

## **Blood on the Butcher's Knife: Images of Pig Slaughter in Late Medieval Illustrated Calendars**

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A butcher straddles the pig on the building floor, holding its front leg safely out of the way. With his knife, he slits the pig's throat with precision so that the blood gushes into an awaiting basin. The precious blood, which is often collected by a woman holding a bowl or basin, will be transformed into culinary treats and hearty meals. The slaughter takes place late in the year, often in December, as a way of stocking the food stores and reducing the number of mouths to feed over the lean months. This pig butchery process, as depicted in manuscripts illustrated in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, highlights blood as the object of interest with squirting or dripping blood drawing the eye to toward the pig and the bleeding incision (Figure 1).

**Figure 1. December calendar image of draining the pig's blood in a manuscript from Bologna dated 1389-1404. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, Ms. 34, fol. 6v. Image in the public domain, courtesy of the Getty Open Content Program. [LINK](#)**

This is one of many images of pig slaughter found in medieval books as an illustration to accompany the month of December on calendar pages, which will be the focus of this chapter. The late medieval period has complex and contradictory developments in the thinking about

animal blood from butchery. It is both a potential pollutant to watercourses and soil, as well as a valuable ingredient in food for human consumption as blood pudding. It is a practical necessity, but also infused with spiritual meaning. During the late medieval period, there was a shift in the way images of butchery are portrayed, particularly images for the month of December in calendars. They change from relatively sanitised images of a man with raised axe over a pig's head to scenes of blood-letting practices on freshly-killed pigs to extract the desired blood. This chapter explores the acceptability and desirability of these blood-soaked butchery images in the late medieval period within the context of the calendar image as both devotional and practical. What are we to make of this emphasis on blood in the pig slaughter?

Images of the medieval pig slaughter in winter were not always as graphic as they would become in the late medieval period. Those from the thirteenth century are highly stylized—rather than showing the dead or dying pig, the images only signal intention to kill the animal (Figure 2). Typically, a man stands with an axe raised over his head and will soon drop it on the unsuspecting pig below. The axe is positioned with the blunt end toward the pig to knock it unconscious rather than serving as a mode of beheading the beast. Sometimes, the axe is shown already striking the pig, but there is no visible effect of the blow. The animal is alive and unblemished in these images.<sup>1</sup>

**Figure 2. Calendar page for December from a psalter made in the Netherlands in the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century. The image is a typical early depiction of killing a pig. British Library, Royal 2. B. III, fol. 7v. Image in the public domain, courtesy of British Library. [LINK](#)**

While the use of the raised axe scene continues in the later period in some manuscripts, images began to focus more on blood. In the fourteenth century, these innocuous pig slaughter images were supplemented by a few depictions of the butchery process. The December illumination in the Queen Mary Psalter dated between 1310 and 1320 includes both the standard raised axe scene and a pig hung up for butchering. A breviary made in Metz in 1302/3 illustrates December as a pig hanging with the intestines visible as a man cuts into it. In this case, unlike the Queen Mary Psalter, there is a pan to collect blood on the floor and blood droplets emanating from the pig (Figure 3). This is the earliest medieval illumination I have found showing the collection of blood during pig slaughter.

**Figure 3. An early depiction of pig slaughter and blood collection in the Breviary of Renaud de Bar from Metz, 1302-1303. British Library Yates Thompson 8, fol. 6v. Image in the public domain, courtesy of British Library. [LINK](#)**

The images under consideration in this chapter are illustrations in medieval calendars. These calendars were most often the beginning pages of psalters and books of hours. Wealthy aristocrats prayed with the help of extravagantly illustrated versions of these books during private devotion. The medieval calendar served as a guide to the church year by listing the major and minor feasts, like Christmas, and the veneration days of local and well-known saints. The calendar was organized according to months, January to December, with the days of the month

indicated by the Julian calendar system.<sup>2</sup> Unlike modern calendars printed specifically for one year, medieval ones could be used and re-used indefinitely through the special numbering and lettering schemes.

