la diuersité des langages s'est formée. Le tout disposé selon l'ordre de l'alphabet hebraïque. Par Estienne Gvichart, professeur ès langues. Oeuure non seulement vtile aux amateurs de*

l'etymologie des langues, mais aussi tres-necessaire à tous desireux d'apprendre plusieurs languages en peu de temps. Chez Simon Perier, Paris.

Guillemot, M., 1613. *Histoire de la mort deplorabile de Henry III. Roy de France et de Navarre. Ensemble vn Poeme, vn Panegyrique, vn Discours funebre, & vn Eloge. Dressé à sa memoire immortelle.* Chez la Vefue M. Gvillemot & S. Thibovst, Paris.

Guillon, N. S., 1803 [An XI]. *La Fontaine et tous les fabulistes, ou La Fontaine comparé avec ses modèles et ses imitateurs. Nouvelle édition, avec des observations critiques, grammaticales, littéraires, et des notes d'histoire naturelle; par M. N. S. Guillon. Tome second.* V^e. Nyon, Libraire, Paris & La Librairie Française de J. L. Nyon, Milan.

Guizot, M., 1825. *Collection des mémoires relatives à l'histoire de France, depuis la fondation de la monarchie française jusqu'au 13^e siècle. Avec une introduction, des suppléments, des notices et des notes. Histoire des Croisades par Jacques de Vitry.* J.-L.-J. Brière, Libraire, Paris.

Halna-Klein, E., 1995. Sur les traces du lynx. *Médiévales* 28: 119-128.

Haly filius abbas [‘Ali ibn al-‘Abbas al-Majudi], 1523. *Liber totius medicinae necessaria cōtinens quem sapientissimus Haly filius abbas discipulus abimeher moysi filii seiar edidit; regi q’ inscripsit. vnde et regalis dispositionis nomē assumpsit. Et a stephano philosophie discipulo ex arabica lingua in latinam satis ornatam reductus. Necnon a domino michaele de capella artium et medicine doctore secundis sinonimis a multis e diuersis autoribus ab eo collectis illustrat’ sūmaq’ diligētia impressis.* Typis Jacobi Myt, Lugduni.

Hardy, T. D., 1860. *Wilhelmi Malmesburiensis monachi Gesta Regum Anglorum, atque Historia Novella. Ad fidem codicum manuscriptorum recesuit Thomas Duffus Hardy. Volumen II.* Sumptibus Societatis, Londini.

Heider, G. & J. V. Häufler, 1850. Incipit dicta Joh. Crisostomi De naturis bestiarum, in seu Archäologische Notizen. Gesammelt auf einem Ausfluge nach Herzogenburg, Göttweih, Melk und Seitenstätten im September 1849. *Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geshichts-Quellen (Dritter Jahrgang)*, Wien 2: 541-582.

Helmreich, G., 1907. ΓΑΛΗΝΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΚΡΕΙΑΣ ΜΟΡΙΑΝ ΙΖ’. *Galenus De Usu Partium libri XVII. Ad codicum fidem recensuit Georgius Helreich. Vol. I. Libros I – VIII continens.* In aedibus B. G. Treubneri, Lipsiae.

Hemprich, F. G. & C. G. Ehrenberg, 1828. *Symbolae physicae seu Icones et descriptiones corporum naturalium novorum aut minus cognitorum quae ex itineribus Libyam Aegyptum Nubium Dongalam Syriam Arabiam et Habessiniam publico institutis sumptu Friderici Guilelmi Hemprich et Christiani Godofredi Ehrenberg Medicinae et Chirurgiae Doctorum studio annis MDCCCXX-MDCCCXXV dedierunt. Pars Zoologica I. Ex Officina Academica, Berolini.*

Henderson, J., 1821. Appendix. Zoology, pp. 501-515, in seu *A history of the Brazil; comprising its geography, commerce, colonization, aboriginal inhabitants, &c. &c. &c.* Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, London.

- Henschen, G., D. Papebroch, F. Baert & C. Janning, 1701. Die decima septima iunii. De S. Raynerio solitario Pisis in Hetruria, pp. 421-469, in seu *Acta sanctorum iunii, ex latinis & graecis aliarumque gentium monumentis, servatâ primigeniâ veterum scriptorum phrasi, collecta, digesta, commentariisque & observationibus illustrata a Godefrido Henschenio P. M., Daniele Papabrochio, Francisco Baertio, et Conrado par Janningo, è Societate Jesu presbyteris theologis. Tomus III, Sanctos à die XVI ad XX colendos complexus: cum tractatu preliminarî, qui continet Leges Palatinae Jacobi II, Regis Majoricae, similiter illustratas.* Apud Viduam Henrici Thieullier, Antverpiae.
- Herculano, A., org., 1856. *Portvgaliae Monvments Historica a saecvlo octavo post Christum vsqve ad qvintvumdecimvm ivssv Academiae Scientiarum Olisiponensis edita. Leges et Consvetvdines. Volvmen I.* Typis Academicis, Olisipone.
- d'Héricault, C. & A. de Montaiglon, 1858. *Oeuvres completes de Gringore. Tome I. Oeuvres politiques.* Chez P. Jannet, Libraire, Paris.
- [Hildebertus, 1490. *Physiologus Theobaldi episcopi de naturis duodecî animalium.* [Heinrich Quentel, Köln].
- Hippeau, C., 1852. *Le Bestiaire Divin de Guillaume, clerc de Normandie, trouvère du XIII^e. siècle, publié d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, avec une introduction sur les bestiaires, volucraires et lapidaires du Moyen Âge, considérés dans leurs rapports avec la symbolique chrétienne.* Chez A. Hardel, Imprimeur-Libraire, Caen.
- Hippeau, C., 1860. *Le Bestiaire d'Amour par Richard de Fournival suivi de la Reponse de la Dame. Enrichi de 48 dessins gravés sur bois. Publiés pour la première fois d'après le manuscrit de la Bibiothèque Impériale.* Chez Auguste Aubry, Paris.
- Holbrook, R. T., 1902. *Dante and the animal kingdom.* The Columbia University Press, New York & MacMillan & Co., Ltd., London.
- Holder-Egger, O., 1933. *Cronica fratris Salimbene de Adam Ordinis Minorum.* Impensis Bibliopolii Hanniani, Hannoverae et Lipiae [Societas Aperiendis Fontibus Rerum Germanicarum Medii Aevi: Monumenta Germaniae Historica inde ab anno Christi qvingentesimi vsque ad annvm millesimvm et qvingentesimvm. Scriptorum Tomvs XXXII].
- Holtus, G., 1985. *La versione franco-italiana della 'Bataille d'Aliscans'. Codex Marcianus fr. VIII [= 252]. Texto con introduzione, note e glossario.* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, vol. 205). Niemeyer, Tübingen.
- Hommel, F., 1877. *Die aethiopische Uebersetzung des Physiologus, nach je iner londoner, pariser und wiener Handschrift herausgegeben, verdeutscht und mit einer historischen Einleitung versehen.* J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig.
- Hommel, F., 1879. *Die Namen der Säugethiere bei den südsemitischen Völkern als Beiträge zur arabischen und äthiopischen Lexicographie, zur semitische Kulturforschung und Sprachvergleichung und zur Geschichte der Mittelmeerfauna. Mit steter*

Berücksichtigung auch der assyrischen und hebräische Thiernamen und geographischen und literaturgeschichtlichen Excursen. J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig.

- Hommel, F., 1890. Der äthiopische Physiologus. *Romanische Forschungen. Organ für romanische Sprachen und Mittellatein*, Erlangen 5: 13-36.
- Houttuyn, F., 1761b. *Natuurlyke historie of uitvoerige beschryving der dieren, planten en mineraalen, volgens het samenstel van den heer Linnaeus. Met naauwkeurige afbeeldingen. Eerste deels. Tweede stuk. Vervolg van der zoogende dieren.* Amsterdam.
- Huillard-Bréholles, J. L. A., 1840. *Grande Chronique de Matthieu Paris. Tome quatrième.* Paulin, Libraire-Éditeur, Paris.
- Huillard-Bréholles, J. L. A., 1857. *Historia diplomatica Friderici Secundi sive constitutiones, privilegia, mandata, instrumenta quae supersunt istius imperatoris et filiorum ejus. Accedunt epistolae paparum et documenta varia. Collegit, ad fidem chartarum et codicum recensuit, juxta seriem annorum disposuit et notis illustravit J.-L.-A. Huillard-Bréholles, in Archivio Caesareo Parisiensis archivarium. Auspiciis et sumptibus H. de Albertis de Luynes, unius ex Academiae Inscriptionum sociis. Tomus V. Pars I.* Excudebat Henricus Plon, Parisiis.
- Huillard-Bréholles, J. L. A., 1859. *Historia diplomatica Friderici Secundi sive constitutiones, privilegia, mandata, instrumenta quae supersunt istius imperatoris et filiorum ejus. Accedunt epistolae paparum et documenta varia. Collegit, ad fidem chartarum et codicum recensuit, juxta seriem annorum disposuit et notis illustravit J.-L.-A. Huillard-Bréholles, in Archivio Caesareo Parisiensis archivarium. Auspiciis et sumptibus H. de Albertis de Luynes, unius ex Academiae Inscriptionum sociis. Tomus V. Pars II.* Excudebat Henricus Plon, Parisiis.
- Jacobs, J., 1888. *The earliest English version of the Fables of Bidpai, "The Morall Philosophy of Doni" by Sir Thomas North, whilom of Peterhouse, Cambridge. Now again edited and introduced by Joseph Jacobs, late of St. John's College, Cambridge.* David Nott, London.
- Jaschke, R., 2007. *Hypocrene concise dictionary. English-Arabic, Arabic-English. Romanized for the spoken Arabic of Egypt and Syria. Eleventh printing.* Hypocrene Books Inc., New York.
- Jefferson, T., 1829. A comparative view of the quadrupeds of Europe and of America, pp. 48-50, *in seu Notes on the State of Virginia.* Wells and Lilly, Boston.
- Jodelle, É., 1872. *Ode de la Chasse par Estienne Jodelle.* Alphonse Lemerre, Éditeur, Paris.
- Johannes de Capua, ca. 1489. *Directorium humanae vitae.* Johann Pröss, Strasbourg.
- Jones, H. L., 1930. *The Geography of Strabo. With an English translation. In eight volumes. VII.* William Heinemann Ltd, London & G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.
- Jones, H. L., 1967. *The Geography of Strabo. With an English translation. In eight volumes. VIII.* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. & William Heinemann Ltd., London.

- Jones, W. H. S. & H. A. Ormerod, 1918. *Pausanias. Description of Greece. With an English translation. In six volumes. I. Books I and II.* William Heinemann, London & G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.
- Jones, W. H. S. & H. A. Ormerod, 1926. *Pausanias. Description of Greece. With an English translation. In six volumes. II. Books III-V.* William Heinemann, London & G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.
- Jonstonus, J., 1650. *Historiae natvralis de Quadrupetibvs libri cum aeneis figuris.* Impensis Haeredum Math. Meriani, Francofvrti ad Moenum.
- Joost, W., 1993. *Die wundersamen Reisen des Caspar Schmalkalden nach West- und Ostindien. Nach einer bisher unveröffentlichten Handschrift bearbeitet und herausgegeben von...* Acta Humaniora, Leipzig.
- Jubinal, A., 1839. *Oeuvres completes de Rutebeuf, trouvère du XIII^e siècle recueillies et mises au jour pour la première fois par Achille Jubinal Membre de la Société Royale des Antiquaires de France. I.* Édouard Pannier, Paris.
- Jubinal, A., 1874. *Oeuvres completes de Rutebeuf trouvère du XIII^e siècle recueillies et mise au jour pour la première fois par Achille Jubinal ex-profeseur de Faculté, ancien Deputé. Nouvelle édition, revue et corrigée. Tome premier.* Paul Daffis, Éditeur-Propriétaire de la Bibliothèque Elzevirienne, Paris.
- Karajan, T. V. von, 1866. Physiologus, pp. 71-106, in seu *Deutsche Sprach-Denkmale der zwölfte Jahrhundert zum ersten Male herausgegeben. Mit XXXII Bildern und einem Facsimile der Hs.* Braumüller und Seidel, Wien.
- Kehrein, J., 1865. *Das Annolied. Genauer Abdruck des Opitzischen Textes.* Verlag für Kunst und Wissenschaft, Frankfurt a. M.
- Keith-Falconner, I. G. N., 1885. *Kalilah and Dimnah or the Fables of Bidpai: Being an account of their literary history with an English translation of the later Syriac version of the same, and notes.* At the University Press, Cambridge.
- Keller, A. von, 1858. *Der trojanische Krieg von Konrad von Würzburg nach den Vorarbeiten K. Frommanns und F. Roths zum ersten Mal herausgegeben durch Adelbert von Keller.* Gedruckt auf Kosten des Litterarischen Vereins, Stuttgart.
- Keller, O., 1891. *Lateinische Volkssentomologie und verwandtes.* Druck und Verlag von B. G. Teubner, Leipzig.
- Keller, O., 1909. *Die antike Tierwelt. Erster Band: Säugetiere. Mit 145 Abbildungen im Text und 3 Lichtdrucktafeln.* Verlag von Wilhelm Engelmann, Leipzig.
- Kent, R. G., 1938a. *Varro on the Latin Language. With an English translation. In two volumes. I. Books V-VII.* William Heinemann Ltd., London & Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Kent, R. G., 1938b. *Varro on the Latin Language. With an English translation. In two volumes.*

II Books VIII-X. Fragments. William Heinemann Ltd., London & Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.

Ker, W. C. A., 1919. *Martial. Epigrams. With an English translation.* William Heinemann, London & G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

Kern, H., 1884. *The Saddharma-Pundarika or The Lotus of the True Law.* Clarendon Press, Oxford. [F. M. Müller, ed., *The Sacred Books of the East translated by various oriental scholars. Vol. XXI*].

Killermann-Regensburg, S., 1914. Das Tierbuch des Petrus Candidus geschrieben 1460, gemalt im 16. Jahrhundert. (Codex Vaticanus Urb. Lat. 176). Zum erstenmahl behandelt. *Zoologische Annalen. Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Zoologie*, Würzburg 6: 1-113.

King, C. W., 1865. *The natural history, ancient and modern, of precious stones and gems, and of the precious metals.* Bell and Dady, London & Deighton, Bell, and Co., Cambridge.

Kircher, A., S. J., 1675. *Arca Noë, in tres libros digesta, quorum I. De rebus quae ante Diluvium, II. De iis, quae ipso Diluvio ejusque duratione, III. De iis, quae post Diluvium à Noëmo gesta sunt. Quae omnia novâ methodo, nec non summa argumentorum varietate, explicantur, & demonstrantur.* Apud Joannem Janssonium à Waesberge, Amstelodami.