Each month in a medieval calendar was often illustrated with an occupation of the month and/or the prevailing zodiac sign. Illuminated medieval calendars were firmly established by the twelfth century in Western Europe and continued in prominence throughout the Middle Ages.<sup>3</sup> The compositions are linked to the liturgical year, as demonstrated by their common occurrence alongside Resurrection or baptism motifs in church decorative programs.<sup>4</sup> Although there was some degree of flexibility in the iconography chosen for each month, the most typical series consisted of feasting (January); warming by the fire (February); pruning vines (March); gathering flowers (April); hunting with falcons (May); mowing (June); reaping (July); threshing (August); crushing grapes (September); sowing seeds (October); feeding pigs on acorns (November); and slaughtering pigs (December).<sup>5</sup> The series stresses the cyclical passage of time, from life to death then back to life again at the start of a new year. The same illustrations would be seen year after year as the months passed by. The last month, December, is of interest here with its illustration of swine butchery.<sup>6</sup> How we might interpret the scene both practically and spiritually?

On one level, these are practical images of the labor of the month: preparing the larder for winter. Pig blood was a substantive ingredient in food recipes. A household book from Paris at the end of the fourteenth century, *Le Ménagier de Paris*, explains that pigs are to be killed in November and December and gives the steps for making blood sausage. According to the recipe, the cook collected the blood in a suitable basin or pan, then removed the clots of blood that had accumulated on the bottom, then added minced onions, fat from around the intestines, and spices.

Cleaned intestines were then stuffed with this mixture and pan-fried.<sup>7</sup> Blood puddings, blood sausages, and other recipes calling for blood as an ingredient are found throughout medieval cuisine and are a continuing part of European culinary heritage.<sup>8</sup>

As a substance, blood could be transgressive if not properly collected. Butchery was a dirty business and by the late medieval period, royal and town governments highly regulated the profession and tried to control where activities happened within city walls.<sup>9</sup> The butchers of Coventry, England, for example, were not permitted to slaughter animals in the street or tie up animals outside.<sup>10</sup> Coventry was not alone in forbidding street slaughter. King Charles VI of France ordered the demolition of the meat market near his Châtelet in Paris because of “the filth of the slaughtering and skinning of beasts” and ordered that those kind of activities must move to places “less dangerous to the public health.”<sup>11</sup> According to the financial rolls, York fined three butchers in 1475 for slaughtering animals in the street contrary to city ordinances.<sup>12</sup> Blood was of particular concern. The Coventry council specifically ordered each butcher to “kepe his durre clene fro bloode and other fylthis.”<sup>13</sup> In fourteenth-century Lucca, Italy, allowing animal blood to flow into a public space was punishable by a fine; officials who failed to stop animal blood discharges could also be fined.<sup>14</sup>

Pig butchery received special attention in a few cases. In Coventry, for example, a mayoral proclamation of 1421 required that all pig slaughter took place at the common scalding house. The process of scalding involved pouring boiling water over the pig carcass, which loosed the bristles, after which the hair was scraped off, the organs removed, and edible entrails cleaned of feces. This process needed water but also produced filth, thus the Coventry scalding house had been located along the local river next to a latrine house. The problem inherent in this kind of waste generation is evident in a complaint from 1370 which was brought in London against a

butcher and his wife for having a scalding house in their tenement because the water used in the scalding process, mixed with blood and hair, was ejected into a ditch, causing a vile stench. At least using a common scalding house avoided replicating the waste problem throughout town.<sup>15</sup>

In some of the calendar pig slaughter images, urban sanitation controls appear to be in force. The pig is sometimes being bled within a domestic room with some kind of tile or solid floor (Figure 1). Although some images place the slaughter in the street of a rural town, others are more obviously a dedicated butchery space. A 15<sup>th</sup> century Book of Hours contains a particularly interesting image of this sort with a pig lying on the floor while four individuals work on butchering it--one slits the throat while holding down the front leg, another holds the pan to catch the gushing blood, the third holds the head up, and the fourth holds down the back leg.<sup>16</sup> The two individuals we see most clearly are wearing aprons and the slitter is wearing a mask covering his mouth and nose. A tub, presumably filled with hot water for scalding, and two other containers stand ready for use. The scene is clearly placed in a room with white walls and a timbered roof. An open door is visible behind the action. The scene is so rich in detail, and different from other simpler depictions of the same activities, that the artist must have previously observed the process being shown. The image thus confirms the indoor slaughter of pigs as a fifteenth century practice.