Kitto, J., 1839. *The pictorial Bible; being the Old and the New Testaments according to the authorized version: Illustrated with many hundred woodcuts, representing the historical events, after celebrated pictures, the landscape scenes, from original drawings, or from authentic engravings; and the subjects of natural history, costume, and antiquities from the best sources. To which are added, original notes, chiefly explanatory of the engravings, and of such passages connected with the history, geography, natural history, and antiquities of the Sacred Scriptures as require observation. Volume III.* Charles Knight & Co., London.

Klaproth, J., 1836. *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie. Avec une carte de la Géorgie. Nouvelle édition. Tome second.* Librairie de Charles Gosselin, Paris.

Knatchbull, W., 1819. *Kalila and Dimna, or The Fables of Bidpai. Translated from the Arabic.* Printed by W. Baxter, for J. Parker; and Messrs. Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, Oxford.

Kolbe, P., 1719. *Caput Bonnae Spei hodiernum. Das ist: Vollständig Beschreibung des africanischen Vorgebürgers der Guten Hoffnung. Worinnen in dreyen Theilen abgehandelt wird, wie es heut zu Tage, nach seiner Situation und Eigenschaft aussihet; ingleichen was ein Natur-Forscher in den dreyen Reichen der Natur daselbst findet und antrifft: Wie nicht weniger, was die eigenen Einwohner die Hottentotten, von seltsame Sitten und Gebräuche haben: Und endlich alles, was die Europaei daselbst gestisteten Colonien anbetrifft. Mit angefügter genugsamer Nachricht, wie es auf des Auctoris Hinein- und Heraus-Weise zugegangen; auch was sich Zeit seiner langen Anwesenheit, an diesem Vorgebürhe merckwürdiges ereignet hat. Nebst noch vielen andern curieusen und bitzhero unbekandt-gewesenen Erzehlungen, mit wahrhafter Feder ausführlich entworfen: auch mit nöthigen Kupfern gezieret, und einem doppelten Register versehen.* Bey Peter Conrad Monath, Nürnberg.

Kolbe, P., 1727a. *Naaukerige en uitvoerige beschryving van de Kaap de Goede Hoop, behelzende een zeer omstandig verhaal van den tegenwoordigen toestand van dat vermaarde gewest, deszelfs gelegenheit, havenm sterkte, regerings-vorm, uitgestrektheit, en onlangs ontdekte aanleggende landen; nevens een geleerde beschryving van het klimaat en aart van det landschap; van deszelfs dieren, visschen, vogelen, plantes, kruiden, mitsgader verscheide wonderen der natuur, daar the lande ontdeekt; waar by nog komt, een zeer nette en uit eige ondervinding oppgemaakte beschryving van den oorsprong der Hottentotten: vervattende een merkwaardig bericht van derzelve tale, godsdienst, levenswyze, zeldzame overleveringen, gewoonten, maniere van trouwen, besnydenis, opvoeding; als mede veele andere kurieuse waarnemingen aangaande de zeden van de die natie; den toestand van die colonie en euroapeaansche inwoners: in gene andere beschryving van dit gewest vinden. Met kurieuse, nieuwe en nodige kaarten en vele printverbeeldingen oogheldert en versiert. Eerste deel. By Balthazar Lakeman, te Amsterdam.*

Kolbe, P., 1727b. *Naaukerige en uitvoerige beschryving van de Kaap de Goede Hoop, behelzende een zeer omstandig verhaal van den tegenwoordigen toestand van dat vermaarde gewest, deszelfs gelegenheit, havenm sterkte, regerings-vorm, uitgestrektheit, en onlangs ontdekte aanleggende landen; nevens een geleerde beschryving van het klimaat en aart van det landschap; van deszelfs dieren, visschen, vogelen, plantes, kruiden, mitsgader verscheide wonderen der natuur, daar the lande ontdeekt; waar by nog komt, een zeer nette en uit eige ondervinding oppgemaakte beschryving van den oorsprong der Hottentotten: vervattende een merkwaardig bericht van derzelve tale, godsdienst, levenswyze, zeldzame overleveringen, gewoonten, maniere van trouwen, besnydenis, opvoeding; als mede veele andere kurieuse waarnemingen aangaande de zeden van de die natie; den toestand van die colonie en euroapeaansche inwoners: in gene andere beschryving van dit gewest vinden. Met kurieuse, nieuwe en nodige kaarten en vele printverbeeldingen oogheldert en versiert. Tweede deel. By Balthazar Lakeman, te Amsterdam.*

Kolbe, P., 1731a. *The present state of the Cape of Good-Hope: Or, A particular account of the several nations of the Hottentots: Their religion, government, laws, customs, ceremonies, and opinions; their art of war, professions, languages, genius, &c. Together with a short account of the Dutch settlements at the Cape. Written originally in High German, by Peter Kolben, A. M. Done into English from the original by Mr. Medley. Illustrated with copper plates [Volime I]. Printed for W. Innys, London.*

Kolbe, P., 1731b. *The present state of the Cape of Good Hope. Vol. II. Containing, the natural history of the Cape; or, a particular description of all the sort of animals and vegetables in that neighbourhood; as of beasts, birds, insects, sea- and river-fish; trees, shrubs, plants, herbs, roots and flowers. Likewise an account of the mineral productions, and of the sea-, river-, and spring-waters there. Together with some observations on the cape-winds and air. To which is prefix'd, a topographical account of the colonies there; as, of their extent, rivers, springs, mountains, roads, places of note &c. Written originally in High German, by Peter Kolben, A. M. Done into English, from the original, by Mr. Medley. Illustrated with copper plates. Printed for W. Innys and G. Smith, London,*

Kolbe, P., 1742c. *Description du Cap de Bonne-Esperance, où l'on trouve tout ce qui concerne l'histoire naturelle du pays; la religion, les moeurs & les usages des Hottentots; et*

l'établissement des hollandais. Tirés des memoires de Mr. Pierre Kolbe, Maître ès Arts. Dressés pendant un séjour de dix années dans cette colonie, où il avoit été envoyé pour faire des observations astronomiques et physiques. Tome premier. Chez Jean Catuffe, Amsterdam.

Kolbe, P., 1742d. *Description du Cap de Bonne-Esperance, où l'on trouve tout ce qui concerne l'histoire naturelle du pays; la religion, les moeurs & les usages des Hottentots; et l'établissement des hollandais. Tirés des memoires de Mr. Pierre Kolbe, Maître ès Arts. Dressés pendant un séjour de dix années dans cette colonie, où il avoit été envoyé pour faire des observations astronomiques et physiques. Tome second.* Chez Jean Catuffe, Amsterdam.

Kostov, R. I., 2008. *Orphic Lithica* as a source of late antiquity mineralogical knowledge. *Annual of the University of Mining and Geology St. Ivan Rilski*, Sofia 51 (1: Geology and Geophysics): 109-115.

Krauss, J. U., 1690. *Die Verwandlungen des Ovidi in zweyhundert und sechs und zwanzig Kùpfern.* [s. n.], Augsburg.

Kressner, A., 1885. *Rustebuef's Gedichte, Buch den Handschriften der Pariser National-Bibliothek.* Druck und Verlag von Julius Zwissler, Wolffenbüttel.

Labbe, P. & J. Löwenklau, 1729. *TOY KYPOY MIXAHA ΓΛΥΚΑ ΣΙΚΕΛΙΩΤΟΥ ΒΙΒΛΟΣ ΧΡΟΝΙΚΗ. Michaelis Glycae siculi, Annales, a mundi exordio usque ad obitum Alexii Commeni imper. Quatuour in partis tributi. Philippus Labbe... Joannis Leuunklavii... Ex Typographia Barthlomeaei Javarina, Venetiis.*

La Chambre, M. C. de, 1667. *Discovrs de l'amitié et de la haine qvi se trovvnt entre les animaux.* Chez Clavde Barbin, Paris.

Lachmann, K., 1845. *Aviani Fabulae. Carolus Lachmannus recensuit et emendavit.* Typis et Impensis Ge. Reimeri. Berolini.

Lacroix, P. & F. Seré, 1848. *Le Moyen Âge et la Renaissance, histoire et description des moeurs et usages, du commerce et de l'industrie, des sciences, des arts, des literatures et des beaux-arts en Europe. Tome premier.* Administration, Paris.

La Du, M. S., 1937. *The Medieval French Roman d'Alexandre. Vol. I. Text of the Arsenal and Venice Versions.* Princeton University Press, Princeton.

Lajolo, G., 1906. *Simdoli [sic; Simboli] ed enigma danteschi. Esposizione ragionata delle alegorie più notevoli e controverse della Divina Commedia, Volume primo.* Casa Editrice Nazionale Roux e Viarengo, Roma-Torino.

Lamberg, M., 1899. *Brasilien. Land und Leute in ethischer, politischer und volkswirtschaftlicher Beziehung und Entwicklung. Erlebnisse, Studien und Erfahrungen während eines zwanzigjährigen Aufenthaltes.* Hermann Zieger, Leipzig.

Lambros, S. P., 1885. *Excerptorum Constantini De Natura Animalium libri duo. Aristophanes Historiae Animalium Epitome, subiuncti Aeliani Timothei aliorumque eclogis. Consilio*

et auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Regiae Borussicae. Typis et Impensis Georgii Reimer, Berolini.

- Lami, G., 1736. *Deliciae ervditorvm sev vetervm ANEKΔOTΩN. Opvscularvm collectanea. Io. Lamivs collegit, illustravit, edidit. Michaelis Glycae epistolarvm pars prima. Ex Typographio Petr. Caiet. Vivianii, Florentiae.*
- Land, J. P. N., 1875. *Anecdota syriaca. Collegit edidit explicuit J. P. N. Land. Tomus quartus. Insunt tabulae VIII. E. J. Brill, Lugduni Batavorum.*
- Latrie, Comte De Mas, 1882. *Histoire des archevêques latins de l'Île de Chypre. Imprimerie de l'Institut Royal des Sourds-Muets, Gênes.*
- Lauchert, F., 1889. *Geschichte des Physiologus. Mit zwei Textbeilagen. Verlag von Karl J. Trübner, Strassburg.*
- Lauchert, F., 1890. Zum Physiologus. *Romanische Forschungen. Organ für romanische Sprachen und Mittellatein, Erlangen 5: 3-36.*
- Lavallée, J., 1854. *La chasse de Gaston Phoebus Comte de Foix. Envoyé par lui à Messire Philippe de France, Duc de Bourgogne. Collationée sur un manuscrit appartenu à Jean I^{er} de Foix, avec des notes et la vie de Gaston Phoebus. Au Bureau du Journal des Chasseurs, Paris.*
- Leake, W. M., 1826. *An edict of Diocletian, fixing a naximum of prices throughout the Roman Empire. A. D. 303. John Murray, London.*
- Leech, J., 1623. *Ioannis Leochaei Epigrammatum Libri Quatuor. Excudebat Bernardus Alsopus, Londini.*
- Lefranc, A., ed., 1896. *Les dernières poesies de Marguerite de Navarre publiées pour la première fois avec une introducton et des notes. Armand Colin & C^{ie}, Éditeurs, Paris.*
- Lehuteur, A., 1870. *La Chanson de Rolland. Poème français du Moyen Âge. Librairie Hachette et C^{ie}, Paris.*
- Lemery, N., 1727. *Dictionnaire ou traité universel des drogues simples. Où l'on trouve leurs differens noms, leur origine, leur choix, les principes qu'elles renferment, leurs qualitez, leur étymologie. & tout ce qu'il y a de particulier dans les Animaux, les Vegetaux, & dans les Minéraux. Ouvrage dépendant de la Pharmcvopée Universelle. Quatrième edition. Revûe, corrigée, & beaucoup augmentée par l'auteur. Avec des figures en taille douce, Chez Jean Hoffhout, Rotterdam.*
- Lemery, N., 1759. *Dictionnaire universel des drogues simples, contenant leurs noms, origine, choix, principes, vertus, étymologie; & ce qu'il y a de particulier dans les Animaux, dans le Végétaux & dans les Minéraux. Ouvrage nécessaire à ceux qui ont la Pharmacopée Universelle du même auteur. Nouvelle édition. Avec figures. Chez Theophile Barrois, Libraire, Paris.*
- [Leo Africanus], 1556a. *Historiale description de l'Afrique, tierce partie dv monde, contenant*

ses royaumes, regions, viles, citez, chateus & forteresses: Iles, fleuves, animaux, tant aquatiques, que terrestres: coutumes, loix, religion & façon de faire des habitâs, avec pourtraits de leurs habits: ensemble autres choses memorables, & singulieres nouuautez: Ecrite de nôtre temps par Iean Leon, African, premierement en langue arabesque, puis en toscane, & à present mise en françois. Imprimerie de Christophle Plantin, Anvers.

[Leo Africanus], 1556b. *Historiale description de l’Afrique, tierce partie dv monde, contenant ses royaumes, regions, viles, cites, chateaux & forteresses: Iles, fleuves, animaux, tant aquatiques, que terrestres: coutumes, loix, religion & façon de faire des habitâs, avec pourtraits de leurs habits: ensemble autres choses memorables, & singulieres nouuautes: Ecrite de nôtre temps par Iean Leon, African, premierement en langue arabesque, puis en toscane, & à present mise en françois. Plus, cinq navigations au païs des noirs, avec les discours sur icelles, comme verrés en la page suiivante.* Iean Temporal, Lyon.

Le Prevost, A., 1852. *Orderici Vitalis angligenae, Coenobii Uticensis monachi, Historiae Ecclesiasticae libri tredecim; ex veteris codicis uicensis collatione emendavit, et suas animadversiones adjecit Augustus Le Prevost. Tomus quartus.* Apud Julium Renouard et Socios, Gallicae Historiae Societatis Bibliopolas, Parisiis.

Lespinasse, R. de & F. Bonnardot, 1879. *Histoire générale de Paris. Les métiers et corporations de la Ville de Paris. XIII^e siècle. Le Livre des Métiers d’Étienne Boileau.* Imprimerie Nationale, Paris.

Lincy, L. De, 1838. *Le Roman de Brut par Wace, poète du XII^e siècle. Publié pour la première fois d’après les manuscrits des bibliothèques de Paris, avec un commentaire et des notes. Tome second.* Édouard Frère, Éditeur, Rouen.

Lincy, L. de & F. Michel, 1837. *Recueil de farces, moralités et sermons joyeux, publié d’après le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Royale.* Chez Techener, Libraire, Paris.