During the later Middle Ages, at the exact time that butchery was coming under stricter urban controls and moving out of sight into dedicated scalding houses and courtyards, the calendar images reveal butchery practices in more and more detail. Late medieval artists are known for their growing interest in realistic depictions of nature, so some of the transition from representational killing to visual bleeding could be explained by those larger trends.<sup>17</sup> The fourteenth century witnessed a rise in drawing animals and birds as still-life zoological

specimens embellishing the page.<sup>18</sup> The naturalistic impulse is evident in many of these scenes that show butchery in progress. The pig is shown in a natural pose during slaughter, the equipment stands ready, the butchers perform their tasks. However, even in the midst of all these practicalities, it was not a given that the bleeding of the pig would become the primary focus of this new naturalistic interest in butchery practice.

While there are practical reasons for bleeding—bleeding before cooking allows fresh meat to be kept longer—it is also a practice culturally-situated in Mosaic tradition. In this tradition of bleeding at slaughter, blood poured out as part of the sacrifice is taboo for consumption yet can be used as a ritualistic purifying agent.<sup>19</sup> Medieval Europeans (and indeed modern European peoples) have continued to practice bleeding. Noëlie Vialles’ remarkable anthropological study of French industrial slaughterhouses reveals how the process of separating blood from meat turns the animal’s body from corpse into de-animated, usable products. Bleeding makes the flesh bloodless while making the blood visible. This creates a paradox since “all visible blood is an image of present life *and* a sign of potential death.”<sup>20</sup> Vialles argues that butchers involved in the bleeding have thus historically been thought of as violent and brutal, as stained by the blood of their victims, even though they are making a product for wider consumption. Blood for later consumption required careful handling during the slaughtering process, something which is apparent even in the medieval images. The blood signifies a liminal space between life and death.

Significantly, a pig is always the animal being bled in the calendar images, even though blood from other animals was sometimes used in cooking and a few December illustrations show the killing of a cow (although never the bleeding of it). Within the framework of medieval Europe, pork was a distinctly Christian food—it is taboo in both Jewish and Muslim religious

custom.<sup>21</sup> Because Jews rejected eating pork, the myth of the Jews' sow developed, which claimed that Jewish children were piglets who suckled milk from a female pig and thus would not consume one of their own.<sup>22</sup> On the other end of the religious spectrum, Christian holiday feasting at Christmas and Easter often involved eating pork. Pigs had both saintly and devilish iconographic connotations. On the saintly side, pigs were associated with Saint Anthony beginning in the eleventh century, giving them a place at the side of the holy hermit.<sup>23</sup> On the sinner side, pigs are often depicted in medieval texts and images as filthy, lusty, shameful, and gluttonous.<sup>24</sup> The pig thus signified a wide host of religious and social meanings, both good and bad. Claudine Fabre-Vassas has argued that "the singularity of the pig stands out" through its multifaceted nature as the incarnation of "the sins of lechery and gluttony" while also being "a Christian flesh, endowed with a soul of blood."<sup>25</sup>

The pig's blood takes center stage in the late medieval images of the winter slaughter and as such it becomes not just a signifier of nature, but of culture. Although Bridget Ann Henisch, who has written the most extensive work on the medieval calendar year, has claimed that its agricultural images are devoid of religious significance, others like Colum Hourihane have stressed that although modern viewers see these as secular motifs, during the Middle Ages they "were religious symbols that used an immediate and forceful iconography, largely drawn from the surrounding natural world but intended to convey the meaning of man's place in the order of life and eternity."<sup>26</sup> These images are part of the program in a religious book, one intended for personal contemplation and prayer. Michael Camille advocated seeing the agricultural images of the *Luttrell Psalter* as part of *imagines verborum* (word-images) which couple image and text in the creation of meaning.<sup>27</sup> As equal partners, written word and agricultural image juxtapose

sacred text and social work.<sup>28</sup> Such insight is useful for reading these images which adorn pages listing the Church's feasts for December.