Lindsay, W. M., 1911. *Isidori Hispaliensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive originvm libri XX. Recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit W. M. Lindsay ex Universitate Andreana Litterarvm Hvmniorvm Professor. Tomvs I. Libros i-X continens.* E. Typographeo Clarendoniano, Oxonii.

Littré, É., 1869. *Dictionnaire de la langue française contenant 1^o Pour la nomenclature: Tous les mots qui se trouvent dans le Dictionnaire de l’Académie française et tous les termes usuels des sciences, des arts, des métiers et de la vie pratique; 2^o Pour la grammaire: La prononciation de chaque mot figurée et, quand il y a lieu, discutée; l’examen des locutions, des idiotismes, des exceptions et, en certains cas, de l’orthographe actuelle, avec des remarques critiques sur les difficultés et irregularities de la langue; 3^o Pour la partie historique: Une collection de phrases appartenant aux anciens écrivains depuis les premiers temps de la langue française jusqu’au seizième siècle, et disposés dans l’ordre chronologique à la suite des mots auxquels elles se rapportent; 5^o Pour l’étymologie: La détermination ou du moins la discussion de l’origine de chaque mot par la comparaison des mêmes formes dans le français, dans le patois et dans l’espagnol, l’italien et de provençal ou langue d’oc. Tome second, première partie. I – P.* Librairie de L. Hachette et C^{ie}, Paris.

Loisel, G., 1912a. *Histoire des menageries de l’antiquité à nos jours. I. Antiquité – Moyen Âge*

– Renaissance. *Ouvrage illustré de 16 planches hors texte*. Octave Doin et Fils, Éditeurs & Henri Laurens, Paris.

Loisel, G., 1912b. *Histoire des menageries de l'antiquité à nos jours. II. Temps modernes (XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles)*. *Ouvrage illustré de 22 planches hors texte*. Octave Doin et Fils, Éditeurs & Henri Laurens, Paris.

Longpérier, A. de, 1844. Notice sur une coupe arabe conservée au Département des Antiques de la Bibliothèque Royale. *Revue Archéologique ou Recueil de Documents et de Mémoires relatifs à l'Étude des Monuments et à la Philologie de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Âge*, Paris 1: 538-545.

Lonicer, J., 1531. *Nicandri veteris poetae et medici Theriaca et Alexipharmaca, cum scholiis, interprete Iohanne Lonicero*. Iohan. Soteris, Coloniae.

Luard, H. R., 1876. *Matthaei Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora. Vol. III. A. D. 1216 to A. D. 1239*. Longman & Co., London; Trübner & Co. & Parker & Co., Oxford; MacMillan & Co., Cambridge; A. & C. Black, Edinburgh and A. Thom, Dublin.

Lydekker, R., 1893. *The Royal Natural History. With preface by P. L. Sclater. Illustrated with seventy-two coloured plates and sixteen hundred engravings by W. Kuhnert, F. Specht, P. J. Smit, G. Mützel, A. T. Elwes, J. Wolf, Gambier Bolton, F. Z. S., and many others. Vol. I*. Frederick Warne & Co., London & New York.

Lydekker, R., 1894. *The Royal Natural History. With preface by P. L. Sclater. Illustrated with seventy-two coloured plates and sixteen hundred engravings by W. Kuhnert, F. Specht, P. J. Smit, G. Mützel, A. T. Elwes, J. Wolf, Gambier Bolton, F. Z. S., and many others. Vol. I. Section II*. Frederick Warne & Co., London & New York.

Lydekker, R., 1896. *A hand-book to the Carnivora. Part I. Cats, civets, and mungooses*. Edward Lloyd, Limited, London.

Lydekker, R., 1916. *Wild life of the world. A descriptive survey of the geographical distribution of animals. Illustrated with over six hundred engravings from original drawings and one hundred and twenty studies in colour. Vol. I*. Frederick Warne and Co., Ltd., London.

Maffei, I. P., 1605. *Ioan. Petri Maffei, bergomatis, e Societate Iesv, Historiarvm Indicarum Libri XVI. Selectarvm, item, ex India epistolarvm libri IV. Accessit liber recentionum epistolarum, à Ioanne Hayo Delgattiensi Scoto ex eadem societate nunc primùm exclusus, cum indice accurato. Dvobvs tomis distribvti. Omnia ab auctore recognita, & emendata. In singula copiosus Index*. Officina Martini Nutij, Antverpiae.

Magie, D., 1993a. *The Scriptorum Historiae Augustae, Volume II. With an English translation*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. & London.

Magie, D., 1993b. *The Scriptorum Historiae Augustae, Volume III. With an English translation*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. & London.

Mair, A. W., 1928. *Oppian, Colluthus, Tryphiodorus, with an English translation*. William Heinemann Ltd., London & G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

- Manuzio, A. 1543. *Viaggi fatto da Vinetia, alla Tana, in Persia, in India, et in Costantinopoli: con la descriptione particolare di città, luoghi, siti, costumi, et della Porta del gran Tvrco: & di tutte le intrate, spese, & modo do gouerno suo, & della ultima impresa contra Portoghesi*. Nelle Casi dei Figliuoli di Aldo [Manuccio], Vinegia.
- Manuzio, A., 1545. *Viaggi fatto da Vinetia, alla Tana, in Persia, in India, et in Costantinopoli: con la descriptione particolare di città, luoghi, siti, costumi, et della Porta del gran Tvrco: & di tutte le intrate, spese, & modo do gouerno suo, & della ultima impresa contra Porotghesi*. Nelle Casi dei Figliuoli di Aldo [Manuccio], Vinegia.
- Marot, C., 1731a. *Oeuvres de Clement Marot valet-de-chambre de François I. Roy de France, revûes sur plusieurs manuscrits, & sur plus de quarante editions, et augmentées tant de diverses poësies veritables, que de celles qu'on lui a fausement attribuées: Avec les ouvrages de Jean Marot son pere, ceux de Michel Marot son fils, & les pièces du Different de Clement avec François Sagon: Accompagnées d'une preface historique & d'observations critiques. Tome premier*, Chez P. Gosse & J. Neaulme, La Haye.
- Marot, C., 1731b. *Oeuvres de Clement Marot valet-de-chambre de François I. Roy de France, revûes sur plusieurs manuscrits, & sur plus de quarante editions, et augmentées tant de diverses poësies veritables, que de celles qu'on lui a fausement attribuées: Avec les ouvrages de Jean Marot son pere, ceux de Michel Marot son fils, & les pièces du Different de Clement avec François Sagon: Accompagnées d'une preface historique & d'observations critiques. Tome quatrieme*, Chez P. Gosse & J. Neaulme, La Haye.
- Martin, E., 1882. *Le Roman de Renart. Premier volume. Première partie du texte. L'ancienne collection des branches*. K. J. Trübner, Éditeur, Strasbourg.
- Massèra, A. F., 1920. *Sonetti burleschi e realistici dei primi due secoli. Volume primo*. Gius. Laterza & Figli, Bari.
- Matthioli, P. A., 1562. *Petri Andreae Matthioli senensis Serenissimi Principis Archiducis Austriae &c. medici, Commentarii denovo avcti in libros sex Pedacii Dioscoridis anazarbei De Medica Materia. Adiectis quamplurimis plantarum, & animalium imaginibus, quae in prioribus editionibus non habentur, eodem authore. His accessit eiusdem Apologia Adversvs Amathum Lusitanum, quin & censura in eiusdem enarrationes*. Apud Gabrielem Coterium, Lvgdvni.
- Matthioli, P. A., 1579. *Commentaires de M. Pierre André Mattiole medecin senois, sur les six livres de Ped. Dioscor. Anazarveen de la matiere Medecinale, avec certaines tables medecinales, tant de qualités & vertues des simples medicaments, que des remedes pour toutes maladies, qui peuuent auenir au corps humain, comme aussi des esdictes Commentaires. Mis en François sur la derniere edition Latine de l'Authour, par M. Jean des Moulins Docteur em Medecine. Et de nouveau reueuz par iceluy & augmentés, & enrichis de plusieurs pourtraits plus qu'au precedentes impressions: Ensemble vne table Latine & Française des noms des herbes contenues esdictes Commentaires*. Par Gvill. Roville, Lyon.
- Matthioli, P. A., 1674. *Petri Andreae Matthioli senensis, Serenissimi Principis Ferdinandi Archiducis Austriae, &c. medici, Apologia adversus Amathum Lvsitanvm cvm censvra in*

ejusdem enarrationes. Et Epistolarium Medicinalium libri V. Item: Dialogus de Morbo Gallico. Sumptibus Johannis König, Typis excrispsit Joh. Rodolphus Genath., Basileae.

- McKenzie, K., 1905. Unpublished manuscripts of Italian bestiaries. *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, Baltimore 20(2): 380-433.
- McKenzie, K., 1910. The problem of the “lonza”, with an unpublished text. *The Romanic Review*, New York 1 (1): 18-30.
- McKenzie, K. & W. A. Oldfather, 1919. Ysopet-Avionnet: The Latin and French Texts. *University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, Urbana 5 (4): 220-506.
- Melmoth, W., 1931. *Pliny. Letters. With an English translation by William Melmoth. Revised by W. M. L. Hutchinson. In two volumes. I.* William Heinemann. London & The MacMillan Co., New York.
- Méon, M. D. M., 1824. Peregrinatio Marci Pauli. Ex Manuscripto Bibliothecae Regiae, n° 3195 f°, pp. 299-494, in *Société de Géographie, Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires. Tome premier.* Imprimerie d’Éverat, Paris.
- Méon, M. D. M., 1826. *Le Roman du Renart, publié d’après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi des XIII^e, XIV^e et XV^e siècles. Tome second.* Treuttel et Würtz, Libraires, Paris.
- Mercvrialis, H., 1625. *The Morbis Cytaneis, et Omnibus Corporis Humani Excrementis Tractatus locupletissimi, variaeque doctrina referti, non solum medicis, verum etiam philosophis magnopere utiles, ex ore Hieronymi Mercvrialis medici clarissimi diligenter excepti, atque in libros quinque digesti. Opera Pavli Ricardii. Quibus accessit alius libellus de Decoratone ex eiusdem Mercvrialis patauinis praelectionibus exceptus, & in capita redactus à Ivlio Mancino.* Apud Ivntas, Venetiis.
- Messedaglia, L., 1941. Il pardo da caccia nella poesia, nella storia, nelle arti. *Atti e Memorie dell’Accademia di Agricoltura, Scienze e Lettere di Verona* (5) 19: 27-104.
- Meyer, H., 1835. *Anthologia veterum latinorum epigrammatum et poematum. Editionem Burmannianam digessit et auxit Henricus Meyerus turicencis. Tomus I.* Apud Gerhardum Fleischerum, Lipsiae.
- Meyer, P., 1875. *La Chanson de la Croisade contre les Albigeois commencée par Guillaume de Tudèle et continuées par un poete anonyme, Tome premier. Texte, vocabulaire et table des rimes.* Librairie Renouard, Henti Loones, Successeur, Libraire de la Société de l’Histoire de France, Paris.
- Meyer-Lübke, W., 1890. *Italienische Grammatik.* O. R. Reisland, Leipzig.
- Michaelis de Vasconellos, C., 1901. Bandglossen zum altportugiesischen Liederbuch. *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, Halle 25: 129-174, 278-321, 533-560, 669-685.
- Michel, F., 1838. *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie par Benoit trouvère anglo-normand du XII^e siècle publiée pour la première fois d’après un manuscrit du Musée Britannique. Tome II.* Imprimerie Royale, Paris.

- Michel, F., 1839. *La Chanson des Saxons par Jean Bodel. Publié pour la première fois. I. J. Techener Libraire, Paris.*
- Michell, H., 1947, The edict of Diocletian: A study of price fixing in the Roman Empire. *The Canadian Journal of Economic and Political Science* 13(1): 1-12.
- Midosi, H. C., 1864. *Poesias selectas nos diversos generos de composições poeticas para a leitura, recitação, e analyse grammatical e de esylo dos poetas portuguezes no 1º, 2º, 3º e 5º. anno do curso geral dos lyceus. Terceira edição. Conforme a segunda, adaptada pelo Conselho Geral da Instrucção Publica para servir de texto nas aulas de instrucção secundaria.* Imprensa Nacional, Lisboa.
- Migne, J. P., 1845. [*Patrologiae Latinae tomus XIV*]. *Sancti Ambrosii mediolanensis episcopi Opera omnia. Editio prae aliis omnibus completa, quarum instar haberi potest; ad manuscritos codices vaticanos, gallicanos, belgicos, etc., necnon ad veteres editiones, maxime vero ad benedictianam recensita et emendata; notis lectionibusque variantibus, textui subjacentibus, continenter illustrata; variis insuper opusculae quae velo misere vel ne nemoravere quidem eruditi benedictini, locupletata. Tomi primi pars prior.* J. P. Migne, Lutetia Parisiorum.
- Migne, J. P., 1852. [*Patrologiae Latinae tomus CX*]. *B. Rabani Mauri fuldensis abbatis et moguntini arcjiepiscopi opera omnia juxta editionem Georgii Colvenerii anno 1617 Coloniae Agripiinae datam, mendis quibus scatebat innumeris cura qua par erat expurgatam, novissime ad prelum revocata et novo ordine, chronologico scilicet, digesta; variis praeterea monumentis quae suppeditarunt Mabillonii, Martenii et Dacherii collectiones memoratissimae, aucta et illustrata. Tomus quartus.* J. P. Migne, Lutetia Parisiorum.
- Migne, J. P., 1853. [*Patrologiae Latinae tomus CXXII*]; *Joannis Scoti Opera quae supersunt omnia ad fidem italicorum, germanicorum, belgicorum, franco-gallicorum, britannicorum codicum partim primum edidit, partim recognovit Henricus Josephus Floss. Accedunt Adriani Papae II Epistolae. Tomus unicus.* J. P. Migne, Lutetia Parisiorum.
- Migne, J. P., 1854a. Incipit Hildeberti cenomanensis episcopi Physiologus (E ms. Regio 274, olim Elnonensi. Nondum editus), columnas 1217-1224, in seu [*Patrologia Latina CLXXI*] *Venerabilis Hildeberti primo cenomanensis episcopi, deinde tironensis archiepiscopi Opera, tam edita quam inedita. Accesserunt Marbodi rednensis episcopi ipsius Hildeberti supparis opuscula. Quae hactenus edita, haec autem auctiora & plura nondum edita prodeunt, omniaque ad manuscriptos codices recensia, notis passim illustrantur. Labore et Studio D. Antonii Beaugendre, presbyteri et monachi Ordinis Sancti Benedictis congregations. Mauri. De novo edita cum notis et quam plurimis additis genuinis operibus, e cod. Mss. Erutis cura et stdio J. J. Boirassé canonici ecclesiae metropolitanae turonensis. Tomus unicus.* J. P. Migne, Lutetia Parisiorum.
- Migne, J. P., 1854b. Appendicis ad Hugonis opera dogmatica continuatio. De bestiis et aliis rebus libri quatuor quorum primus et secundus Hugonem de Folieto, ut videtur, auctorem agnoscunt; posteriores duo ab anonymis compilati, columnas 9-154, in seu [*Patrologia Latina 177*] *Hugonis de S. Victore canonici regularis S. Victoris parisiensis tum pietate,*

tum doctrina insignis Opera Omnia tribus tomis digesta ex manuscriptis ejusdem operibus quae in Bibliotheca Victorina servantur accurate castigata et emendata, cum vita ipsius antehac nusquam edita. Studio et industria canonicorum regularium Regalis Abbatiae S. Victoris parisiensis (Rothomagi 1648, fol.). Editio nova spurii et alienis in appendicem emendatis, ordine potiori donata, praefationibus amplissimis variisque opusculis aucta et illustata. Tomus tertius. J. P. Migne, Lutetia Parisiorum.