December was one of the most important medieval feast months, with the Feast of the Immaculate Conception (8<sup>th</sup>), the Feast of the Nativity (25<sup>th</sup>), the Feast of the Slaughter of the Innocents (28<sup>th</sup>), and saint's day feasts for Nicholas of Myra (6<sup>th</sup>), Doubting Thomas (21<sup>st</sup>), Stephen the first martyr (26<sup>th</sup>), and John the Evangelist (27<sup>th</sup>). This list of feasts combines life and death. The conception and birth of Christ are intricately joined with his own death and resurrection as revealed to Thomas in Christ's wounds and the untimely death of innocents. The feasts of December, more so than other months of the year, look forward to the Crucifixion of Good Friday through sacrifice.

Although ostensibly about the birth and early years of Christ, the December celebrations directly tied those events to the crucifixion. At the Nativity, the Christ child is laid in the manger where animals usually eat, becoming the body and blood that would feed believers in the Church according to medieval sermons and writings. This was more than just a metaphor—a popular medieval miracle was the transformation of the elevated host during Mass into the infant Christ who was subsequently dismembered and eaten in order to prove that the bread was indeed Christ's flesh.<sup>29</sup> The bleeding body of the child broken as the host confirmed its life-giving power. The Christ Child both prefigured and became the Calvary sacrifice.

The Slaughter of the Innocents commemorated the death of all the boys under two years old in Bethlehem ordered by Herod (per Matthew 2:13-18). Its celebration was infused with mourning, resulting in the exclusion of standard segments in the mass that were joyful (most notably the gloria and alleluia); yet at the same time it was one of the fool's feasts in which the

choirboys and a boy bishop ran the show.<sup>30</sup> Medieval sermons and exegesis considered the Innocents to be the first Christian martyrs. As lambs led to slaughter, the Innocents died in order that the Christ Child might live, forging a connection between their sacrifice and Christ's later sacrifice as Lamb on the cross so that other's might live.<sup>31</sup> Some texts and performed plays about the Innocents frame their deaths as child martyrs at the hands of Jews, linking them with circulating twelfth-century reports of children crucified by Jews.<sup>32</sup> Images of the martyrdom of the child Simon of Trent could explicitly link the child's murder with pig slaughter by showing the child being bled just like the pigs in December butchery images.<sup>33</sup>

The Feast of Innocents often featured plays related to St. Nicholas, whose feast was earlier in December, because of his boyhood ordination. St. Nicholas imagery, plays, and carols told the popular apocryphal story "The Three Clerks."<sup>34</sup> In the most widely circulated fifteenth century version of "The Three Clerks" legend, a butcher murders three clerks who are lodging with him. When the butcher discovers they have no money, the butcher's wife suggests salting the bodies like pork: "pastis and pyus . . . for pork hy cholleth ben solde" (pasties and pies . . . they should be sold as pork).<sup>35</sup> Nicholas discovers the crime and reassembles and raises the clerks from a pickling tub. The clerks and pigs become interchangeable in this story. Their death at the hand of the butcher is the same as the pig's death. The difference is that St. Nicholas is able to redeem the clerks from their fate as meat.

The iconographic programs for December in sixteenth century Books of Hours reflect an emphasis on sacrifice through blood. Flemish works of the early sixteenth century such as Pierpont Morgan Library M.52 and M.1175 and Getty Ms. Ludwig IX 18 (Figure 4) feature the monthly task of draining pig blood as the largest image in the lower section with roundels of the important feasts, including the Slaughter of the Innocents, complementing the agricultural image.

On these pages, we read the images of the deaths of martyrs and children alongside the death of the pig.