Migne, J. P., 1855a. [*Patrologia Latina tomus CXCVII*]. *S. Hildegardis abbatissae Opera omnia, ad optimorum librorum fidem edita, Physicae textum primus integre publici júris fecit D^o Car. Daremberg – Bibliothecae Mazarinae praefectus; prolegomenis et notis illustravit D^o F. A. de Reuss, professor wirceburgensis. Tomus unicus. J. P. Migne, Lutetia Parisiorum.*

Migne, J. P., 1855b. [*Patrologia Latina tomus CXCIX*]. *Willelmi Malmesburiensis monachi Opera Omnia. Quae varii quondam editores, Henricus Savilius, Thomas Galaeus, Henricus Warton, RT nuper D. Thomas Duffus Hardy in lucem seorsim emisissent Willelmi scripta, nunc primum, praevia diligentissima emendatione, prelo in unum collecta mandantur. Opuscula, diplomata, Epistolae. Tomus unicus. J. P. Migne, Lutetia Parisiorum.*

Migne, J. P., 1857a. [*Patrologia Graeca, tomus XVII*]. *ΟΡΙΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΤΑ ΕΥΡΗΣΚΟΜΕΝΑ ΠΑΝΤΑ. Origenis Opera omnia, ex variis editionibus et codicibus manu exaratis, gallicis, italicis, germanicis et anglicis collecta atque adnotationibus illustrata, cum copiosis indicibus, vita auctoris et multis dissertationibus: Opera et Studio DD. Caroli et Caroli Vincentii Delare, presbyterorum e monachorum benedictinorum congregatione S. Mauri. Tomus septimus. Migne, Lutetia Parisiorum.*

Migne, J. P., 1857b. [*Patrologia Graeca, tomus XVIII*]. *ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΕΥΣΤΑΘΙΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΞΑΜΕΡΟΝ ΥΠΟΜΝΗΜΑ. S. P. N. Eustathii archiepiscopi antiocheni et martyris Commentarius in Hexaemeron. Leone Allatio interprete, columnas 375-500, in seu ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΜΕΘΟΔΙΟΥ, ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΥ, ΤΑ ΕΥΡΗΣΚΟΜΕΝΑ ΠΑΝΤΑ. S. P. N. Methodii, episcopi et martyris, Opera omnia. Accedunt S. Petri et S. Alexandri, alexandrinorum praesulum. S. Eustathii antiocheni episcopi et confessoris, Titi bostrensis, Theodori heraclensis, Alexandri lycopolitani, scripta quae supersunt. Tomus unicus. Migne, Lutetia Parisiorum.*

Migne, J.P., 1857c. [*Patrologia Graeca, tomus XXVI*]. *ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΣ ΤΑ ΕΥΡΗΣΚΟΜΕΝΑ ΠΑΝΤΑ. S. P. N. Athanasii archiepiscopi alexandrini opera omnia quae exstant vel quae ejus nomine circumferuntur, ad Mss. Codices gallicanos, vaticanos, etc., necnon ad commelinianas lectiones castigata, multis aucta: Nova interpretatione, praefationibus, notis, variis lectionibus illustrata: Nova sancti doctoris vita, onomastico, et copiosissimis indicibus locupletata, opera et Studio monachorum Ordininis S. Benedicti e Congregatione S. Mauri. Tomus secundus. Migne, Lutetia Parisiorum.*

Migne, J. P., 1857d. [*Patrologia Graeca, tomus XXIX*]. *ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΠΠΑΔΟΚΙΑΣ ΤΑ ΕΥΡΗΣΚΟΜΕΝΑ ΠΑΝΤΑ. S. P. N. Basilii, Caesareae Cappadociae archiepiscopi, opera omnia quae exstant, vel quae sub ejus nomine circumferuntur. Ad MSS. codices gallicanos, vaticanos,*

florentinos et anglicos, necnon ad antiquiores editiones castigata, multis aucta: nova interpretatione. Criticis praefationibus, notis, variis lectionibus illustrata, nova sancti doctoris vita et copiosissimis indicibus locupletata, opera et Studio monachorum Ordinis Sancto Benedicti e congregatione S. Mauri. Tomus primus. Migne, Lutetia Parisiorum.

Migne, J. P., 1862. [Patrologia Graeca, tomus XIII]. *OPIΓENOYΣ TA EYPIΣKOMENA ΠANTA. Origenis Opera omnia, ex variis editionibus et codicibus manu exaratis, gallicis, italicis, germanicis et anglicis collecta atque adnotationibus illustrata, cum copiosis indicibus, vita auctoris et multis dissertationibus: Opera et studio DD. Caroli et Caroli Vincentii Delare, presbyterorum e monachorum benedictinorum congregatione S. Mauri, Tomus tertius.* Migne, Lutetia Parisiorum.

Migne, J. P., 1864. [Patrologiae Latinae tomus CXI]. *B. Rabani Mauri fuldensis abbatis et moguntini archiepiscopi opera omnia juxta editionem Georgii Colveneri anno 1617 Coloniae Agrippinae datam, mendis quibus scatebat innumeris cura qua par erat expurgatam, novissime ad prelum revocata et novo ordine, chronologico scilicet, digesta; variis praeterea monumentis qui suppeditarunt Mabillonii, Martenii et Dacherii collectiones memoratissimae, acta et illustrate. Tomus quintus.* Migne, Lutetia Parisiorum.

Migne, J. P., 1865. [Patrologia Graeca, tomus XCII]. *ΠΑΣΧΑΛΙΟΝ seu Chronicon Paschale, a mundo condito ad Heraclii Imp. Annum XX. Opus hactenus pastorum saeculorum nomine laudatum, deinde chronice temporum epitomes, ac denique chronici alexandrini lemmate vulgatum; post Caroli Du Fresnii-Du Cangii curas ad exemplar vaticanum recensuit Ludovicus Dindorfius (Bonnae MDCCCXXXII, 8^o). Accedunt Georgii Piside opera que reperiri poterunt omnia. Tomus unicus.* Migne, Lutetia Parisiorum.

Migne, J. P., 1866. [Patrologia Graeca vol. CLVIII]. *ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΥΟΥ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΓΛΥΚΑ ΤΑ ΕΥΠΙΣΚΟΜΕΝΑ ΠΑΝΤΑ. Michaelis Glycae Opera omnia. Tomus unicus.* Migne, Lutetia Parisiorum.

Milanese, G., 1863. *Il Comento di Giovanni Boccacci sopra la Commedia, con le annotazioni di A. M. Salvini; preceduto dalla vita di Dante Allighieri scritta dal medesimo.* Felice Le Monnier, Firenze.

Miller, F. J., 1951. *Ovid. Metamorphoses. With an English translation. In two volumes. I. Books I-VIII.* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. & William Heinemann Ltd., London.

Miller, M. E., 1872. Description d'une chasse à l'once par un écrivain byzantin du XII^e siècle de notre ère. *Annuaire de l'Association pour l'Encouragement des Études Grecques en France*, Paris 6: 28-52.

Minieri-Riccio, 1874. *Alcuni fatti riguardanti Carlo I di Angiò. Di agosto 1252 al 30 di dicembre 1270: Trattati dall'archivio angioino di Napoli.* Tipografia de R. Rinaldi e G. Sellitto, Napoli.

Molini, G., org., 1823a. *L'Orlando Furioso di Lodovico Ariosto con annotazioni. Tomo I.* Presso Giuseppe Molini, Firenze.

Molini, G., org., 1823b. *L'Orlando Furioso di Lodovico Ariosto con annotazioni. Tomo II.*

Presso Giuseppe Molini, Firenze.

- Molteni, E. & E. Monaci, 1877. *Il Canzoniere Chigiano. L. VIII,305*. Tipografia Fava e Garagnani, Bologna.
- Mommsen, T., 1851. Das Edict Diocletians de pretiis rerum venalium. *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Philologisch-historische Classe* 3: 1-41.
- Mommsen, T., 1857. Polemii Silvii Laterculus. *Abhandlungen der Königlich Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Philologisch-historische Classe* 3: 231-277.
- Mommsen, T., 1895. *C. Ivlii Solini Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*. Apud Weidmannos, Berolini.
- Monachis Ordinis S. Benedicti, e Congregatione S. Mauri, 1748. *Sancti Ambrosii mediolanensis episcopi Opera, ad manuscriptos codices vaticanos, gallicanos, belgicos, &c. nec-non ad editiones veteres emendata, studio et labore Monachorum Ordinis S. Benedicti, e Congregatione S. Mauri. Tomus Primus*. Sumptibus, & Typis Joannis Baptistae Albrici, Hieronymi Filii, Josephi Bertella, & Caroli Pecora, Venetiis.
- Monier-Williams, M., 2005. *A Sanskrit-English dictionary: etymologically and philologically arranged*. Motilall Baransidass Publishers, New Delhi.
- Montaignon, 1856. *Recueil de poesies françoises des XV^e et XVI^e siècles. Morales, facétieuses, historiques. Tome III*. Chez P. Jannet, Libraire, Paris.
- Morris, R., 1872. A Bestiary (Arundel MS. 292, leaf 4 a.), pp. 1-25 e Appendix I. [*Harleyan MS. 3093, leaf 36, col. 2*] Incipit liber Fisiologus a Thetbaldo italico compositus, pp. 201-209, in seu *An Old English miscellany containing a Bestiary, Kentish Sermons, Proverbs of Alfred, Religious Poems of the thirteenth century, from manuscripts in the British Museum, Bodleian Library, Jesus College Library, etc. Edited with introduction and index of words*. Published for the Early English Text Society, by N. Trübner & Co., London.
- Moschus, F., 1597. *Iacobi de Vitriaco primvm acconensis, deinde tvscvlani episcopi, et S. Eccl. R. cardinalis, sediaque apostolicae in Terra sancta, in Imperio, in Francia olim legati, Libri Dvo, Quorum prior ORIENTALIS, siue HIEROSOLYMITANAE: Alter, OCCIDENTALIS historiae nomine inscribitur. Omnia nunc primum Studio & opera D. Francisci Moschi Niuigellatis l. C.ⁱⁱ & Armentariorum Curionis, è tenebris & situ in lucem edita*. Ex Officina Typographica Balthazaris Belleri, Dvaci [= Douai].
- Müllenhoff, K. & W. Scherer, 1864. Pysiologus, pp. 199-203, in seu *Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa aus dem VIII-XII Jahrhundert*. Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, Berlin.
- Muratori, L. A., 1934-1937. *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores. Raccolta degli storici italiani dal cinquecento al millecinqucento ordinata da L. A. Muratori. Nuova edizione riveduta ampliata e corretta com a direzione di Giosuè Carducci – Vittorio Fiorini - Pietro Fedele. Tomo XXIV – Parte VII. (Bernardino Zambotti – Diario Ferrarese dall'anno 1476 fino al 1504)*. Nicola Zanichelli, Bologna.

- Murr, C. G. von, 1789. Iohannis Breweri Adnotationes ad librum a me editum: Reisen einiger Missionarien der Gesellschaft Iesu in America. *Journal zur Kunstgeschichte und zur allgemeinen Litteratur*, Nürnberg 17: 260-286.
- Murray, A. T., 1928. *Homer. The Iliad. With an English translation. I.* William Heinemann Ltd., London & G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.
- Murray, A. T., 1934. *Homer. The Iliad. With an English translation. II.* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. & William Heinemann Ltd., London.
- Muss-Arnolt, W., 1890. *Semitic and other glosses to Kluge's Etymologisches Wörterbuch.* [s. n.], Baltimore.
- Muss-Arnolt, W., 1892. On Semitic words in Greek and Latin. *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 23: 35-156.
- Neugaard, E., 1971. The sources of the folk tales in Ramon Llull's *Llibre de les bèsties*. *Journal of American Folklore* 84: 333-337.
- Nicholas, N. & G. Baloglou, 2003. *An entertainig tale of quadrupeds. Translation and commentary.* Columbia University Press, New York.
- Niccolò da Casola, 1941. *La Guerra d'Attila. Poema franco-italiano pubblicato dall'unico manoscritto della R. Biblioteca Estense di Modena. Testo, introduzione, note e glossario di Guido Stendardo, prefazione di Giulio Bertoni. Libro I e II.* Società Tipografica Modenese, Modena. ["Istituto di Filologia romanza della R. Università di Roma. Studi e testi"].
- Nicot, J., 1606. *Thresor de la Langve Francoyse, tant ancienne que moderne. Avquel entre avtres choses sont les mots propres de marine, venerie, & faulconnérie, cy deuant ramassez, par Aimar de Ranconnet, viuant conseiller & president des enquestes en Parlement. Revev et avgmenté en ceste derniere impression de plvs de la moitie; par Iean Nicot, viuant conseiller du Roy, & M.^e des requestes extraordinaire de son hostel. Avec vne grammaire francoyse et latine, & le recueil des vieux prouerbes de la France. Ensemble le Nomenclator de Iunius, mits par ordre alphabetic, & creu d'une table particuliere de toutes les dictons.* David Dovecevr, Libraire jure, Paris.
- Nifo, A., 1546. *Avgvstini Niphi medicis philosophi svesani Expositiones in omes Aristotelis libros De Historia animalium Lib. IX, De Partibus animalium, & earum Causis Lib. IIII, Ac de Generatione animalium Lib. V. Adiecto utili indice, quo omnia que de Animalibus ab Aristotele, & expositores scripta sunt, quisque facillimè inuenire poterit.* Apud Hieronymum Scotum, Venetiis.
- Nifo, A., 1550. *Parva Natvralia Avgvstini Niphi medices philosophi suessani, videlicet Physiognomicorum libri tres, De Animalium morũ lib. vnus, De Longitudine & Breuitate uità lib. vnus, De Iuuentute & Senectude lib. vnus, De Respiratione lib. vnus, De Morte & Vita lib. vnus, De Memoria & Reminiscentia lib. vnus, De Somno & Vigilia lib. vnus, De Imsomniis lib. vnus, De Divnatiome naturali, artificiosa, et de Prophetia lib. vnus. Omnia post primas editiones nunc primum emendatiora in lucem prodeunt.* Apud

Hieronymum Scotum, Venetiis.

- Normand, J. & G. Raynaud, 1877. *Aiol. Chanson de geste. Publiée d'après de manuscrit unique de Paris*. Librairie de Firmin Didot et C^{ie}, Paris.
- Nys, N. & J. Bretschneider, 2008. Research on the iconography of the leopard. *Ugarit-Forschungen. Internationales Jahrbuch für die Altertumskund Syriens-Palästina* 39: 555-615.
- Obrador i Bennassar, M., 1905. *Ramon Llull. Llibre de les Besties. Text original. Am prolec, notes bibliografiques i glosari den M. Obrador Bennassar*. Biblioteca Popular de 'L'Avenç', Barcelona.
- Oelschlegel, M. H., 1623. *EKATONTAS seu Centuria Imaginum Hieroglyphicarum, omnia studiosae juventutis officia ὡς κύκλω complexa, & ab alumnis electoralis ab albis scholae, germanicis, atq' latinis, versibus expressa, & ad lusum scholastica apparatus cum praefatione*. Typis Georg. Hoffmannus, Fribergae.
- Olaus Magnus, 1555. *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus, earumque diversis statibus, conditionibus, moribus, ritibus, superstitionibus, disciplinis, exercitiis, regimine, victu, bellis, structuris, instrumentis, ac mineris metallicis & rebus mirabilibus, necnon vniuersis penè animalibus in septentrione degentibus, eorumque natura. Opus ut varium, plurimarumque rerum cognitione refertum, atque cum exemplis externis, tum expressis rerum internarum picturis illustratum, ita delectatione iucunditateque plenum, maxima lectoris animum voluptate facillè perfundens. Auctore Olao Magno gotho archiepiscopo vpsalensis, Suetiae & Gothiae primate. Cum indice locupletissimo. Apud Ioannem Mariam de Viottis parmensem, Romae*.
- Oldfather, C. H., 1967. *Diodorus of Sicily. In twelve volumes. II. Books II (continued) 35 – IV, 58. With an English translation*. William Heinemann Ltd., London & Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Oliver, G., 1861. *Lives of the bishops of Exeter, and a history of the cathedral, with an illustrative appendix*. William Roberts, Exeter.
- Opitz, M., 1639. *Incerti poetae teutonici Rhythmus de Sancto Annone colon. Archiepiscopo ante Io. avt ciciter [sic] annos conscriptus. Martinus Opitivus primus ex membranae veteri edidit & animadversionibus illustravit*. Ex Officina Andr. Hünefeldii, Dantisci.
- d'Orta, G., 1563. *Coloquios dos simples, e drogas he cousas medicinais da India, e assi dalgũas frutas achadas nella onde se tratam algũas cousas tocantes a medicina, pratica, e outras cousas boas, pera saber cõpostos pello Doutor garçia dorta: fisico del Rey nosso senhor, vistos pello muyto Reuerendo senhor, o licenciado Alexos diaz: falcam desenbargador da casa da supricaçaõ inquisidor nestas partes. Com priuilegio do Conde viso Rey*. Joannes de endem, Goa.
- Oudry, J. B., 1755. *Fables choisies mises en vers par J. de La Fontaine. Tome premier*. Desaint & Sailant, & Durand, Paris.
- Oudry, J. B., 1756. *Fables choisies mises en vers par J. de La Fontaine. Tome troisieme*. Desaint

& Sailant, & Durand, Paris.

- Oudry, J. B., 1759. *Fables choisies mises en vers par J. de La Fontaine. Tome quatrieme.* Desaint & Sailant, & Durand, Paris.
- d'Ovidio, F. & W. Meyer-Lübke, 1906. *Grammatica storica della lingua e dei dialetti italiani. Tradotta per cura del Dott. Eugenio Polcaro (della 2^a edizione tedesca rifatta da W. Meyer-Lübke).* Ulrico Hoepli, Editore Libraio della Real Casa, Milano.
- Panvinio, O., 1681. *Onyphrii Panvini veronensis, De Lvdis Circensibvs Libri II. De Trivmphis Liber Vnvs. Quibus vniuersa ferè romanorvm vetervm sacra ritvsq' declarantvr, ac figuris aeneis illustrantur, cum notis Ioannis Argoli I. V. D. et Additamento Nicolai Pinelli I. C. Adiectis hac nouissima editione eruditissimi viri Ioachimi Ioannis Maderi. Notis, et figuris in lib. de Triumphis.* Typis Petri Marię Frambotti Bibliop., Patavii.
- Panvinio, O., 1699. *Onyphrius Panvinivus, veronensis, De Lvdis Circensibus, cvm notis Johannis Argoli J. U. D. et Additamento Nicolai Pinelli J. C., vi + columnas 1-576, in Graeff, org., 1699, q. v.*
- Partridge, E., 1983. *Origins: A Short Etymological Dictionary of Modern English.* Greenwich House, New York.
- Peck, A. K., 1961. *Aristotle. Parts of Animals. With an English translation. And a foreword by F. H. A. Marshall.* William Heinemann Ltd., London & Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Pennant, T., 1793. *History of quadrupeds. The third edition. Vol. I.* B. & J. White, London.
- Penteado [Tomé], J. L., 1973. *Catálogo de voces y frases de la lengua gallega.* Universidad de Salamanca, Salamanca.
- Perrault, C., 1761. *Description anatomique d'un loup cervier, pp. 58- 63, in seu Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire naturelle des Animaux.* Imprimerie Royale, Paris.
- Perrin, B., 1958. *Plutarch's Lives. With an English translation. In eleven volumes. VII. Demosthenes and Cicero. Alexander and Caesar.* William Heinemann Ltd., London & Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Peters, E., 1898. *Der griechischen Physiologus und seine orientalischen Übersetzungen.* Verlag von S. Calvay & Co., Berlin.
- Peters, J. P., H. Thiersch & S. A. Cook, 1905. *Painted tombs in the necropolis of Marissa (Marêshah).* Published by the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London.
- Philippe d'Alcriste, 1853. *La nouvelle fabrique des excellens traits de verité. Livre pour inciter les resveurs tristes et merancoliques à vivre de plaisir. Nouvelle édition, revue avec soin, et augmentée des Nouvelles de la terre de Preste Johan.* Librairie de P. Jannet, Paris.
- Phillott, D. C., 1914. *Colloquial English-Persian dictionary in the Roman character containing all English words in common use with their meanings in modern Persian with numerous*

examples. Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta.

Picot, É., 1904. *Recueil general des Sotties. Tome second.* Librairie de Firmin Didot et C^{ie}, Paris.

Picot, É., 1912. *Recueil general des Sotties. Tome troisième.* Librairie de Firmin Didot et C^{ie}, Paris.

Pictorius, G., 1560. *Medicinae tã simplices quàm compositae, ad omnes fermè corporis humani praeter naturam affectus, ex Hippocrate, Galeno, Auicenna, Aegineta, & alijs: per Georgvm Pictorivm villinganum, doctorem medicum ordine sic alphabetico in unum conscriptae, ut uel citra puluerem, exin quisq' id quod concupiuerit statim consequatur. Cum Arnoldi Catalani, de conferentibus & nocentibus membris principalibus humani corporis, tractatus Appendice, lectu cuilibet rationali medico dignissima. Accessit ΖΩΟΤΡΟΦΕΙΟΝ siue Leporarium, animalium quadrup. & auium naturas ac proprietates continens: Eodem autore. Vnà cum Constantini Africani eiusdem argumenti libello: & Oppiani de piscibus tractatu, Scholijs Georgij Pictorij illustrato. Index quoq' omnium memorabilium copiosus.* Per Henricum Petri, Basileae. [O Zootropheion é paginado separadamente].

Pineda, J. de, Fray, 1589a. *Los treynta y cinco dialogos familiares de la Agriculvtra Christiana. Compuesta por Fray Iuan de Pineda religioso de la orden del seraphico padre Sant Francisco de la obseruancia. Es obra que el autor procuro poner la mas varia, curiosa, apazible, y mejor prouada doctrina que supo, y pudo. Algunos autores condenados por el Sancto Oficio se nombran algunas vezes, porque se compuso este libro antes de salir el Catalogo; mas condenamos los con sus errores: y los que se nos ofrecieron quitamos de la tabla de los autores.* Em casa de Pedro de Adurça, Y Diego Lopez, Salamanca.

Pineda, Juan de, Fray, 1589b. *Segvnda parte de la Agriculvtra Christiana que contiene los diezynueve dialogos postreros dende el decimo setimo, con la mas bien prouada, y explicada, y prouechosa doctrina que al autor se le entendio; dirigida tambien a la siempre Virgen Maria Madre de Dios omnipotente, y electa del mesmo para abogada de pecadores. Compuesta por fray Iuan de Pineda religioso de la orden de los Menores Obseruantes.* En casa de Diego Loopez, y de Pedro de Adurça, Salamanca.

Pitra, J. B., 1855. *Spicilegium Solesmense complectens Sanctorum Patrum scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum anecdota hactenus opera, selecta e graecis orientalibusque et latinis codicibus. Tomus tertius. In quo praecipui veteres auctores de re symbolica proferuntur et illustrantur.* Prostat apud Firmin Didot Fratres, Parisiis.

Platnauer, M., 1999. *Claudian. With an English translation.* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. & London.

Plínio, 1830. *Caii Plinii Secundi Historiae Naturalis libri XXXVII. Ad optimorum librorum fidem editi cum indice rerum. Editio stereotypa. Tomus V. Lib. XXXV-XXXVII RT Index.* Ex Officina Caroli Tauchnitis, Lipsiae.

Pollard, G., 1967. *Renaissance medals from the Samuel H. Kress collection at the National Gallery of Art. Based on the Catalogue of Renaissance Medals in the Gustave Dreyfus Collection by G. F. Hill, revised and enlarged by Graham Pollard.* Published by the Phaidon Press for the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, London.

- Porta, G. B., 1597. *Io. Baptistae Portae neapolitani, Magiae Natvralis libri viginti, in qvibvs scientiarvm naturalium diuitiae, & deliciae demonstrantur. Iam de nouo, ab omnibus mendis repurgati, in lucem prodierunt. Accessit index, rem omnē dilucidè repraesentans, copiosissimus. Librorum ordinem, qui in hoc opere continentur, versa pagina indicabit.* Apud Andreae Wecheli heredes, Claudium Marnium & Ioann. Aubrium, Francofvrti.
- Porta, G. B., 1644. *Jo. Baptistae Portae neapolitani, Magiae Natvralis libri viginti, in qvibvs scientiarvm naturalium diuitiae, & deliciae demonstrantur. Iam de nouo, ab omnibus mendis repurgati, in lucem prodierunt. Accessit index, rem omnem dilucidè repraesentans, copiosissimus. Librorum ordinem, qui in hoc opere continentur, versa pagina idicabit.* Typis Aubrinis, Sumptibus Johannis Pressii, Hanoviae.
- Pothier, R. J., 1818a. *Pandectae Justinianaeae, in novum ordinem digestae, cum legibus codicis et novellia, quae jus pandectarum confirmant, explicant, aut abrogant. Tomus primus. Editio quarta. [A Libro I ad usque XX].* Apud Belin-Leprieur, Bibliopolam, é Typis Nouzou, Parisiis.
- Pothier, R. J., 1818b. *Pandectae Justinianaeae, in novum ordinem digestae, cum legibus codicis et novellia, quae jus pandectarum confirmant, explicant, aut abrogant. Tomus secundus [A Libro XXII ad XXIX].* Apud Fr. Ign. Fournier, Bibliopolam, Parisiis.
- Pothier, R. J., 1820. *Pandectae Justinianaeae, in novum ordinem digstae, cum legibus codicis et novellia, quae jus pandectarum confirmant, explicant, aut abrogant. Tomus tertius [A Libro XXX ad XLI].* Apud Garnery, Bibliopolam & Fr. Ign. Fournier, Bibliopolam, Parisiis.
- Prada, L., 2014. Translating monkeys between demotic and greek, or why a lynx is not always a wilcat (ΛΥΚΟ)ΛΥΓΞ + (WNS̄-)KWF. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 189: 111-114.
- Proto, E., 1907. La lonza dantesca. *Il Giornale Dantesco diretto da G. L. Passerini*, Firenze 15: 1-16.
- Pseudo-Albertus Magnus, 1615. *Alberti Magni. De Secretis Mvliervm Libellus, scholiis auctus, & à mendis repurgatus. Eivsdem de virtvtibus herbarum, lapidum, & animalium quorundam libellus. Item de mirabilibus mundi, ac de quibusdam effectibus causis à quibuadam animalibus, &c. Adiecimus & ob materiae similitudinem Michaelis Scoti philosophi, De secretis naturae opusculum. Cum indice locupletissimo.* Per Lazarum Zetznerum, Argentorati.
- Pseudo-Albertus Magnus, 1665. *Albertvs Magnvs de Secretis Mvliervm. Item De Virtutibus herbarum lapidum et animalium.* Apud Iodocum Ianssonium, Amstelodami.
- Pseudo-Albertus Magnus, 1669. *Albertus Magnus de Secretis Muliervm. Item De Virtutibus herbarum lapidum et animalium.* Apud Henricum et Theod. Boom, Amstelodami.
- Pseudo-Albertus Magnus, 1760. *Alberti Magni De Secretis Mulierum Libellus, scholiis auctus, & à mendis repurgatus. Ejusdem De Virtutibus Herbarum, Lapidum, & Animalium quorundam Libellus. Item de Mirabilibus Mundi, ac de quibusdam effectibus causarum à*

quibusdam animalibus, &c. Adjectum est ob materiae similitudinem Michaelis Scoti, philosophus, de Secretis Naturae Opusculum. Cum indice locupletissimo. [s. n.], Amstelodami.

Pulci, L., 1768. *Il Morgante Maggiore. Tomo II.* Marcello Prauli, Londra.

Pulci, L., 1855. *Il Morgante Maggiore. Con note filologiche di Pietro Sermolli. Volume primo.* Felice Le Monnier, Firenze.

Quatremère, É., trad., 1836. *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse, écrite par Raschid Eldin [Rashīd al-Din Faḍl Allāh, m. 718/1318]. Vol. I.* Imprimerie Royale, Paris.