The similarity of these deaths might not have been lost on medieval readers. The medieval mystic Margery Kempe wrote that she thought of Christ beaten or wounded not only when she saw a crucifix but also whenever she “saw a man or a beast ... [with] a wound or if a man beat a child before her or smote a horse or another beast with a whip...as well in the field as in the town...”<sup>36</sup> For Margery, a wound on a beast was a sign for the five wounds of Christ. Seeing a suffering animal could serve as a substitute for seeing the suffering Christ himself. The pig would be particularly appropriate for boundary-crossing between man and beast. Karl Steel has argued that pigs are the domestic animal most like man, especially anatomically which was recognized in both ancient and medieval texts, and as such they substituted for humans in medieval literature and art. Pork and human flesh are often interchangeable in stories, perhaps playing on the common word pun *porcus/corpus*.<sup>37</sup> The pig body and human body could be interchangeable.

**Figure 4. Illustrations on calendar page for December in the Spinola Hours, dated 1510-1520. The largest image shows the slaughter of pigs including the collection of blood in a pan while the smaller roundels illustrate the deaths of martyrs, including the Innocents. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, Ms. Ludwig IX 18, fol. 7. Image in the public domain, courtesy of the Getty Open Content Program. [LINK](#)**

Caroline Walker Bynum has discussed the violence in medieval religion, particularly the prominence of motifs of body parts and blood.<sup>38</sup> Bleeding images of Christ including images of the five wounds without the whole Christ figure “actively encouraged devotion to Christ’s blood” in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries.<sup>39</sup> The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in particular were a time of “a great welling up of blood piety”.<sup>40</sup> Blood in these contexts is a metonym, a part which stands in for the whole; the blood is both separated from Christ or the saint and yet still part of him. Late medieval piety was characterized by paradox as embodied in metonymy, in which the part is the whole and vice versa, and Christ’s bleeding body, which symbolizes both life and death, salvation and sin. Seeing or reading of Christ’s body on the cross encouraged empathising with his suffering on behalf of sinners; but more than empathy-inducing, it both signalled the presence of the divine and reproach of the guilty.<sup>41</sup> Blood encapsulated and enacted the paradox of life in death.<sup>42</sup>

December in the calendar has the same tensions. The year’s cycle that started with feasting ends with the death of the pig. It ends the year as a cold winter month, always shown with snow on the ground and in the trees in images. Just as man’s lifecycle is likened to the seasons with winter coming at his end, the annual calendar ends with death. Yet at the same time, the viewer of the December image knows that in January the cycle will begin again. The pig that is slaughtered will be consumed at the feast. Death will bring life. The bloody image evokes empathy for the pig’s sacrifice while the viewer can still revel in the life-giving food it provides.

With this in mind, if we look at the December image in the Book of Hours of Anne de Bretagne (BNF Latin 9474, fol. 15; Figure 5), we see something entirely unexpected. The blood squirting from the butcher’s fresh knife wound, which is collected in a pan and a jug as well as soils the ground, is not just for making blood sausage—it becomes a visual, palatable reminder

of sacrifice and death at the hands of the sinner. The pig's carcass hangs upside down with blood running out of its mouth—the detail reminding us that this animal contained life not long before. The bleeding out allows us to experience the hidden suffering of the animal.<sup>43</sup> Its hanging position beneath the image of a church in the background reminds us of Christ and Christian martyrs who likewise were hung up to die. While medieval scholars have most often interpreted pigs in medieval art as the filthy, unclean or gluttonous other, often representing Jews, the pigs in this Book of Hours and in the other December images do not encourage such a reading.<sup>44</sup> The flowing blood is carefully collected in a bowl, as a precious commodity. With their blood pouring out of them so that we see the inflicted wounds, these pigs evoke Christian empathy, just as Margery said they should. They die so that we will live through another winter. They have been sacrificed. It is fitting then that the image of the pig sacrifice appears in the month of December when the first sacrifices of the Innocents along with the foreshadowed sacrifice of the babe in the manger are celebrated. The blood that flows from the pig mirrors the wounds of Christ as well as the slain infants.