Rabelais, F., 1552. *Le tiers livre des faicts et dictz heroïques du bon Pantagruel: Composé par M. Fran. Rabelais docteur en Medicine. Reueu, & corrigé par l'Autheur, sus la censure antique. Avthevr svsdict supllie les Lecteurs benevoles, soy reseruer a rire au soixante & dixhuytieme Liure.* Imprimerie de Michel Fezandat, Paris.

Rackham, H., 1961. *Pliny. Natural History. With an English translation. In ten volumes. Volume II. Libri III-VII.* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. & William Heinemann Ltd., London.

Rackham, H., 1967. *Pliny. Natural History. With an English translation. In ten volumes. Volume III. Libri VIII-XI.* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. & William Heinemann Ltd., London.

Rader, M., 1602. *M. Valerii Martialis Epigrammaton libri omnes, novis commentariis, mvlta cvra, stvdioqve, confectis, explicati. Illvstrati, rerumq' & verborum, lemmatum item, & communium locorum variis & copiosis indicibvs aucti a Matthaeo Radero, de Societate Iesv. Ex Typographeio Adami Sartorii, Ingolstadii.*

Raffaele da Verona, 1982 *Aquilon de Bavière, roman franco-italien en prose (1379-1407). Introduction, édition et commentaire par Peter Wunderli. Vol. I et II.* Tübingen, Niemeyer, Tübingen. [“Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, vols.188-189].

Rahlfs, A., ed., 1979. *Septuaginta id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes edidit Alfred Rahlfs. Duo volumina in uno.* Deutsch Bibelgesellschaft, Stuttgart.

Ramusio, G. B., 1550. Andrea Corsali fiorentino allo illvstrissimo Principe et Signor il Signor Dvca Lorenzo de Medici, della nauigatione del mar rosso & sino persico sino a Cochin citta nella India, scritta alli xviii. di Settembre, MDXVIII, pp. 196r-203v, in seu *Primo volvme delle Navigationi et Viaggi nel qual si contiene la descrizione dell’Africa, et del paese del Prete Ianni, con uarii uiaggi, dal mar Rosso à Calicut, & infin all’isole Molucche, doue nascono le Spettierie, et la nauigatione attorno al mondo. Li nomi de gli avttori, et le navigationi, et i viaggi piv particolarmente si mostrano nel foglio segvente.* Appresso gli Heredi di Lvcanonio Givnti, Venetia.

Ramusio, G. B., 1559. *Secondo volvme delle Navigationi et Viaggi nel quvale si contengono l’historia delle cose de Tartari, & diuersi fatti de loro Imperatori, descritta da M. Marco Polo gentilhuomo venetiano, & da Hayton armeno. Varie descrizioni di diuersi autori, dell’Indie Orientali, della Tartaria, della Persia, Armenia, Mengrelia, Zorzania, & altre*

prouincie, nelle quali si raccontano molte imprese d'Vssumcassan, d'Ismael Soffi, del Soldano di Babilonia, di diuersi Imperatori Ottomani, & particolarmente di Selim, contro Tomombej, vltimo soldano de Mamalucchi, & d'altri principi. Et il viaggio della Tana. Con la descrizione de nomi de poppoli, citta, fiumi, & porti d'intorno al Mar Maggiore, come si nominauano al tempo dell'imperatore Adriano, & molte altre narrationi, cosi dello stato de moscouiti, scithi, & circhassi, come d'altre genti barbare a gli antichi incognite. Et il naufragio di M. Pietro Quirino gentilhuomo venetiano, portato per fortuna settanta gradi sotto la Tramontana. Con l'indice diligentemente ordinato, delle cose piu notabili. Stamperia de Givnti, Venetia.

Ramusio, G. B., 1563. *Primo volume, & terza editione delle Navigazioni et Viaggi raccolto gia da M. Gio. Battista Ramvsio, & con molti & vaghi discorsi, da lui in molti luoghi dichiarato & illustrato. Nel quale si contengono la Descrizione dell'Africa, & del paese del Prete Ianni, con varij viaggi, dalla città di Lisbona, & dal Mar Rosso infino à Calicut, & all'isole Molucche, doue nascono le specierie, & la nauigatione attorno il mondo. Con la relatione dell'isola Giapan, scoperta nella parte del settentrione: Et alcuni capitoli appartenenti alla geographia, estratti dall'historia de S. iouani di Barros portoghese. Con tre tavole di geographia in disegno, cha hanno le marne. Secondo le carte da nauigare de portoghesi, & fra terra, secondo gli scrittori che hanno descritto li detti viaggi. Con due indici, l'uno delli nomi de gli autori che descriuono le dette nauigationi & viaggi: L'altro delle cose piu notabili di geographia, de costumi de popoli, delle spetierie, & altro che in esso volume si contengono. Stamperia de Givnti, Venetia.*

Raoul-Rochette, D., 1838. *Deuxième mémoire sur les antiquités chrétiennes des catacombes. [Première partie] Pierres sépulcrales, envisagées sous le double rapport des formules et des symboles funéraires. Mémoires de l'Institut Royal de France, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris 13: 170-261.*

Rasis, 1497. *Contenta in hoc volumine Liber Rasis ad Almansorem; Divisiones eiusdem; Liber de iuncturaru[m] egritudibus eiusde[m]; Liber de egritudinibus puero[rum] eiusde[m]; Aphorismi ipsius ; Antidotarium quoddam ipsius; Tractatus de preseruatio[n]e ab egritudine lapidis eiusdem; Introductorium medicine eiusdem; Liber de sectionibus & cauterijs & ve[n]tosis eiusdem; Casus q[uo]da[m] qui ad manus eius p[er]veneru[n]t; Sinonima eiusdem ; Tabula omnium antidotoru[m] in operibus Rasis contentorum; De proprietatibus iuuamentis & nocumentis sexaginta animalium. Afforismi Rabi Moysi. Afforismi Damasceni. Liber secretorum Y. ; Liber pronosticationis sim lunam in signis & aspectu planetarum Y.; Liber qui dicitur capsula eburnea Y.; Liber de elementis, siue De humana natura Hypocratis; Liber de aere & aqua & regionibus Y.; Liber de farmacijs Y.; Liber de somniis Y. Libellus Zoar de cura lapidis. Mandato et Expensis Octaviani Scoti per Bonetum Locatellum, Venetijs.*

Ray, P. A. F., Abbé, 1804. *Zoologie universelle et portative, ou histoire naturelle des quadrupèdes, cétacés, oiseaux, poissons, insectes, mollusques, vers, tant indigènes qu'exotiques; jointe à une concordance des divers noms qui leur ont été donnés: le tout disposé selon l'ordre alphabétique, et rapporté à l'ordre méthodique par des tableaux raisonnés. Ouvrage également destiné aux naturalistes et aux gens du monde. Avec un nouveau supplément destiné aux plus récentes connoissances zoologiques d'après nos meilleurs professeurus d'histoire naturelle, rédigé par L. F. Jauffret. Bossange, Masson et Besson, Paris. [1a. ed., 1788].*

- Raynaud, G., 1883. *Oeuvres complètes de Eustache Deschamps publiées d'après le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. Librairie de Firmon Didot et C^{ie}, Paris.
- Real Academia de la Historia, 1807. *Las Siete Partidas del Rey Don Alfonso el Sabio, cotejadas con varios codices antiguos*. Imprenta Real, Madrid,
- Reid, M., 1867. *Afloat in the Forest: Or, a Voyage among the tree-tops*. Ticknor and Fields, Boston.
- Reinsch, R., 1890. *Le Bestiaire. Das Thierbuch des normannischer Dichters Guillaume Le Clerc. Zum ersten Male vollständig nach den Handschriften von London, Paris und Berlin. Mit Einleitung und Glossar*. O. R. Reisland, Leipzig [Altfranzösichen Bibliothek. Vierzehnter Band. Guillaume Le Clerc: Le Bestiaire].
- Ricius, P., 1519. *Liber theoricae necnon practicae Alsharavii in prisco arabum medicorum conventu facile principi: qui vulgo Açararius dicitur: iam summa diligentia, & cura depromptus in lucem*. Impensis Sigusmundi Grim' Medici & Marci Vuirsung, Augustae Vindelicorum.
- Rigault, N. & J. J. Reiske, 1805. *ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΥ ΟΝΕΙΡΟΚΡΙΤΙΚΑ. Artemidori Oneirocritica. Ex dvobvs codicibvs ms venetis recensvuit, emendavit, polivit, notis integris Nic. Rihaltii et Io. Iac. Reiskiisvisque illvstravit, item indices copiosos adiecit Ioannes Gotthofredus Reiff. Tomvs I. Textvm, varias lectiones atqve ipsvm Artemidorum spectantes indices continens*. Svmtibvs Siegfried Lebrecht Crvsii, Lipsiae.
- Riley, H. T., 1852. *The comedies of Plautus literally translated into English prose, with notes. In two volumes. Vol. II. Containing the Amphitryon, Rudens, Mercator, Cistellaria, Truculentus, Persa, Casina, Poenulus, Epidicus, Mostellaria, and fragments*. Henry G. Bohn, London.
- Rinuccio d'Arezzo, 1481. *Vita Aesopi fabulatoris clarissimi e greco latina per Rinicium facta*. [Knockblotzer, Strassburg].
- Robertson-Mellor, G., 1980. *The Franco-Italian Roland (V4)*. University of Salford, Salford.
- Rocculi, G., 2009. Un'impresa decifrata: il 'Leopardo galeato', pp. 207-230, in *Atti della Società Italiana de Studi Araldici, 27^E Convivio*. Milano.
- Roch, E., 1585. *Doctrinale de triplici morte, natvrali, cvlpae, et gehennae, reverendi patris, ac sacra paginae pofessoris parisiensis, Ioannis Ravlini Ordinis Clvniacensis opus egregium. Iam iam dligente accuratione à Reuerendo patre magistro Aegidio Roch. Eremitanum expurgatum, scholijs, ac indice ornatum*. Aoud Altobellum Salicatum, Venetiis.
- Roger, A. & H. Beveridge, 19098. *The Ruzuk-i-Jahangiri or Memoirs of Jahangir*. Royal Asiatic Society, London.
- Rolfe, J. C., 1959. *Suetonius. With an English translation. In two volumes. II*. William Heinemann Ltd., London & Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Rolfe, J. C., 1979. *Suetonius. With an English translation. In two volumes. I*. Harvard University

Press, Cambridge, Mass. & William Heinemann Ltd., London.

Rose, J. B., 1870. *Fables of Aesop and Babrius*. John J. Goulden, Dover.

Ross, A., 1648. *Mystagogvs Poeticvs, or the Muses Interpreter: Explaining the historical mysteries and mysticall histories of the ancient Greek and Latine poets. Here Apollo's temple is again opened; the muses treasurers the third time discovered, and the gardens of Parnassus disclosed more fully, whence many flowers of usefull, delightfull, and rare observations, never touched by any other mythologist, are corrected. The second edition, much enlarged. To which is prefixed the geneology of the heathen gods*. Thomas Whitaker, London.

Roux de Rochelle, J. B. G., 1824. Voyage de Marc Pol, pp. 1-296, in Société de Géographie, *Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires. Tome Premier*. Imprimerie d'Éverat, Paris.

Ruo, R., 1852. *Saggio storico degli ordini cavallereschi antichi e moderni estinti ed esistenti istituti nel Regno delle Due Sicilie sotto le varie dinasie con annotazioni storiografiche e tavole incise in rame*. Nella Stamperia della Società Filomatica, Napoli.

Russell, A., 1794. *The natural history of Aleppo, and parts adjacent. Containing a description of the city, and the principal natural productions in its neighbourhood. Together with an account of the climate, inhabitants and diseases; particularly of the plague. The second edition. Revised, enlarged, and illustrated with notes by Pat. Russell. Vol. II. G. G. And J. Robinson, London*.

Rutherford, W. G., 1883. *Babrius. Edited with introductory dissertations, critical notes, commentary, and lexicon*. MacMillan and Co., London. [Scriptores Fabularum Graeci. Volume first containing the Mythiambics of Babrius].

Ryder, A. W., 1925. *The Panchatantra of Vishnu Sharma. English translation*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Sahid, D., 1644. *Livre des Lvmieres ov La Conduite des Rroys composé par le sage Pilpay indien. Tradvit en françois par David Sahid d'Ispahan ville capitale de Perse*. Chez Simeon Piget, Paris.

Sainéan, L., 1907. *La création métaphorique en français et en roman. Images tirées du monde des animaux domestiques. Le chien et le porc. Avec des appendices sur le loup, le renard et les batraciens*. Verlag von Max Niemeyer, Halle a. S. [Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie. 10. Heft].

Saint-Genois, J. de, 1851. Voyages faits en Terre-Sainte par Thetmar, en 1217, et par Burchard de Strasbourg, en 1175, 1189 ou 1225. *Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, Bruxelles 26 (Classe des Lettres): 1-61.

Salomon, B., 1557. *Métamorphose d'Ovide figurée*, J. de Tournes, Lyon.

Sanminiatielli, G. M., 1842. *Vita di San Ranieri protettore della città e diocesi di Pisa. Traduzione di un antico manoscritto del Canonico Benincasa fata da Fra Giuseppe Maria Sanminiatielli religioso dell'Ordine di Santa Maria del Carmine. Nuova edizione*. Ranieri

Prosperi, Tipografo Arcivescovole, Pisa.

- Sansovino, F., 1596. *Dante. Con l'espositioni di Christoforo Landino, et d'Alessandro Vellvtello. Sopra la sua Comedia dell'Inferno, del Purgatorio, & del Paradiso, Con tauole, argomenti, & allegorie; & riformato, riueduto, & ridotto alla sua vera lettura, per Francesco Sansovino fiorentino.* Appresso Gio. Battista, & Gio. Bernardo Sessa, fratelli, Venetia.
- Saumaise, C., 1629. *Cl. Salmasii Plinianae Exercitationes in Caii Ivlii Solini Polyhistora. Item Caii Ivlii Solini Polyhistor ex veteribvs libris emendatvs.* Apud C. Morellvm Typographum Regium, Parisiis.
- Savage, J. J., 1961. *Saint Ambrose. Hexameron, Paradise, and Cain and Abel* [in Deferrari, R. J. et al., orgs., *The Fathers of the Church. A new translation*, vol. 42]. Fathers of the Church, Inc., New York.
- Savary de Bruslons, J. & P, L. Savary, 1742. *Dictionnaire universel de commerce: Contenant tout ce qui concerne le commerce qui se fait dans les quatre parties du monde; par terre, par mer, de proche en proche, & par des voyages de long cours, tant en gros qu'en detail. Nouvelle edition, exactement revue, corrigée, & enrichie de beaucoup d'additions: dans laquelle le supplement est rangé en la place. Tome second, D – O.* Chez les Héritiers Cramer & Freres Philibert, Geneve.
- Sayão, L. A. T., 1998. *Novo Testamento trilingüe. Grego. Português. Inglês.* Edições Vida Nova, São Paulo.
- Scaliger, I. C., 1566. *Ivlii Caesaris Scaligeri viri clariss. Commentarii, et Animadversiones, in sex libros de Cavis Plantarvm Theophrasti. Exquisitam rerum ac dictionum penitus abstrusarum graece latinaq' linguae explicationem in his commentariis reipsa comperient lectores. & ipse index operi additus commostrabit.* Ioannis Crispini, Anchora.
- Scaliger, I. C., 1582. *Uvlii Caesaris Scaligeri Exotericarvm Exercitationvm liber XV. De Subtiliate, ad Hieronymvm Cardanvm. Infine duo sunt indices, prior breuiusculus, continens sententias nobiliores: alter opulentissimus, penè omnia complectens.* Apud haeredes Andr. Wecheli, Francofvrti.
- Schefer, C., 1896-1898. *Description de l'Afrique, tierce partie du monde. Écrite par Jean Leon African. Premièrement en langue arabesque, puis em toscan et à présent mise en François. Nouvelle édition annotée.* 3 vols. Ernest Leroux Éditeur, Paris.
- Schilter, B. J. & J. G. Scherz, 1726. *Poetae anonymi teutonici Rhythmus de S. Annone archiepiscopo coloniensi à Matino Opitio ex membrana veteri bibiothecae rhedigerianaevratislaviensis primum editus, & notis illustratus. Accedunt versio latina & notae B. Hoh. Schilteri, Jcti Argentin. Ut & observationibus Joh. Georgii Scherzii, D. & Juris in Univers. Argentor. Prof. Publ. Ord. Sumptibus Daniels Bartholomaei, Ulmae.*
- Schneider, O., 1856. *Nicandrea. Theriaca et Alexipharmaca. Recensuit et emendavit, fragmenta collegit, commentationes addidit Otto Schneider. Accedunt scholia in Theriana ex recensione Henrici Keil. Scholia in Alexipharmaca ex recognition Bussemakeri et R. Bentley emendations parrim ineditae.* Sumptibus et Typis B. G. Teubneri, Lipsiae.

- Scholfield, A. F., 1958. *Aelian. On the Characteristics of Animals. With an English translation. In three volumes. I. Boks I–V.* William Heinemann Ltd., London & Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Scholfield, A. F., 1959a. *Aelian. On the Characteristics of Animals. With an English translation. In three volumes. II. Books VI–XI.* William Heinemann Ltd., London & Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Scholfield, A. F., 1959b. *Aelian. On the Characteristics of Animals. With an English translation. In three volumes. III. Boks XII–XVII.* William Heinemann Ltd., London & Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Schott, K., 1659. *P. Casparis Schotti regiscuriani, e Societate Jesu, olim in Panornmitano Siciliae, nunc in Herbipolitano Franconiae Gymnasio ejusdem Societatis Jesu matheseos professoris Thaumaturgus Physicus, sive Magiae Universalis Naturae et Artis pars IV. et ultima, in VIII. libros digesta, quibus pleraq' quae in cryptographis, pyrotechnicis, magneticis, sympathicis ac antipathicis, medicis, divinatoriis, physiognomicis, ac chiromanticis, estrarum, curiosum, ac prodigiosum, hoc est, verè magicum. Summâ varietate proponitur. Variè discutuntur, innumeris exemplis aut experimentis illustratur, solidè examinatur, & rationibus physicis vel stabilitur, vel rejicitur. Com figures aeri incisae, & privilegio.* Sumptibus Haeredum Joannis Godefridi Schönwetteri, Bibliopol. Francofurtens., Herbipoli.
- Schott, G., 1667. *P. Gasparis Schotti Regis Curiani e Societate Jesu, olim in Panormitano Siciliae, nunc in Herbipolitano Franconiae gymnasio ejusdem Societatis Jesu Matheseos Professoris, Physica curiosa, sive mirabilia naturae et artis libris XII. comprehensa, quibus pleraque, quae de angelis, daemonibus, hominibus, spectris, energumenis, monstris, portentis, animalibus, meteoris, &c. rara, arcana, curiosaq' circumferuntur, ad veritatis trutinam expendantur, variis ex historia ac philosophia petitis disquisitionibus excuriuntur, & innumeris exemplis illustrantur. Ad serenissimum ac potentissimum principem Carolum Ludovicum, S. R. I. Electore, &c. Cum figuris aeri incisae, & privilegio. Editio altera auctior.* Joannis Andreae Endteri & Folgangi Jun. Haeredum, Herbipoli [= Würzburg].
- Schrevel, 1661. *Historiae Augustae Scriptorum VI. Alius Spartianus. Vulc. Gallicanus. Iulius Capitolinus. Trebell. Pollio, Aelius Lampridius, Flavius Vopiscus. Cum notis selectis Isaac Casauboni, Cl. Salmasii & Jani Gruteri. Cum indice locupletissimo rerum ac verborum.* Ex Officina Francisci Hackii, Lugduni Batavorum.
- Schultz-Gora, O., 1902. *Ein Sirventes von Guilhem Figueira gegen Friedrich II. Kritisch herausgegeben nebst verschieden Anhängen.* Verlag von Max Niemeyer, Halle a. S.
- Seaton, R. C., 1967. *Apollonius Rhodius. The Argonautica. With an English translation.* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts & William Heinemann Ltd., London.
- Settala, L., 1607. *Lvdovici Septalii patricii mediolanensis Commentariorvm in Aristotelis Problemata tomus II. Secvndam heptadem continens, ab eodem latinè factam. Cuius argumentum versa pagina indicabit. Ad amplissimum Jvreconsvltorvm Mediolanensivm Collegivm.* Apud Claudium Marnium & haeredes, Francofvrti.

- Ševčenko, N. P., 2002. Wild animals in the Byzantine park, pp. 69-86, in Littlewood, A., H. Maguire & J. Wolschke-Bulmahn, eds., *Byzantine garden culture*. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D. C.
- Singer, C., 1956. *Galen on Anatomical Procedures. Περι Ανατομικων Εγχειρησεων. De Anatomicis Administrationibus. Translation of the surviving books with introduction and notes*. Oxford University Press, London/New York/Toronto.
- Singleton, C. S., 1989. *Dante Alighieri. The Divine Comedy translated, with a commentary, by Charles S. Singleton. Inferno. 2. Commentary*. Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- Skeat, W. W., 1871. *Specimens of English literature from 'Ploughmans Crede' to the 'Shepherds Calender' A. D. 1394 – A. D. 1579 with introduction, notes and glossarial index*. Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Smetius, J., Jr., 1678. *Antiquitates neomagenses. Sive notitia rarissimarum rerum antiquarum, quas in veteri batavorum oppido studiose comparavit Johannes Smetius, pater & filius. In qua annuli, gemmae, amuleta, claves, styli, tintinnabula, fibulae, lampades, arae, marmora, mensurae, pondera, statuae, sigilla, lagenae, vasa, atque alia antiquorum monumenta explicantur: & varia romanorum numismata hactenus non visi illustrantur*. Ex Typographeio Regneri Smetii, Noviomagi Batavorum.
- Societas Bipontina, 1787. *Historiae Augustae scriptores sex. Aelius Spartianus, Julius Capitolinus, Aelius Lampridius, Vulcatius Gallicanus, Trebellius Pollio, Flavius Vopiscus ad optimas editions collate. Editio accurate*. Ex Typographia Societatis, Biponti.
- Solis, V., 1609. *P. Ovidii Metamorphosis, oder: Wunderbarliche und seltzame beschreibung, von der Menschen, Thieren, vnd anderer Creaturen veränderung, auch von der Wandeln, Leben und Thaten der Götter, Martis, Veneris, Mercurii, etc., allen Poeten, Malern, Goldschmiden, Bildthauwern, vnnnd Liefhabern der edlen Poesi vnd fürnembsren Künsten, nützlich vnd lustig zu lessen. Jetzt widerumb auff ein neues, dem gemeinen Vatterlandt Teutscher Nation zu grossen nutz vnd dienst auss sonderlichem fleitz mit schönen Figuren, auch dess hochgelehrten Herrnn Gerardi Lorichii der Fabeln Ausstegung, renouiert, corrigiert, vnd an Tag geben*. Johann Sauru, in Verlegung Francisci Nicolai Rothen, Franckfurt am Mayn.
- Squillaciotti, P., 2007. Il bestiario nel Tesoro toscano nel MS. Laurenziano Plut. XLII 22. *Bollettino dell'Opera del Vocabolario Italiani* 12: 265-353.
- Stadler, H., 1916. *Albertus Magnus, De Animalibus libri XXVI. Nach der Cölner Urschrift. Erster Band, Buch I-XII enthaltend*. Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Münster i. W. [Baeumker, C., ed., *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters. Texte und Untersuchungen. In Verbindung mit Georg Graf von Hertling, Franz Ehrle S. J., Matthias Baumgartner und Martin Grabmann, Band XV*].
- Stadler, H., 1920. *Albertus Magnus De Animalibus Libri XXVI nach der Cölner Urschrift. Mit Unterstützung der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München, der Görres-Gesellschaft und der Rheinischen Gesellschaft für Wissenschaftliche Forschung. Zweiter Band. Buch XIII-XXVI enthaltend*. Verlag der Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung,

Münster. [Baeumker, C., ed., *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters. Texte und Untersuchungen. In Verbindung mit †Georg Graf von Hertling, Franz Ehrle S. J., Matthias Baumgartner und Martin Grabmann, Band XVI*].

Straet, J. van der, P. Galle & C. van Kiel, 1634. *Venationes ferarum, avium, piscium: Pygnae bestiariorum & mutuae bestiarum, depictae a Ioanne Stradano: editae a Philippo Galleo: carmine illustratae a C. Kiliano Dufflaeo*. Apud Ioannem Gallaeum, Anturpiae.

Strong, J., 1890. *A concise dictionary of the words in the Hebrew Bible; with their renderings in the authorized English version*. Abingdon Press, New York.

Surius, L., 1615. *H. Henrici Sysonis viri sanctitate, eruditione et miraculis clari, Opera nunc demum post annos ducentos & amplius, è sueuici idiomate latinè reddita à reuerend. patr. Lavrentio Sysio carthusiano. Cum indice locupletissimo. Contenta, lector, vide pagina sequente*, Apud Arnoldum Quentelium, Coloniae.

Tamburini, G., 1855. *Benvenuto Rambaldi da Imola illustrato nella vita e nelle opere. E di lui Commento Latino sulla Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri. Volgato in italiano dall'avvocato Giovanni Tamburini. Volume primo*. Dalla Tipografia Galeati, Imola.

Tardiff, G., 1745. *Polyhistor sive de situ orbis ac mundi mirabilibus liber*. [Louis Simonel et associés, Paris].

Tassoni, A., 1698. *Annotazioni sopra il Vocabulario degli Accademici della Crusca. Opera postuma di Alessandro Tassoni modonese. Riscontrata com multi testi a penna. Aggiuntavi una lettera intorno a questa, ed altre opere del Tassoni; com due indici nel fine, l'uno delle voci poste per entro l'opera, e l'altro degli autori in essa allegati. Consagrata all'eminentiss. e reverendiss. Principe il Cardinale Vincenzo Grimani*. Appresso Marino Rossetti, Venezia.

Tassoni, A., G. Muzio & L. A. Muratori, orgs., 1751. *Le rime di Francesco Petrarca riscontrate con i testi a penna della Libreria Estense, e con i fragmenti dell'originale d'esso poeta. Seconda edizione*. Presso Bonifacio Viezzeri, Venezia.

Temminck, C. J., 1827. *Monographies de mammalogie, ou description de quelques genres de mammifères, dont les espèces ont été observées dans les différents musées de l'Europe. Ouvrage accompagné de planches d'oestéologie, pouvant servir de suite et de complément aux notices sur les animaux vivans, publiées par M. le baron G. Cuvier, dans ses Recherches sur les ossements fossiles. Tome premier*. G. Dufour et E. d'Ocagne, Libraires, Paris.

Tempesta, A., 1606. *Metamorphoseon sive transformationvm ovidianarvm libri quindecim, aeris formis ab Antonio Tempesta florentino incisi, et in pictorvm, antiqvitatisqve studiosorvm gratiam nunc promvm exquisitissimvs svmpibvs a Petro de Iodeantverpiano in lucem editi*. Petrus de Iode, Antverpiae.

Temporal, J., 1830. *De l'Afrique, contenant la description de ce pays, par Léon l'Africain. Et la navigation des anciens capitaines portugais aux Indes Orientales et Occidentales*, 2 vols. Imprimé aux Frais du Gouvernement pour procurer du Travail aux Ouvriers Typographes, Paris.

- Terreros y Pando, E., 1787. *Diccionario Castellano con las voces de ciencias y artes y sus correspondientes de las tres lenguas francesa, latina é italiana: Su autor el P. Esteban de Terreros y Pando. Tomo segundo*. En la Imprenta de la Viuda de Ibarra, Hijos y Campaña, Madrid.
- Thomas, A., 1902. *Université de Paris, Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Lettres. XIX. Mélanges d'étymologie française*. Félix Alcan, Éditeur, ancienne librairie Germer Baillièrre et C^{IE}, Paris.
- Thomas, E. C., 1888. *The Philobiblion of Richard de Bury. Bishop of Durham Treasurer and Chancellor of Edward III*. Kegan Paul, Trech and Co., London.
- Thomas, W. & S. A. Roy, trads., 1873. *Travels to Tana and Persia, by Josafa Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini*. Printed for the Hakluyt Society, London.
- Thorpe, B., 1842. *Codex Exoniensis. A collection of Anglo-Saxon poetry, from a manuscript in the library of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter, with an English translation, notes, and indexes*. Published for the Society of Antiquaries of London by William Pickering, London.
- Tisserand, L. M., 1874. *Histoire générale de Paris. Les armoiries de la Ville de Paris. Sceaux, emblèmes, couleurs, devises, livrées et cérémonies publiques. Ouvrage commencé par feu le Comte A. de Coetlogon. Refondu et complété par L.-M. Tisserand et le Service Historique de la Ville de Paris. Tome premier*. Imprimerie Nationale, Paris.
- Titus Livius, 1740. *Titi Livii patavini Historiarum ab Urbe condita. Tomus tertius*. Apud E. & J. R. Thurnisios, Fratres, Basileae.
- Tobler, A., 1886. *Proverbia que dicuntur super natura feminarum. Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, Halle 9: 287-331*.
- Tobler, T., 1851. *Magistri Thetmari Iter ad Terram Sanctam anno 1217. Ex codice manuscripto*. Apud Huber et soc., bibliop., St. Galli et Bernae.
- Todd, H. A., 1883. *Le Dit de la Panthère d'Amours par Nicole de Margival. Poème du XIII^e siècle publié d'après les manuscrits de Paris de et Saint-Pétersbourg*. Libraire de Firmin Didot et Cie., Paris.
- Topsel, E., 1658. *The history of four-footed beasts and serpents: describing at large their true and lively figure, their several names, conditions, kinds, virtues (both natural and medicinal) countries of their breed, their love and hatred to mankind, and the wonderful work of God in their creation, preservation, and destruction. Interwoven with curious variety of historical narrations out of scriptures, fathers, philosophers, physicians, and poets: Illustrated with divers hieroglyphics and emblems, &c. both profitable to students in all faculties and professions. Collected out of the writings of Conradus Gesner and other authors by Edward Topsel. Whereunto is now added, the Theater of Insects; or, lesser living creatures: as bees, flies, caterpillars, spiders, worms, &c. A most elaborate work: by T. Muffet, Dr. of Physick. The whole revised, corrected, and enlarged with the addition of two useful Physical Tables, by J. R., M. D. Printed by E. Cotes for G.*

Sawbridge and T. Williams, London.