**Figure 5. Book of Hours of Anne de Bretagne, Tours, c 1503-1508. BNF Latin 9474 fol. 15. Used with permission from Bibliothèque nationale de France. [LINK](#)**

Before the fourteenth century, the December image of pig slaughter showed an agricultural task for the season. The man with an axe raised above his head in order to bludgeon the swine below was doing a job everyone knew well. The pig's death at the beginning of winter

filled pantries and bellies. Butchery was a highly regulated craft because of its potential to corrupt bodies with bad food and streets and waters with noxious leftovers. Making sure that blood and entrails stayed in their proper places ensured wholesome and pure food and environments. Yet the early images of pig butchery left those details to the imagination.

The butchery task did not change in the late medieval period, but the images of it did. Manuscript illustrations of the labor of December made from the fourteenth century onward still show butchers at work, often in spaces mandated by up-to-date city regulations, yet the new representation stressed the death of the pig rather than the agricultural activity. Blood is shown gushing out of the pig and being carefully collected by the slaughterers. The blood itself, rather than the ultimate food products that it would become, is the key component of these images, focusing attention on the pig and its sacrifice. This moves the image's symbolism beyond the practical to the spiritual.<sup>45</sup>

The pig killing images are situated alongside the textual calendar with its listing of December feasts that join birth and death as well as illustrations of the slaughter of young boys at the hands of Herod's soldiers. Labors of the month like the December killing of the pig were infused with spiritual meaning because of their placement on the page together with these items. This juxtaposition merges the pig's blood with Christ's blood and the sacrifices of the Innocents celebrated in December. The blood—life-giving blood—pours out of the wounds. The pig substitutes for human sacrifice. Rather than being filthy or unclean, the pig is purified through its shedding of blood. Seeing the swine's bloody death reminded the viewer that the cycle of birth-death-rebirth continued, repeating year after year in the Christian calendar. The pig would die in December to feed us, but would reappear again the next year in the autumn to feed in the woods, only to die once again, just as Christ would do over the calendar year. Reading these images

within their context enables modern readers to see the images as their medieval viewers would: as images embodying life and death, sacrifice and salvation, through blood on the butcher's knife.

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<sup>1</sup> Some examples of this scene from the 12th and 13th centuries include: British Library Arundel 157, fol. 18v (St. Albans, c. 1240); British Library Lansdowne 383, fol. 8 (England, 2nd quarter 12th c.); British Library Royal 2 B II, fol. 6v (Paris, c.1250); British Library Royal 1 D X, fol. 14r (Oxford, before 1220); BNF Latin 12834, fol. 84 (France, c.1266-1279); The Hague KB 76 J 18, fol. 215r (Cambray, c.1275-1300); St. John's College N19, fol. 5v (Flanders, 13th c.); The Walters Ms. W. 35, fol. 6v (Bruges-Ghent, c.1270-1280); The Walters Ms. W. 36, fol. 6v (Bruges, c.1250-1260). British Library Lansdowne 381, fol. 7 (Germany, c.1168-1189) appears to be an exception to the rule of living pigs as it shows a man standing over a pig with its mouth open laying on a table. The man is holding some kind of instrument up to the pig's neck, perhaps to bleed it, yet there is no blood shown in the image.

<sup>2</sup> For a full discussion of how to read a medieval calendar page, see "Appendix: The Calendar Page Decoded," in Bridget Ann Henisch, *The Medieval Calendar Year* (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999).

<sup>3</sup> The calendar cycle is common in medieval church architectural and furniture decoration as well as in manuscripts, but those other contexts will not be discussed in this chapter.

<sup>4</sup> Colum Hourihane, *Time in the Medieval World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 1.

<sup>5</sup> Representative images are collected in Hourihane, *Time in the Medieval World*.

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<sup>6</sup> The other common image for December is baking bread. It may be that the blood of the swine is related to the bread as the body and blood of Christ, but I have not explored this connection within the scope of this paper.

<sup>7</sup> *The Good Wife's Guide (Le Ménagier de Paris)*, trans. Gina L. Greco and Christine M. Rose (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), 271-272.