Toynbee, J. M. C., 1973. *Animals in Roman life and art*. Thames and Hudson, London.

Troyli, P., 1751. *Istoria generale del reame di Napoli. Ovvero stato antico, e moderno delle regioni, e luoghi, che 'l reame di Napoli compongono, una colle loro prime popolazioni, costumi, leggi, polizia, uomini illustri, e monarchi. Opera del Padre Abate D. Placido Troyli, dell 'Ordine Cisterciense, patrizio della città di Montalbano, e teologo della fedelissima città di Napoli. Tomo quarto, parte terza*. [s.n.], Napoli.

Trucchi, F., 1846. *Poesie italiane inedite di dugento autori. Dall'origine della lingua infino al secolo decimosettimo. Raccolte e illustrate da Francesco Trucchi, socio di varie academie. Volume I*. Ranieri Guasti, Prato.

Valeriani, L. & U. Lampredi, eds., 1816. *Poeti del primo secolo della lingua italiana in due volumi raccolti. Volume secondo*. [s.n.], Firenze.

Vavasseur, F., S. J., 1709. *Francisci Vavassoris e Societe Jesu Opera omnia antehac edita, theologica et philologica. Nunc primùm in unum volumen collecta, ad quae accesserunt inedita et sub ficto nomine emissa cùm latina, tum gallica; quorum catalogum praefatio suppeditabit*. Apud Petrum Humbertum. Amstelodami.

Vellutello, A., 1544. *La Comedia di Dante Aligieri con la nova espositione di Alessandro Vellutello*. Francesco Marcolini, Vinegia.

Venn, J., 1912. *The works of John Caius, M. D. Second founder of Goncille and Caius College and Master of the College 1519-1573. With a memoir of his life*, University Press, Cambridge.

Vernon, G. W. & J. P. Lacaïta, eds., 1887. *Benvenuto de Rambaldis de Imola. Commentum super Dantis Aldighierij Comediam nunc primum integre in lucem editum sumptibus Guilielmi Warren Vernon curante Jacobo Philippo Lacaïta. Tomus primus*. Typis G. B. Barbèra, Florentiae.

Viguièr, (-), 1790. *Éléments de la langue turque, ou tables analytiques de la langue turque usuelle, avec leur développement*. Imprimerie du Palais de France, Constantinople.

Vincent de Beauvais, 1591. *Specvli Maioris Vincentii Bvrgvndi presvlis belvacensis, Ordinis Praedicatorvm, theologi ac doctoris eximii, tomi quatuor. Quorvm primo tota Natvralis Historia: Altero omniam doctrinarum disciplinarumq' farrago; Tertio verò omnis moralis philosophia; Quarto denique vniuersa totius orbis omniumq' populorum ab orbe condito, ad auctoris vsque tempus, cum sequentium annorum appendice, historia continetur, Opvs sane praeclarvm, omnigena eruditione referentissimum, & diu desideratum, nunc è tebebris, in quibus iampridem iacuis, omni adhibita solertia emmendatum, in lucem prodit. Cum indice librorum, capitulorum, rerum, ac materiarum locupletissimo. Ad D. N. Gregorium XIII Pontificem Maximvm*. Apud Dominicum Nicolinum, Venetiis.

Vinea, P. de, 1786. *Constitviones regvm regni vtrivsque Siciliae mandante Friderico II. Imperatore per Petrvm de Vinea Capvanvm Praetorio Praefectum, et Cancellarium Concinnatae. Novissima hac editione svmmà cvra recognite, et innvmeris propor, quibvs*

antea scatebant, erroribus, omnino purgatae ad fidem antiquissimi palatini codicis. Cuius graeca aevi eadem versione e regione latini textus apposita. Quibus nunc primum accedunt assisiae regum regni Siciliae et fragmentum quod superest Regesto eiusdem Imperatoris ann. 1239. & 1440. Ex Regia Typographia, Neapoli.

Viré, F., 1967. Sur l'identité de Moamyn le Fauconnier. *Comptes rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Paris 111 (2): 172-176.

Vivian, T., 1994. Life of Antony by Saint Athanasius of Alexandria. Translated from the Coptic version with introduction and notes. *Coptic Church Review* 15 (1-2): 99-128.

Vossius, G. I., 1668. *Gerardi Ioannis Vossii De Theologia Gentili, et Physiologia Christiana; sive De Origine ac Progressu Idololatriae. Deque naturae mirandis, quibus homo adducitur ad Deum, libri IX. Editio nova. Quorum IV libri priores ab auctore plurimum aucti, addendaque in calce eorum suis locis inserta. Posteriores V. libri ex auctoris autographo nunc primum prodeunt.* Apud Ioannem Blaev, Amsterdam.

Vossius, I., 1658. *Isaaci Vossii Observationes ad Pomponium Melam De Situ Orbis. Ipse Melam longè quam antehac emendatior praeferuntur.* Apud Adrianum Vlacq, Hagae-Comitis.

Walberg, E., 1900. *Le Bestiaire de Philippe de Thaün. Texte critique publié avec introduction, notes et glossaire.* Imprimerie E. Malmström, Lund.

Watt, G., 1893. *A dictionary of the economic products of India. Volume VI, part IV [Tectona to Zygophyllum].* W. H. Allen & Co., London & Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, Calcutta.

Webb, J., 1823. Translation of a French metrical history of the deposition of King Richard the Second, written by a contemporary, and comprising the period from his last expedition into Ireland to his death; from a Ms. formerly belonging to Charles of Anjou, Earl of Maine and Mortain; but now preserved in the British Museum; accompanied by prefatory observations, notes, and an appendix; with a copy of the original. [Society of Antiquaries of London] *Archaeologia: Or Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity*, London 20 (1): 1-423.

Weinrich, M., 1664. *Aerarium Poeticum, hoc est, phrases & nomina poetica, tam propria, quam appellativa, poetarum latinorum, cum veterum plerorumque omnium; tum recentiorum quorundam, & praesertim Friderici Taubmanni, seculi nostri poetae praestantissimi: Titulis latino-germanicis ordine doctrinae, cuius libet discipline proprio, ita congesta, ut praeter haec instar locorum communium etiam haberi possint: Nunc sextum reiterata editione infinitis in locis emendatius, tersius, ut & italorum, belgarum, gallorum, germanorum, scotorum, hungarorum, quos Janus Gruterus ut plurimum collegit, christianorum aequè ac gentilium illustrissimorum, plusquam DC. pulchè loquendi modis, novis item CCXXX. titulis exauctius protractum, è forulis scholasticis M. Joseph Clauderi, sen. poetae christiani. Accessit sub finem index tam latinus, quam germanicus.* Apud Thomam Mathiam Götzius, Francofurti.

Weise, C. H., 1835. *M. Annaei Lucani Pharsaliae libri X. Ad meliorum librorum fidem recensuit scholiisque interpretatus est et indicem adiecit Carolus Herm. Weise*, Typis ac sumptibus Godofr. Bassi, Quedlingsburgi et Lipsiae.

- Werth, H., 1888. Altfranzösische Jagdlerbücher nebst Handschriften-bibliographie der abendländischen Jagdlitteratur überhaupt. *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, Halle 12: 156-191.
- Williams, W. G., 1952. *Cicero. The letters to his friends. With an English translation. In three volumes. II.* William Heinemann Ltd., London & Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Williams, W. G., 1958. *Cicero. The letters to his friends. With an English translation. In three volumes. I.* William Heinemann Ltd., London & Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Witzel, M., 2003. Linguistic evidence for cultural exchange in prehistoric Western Central Asia. *Sino-Platonic Papers*, Philadelphia 129: 1-70.
- Wollaston, A. N., 1882. *An English-Persian dictionary. Compiled from original sources.* W. H. Allen & Co., London.
- Wright, C. H. C., 1916. *French verse of the XVI Century.* D. C. Heath & Co., Publishers, Boston/New York/Chicago.
- Wright, T., 1841. Livre des Creatures, by Philip de Thaun, pp. 20-73 e The Bestiary of Philippe de Thaun, pp. 74-131, in seu *Popular treatises on science written during the Middle Ages in Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and English. Edited from the original manuscripts.* Printed for the Society [Historical Society of Science] by T. and J. E. Taylor, London.
- Wright, T., 1863. *Alexandri Neckam De Naturis Rerum libri duo. With the poem of the same author, De Laudibus Divinae Sapientiae.* Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, London.
- Xenofonte, 1860. *ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΤΑ ΣΩΖΟΜΕΝΑ. XENOPHONTIS Scripta quae supersunt. Graece et latine cum indicibus nominum et rerum locupletissimis.* Editore Ambrosio Firmin Didot, Institutu Regii Francae Typographo, Parisiis.
- Yonge, C. D., 1854. *The Deipnosophists or Banquet of the Learned of Athenaeus. In three volumes. Vol. I.* Henry G. Bohn, London.
- Yule, H. & A. C. Burnell, 2013. *Hobson-Jobson. The definitive glossary of British India.* Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Yves de Paris, 1648. *Digestvm Sapientiae in qvo habetvr scientiarvm omnivm rervm divinarum atque humanarum nexis; & ad prima prinvipia reductio, Autore T. Yvone parisino capucino.* Sumptibus Dionysii Thierry, Lvtetiae Parisiorvm.
- Zaccagnini, G., ed., 2008. *La "Vita" di san Ranieri (secolo XII). Analisi storica, agiografica e filologica del testo di Benincasa. Edizione critica dal codice C 181 dell'Archivio Capitolare di Pisa. Pref. Gabriella Rossetti.* GISEM-ETS, Pisa. [Piccola biblioteca Gisen 26].

- Zimara, M. A., 1543. *Marci Antonii Zimarae, philosophi consvmatissimi Tabvla Dilucidationvm in Dictis Aristotelis et Averrois, Opus iandiu expectatum, & nunc primum summa diligentia in lucem editum.* Apud Hieronymum Scotum, Venetijs.
- Zimara, M. A., 1550. *Sextvm volvmen. Aristotelis stagiritae libri omnes, ad animalivm cognitionem attinentes, cum Averrois cordvbensis variis in eosdem commentariis: qvorum titulos, nvmervm, ac ordinem versa pagina narrat.* Apvd Ivntas, Venetiis.
- Zimara, M. A., 1556. *Marci Antonii Zimarae, philosophi consvmmatissimi Tabula Dilucidationum in Dictis Aristotelis & Auerrois, opvs lvcvntossimvm, et nvnc stvdio curaque diligentissima cuiusdam viri, in omni genere disciplinarum peritissimi, ab omnibus erratis purgatum, atque recognitum: Adeo vt antea sicvt hac nostra tempestate tale publicè legendum haudquaquam missum fuerit. Qvod qvisqve philosophiae admodvm studiosus perfacile conicere poterit.* Apud Petrum de Fine, Venetiis.
- Zimara, M. A., 1560. *Tomus nonus in quo magni Averrois cordvbensis philosophi consvmmatissimi, medicineq' artis eruditissimi septem libri collegit, & Auicennae Cantica cum eiusdem Auer. Expositione ad rem medicam attinentes.* Apud Cominum de Tridino, Venetiis.
- Zimara, M. A., 1562. *Marci Antonii Zimarae, philosophi consvmmatissimi Tabula Dilucidationum in Dictis Aristotelis & Auerrois, opvs lvcvntossimvm, et nvnc stvdio curaque diligentissima cuiusdam viri, in omni genere disciplinarum peritissimi, ab omnibus erratis purgatũ, atq' recognitum. Adeo vt antea sicvt hac nostra tempestate tale publicè legendum haudquaquam missum fuerit. Qvod qvisqve philosophiae admodvm studiosus perfacile conicere poterit.* Ioan. Gryphivs, Venetiis.
- Zimara, M. A., 1564. *Marci Ant. Zimarae philosophi clarissimi Tabula & Dilucidationes in Dicta Aristotelis & Auer. Nunc recens recognita, & ab innumeris erroribus expurgate.* Apud Vincentium Valgrisium, Venetiis.
- Zottenberg, H. & P. Meyer, eds., 1864. *Barlaam und Josaphat. Französische Gedicht des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts von Gui de Cambrai, nebst Auszügen aus mehreren andern romanischen Versionen.* [Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart. LXXV]. Gedruckt auf Kosten des Litterarischen Vereins, Stuttgart.
- Zwinger, T., 1562. *Santis Ardoyni pisavrensis medici et philosophi praestantissimi opvs De Venenis, a multis hactenus desideratvm, et nunc tandem castigatissimè editum. In quo naturalis primùm historia venenatorũ omnium, siue natura siue arte constant, fidelissimè proponitur (quam partem Theriacam Graeci vocant:) & quibus signis venena non in genere tantùm, sed etiam in specie cognosci ac diiudicari debeant, ostenditur. Deinde verò Alexipharmacia, hoc est, ratio tum praecauendi venena, tum curandi, elegans, copiosa, secunda, planeq' methodica, & post omnes alios, qui in consimili argumento versati sunt, perfectissima & absolutissima traditur. Cum praefatione succulenta, in qua methodis venenorum cognoscendorum atque curandorum, summa arte, brevitate & facilitate docetur. Adivnximvs eiusdem generis commentarium doctissimum, Ferdinandi Ponzetti cardinalis. Indicem praeterea rerum atque verborum copiosissimum. Per Henricvm Petrvm, et Petrvm Pernam, Basileae.*