<sup>8</sup> Helmut Birkhan remarked on the great frequency of all types of blood as ingredients in the Ambras recipe collection from the fifteenth century: "Some Remarks on Medieval Cooking: The Ambras Recipe-Collection of Cod. Vind. 5486," in Melitta Weiss Adamson, ed., *Food in the Middle Ages: A Book of Essays* (Routledge, 1995), 83-98. According to Maria Dembinska, blood sausage was introduced into medieval Poland before the year 1000 from German-speaking areas: *Food and Drink in Medieval Poland: Rediscovering a Cuisine of the Past* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 89. The Spanish *Manual de mugeres* (1475-1525) includes instructions "to season a big blood sausage very well" using clove, cinnamon, and black pepper: Carolyn A. Nadeau, "Contributions of Medieval Food Manuals to Spain's Culinary Heritage," *Cincinnati Romance Review* 33 (2012): 74.

<sup>9</sup> See Dolly Jørgensen, "Running Amuck? Urban Swine Management in Late Medieval England," *Agricultural History* 87 (2013): 429-451, for a discussion of swine management in the late medieval period. For general discussions of the control of butchery, see Ernest L. Sabine, "Butchering in Mediaeval London," *Speculum* 8 (1933): 335-353 and David R. Carr, "Controlling the Butchers in Late Medieval English towns," *The Historian* 70 (2008): 450-461.

<sup>10</sup> Mary Dormer Harris, ed., *The Coventry Leet Book: or Mayor's Register, Containing the Records of the City Court Leet or View of Frankpledge, AD 1420-1555, with Divers Other Matters*, 4 vols. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1907-1913), 1:42-43.

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<sup>11</sup> R. Lespinasse, ed., *Les Métiers et corporations de la ville de Paris I: XIVe-XVIIIe siècle, ordonnances générale, métiers de l'alimentation* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1886), 274, quoted in Carole Rawcliffe, "Sources for the Study of Public Health in the Medieval City," in *Understanding Medieval Primary Sources: Using historical sources to discover medieval Europe*, ed. Joel T. Rosenthal, (London: Routledge, 2012), 177–195.

<sup>12</sup> R. B. Dobson, ed., *York City Chamberlains' Account Rolls 1396-1500*, Surtees Society Publication 192 (Surtees Society: Gateshead, UK, 1980), 145-46.

<sup>13</sup> Harris, *Coventry Leet Book*, 1:42-43.

<sup>14</sup> Guy Geltner, 'Healthscaping a Medieval City: Lucca's *Curia viarum* and the Future of Public Health History', *Urban History* 40, no 3 (August 2013): 395-415.

<sup>15</sup> Harris, *The Coventry Leet Book*, 1:32. The location is given in two land leases, BA/C/4/3/1, 1 Dec. 1448 and BA/C/4/3/2, 25 Dec. 1465, Coventry Town Archives, Coventry, UK. The second lease allowed the butchers access to draw water for the scalding house. Helena M. Chew and William Kellaway, eds., misc. roll. FF, Feb. 16, 1369–May 5, 1374 (nos. 550–599), *London Assize of Nuisance 1301–1431: A Calendar*, British History Online, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=35981> (accessed Feb. 14, 2013).

<sup>16</sup> Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.358, fol. 12r. The manuscript is a Book of Hours made in southern France c.1440-1450.

<sup>17</sup> The growing interest in naturalized artistic depictions in the later medieval period has been discussed in Lynn White Jr., "Natural Science and Naturalistic Art in the Middle Ages," *American Historical Review* 52 (1947), 421–435 and Janet Backhouse, "Birds, Beasts and Initials in Lindisfarne's Gospel Books," in *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to AD*

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1200, ed. Gerald Bonner, David Rollason, and Clare Stancliffe (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1989), 165-174.

<sup>18</sup> Otto Pächt, “Early Italian Nature Studies and the Early Calendar Landscape,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13, no. 1/2 (1950): 13–47.

<sup>19</sup> Caroline Walker Bynum, *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Germany and Beyond* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 210.

<sup>20</sup> Noëlie Vialles, *Animal to Edible*, trans. J.A. Underwood (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 76.

<sup>21</sup> This is not to say that pork was restricted to Christians historically in Europe. Both soldiers and common people received pork rations in the later Roman Empire, according to Sarah Bond, *Trade and Taboo: Disreputable Professions in the Roman Mediterranean* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016).

<sup>22</sup> See the image of the Judensau and discussion in Sarah Phillips, “The Pig in Medieval Iconography,” in *Pigs and Humans: 10,000 years of Interaction*, ed. Umberto Albarella, Keith Dobney, Anton Ervynck, and Peter Rowley-Conwy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 373–387

<sup>23</sup> Claudine Fabre-Vassas, *The Singular Beast: Jews, Christians, and the Pig*, trans. Carol Volk (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 298.

<sup>24</sup> Phillips, “The Pig in Medieval Iconography.”

<sup>25</sup> Fabre-Vassas, *The Singular Beast*, 325. There are similar paradoxes of blood being both sacred and unholy in Helen Barr’s discussion of *The Canterbury Interlude* in this volume.

<sup>26</sup> Hensich, *The Medieval Calendar Year*, 16; Hourihane, *Time in the Medieval World*, 1.

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<sup>27</sup> Michael Camille, *Mirror in Parchment: The Luttrell Psalter and the Making of Medieval England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 162-163.

<sup>28</sup> Camille, *Mirror in Parchment*, 200.

<sup>29</sup> Leah Sinanoglou, "Christ Child as Sacrifice: A Medieval Tradition and the Corpus Christi Plays," *Speculum* 48, no. 3 (1973): 491-509.

<sup>30</sup> Susan Boynton, "Performative Exegesis in the Fleury *Interfectio Puerorum*," *Viator* 29 (1998): 39-64.

<sup>31</sup> See Boynton, "Performative Exegesis", and Theresa Tinkle, "Exegesis Reconsidered: The Fleury 'Slaughter of Innocents' and the Myth of Ritual Murder," *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 102, no. 2 (2003): 211-243.

<sup>32</sup> Tinkle, "Exegesis Reconsidered."

<sup>33</sup> This is exemplified in the image of a Florentine engraving from circa 1490 reproduced in Fabre-Vassas, *The Singular Beast*, figure 12A.

<sup>34</sup> The story of "The Three Clerks" does not appear in the lives of St. Nicholas, but it became the most widely circulated story about him. For a full discussion of the legend, see Joel Fredell, "The Three Clerks and St. Nicholas in Medieval England," *Studies in Philology* 92 (1995): 181-202.

<sup>35</sup> Karl Steele, *How to Make a Human: Animals and Violence in the Middle Ages* (Ohio State University Press, 2011), 214.

<sup>36</sup> Quoted in Caroline Walker Bynum, "Violent Imagery in Late Medieval Piety," *GHI Bulletin* 30 (2002): 25.

<sup>37</sup> Steele, *How to Make a Human*, 185.

<sup>38</sup> Bynum, "Violent Imagery in Late Medieval Piety". For a full discussion of the blood of Christ in late medieval religious belief, see Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*.

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<sup>39</sup> Bettina Bildhauer, “Medieval European Conceptions of Blood: Truth and Human Integrity,” *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 19 (2013), S57–S76.

<sup>40</sup> Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, 5.

<sup>41</sup> See Bynum, “Violent Imagery in Late Medieval Piety”, esp. 30–31.

<sup>42</sup> Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, 255.

<sup>43</sup> This is much the same as Joe Moshenska’s observation in this volume about the screaming bleeding trees of Virgil and Spenser: it is through violence that we are able to hear the object speaking.

<sup>44</sup> Fabre-Vassas, *The Singular Beast*; Michael Camille, “At the Sign of the ‘Spinning Sow’: the ‘Other’ Chartres and Images of Everyday Life of the Medieval Street,” in *History and Images: Towards a New Iconology*, ed. Axel Bolvig and Phillip Lindley (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2003), 249–276; Phillips, “The Pig in Medieval Iconography”.

<sup>45</sup> As Frances Dolan demonstrates in her chapter in this volume, the agricultural practices of grape-growing and wine-making also took on symbolic meaning when they were associated with blood.